

## What qualifies a lexical expression for grammaticalization?

The theory allows us to qualify and provide a preliminary answer.

### Two qualifications

1. Structural qualification
2. Functional qualification



## What qualifies a lexical expression for grammaticalization?

### Structural qualification for grammaticalization:

A lexical candidate for grammaticalization must co-occur with something with respect to which it can express its meaning as discursively secondary.

In other words, a lexical candidate for grammaticalization must co-occur with something which can compete with it for discourse prominence.

Bolinger (1980: 297):

- "The moment a verb is given an infinitive complement, that verb starts down the road to auxiliariness".

*he is **going** to Rome*

No competing verb

>

*he is **going** (in order) to **fix** the room*

Competing verb

However, **only losers undergo grammaticalization!**



## What qualifies a lexical expression for grammaticalization?

### Functional qualification for grammaticalization:

A lexical candidate for grammaticalization must have a meaning which makes it highly useful as a secondary companion of another expression.

In other words, it must have an inherent-semantic (i.e. functional or notional) property which makes it enhance the functional value of an accompanying expression in relation to which it is secondary.

Only expressions with "useful-as-ancillary" meaning are candidates for becoming conventionalized with secondary status.



## What qualifies a lexical expression for grammaticalization?

### Summary

A given lexical expression is qualified for grammaticalization to the extent that it...

1. relates to another expression:

*I regret (P)* is a better candidate for grammaticalization than *wow!*.

2. as a secondary, ancillary companion enhances the functional value of an accompanying expression:

*I think (P)* is a better candidate for grammaticalization than *I regret (P)*.



## Overview

1. Background
2. A functional theory of grammaticalization
3. Two types of grammaticalization
4. What qualifies a lexical expression for grammaticalization?
- 5. Grammaticalization features revisited**
6. Clines and continued grammaticalization
7. Degrammaticalization
8. A phylogenetic hypothesis
9. Grammaticalization and constructionalization
10. Pragmaticalization and grammaticalization
11. Conclusion



## Grammaticalization features re-visited

The theory brings grammaticalization and typical grammaticalization features into a coherent and motivated relationship.

Ex. of typical gzn. features

*going to* > *gonna*

Phonological reduction:

3 syllables > 2 syllables

Semantic reduction:

'motion' > 'prospectivity'

Boundness:

*I am going!* > *\*I am gonna!*



## Grammaticalization features re-visited

### What motivates phonological reduction?

<i>going to</i>	>	<i>gonna</i>
3 syllables	>	2 syllables

The traditional view: frequency of use

An alternative view: iconicity

Low prominence on the meaning side (secondary status)  
is reflected in  
low prominence on the expression side of the linguistic sign.

Frequency and iconicity do not exclude each other as motivating factors



## Grammaticalization features re-visited

### What motivates semantic reduction/loss?

<i>going to</i>	>	<i>gonna</i>
'motion'	>	'prospectivity'

A new view:

1. Semantic generality is a prerequisite for grammaticalization:  
A good candidate for grammaticalization is generally applicable and thus has a general meaning.
1. Semantic reduction follows from grammaticalization:  
A non-prominent (discursively secondary and backgrounded) expression is likely to lose contours  
(cf. the low prominence and lack of contours of the background of a photograph).



## Grammaticalization features re-visited

### What motivates boundness?

*going to* > *gonna*  
*I am going!* > *\*I am gonna!*

### A new view:

Boundness is a direct consequence of grammatical expressions coding their meaning as secondary:

Grammatical expressions require the co-occurrence of expressions with respect to which their content can be secondary.



## Grammaticalization features re-visited

Phonologically concrete grammatical expressions are secondary and bound in relation to grammatical or lexical hosts.

(1) *He's gonna run.*

(2) *He ha-s done it now.*

Abstract constructions are secondary and bound in relation to their grammatical and lexical fillers.

(3) *He loves her*

S    V    O

Declarative word order 'assertion'.



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## Clines and continued grammaticalization

The theory offers a way of talking about degree of grammatical status  
 - and thus about grammaticalization clines and continued grammaticalization (cp. Andersen's 2008 notion of "regrammation").

### Example: Verb-to-affix cline

Lexical verb > (vector verb >) auxiliary > clitic > affix  
 (Hopper & Traugott 2003:111-14)

Synchronic interpretation: ">" 'less grammatical than'

Diachronic interpretation: ">" 'grammaticalizes into'

### How to talk about degree of grammatical status

More grammatical than = 'shows more/clearer gzn. symptoms than'

Basis: the coherent and motivated relationship between grammaticalization and typical grammaticalization features



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## Degrammaticalization

The theory offers a place for the development of grammatical expressions into lexical ones, but simultaneously predicts that this development is much more rare than the opposite development.

Example: Welsh adpositional phrase *yn ol* 'after, fetch' > verb *nôl* 'fetch' (Norde 2009: 4, referring to Willis 2007: 294, 297).

(1) *Yna yd aeth y gweisson yn ol y varch a 'e arueu y Arthur.*  
 then PTCP went the lads after his horse and his weapons for Arthur  
 'Then the lads went after/went to fetch his horse and his weapons for Arthur'.

>

***Nolwch*** y Brenin i 'w examnio.  
 fetch.2PL.IMP the king to 3SG.M examine.INF  
 'Fetch the king to be cross-examined'.



## Degrammaticalization

A place for degrammaticalization (gramm. > lex.)

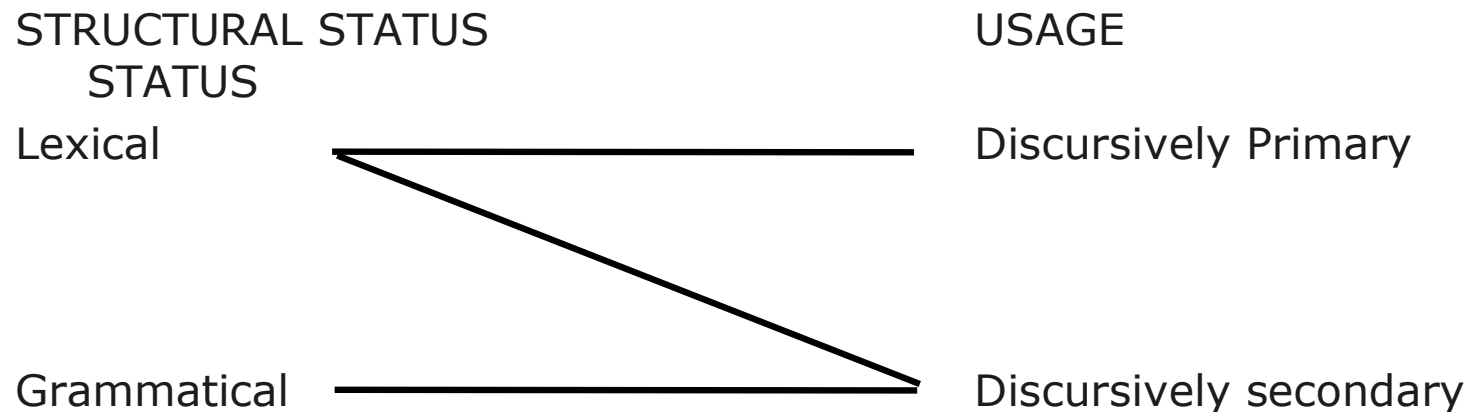
- The discursively secondary status of grammatical expressions is a **conventional** status.
- Conventions can be **overridden** in actual discourse.
- Originally unconventional discourse statuses can be **conventionalized**.



## Degrammaticalization

The relative infrequency of degrammaticalization (gramm. > lex.)

Grammatical expressions are conventionalized with one of the possible discourse statuses of lexical expressions:



- **Grammaticalization** exploits an already existing potential.
- **Degrammaticalization** involves the creation of a new potential.



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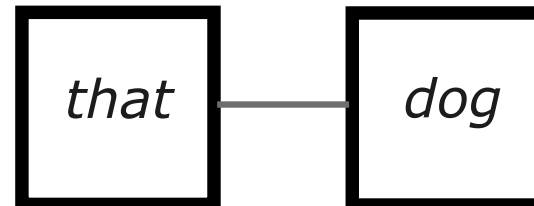
## A phylogenetic hypothesis

### Typology of linguistic expressions

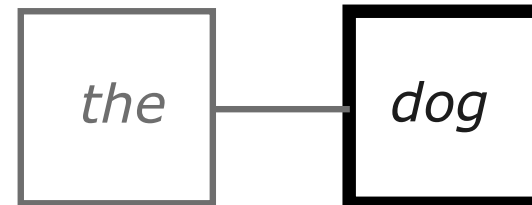
- Expressions that code relatable meanings as potentially primary



- Expressions that code semantic *relations* as secondary



- Expressions that code relatable meanings as secondary



## A phylogenetic hypothesis

### The phylogenesis of grammar

- The phylogenetic side of the functional theory is that human languages developed when expressions developed *relations* within a complex utterance.
- Before grammar our ancestors already had "an inventory of conventional expressions".

But they did not have *relations* enabling the combination of expressions into complex utterances.

- Phonologically concrete grammatical expressions only developed at a later stage.



## A phylogenetic hypothesis

1. Single expressions that code relatable meanings as (trivially) primary (holophrases)

*That!*

2. Combinations of expressions that code relatable meanings as potentially primary

*that!*      *dog!*

3. Expressions that code semantic relations as secondary

*that* — *dog*

4. Expressions that code relatable meanings as secondary

*the* — *dog*

