

CONSTRUCCIONES DE CUANDO CON ANTECEDENTE EXPRESO EN CASTELLANO MEDIEVAL

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Con frecuencia leemos en nuestras Gramáticas que en las construcciones con adverbios relativos suele ser habitual la omisión del antecedente, en especial en los casos de *cuando* o *como*, de forma que esas estructuras llevan implícita la referencia, haciéndose entonces necesario reconstruir un segmento elidido¹: «en el momento *cuando*» o «en el tiempo *cuando*», frases que para algún gramático «...parecen ya extrañas a fuerza de embeberse tan a menudo el antecedente en el relativo»².

No se han precisado aún las causas que determinan esta ausencia: algunos autores han apuntado razones de economía lingüística, pues en el adverbio relativo y en el antecedente hay un mismo valor léxico, por lo que la ausencia de éste evita la redundancia³. Esta redundancia sería mayor en el caso de las construcciones de *cuando*, pues ambos, antecedente y adverbio relativo, cumplen la misma función sintáctica.

En cambio, lo que sí se desprende de las Gramáticas y autores que estudian el fenómeno es que las construcciones de adverbios relativos sin antecedente proceden por evolución histórica de antiguas construcciones con antecedentes que, progresivamente, fueron simplificándose hasta resultar «extrañas» cuando aparecen en su «forma primitiva».

Sin embargo, el estudio de las construcciones de *cuando* en castellano medieval nos ofrece una situación bastante similar a la actual: una abrumadora mayoría de casos en los que *cuando* se construye sin ningún antecedente, frente a unos pocos ejemplos de Antecedente + *cuando*, por lo que esa pretendida evolución histórica⁴ a la que hemos aludido o bien debe rechazarse, o bien ha de remontarse a una situación anterior a la del castellano escrito.

¹ Véase E. ALARCOS, «Aditamento, adverbio y cuestiones conexas», en *Estudios de gramática funcional*, 4.ª ed., Madrid, Gredos, 1978, págs. 228-234; W. W. CRESSY, «Relative Adverbs in Spanish», *Language*, xiv, 1968, págs. 487-500; y A. BELLO, *Gramática de la lengua castellana* (ed. de R. Trujillo), Madrid, Arco Libros, 1989, § 401. A partir de Bello, prácticamente todas las Gramáticas repiten las mismas ideas.

² Bello, *Gramática*, § 401.

³ P. CARREASO, *Deixis espacial y temporal en el sistema lingüístico*, Universidad de Sevilla, 1979, pág. 57.

⁴ Es quizá Carbonero el gramático que de forma más explícita habla de «evolución»: «Ante la exigencia de considerarlas [las unidades *donde*, *cuando*, *como*] adverbios o conjunciones,

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