

## NRG5 abstracts

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## Plenary lectures

### Contact, convergence and new grammar Umberto Ansaldo (University of Hong Kong)

This talk illustrates the role of convergence and grammaticalization in the formation of new grammars. Based on examples drawn from Sri Lanka Malay I review the cognitive and social dynamics that drive language change in intense multilingual settings.

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### Evidential/epistemic markers of the type verb + complementizer in English and Romance: Some theoretical implications

María José López-Couso (University of Santiago de Compostela)

The development of evidential/epistemic strategies has attracted a great deal of attention over the past few decades. A particularly interesting type of evidential/epistemic marker is found in various Romance languages, where certain verbal forms are fused with the complementizer *que* ‘that’ to produce formations like *dizque* and variants (*izque*, *quesque*, *quizque*) (lit. ‘s/he says that’) in Latin American Spanish, and *disque* (lit. ‘s/he says that’) and *seique*, *seica* (lit. ‘I know that’) in Galician. Examples from these two languages are given in (1)-(3) below. These Romance formations, which are normally interpreted as adverbs meaning ‘allegedly, supposedly’ in grammars and dictionaries (cf. *Diccionario de la Lengua Española* s.v. *dizque*; *Diccionario da Real Academia Galega* s.vv. *disque*, *seica*), seem to have a long history; in Spanish, for instance, examples are recorded already as far back as the sixteenth century (cf. Olbertz 2005; Miglio 2010).

- (1) vino el muchacho de la señora Angela y me contó que por su casa habían pasado cuatro tipos raros, preguntando, **dizque**, por la finca de la señora Lola para comprársela. (CREA, 1987, Fabiola Calvo Ocampo, *Colombia. EPL, una historia armada* 69)
- (2) E razón non lles faltaba porque o avó, **disque**, era o propio fillo do trasno. (TILG, 2002, ANRCOR002, 37 7)
- (3) E agora en Teruel, ou sabe Deus onde, porque alí **seica** remataron hai un mes... Mellor é non pensar. (TILG, 2001, CLOSAL001, 14 30)

In my recent research in collaboration with Belén Méndez-Naya (López-Couso & Méndez-Naya, forthcoming), attention is paid to a similar development in English: *like*-parentheticals of the type shown in (4) and (5), which, contrary to other English clausal parentheticals (e.g. *I think*, *you know*, *it seems*), retain the complementizer *like* of their non-parenthetical counterparts (e.g. *it looks like he didn't like it*). *Like*-parentheticals are a recent development typical of American English, where they have experienced an increase in frequency over the last couple of decades. They are closely associated with the spoken language (cf. (4)) and with written registers showing a high degree of speechlikeness, such as fictional dialogues (cf. (5)).

- (4) He didn't like it, **looks like**, just shouted; (COCA, 1990, SPOK, CNN\_King)
- (5) they don't stay down, **sounds like**. (COCA, 2005, FIC, [AfricanAmerRev](#))

Both the English *like*-combinations and the Spanish and Galician formations with *que* have undergone over time changes characteristic of grammaticalization and (inter)subjectification processes, including decategorialization, morphosyntactic fixation, and

fusion (cf. Company Company 2004; Travis 2006; Olbertz 2007; López-Couso & Méndez-Naya, forthcoming). In their development they have changed their status from a verb + complementizer combination to an adverbial (or quasi-adverbial) form which is used to encode evidentiality and epistemic stance, allowing the speaker to distance him/herself from the proposition expressed and thus deny responsibility for it.

These evidential/epistemic markers are interesting not only in their own right and from a comparative perspective, but may also prove relevant to ongoing debates in the field of grammaticalization. By analysing the individual histories of these Spanish, Galician, and English forms, in the course of the presentation I will discuss the following main issues: (i) the predictive power of grammaticalization: how can the long-term developments attested in Romance help us to predict potential changes in the developments in progress in English?; and (ii) the suitability of the different hypotheses (in particular, Thompson & Mulac's (1991) so-called matrix clause hypothesis) concerning the developmental relation between parentheticals and complex clause structures.

Evidence will be drawn from a variety of sources for each of the three languages examined, including the Real Academia's *Corpus diacrónico del español* (CORDE) and *Corpus de referencia del español actual* (CREA) for Spanish, the online databases from the Instituto da Lingua Galega, *Tesouro Informatizado da Lingua Galega* (TILG) and *Tesouro Medieval Informatizado da Lingua Galega* (TMILG) for Galician, and Mark Davies's *Corpus of Historical American English* (COHA) and *Corpus of Contemporary American English* (COCA) for English.

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### **Pointing and shaking: The grammaticalization of gestures**

Roland Pfau (University of Amsterdam)

Sign languages, just like spoken languages, are subject to language change, and one type of internal change that has been described quite extensively in recent years is grammaticalization (Pfau & Steinbach 2006, 2011; Janzen 2012). Studies on various sign languages have shown that, for the most part, grammaticalization follows the same pathways that have been documented for spoken languages (e.g. from verb to tense marker and from noun to complementizer; cf. Heine & Kuteva 2002). In other words: these pathways are independent of the language modality (oral vs. visual languages).

The focus of this presentation will be on a different type of grammaticalization, which appears to be only attested in languages in the visual modality, that is, the grammaticalization of co-speech gestures used in the hearing community. Culture-specific gestures commonly enter the lexicon of a sign language as lexical elements (e.g. ‘thumb up’ gesture becomes sign meaning ‘good’). Occasionally, however, a gesture may turn into a grammatical element. Two possible paths have been described for this type of diachronic change (Janzen & Shaffer 2002; Wilcox 2007): (i) from gesture via lexical element to grammatical element (e.g. certain ASL modals); (ii) directly from gesture to grammatical marker, without intervening lexical stage (e.g. certain classifier morphemes). I will discuss two instances of this latter type of development, one involving a manual gesture, the pointing gesture, and one involving a non-manual gesture, the negative headshake. Both pointing and headshake commonly accompany spoken utterances (Kendon 2004). Across sign languages, however, their use and distribution is highly systematic and subject to certain grammatical constraints. As for the pointing gesture, I will argue that it entered the language system as a locative marker and then developed further via a demonstrative use into pronoun and agreement marker – these latter changes of course well-known from spoken languages (Pfau 2011). As for the headshake, I will show that in numerous sign languages, it functions as the sole marker of sentential negation and that its distribution (that is, its onset and offset) is linguistically constrained in a way clearly distinct from that of its gestural counterpart. I argue that, at least in some sign languages, the headshake has grammaticalized into a featural affix that attaches to the verb and spreads over grammatically defined domains (Pfau 2008).

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## **Grammaticalisation and Parameter Types: English Modals Again**

Ian Roberts (University of Cambridge)

It is well-known that the class of English modals emerged through grammaticalisation in the 16<sup>th</sup> century (Lightfoot 1979, Warner 1993, Roberts 1985, Roberts & Roussou 2003). Roberts & Roussou argued that this was a parameter change, involving merger of these elements in T.

The kind of parametric variation assumed there was lexically driven microparametric variation of the kind generally assumed in the recent theoretical literature, formulated explicitly in Chomsky (1995). However, recently this approach to parametric variation has been questioned on various grounds (Baker 2008a,b; Roberts 2011). The principal goal of this paper is integrate grammaticalisation-type changes into a more general theory of typology, variation and change taking the English modals as an illustrative case.

The question becomes more interesting when we look at contemporary and recent English (on the latter see for example Denison 1998), and at variation across current varieties of English, where we can observe that many of the modals are moribund, and that there is no real “modal system” to speak of. Instead there is a wide range of regional and even individual variation concerning individual senses of individual modals. Some of these changes can be analysed as ongoing further grammaticalisation, and indeed integrated into the general approach of Roberts & Roussou, if the “Cinque hierarchy” for clause structure is adopted (Cinque 1999, 2006). Here again, we see a picture of strikingly narrow parametric variation and change, and this poses a problem for a general theory of parameters.

Following Roberts (2011), I propose that the facts concerning the diachrony of English modals can be analysed in terms of a parameter hierarchy of the following kind:

- (1) For a given value  $v_i$  of a parametrically variant feature F of functional head H:
  - a. **Macroparameters**: all heads of the relevant type share  $v_i$ ;
  - b. **Mesoparameters**: all heads of a given natural class, e.g. [+V], share  $v_i$ ;
  - c. **Microparameters**: a small, lexically definable subclass of functional heads (e.g. modal auxiliaries, pronouns) shows  $v_i$ ;
  - d. **Nanoparameters**: one or more individual lexical items is/are specified for  $v_i$

Following the general view of parametric change as involving abductive reanalysis of PLD through language acquisition (Lightfoot 1979 etc), we can see that **macroparameters** must be “easily” set; hence they resist diachronic reanalysis and therefore we expect them to be strongly conserved, while **meso- and microparameters** are correspondingly less salient in the PLD and therefore diachronically more subject to change. Finally, **nanoparameters** are like irregular verbs, they have item-specific specifications which override the defaults of the system (e.g. in Modern English: no verb-movement) and will diachronically “regularise”, or disappear, unless sufficiently frequent. In these terms, we can conclude that the development of the modals, as a typical case of grammaticalisation, was a case of **microparametric** change, while the ongoing breakdown of uniform syntactic behaviour in the class, on an almost item-by-item basis, is **nanoparametric** change. I will briefly give examples of the other kinds of parametric change.

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### **Grammaticalisation and Prosody**

Anne Wichmann (University of Central Lancashire)

The phonological consequences of grammaticalisation are widely reported, but the attention tends to be directed towards attrition of phonetic substance in relation to segmental features. I will focus instead on the prosodic changes associated with grammaticalisation, and argue that these are primary, while segmental changes are secondary consequences. Assuming that frequency of use is at least one source of grammaticalisation, investing less effort in frequent items leads predictably to the loss of prosodic prominence, with a concomitant loss of duration, and thus less time to maximise articulatory gestures. Work on tonal languages (Ansaldò & Lim 2004) suggests that the effects of grammaticalisation may in some cases remain at the suprasegmental level.

If loss of prominence is the first step towards phonetic attrition we would expect to find it in items that are at an early stage of grammaticalisation. For obvious practical reasons we cannot directly study the suprasegmental features of items that underwent this process centuries ago. The analysis of sound change in spoken languages relies on written forms which capture the segmental consequences of attrition, and from which we can only infer the prosodic origins. We therefore report an approach analogous to internal reconstruction methods used in the study of sign languages, for which there are no historical visual records (Pfau & Steinbach 2011). Using data taken mainly from spoken corpora we can show how items in the early stages of grammaticalisation reveal prosodic changes in line with semantic changes. These changes are of two, related, kinds: the loss of prominence and also the degree of separation or integration in terms of prosodic structure. Most recent studies have focussed on the development of discourse markers, but recent work has extended the observation to other items (Dehé and Stathi, this conference) with similar results.

The studies involving discourse markers and other items with an interpersonal function, have pointed to inconsistencies with some aspects of grammaticalisation, in particular the development towards greater syntactic integration. Since discourse markers exhibit precisely the opposite tendency, namely becoming syntactically independent, a separate process has been identified – that of pragmaticalisation. I will argue that from my perspective this is an unnecessary complication.

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## **Workshop on pragmaticalization**

*Convenors:* Karin Beijering & Muriel Norde (University of Groningen)

### **Workshop description**

The development of discourse markers is a controversial issue in grammaticalization theorizing (Beijering *fc.*). On the one hand, the growth of discourse markers is characterized by changes and effects typically attested in grammaticalization, e.g. decategorialization, phonological reduction, divergence or layering. On the other hand, it is crucially different from grammaticalization (Brinton & Traugott 2005:138f.), for instance because it involves scope increase instead of scope reduction, and an increase in syntactic freedom instead of syntactic fixation. These differences and similarities with prototypical cases of grammaticalization have given rise to divergent conceptualizations of the rise of discourse markers. Some authors (e.g. Ocampo 2006, Norde 2009) define pragmaticalization a process distinct from grammaticalization, others (e.g. Wischer 2000) consider it a special subtype of grammaticalization, yet others redefine grammaticalization properties so as to be able to include discourse makers. For example, Diewald (2011: 368) extends the notion of (grammatical) obligatoriness to "communicative obligatoriness".

In this workshop, we welcome both theoretically and empirically oriented papers that address the question of whether pragmaticalization is a composite change in its own right, besides (de)lexicalization and (de)grammaticalization. Although we consider the boundaries between these "izations" as gradient, we are keen to explore the specific properties that

distinguish discourse markers from grammatical elements such as prepositions or modal auxiliaries, both synchronically and diachronically.

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### **The grammaticalization-pragmaticalization interface: the case of Mainland Scandinavian I THINK/BELIEVE** Karin Beijering (University of Groningen)

This paper reports on a comparative synchronic corpus investigation of the mental state predicate I THINK/BELIEVE in the Mainland Scandinavian languages, i.e. Danish *jeg tror*, Norwegian *jeg tror* and Swedish *jag tror*, as exemplified in (1) below.

- |       |   |           |
|-------|---|-----------|
| (1)a. | <i>Jeg tror jeg skal skifte telefonnummer.</i><br>'I think I will change my phone number.'  | Norwegian |
| b.    | <i>Det har resulterat i att sysselsättningen ökat med, jag tror, 45 000 arbetstillfällen.</i><br>'It resulted in that the employment increased with, I think, 45 000 jobs.' | Swedish   |
| c.    | <i>Desværre gjorde det ikke indtryk på Agathe, snarere tværtimod tror jeg.</i><br>'Unfortunately it did not impress Agathe, rather the opposite I think.'                   | Danish    |

Mental state predicates (*I think, I believe, I guess* and the like) form a subclass of discourse markers and are very suitable to elaborate on the grammaticalization-pragmaticalization interface. The status of pragmaticalization is controversial as it is not a generally accepted type of language change. Consequently, mental state predicates like *I think* have been subsumed both under lexicalization (e.g. Fischer 2007) and (broader definitions of) grammaticalization (e.g. Brinton 1996). Mental state predicates show prototypical properties of grammaticalization, such as *layering, decategorialization* and *persistence*, but especially their optional character and syntactic freedom pose serious problems for a grammaticalization analysis. These distinct properties are good reasons to postulate a separate process of pragmaticalization for the rise of linguistic items that operate at the discourse level, i.e. elements that mark discourse structure, not grammatical structure.

It has often been observed that mental state predicates like I THINK/BELIEVE have an adverbial distribution, i.e. that these kind of phrases have been reanalyzed as epistemic or speech-act adverbials (e.g. Thompson & Mulac 1991). The degree to which these phrases have acquired an adverbial distribution is important for distinguishing between the verb phrase *I think (that)* and the adverbial discourse marker *I think*.

The focus of this study is the development of mental state predicates in relation to the grammaticalization-pragmaticalization interface. Corpus data of Mainland Scandinavian I THINK/BELIEVE is analyzed with regard to a set of grammaticalization and pragmaticalization criteria. It will be shown that Mainland Scandinavian I THINK/BELIEVE is in full development, which is reflected by its distributional variation, and that the reanalysis from verb phrase to speech-act adverbial is in its incipient stages. Moreover, it will be argued that grammaticalization and pragmaticalization have a great deal in common, but are also fundamentally different with respect to, inter alia, domain, function, and syntactic integration.

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### **Grammaticalization or pragmaticalization of discourse markers? More than a terminological issue**

Liesbeth Degand (University of Louvain, Louvain-la-Neuve)  
& Jacqueline Evers-Vermeul (Utrecht University)

Whether the diachronic evolution of discourse markers (DMs) should be accounted for in terms of grammaticalization and/or pragmaticalization is a question that has given rise to a number of diverging views (see e.g. Ocampo 2006, Degand & Simon-Vandenberg 2011). If we agree on the standard definition that grammaticalization is “the 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 2003: 18), we need to agree on what these grammatical functions are, and eventually on what constitutes grammar.

Two extremes can be distinguished: the “narrow” view vs. the “broad” view of grammaticalization. According to the former (e.g. Waltireit 2006), DMs are not an instance of grammaticalization because they do not comply to Lehmann’s (1995) grammaticalization parameters. This presupposes that these grammaticalization parameters are criterial in defining what is grammatical. According to the “broad” view (e.g. Diewald 2006, 2011), pragmatic functions are genuinely grammatical functions which are indispensable for the organization of spoken dialogic discourse, so the emergence of DMs should be viewed in terms of grammaticalization proper. Hence, the broadness of the view of grammaticalization seems to depend on the broadness of the definition of grammar. Yet, the picture becomes blurred when we consider a number of in-between positions. Erman and Kotsinas (1993), for instance, argue that some DMs undergo grammaticalization, while others do not. They see two possible paths: (i) from lexical item to grammatical marker to DM where

pragmaticalization presupposes grammaticalization; (ii) from lexical item directly into DM where pragmaticalization does not require an intermediate stage of grammaticalization. Thus, grammaticalization and pragmaticalization are two different processes, where pragmaticalization might in some cases take over from grammaticalization (see also Boye and Harder 2010).

Other views seem to consider pragmaticalization as a subprocess of grammaticalization (Dostie 2004, Wischer 2000), or extend the notion of grammaticalization to include DMs as less prototypical cases (Traugott 1995), the main argument being that this would “release us from the necessity of making a binary decision” whether particular cases should be included in the category of grammaticalization and “allow us to focus on the similarities with prototypical grammaticalization rather than on the differences” (Barth-Weingarten & Couper-Kuhlen 2002: 357).

In our view, the above theoretical debate seems to depend on several factors that can be formulated in terms of the following research questions:

- (1) Where do we draw the line between grammar and pragmatics?
- (2) How crucial are the different criteria proposed in the literature for prototypical cases of grammaticalization? Can we dismiss certain criteria as non-critical?
- (3) Is it the case that some DMs are instances of grammaticalization while others are not? Do we need to distinguish between formal types?

In this presentation, we investigate whether the different positions encountered in the literature can be brought back to diverging visions regarding the conceptualization of grammar, or whether other factors play a role. Per vision, we will try to distill the proponents’ view on grammar on the basis of the parameters, criteria or definitions given. This confrontation should help us answer the question whether grammaticalization and pragmaticalization are variants of a same process or different processes that are linguistically motivated.

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### **Pragmaticalization of demonstratives into discourse markers in Hungarian: is deaccentuation involved?**

Csilla Ilona Dér (Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church, Budapest)  
& Alexandra Markó (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest)

Demonstratives often evolve into discourse markers (DMs) in the world's languages (e. g. English *so*, *this*, Japanese *sono* 'so', *ano* 'such, so'), and are mostly treated as elements that go through deaccentuation during this process (cf. Diessel 1999: 109). Some authors claim that Hungarian demonstrative *ilyen* 'like; so; such' and *azért* 'therefore, but' can act like discourse particles, and in this case they are unstressed (Laczkó 2003: 323, Imrényi 2007). These statements are based on written corpora and intuitions: the detailed phonetic analysis of spoken material is still needed in Hungarian. This paper focuses mainly on the deaccentuation of four Hungarian DMs. Our main question is whether phonetic analysis confirms that demonstratives are stressed in their original functions, but not as DMs. Besides that we also investigate the frequency, the semantic and syntactic features of these elements in both functions.

**Material, method and participants:** Examples of *ilyen* 'like', *így* 'such; so; in this way', *azért* 'therefore; but; still' and *akkor* 'then' were analyzed in a series of experiments. The pronoun and DM occurrences (with their context) were manually selected from transcribed spontaneous speech (interviews and conversations from BEA database, 7 speakers). Afterwards, 10 other speakers were asked to read aloud the selected utterances. The prosody of the original (spontaneous) and the read (interpreted) utterances was acoustically analysed in terms of F<sub>0</sub>, intensity, time and pause related to the target word and its neighbouring context (Praat 5.1). On the basis of the acoustic results the types of realizations were defined, and the typical representatives of these types were tested in two perception experiments. In one of the perception experiments 6 phoneticians were asked to decide whether the target word is stressed or not. In the other perception experiment 12 university students of linguistics were asked to define the function of the target word in the given utterance (if it is a pronoun or a DM). The correlation between the stress and function judgements was analysed by Pearson's test (SPSS 15.0).

**Results:** The Pearson's correlation was significant for the occurrences altogether ( $r = 0.671$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ). The strongest correlation was defined in the case of *azért* and *így* ( $r = 0.885$ ,  $p < 0.01$ , and  $r = 0.814$ ,  $p < 0.01$ , respectively). The correlation was medium in the case of *ilyen* ( $r = 0.657$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ), and association was not documented in the case of *akkor* ( $r = 0.292$ ,  $p = 0.157$ ).

**Discussion:** The relationship between function and stress in the cases of DMs evolved from demonstratives was found to be variable. There was little agreement between the categorizations of the testers: the occurrences of *akkor* and *így* as being either a pronoun or a

DM were less differentiated than that of *ilyen* and *azért*, that can be a result of *akkor* and *így* being subjected to an active ongoing change in contemporary Hungarian.

The nature of these changes show that pragmaticalization can be interpreted as a type of grammaticalization, not only because of the deaccentuation process but also due to (1) the observed frequency of DMs under study, (2) the semantic changes (as DMs they express attitude or anticipate the subsequent element, like other grammatic elements, e. g. particles or modal expressions) or (3) their different syntactic properties (different word order, can't be in focus).

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### Constraining pragmaticalization: Paths of development from lexicon to discourse

Chiara Fedriani (University of Bergamo), Chiara Ghezzi (University of Bergamo / Pavia )  
& Piera Molinelli (University of Bergamo)

In this paper we investigate the development of a class of pragmatic markers (cfr. Ghezzi and Molinelli 2011) out of imperative verbs meaning “come” and “give” in Ancient Greek, Latin, and their development from Old to Modern Italian. Examples from Greek, Latin and Italian are given in examples (1) to (3):

(1) ἄγε τάμνετε

“come on, cut!” (Od. III.332)

(2) *Eia vero, age dic*

“aye, aye, of course - come, say on” (Plaut. Ep. 262)

(3) *dai / sbrigati //*

“come on, hurry up” (lit. *give<sub>IMP</sub> hurry up!*) [C-ORALROM ifamcv24]

When these elements are recruited at the level of pragmatics, they no longer act as verbs, but typically serve interactional and social purposes (Traugott 1995, Brinton 1996), having a phatic function: adding such elements to an exhortation, the speaker often softens the illocutionary force of the speech act by encouraging the addressee, thus mitigating the request. Therefore, these frozen verbs attenuate the directive content of the imperative and gradually acquire a pragmatic function. In particular, motion verbs have shown to be frequent sources of imperative constructions in many languages (Heine & Kuteva 2002; Aikhenvald 2010: 346ff., Mauri and Sansò 2011). Consider Latin *age* “come!”, which began to be used with another imperative verb pointing to an action implying a movement to be accomplished, as in (4) below, where *Sosia* is requested to move *in order to* look at the speaker:

(4) *Sosia, age me huc adspice*

“*Sosia*, come (and) look at me!” (Plaut. Am. 2, 2, 118)

Yet such pragmatic markers (PM) have been extensively described in traditional grammars as mere interjections (Poggi 1995, Norrick 2009, Culpeper and Kytö 2010.), i.e. forms at the

interface between semantics and pragmatics, being simultaneously lexemes and utterances (Wilkins 1995), totally opaque in meaning, void of any inflectional properties and, therefore, used in highly conventionalized and routinized contexts. However we argue that, differently from interjections such as *wow* and *uhm*, the lexical semantics of *ἄγε*, *age*, *va* and the like played a keystone role in triggering a metonymic process of extension also to non deictic contexts; this process progressively favored the development of an intersubjective function and, contextually, a processes of decategorialization, semantic bleaching, and freezing of form that led them to acquire the status of PMs.

Rather than contrastively comparing the notion of pragmaticalization with (partially) overlapping categories such as grammaticalization and discursivization (see e.g. the recent debate in Diewald 2011, Kaltenböck, Heine, and Kuteva 2011, Traugott 2010a and 2010b, Ocampo 2006), our main aim is to refine the broad label of pragmaticalization by constraining the concept and distinguishing between functionally neighboring, but different pathways of development, as illustrated below:



Through the analysis of Greek, Latin and Italian diachronic *corpora*, we intend to 1) compare, cross-linguistically and diachronically, contexts, processes and conditions fostering the gradualness of pragmaticalization; 2) show how PMs are different from both i) interjections and ii) discourse markers (Fraser 1999); 3) illustrate how these three classes can be oriented towards i) discourse cohesion (discourse markers), ii) social cohesion (pragmatic markers); iii) the expression of the speaker's subjectivity (interjections).

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## **Between truth and reality. About the pragmaticalization of *en realidad* and *en verdad* in Spanish**

Mónica González Manzano (Universitat de Barcelona)

In this paper we will deal with the historical evolution of two Spanish adverbial phrases, *en verdad* and *en realidad*, and we will show that it can be viewed as a pragmaticalization process.

In the beginning, both adverbial phrases usually co occur with motion verbs. In these cases, they express a metaphorical place, due to the semantics of *verdad* and *realidad*. That is to say, they designate the space of truth and authenticity, opposed to another metaphorical place, the one that corresponds to fiction and falseness.

At this first stage, the preposition *en* and the nouns *verdad* and *realidad* are a free combination, but later on they fossilize as adverbial phrases, and function as adverbs. Then they are used as Verbal Adverbs, modifying a verb and expressing notions of modality. Although it is true that they express an idea similar to 'in a truly, real manner', given the non-physical, abstract meaning of *verdad* and *realidad*, the modality that these adverbial phrases express is highly subjective. The fact that they do not express instrumental notions, but speakers' personal evaluations, facilitates its subsequent grammaticalization as discourse markers.

*En verdad* and *en realidad* soon expand its structural scope, and develop the possibility of taking under its scope not only a verb, but the whole sentence. With this function, we will define them as 'sentence adverbs'. We will see that this step is crucial, because it enables these phrases to work as autonomous items.

On the last step, *en verdad* and *en realidad* grammaticalize as discourse markers. Their meanings change from a modal one to a more discourse-oriented one. As discourse markers, *en realidad* and *en verdad* express the speaker's commitment with the sentence he or she is going to affirm, and, at the same time, expresses his or her intention of convincing the hearer. That is to say, these adverbial phrases pragmaticalize through a subjectification process.

We will also see how the semantic change associated to this grammaticalization process evolves. In the beginning, as free combinations of words, *en realidad* and *en verdad* confront one space, that of truth and reality, with another one, that of falseness. As Verbal Adverbs, and also as Sentence Adverbs, these phrases preserve this meaning. Thus, they reinforce the validity of the sentence they are introducing by comparing it, and confronting it, with another possible reasoning, that is refused because it is false. However, through time, speakers tend to stop expressing the false reasoning, and start using *en realidad* and *en verdad* as mere reinforcement. The confronting meaning, nonetheless, remains grammaticalized in these expressions. We will define this meaning change as a case of conventionalization of contextual inferences.

Lastly, we will show how important general invited inferences are. Although sharing very similar paths of pragmaticalization, *en realidad* and *en verdad* have not acquired the same contexts in modern Spanish. Whereas *en realidad* always preserves a counter-expectation

meaning, *en verdad* can present a confronting meaning, but also a more emphatic one, more similar to the Spanish adverb *verdaderamente*. This difference is originated by the different inferences that have been conventionalized in each case.

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### **What makes a discourse marker?**

Diana Lewis (University of Aix-Marseille)

This corpus-based study investigates whether expressions can be said to 'pragmatize' as they acquire discourse-marking functions. The terms 'grammaticalization' and 'pragmatization' are commonly used to refer to processes or paths of change, yet they are coined by reference to the nature of the end product or 'output' (Brinton & Traugott 2005:99): the grammatical item/affix or the pragmatic particle that emerges after a certain period of change. Neither term need apply felicitously to the shifts observable during that period of change. As Fischer argues, "[a]s a process, [grammaticalization] is ... a convenient summary but not something that has actually 'happened'" (2012:42). The same might be said of 'pragmatization'. The present study focuses on what actually happens to a particular lexeme in particular constructions up to and beyond the time the expression recognisably functions as a discourse marker. Mechanisms and motivations for specific developments can be inferred from usage patterns uncovered in corpus data. By detailed study of individual cases of change, differences and commonalities across developments can be identified that point to how best to draw generalizations.

A corpus-based quantitative study of the history of the English adverb *still* will be presented showing how the manner adverb evolved. Relative frequency (Mair 2004:138, Torres Cacoulios 2006:47) of contextual parameters (sequentiality, collocation, event type) is examined and certain contexts are seen to favour interpretations that lead eventually to a (partial) reanalysis of the construction containing the adverb as a discourse-marking construction, exemplified in (1).

(1) *Ouch. Still, you've got to respect anyone who'll copy and paste comments like that on to their own blog* (*The Guardian*, 2011)

This development will then be compared with descriptions from previous studies of the emergence of some other connectives, subordinators and discourse markers such as *yet, while, though, of course, surely, rather*.

It will be argued that no overall qualitative difference in the diachronic developments of these various items justifies the use of different labels, such as grammaticalization vs pragmatization, for the processes. Moreover, the semanticization of implicatures that can be traced through the diachronic studies represents a pragmatic > semantic shift in traditional terms, so that the term 'pragmatization' risks being misinterpreted. And it may be that examining the mechanisms of change in a 'forward-looking' perspective is more useful to a theory of internal language change than an approach that focuses on what may be 'origins' and 'outputs' when viewed retrospectively now, but which are ever evolving.

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## **The Swedish connective *så att* ‘so that’: from subordinator to discourse marker**

Gudrun Rawoens (Ghent University)

This study accounts for the synchronic profile and recent history of the Swedish connective *så att* ‘so that’. It is motivated by observations in Modern Swedish that this connective allows for a variety of syntactic patterns that differ from the ones traditionally associated with it and that also entail different semantics and particular pragmatic functions.

The consecutive sentence connective *så att* ‘so that’ is a complex conjunction composed of the adverb *så* ‘so’ and the connective *att* ‘that’ (SAG II:737). Although it is traditionally described as hypotactic (SAG II:733) as illustrated in (1)), it can also be found in more recent formations reflecting paratactic relations, as illustrated in (2) where the connective is followed by a main clause.

(1) Då är det bättre att försöka få folk att leva nyttigare *så att* de inte blir sjuka. [GP04 Språkbanken]  
‘In that case it is better to try to get people to live healthier so that they won’t become ill.’

(2) Är det att de tycker att min blogg är så ointressant *så att* de vill inte göra det eller vad är frågan om??? [Bloggmix Språkbanken]  
‘Is the fact that they find my blog so uninteresting so that they don’t want to do it or what is it all about???’

One aim of this study is to find evidence for the claim that there is a syntactic shift away from subordinator to coordinator (as has been noticed in conversational data by Lindström & Londen 2008).

A second aim, relating to the semantics and pragmatics of *så att*, is to find evidence for the fact that the multi-word connective is developing from a consecutive to a discourse marker. Evidence supporting this claim is not only found in some morphological variation of the connective (such as the occurrence of morphological and phonological reduced forms *så*, *att*, *satt* (cf SAG II:737, Lindström & Londen 2008), but also in the observation that *så att* is used with a highly salient discourse function, e.g. when occurring in sentence final positions.

Starting from empirical data combining written (newspaper texts) and semi-written (Bloggmix) corpus data taken from Språkbanken ‘The Language Bank’, it will be shown that the multi-word conjunction has become more of a non-compositional form and that the more recent developments witnessing of shifts in syntactic behaviour are accompanied by semantic and pragmatic shifts as well, to wit the shift from subjunction > conjunction > pragmatic marker.

The study is conducted in a Construction Grammar framework (e.g. Goldberg 1995, Fried & Östman 2004) and also draws on insights from studies on pragmaticalization (e.g. Diewald 2011).

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## **Relevance as Explanation for Morphosyntactic Rigidification versus Freedom in Grammaticalization and Pragmaticalization**

K. Aaron Smith (Illinois State University)

In the 1980s and 1990s, the development of discourse markers was largely seen to be part of the general process of grammaticalization based on the fact that discourse markers showed several of the same effects as developing morphosyntactic markers, viz. phonological reduction, divergence, recategorialization. However, discourse markers also challenged certain aspects of grammaticalization because as opposed to syntactic bondedness, their development resulted in relative syntactic freedom and in fact that apparent reversal of morphosyntactic development was heralded by some to be proof enough that the unidirectionality hypothesis expressed in the now-famous cline CONTENT ITEM > GRAMMATICAL WORD > CLITIC > INFLECTIONAL SUFFIX (Hopper and Traugott 2003: 7) was invalid. Consequently, some scholars concluded that grammaticalization was not a distinct diachronic process and did not deserve special theoretical status (see e.g. papers in Campbell 2001).

However, in more recent times the drawing of a distinction between grammaticalization and pragmaticalization has vivified the unidirectionality hypothesis, because in many of the cases in which linguistic material has “broken free” from its larger constructional context and has begun to appear on the borders of larger clause structures of an utterance, we observe that the material is developing not into a grammatical but a pragmatic formant, e.g. a discourse marker.

In this paper, I present evidence to suggest that grammaticalization and pragmaticalization are essentially the same phenomenon (or cluster of phenomena) and that the different formal effects concerning syntactic rigidification are due to the differences in the “relevance” of grammaticalizing versus pragmaticalizing material. Specifically, I elaborate Bybee’s (1985) relevance hypothesis to suggest that while grammaticalizing material affects the meaning of certain word classes within the syntax (e.g. tense and aspect markers on verbs, determiner markers on nouns), discourse markers “inflect” the entire utterance and thus tend to appear in positions abutting the clause (see too Traugott 2001). In conclusion I will argue that the notion of scope continues to be problematic for capturing what goes on in grammaticalization or pragmaticalization and that it is actually relevance that provides the better explanation for directionality in the development of grammatical/pragmatic material.

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## General session

### Old Irish *no·*

Anders Ahlqvist (University of Sydney)

The title offers no gloss to explain the meaning of Old Irish *no·*, *nu·*;<sup>1</sup> this follows from the fact that this pretonic preverbal particle is usually described as carrying no semantic load of its own. As Thurneysen (1946: §538) has explained, ‘it does not modify the meaning of the verb.’ In other words, its function is purely grammatical.

In Old Irish, it is found only together with simple verbs that are neither compound ones nor preceded by another conjunct particle (*ibid.* §§27–29; §38.2, §542). In these verbs, regardless of tense or mood, it comes before infixed pronouns and initial mutations marking a relative clause (*ibid.* §§409–427; §§493.1, 493.5). Furthermore, it normally precedes any form of such verbs, in the imperfect indicative, the past subjunctive and the conditional.

The paper will prove examples to illustrate these patterns of usage. It will also—having given details about other proposals—seek to provide evidence to show that *no·* ultimately derives from the same source as English *now*. It will also offer some tentative ideas about how language contact may have influenced the reshaping, in Old Irish, of lexical elements meaning ‘now’, and thus paved the way for *no·* being so very completely grammaticalised. Finally, some more theoretical conclusions will be drawn from the fact that *no·* fades away in Middle Irish.

<sup>1</sup>The spelling varies; to simplify matters, *no·* is on its own henceforth; the turned period ‘·’ after *no* indicates that a stressed element follows: see Thurneysen (1946, 25 §34) for further details.

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### The grammaticalization of a Korean ‘receive’-verb *badda*: A contrastive study with Japanese

Hyeryeon Ahn & Kaoru Horie (Nagoya University)

This paper reports on the grammaticalization of a Korean ‘receive’-verb *badda* as an auxiliary verb.

Benefaction is a functional domain which provides a rich source of grammaticalization pathways cross-linguistically (Song 1997). In Japanese and Korean, ‘give’-verbs are known to change into benefactive auxiliary verbs meaning ‘X does... *for* Y’, as illustrated in (1) and (2). *Kureru* (1b) in Japanese is cross-linguistically rather unique in that it encodes the act of someone’s giving (of things/favor) to the speaker/subject.

- (1) (a) Watasi-wa ootoo-ni maiban neru-maeni hon-o yonde age-ta.  
I-Top younger brother-Dat every evening sleep-before book-Acc read:Cont give-Pst  
‘I used to read a book *for* my younger brother every night.’  
(lit. ‘I gave my brother (a favor of) reading.’)
- (b) Haha-wa maiban neru-maeni hon-o yonde kure-ta.  
mother-Top every evening sleep-before book-Acc read:Cont give (me)-Pst  
‘Mother used to read a book *for* me every night.’

- (2) Na-neun dongsaeng-ege mae-il bam jagi jeon-e chaeg-eul *ilg-eo ju-eoss-da*.  
 I-Top younger brother-Dat every evening sleep before book-Acc read:Cont give-Pst-Mood  
 ‘I used to read a book *for* my younger brother every night.’

On the receiving end of benefaction, however, the grammaticalization of ‘receive’-verbs into auxiliary verbs meaning (‘Y does ... *for* X’) is less common. A previous study (Yamada 2004) shows Japanese to be one of the few languages where ‘receive’-verbs become grammaticalized to encode the speaker/subject’s reception of someone else’s action, e.g. *morau* (3). Yamada’s study finds that ‘receive’-verbs in Korean, i.e. *badda*, lack such auxiliary use (4).

- (3) Haha-ni maiban neru-maeni hon-o *yonde morat-ta*.  
 mother-Dat every morning sleep-before book-Acc read:Cont receive-Pst  
 ‘Mother used to read a book *for* me every night.’  
 (lit. ‘I received (a favor of) reading from mother.’)
- (4) \*Eomeoni-kke mae-il bam jagi jeon-e chaeg-eul *ilg-eo bad-ass-da*.  
 mother-Nom:Hon every evening sleep before book-Acc read:Cont receive-Pst-Mood  
 ‘Mother used to read a book *for* me every night.’

This study counters that the auxiliary use of *badda* (i.e. *-hae badda*) in Korean has been in existence in actual language use (5). Furthermore, our preliminary questionnaire survey with 14 Korean native speakers (aged 20-30) suggests that such auxiliary use is more likely to be accepted in spoken language. Actually, some *-hae badda* tokens are judged to be acceptable by the majority of speakers (6a), though other *-hae badda* combinations are disfavored (6b). This suggests that the grammaticalization of auxiliary *-hae badda*, unlike its Japanese counterpart *-te morau*, hasn’t yet been completed.

- (5) Gwahageongmil-yeonguso-e matgyeo hwagin-eul *hae bad-go sipda*.  
 precision Science institute-to entrust:CONJ confirmation-ACC do:CONJ receive-want  
 ‘I want to entrust the Science precision institute and *have* (it) *verified*.’ (2010.10.25, news)
- (6) (a) Geu os, neomu maeum-e an deul-eoseo gyeolgug *hwanbulhae bad-ass-eo*.  
 these clothes too much heart-to Neg enter-Conj finally refund:Conj receive-Pst-Pol  
 ‘These clothes hardly fit my taste, so finally I *had* (the money) *refunded* (*for me*).’
- (b) \*Goawon aideul-eun keuliseumaseu-e ileum moleul ajeossi-egeseo *seonmulhae bad-ass-da*.  
 orphanage children-Top Christmas-at anonymous gentleman-from give present:Conj  
 receive-Pst-Mood  
 ‘At an orphanage, Children *had* an anonymous gentleman *give presents* (*for them*) in Christmas.’

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## Core features of grammaticalization and lexical derivation

Giorgio Francesco Arcodia (University of Milano-Bicocca)

Grammaticalization as a phenomenon of language is defined by Hopper & Traugott as “the steps whereby particular items become more grammatical through time” (2003:2); textbook examples of grammaticalization, as the development of the Romance synthetic future (Latin *cantare habeo* ‘I have to sing’ > ‘I will sing’ > French *chanterai*), usually involve signs conveying ‘typical’ grammatical meaning, i.e. obligatory categories, inflection; Lehmann’s (1995) often-quoted *parameters of grammaticalization* employ notions as obligatorification (“transparadigmatic variability”), paradigmaticity (i.e. integration into a paradigm) and relational meaning.

What about ‘lexical derivation’ (Kuryłowicz 1936, Beard 1998), i.e. patterns of derivation which alter the lexical meaning (or word class) of the word they are applied to, as It. *-eria* in e.g. *gelateria* ‘ice cream parlour’ or *pizzeria* ‘pizza parlour’? One may claim that they do not qualify as grammaticalized items, since they are neither obligatory nor organised in paradigms; also, the meanings which may be expressed by derivation are virtually unlimited (Bauer 2002), whereas grammatical categories belong to a closed, cross-linguistically defined set. One logical alternative would be to analyse the rise of derivational morphemes as lexicalization: however, as highlighted by Himmelmann (2004:37-8), lexicalization involves the conventionalisation of a “specific string of items”, whereas in grammaticalization “the process of conventionalization applies to an expression pattern consisting of at least one fixed item [...] and a growing class of items which enter into this construction”; the latter, rather than the former, applies to the evolution of a lexical morpheme into a derivational affix. Unsurprisingly, the processes under examination here have been classified by some as grammaticalization and by some other as lexicalization, sometimes with inconsistencies in the treatment (see Himmelmann 2004:24, Brinton & Traugott 2005:64; see also Booij 2010a:99).

The real issue, as suggested by Himmelmann (2004:24), is whether the emergence of derivational formatives resembles more prototypical grammaticalization or prototypical lexicalization. In this talk, we shall argue that the semantic processes involved in the evolution of a lexeme into a derivational affix are not fundamentally different from the mechanisms of generalization, abstraction, metonymy and metaphor which are most often invoked in the literature on grammaticalization (see e.g. Heine, Claudi & Hünnemeyer 1991, Hopper & Traugott 2003); we shall illustrate our proposal with historical data on derivational suffixes from Germanic languages (O. H. Germ. *heit* ‘nature, characteristic, person’ > Germ. *-heit* ‘-hood, -ness’, Lightfoot 2005; Dutch *boer* ‘farmer’ > *-boer* ‘seller of X’, Booij 2010b), from Mandarin (性 *xìng* ‘nature, inherent property’ > *-性* *-xìng* ‘the property of X’; Arcodia 2011) and from Ewe (*vi* ‘child’ > *vi* ‘human derivational affix’ Heine, Claudi & Hünnemeyer 1991). We will also propose that the above mentioned processes of semantic change constitute the ‘core’ of grammaticalization, whereas, as suggested by Norde (2009:47), the increased morphological bonding and phonetic reduction often involved in the evolution of lexemes into derivational formatives, which are regarded by many as necessary correlates of grammaticalization (Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994, Fischer & Rosenbach 2000), rather represent a distinct, secondary phenomenon (see Traugott’s definition of ‘secondary grammaticalization’, 2002:27).

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### **Grammaticalization *with* coevolution of form and meaning in East Asia? the coding of perfective aspect in Sinitic**

Giorgio Francesco Arcodia (University of Milano-Bicocca)

Sinitic languages are typically classified as isolating (Norman 1988, LaPolla 2003); as to Standard Mandarin, it is often assumed that grammaticalization processes are strongly constrained by its typological features (Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994, Wu 2005). Thus, "primary grammaticalization", i.e. "[t]he development in specific morphosyntactic contexts of constructions and lexical categories into functional categories" in isolating languages, like Mandarin, should not be followed by "secondary grammaticalization", i.e. the "development of morphophonemic 'texture'", namely increased morphological bonding/fusion, phonetic erosion, semantic bleaching (Traugott 2002:26-27). Moreover, Bisang (1996, 2004) proposes that the lack of "coevolution of meaning and form" in grammaticalization is an areal feature of the languages of East and mainland Southeast Asia, including Sinitic languages, in which "even highly grammaticalized items tend to preserve their phonological shape" (Bisang 1996:520).

In our talk, we shall show that there are many counterexamples to such an areal restriction, which, as far as Sinitic languages are concerned, are usually based on data from Standard Mandarin Chinese. There is actually a growing body of research on phenomena of phonetic erosion and fusion of grammaticalized morphs in the so-called 'Chinese dialects', i.e. Sinitic languages other than the national standard (see Yue 2003, Ansaldo & Lim 2004). Thus, for instance, whereas in Standard Mandarin the marker 了 *le* (< *liao* 'to finish'; Sun C. 1996) is added to verbs to indicate perfective aspect, in the Xunxian dialect (Central Plains

Mandarin subgroup; Xin 2006b) this is conveyed by change in the rhyme of the verb (exx. adapted from Xin 2006a:47; our emphasis, superscript numbers indicate tonal height): t'a<sup>55</sup> mai<sup>55</sup> i<sup>42</sup> tein<sup>24</sup> ian<sup>42</sup> 's/he is buying / will buy ½ kg. of salt' vs. t'a<sup>55</sup> mɛ̃<sup>55</sup> i<sup>42</sup> tein<sup>24</sup> ian<sup>42</sup> 's/he bought ½ kg. of salt'.

This is termed 'rhyme change' (變韻 *biànyùn*) in the Chinese linguistic tradition, and is said to originate from the fusion of a marker with the verb root; here, a particle cognate to 了 *le* (Xin 2006b, Chen 2007, Zhang 2010). In other dialects, a 'schwa suffix' [ə] is used in the same function (e.g. Boshan; Qian 1993), and in yet others perfective aspect is marked by tone change (Xi'an; Sun L. 2007) or by other suprasegmental features (Pingdu; Yu 1992), by a combination of the above, or by zero. It has been suggested that these are the formal correlates of the degree of grammaticalization of a form (Jiang 1999) and/or changes conditioned by the context in which such grammaticalized signs are found (Chen 2007); basing on data from Mandarin and Jin dialects, we shall rather argue that although the evolution on the formal level is triggered by (primary) grammaticalization, it may be carried on independently of the degree of grammaticalization of the sign and of the context, sometimes bringing about semantic ambiguity. We interpret this as evidence both of the relative independence of secondary and primary grammaticalization, and of the importance of evidence from non-standardised language varieties (Lass 2000, Traugott 2002) to assess claims such as that put forth by Bisang.

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### **Iconicity and grammaticalization in 14<sup>th</sup>-century Florentine double object clitic clusters**

Janice Aski (Ohio State University) & Cinzia Russi (University of Texas at Austin)

In 13<sup>th</sup>-century Florentine, clusters involving 3<sup>rd</sup> person accusative (ACC) and 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> singular/plural dative (DAT) clitic pronouns had a fixed order: the ACC clitic always preceded the DAT (e.g., *lo mi desti* ‘you gave it to me’). In 14<sup>th</sup>-century, however, the DAT-ACC order emerged (*me lo desti*), in alternation to the ACC-DAT.

Pescarini (2011, pc) suggests that the alternation was triggered by analogy to the morphological structure of the language: by placing the ACC clitic in final position, the morpheme marking gender and number occupies the same position as in nouns, adjectives and verbs. Aski & Russi (2010, 2011) argue that this alternation was eventually governed by discourse pragmatics: the DAT-ACC order was triggered primarily by sentence topicality (Myhill 1992) and degree of affectedness of the referent of the DAT clitic, while the ACC-DAT order was controlled by the discourse saliency (Givón 1988, 1995) of the referent of the ACC clitic.

This study investigates the demise of the alternation between the two orders in favor of the DAT-ACC. Following Aski & Russi’s (2010, 2011) claim that the alternation was pressed into service as a reflection of sentence and discourse pragmatics, we relate this pragmatically iconic alternation to the grammaticalization process that affected clitic clusters. Recent studies (e.g., Traugott & Dasher 2002; Traugott 2003; also Sweetser 1990) reevaluate the standard assumption that grammaticalization involves essentially loss of meaning, showing that semantic gains are possible. Specifically, new pragmatic meanings/functions may arise during the initial stages of grammaticalization, which originate from the speaker’s desire to seek more expressive linguistic forms (Traugott 1982, 1988, 1989; Sweetser 1988; also Hopper & Thompson 1994). We thus argue that the situation of Florentine in the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century reflects a stage in the grammaticalization of clitic pronouns when pragmatic iconicity played a crucial role in determining the order of clitics.

We then link the disappearance of the pragmatically constrained alternation to another form of iconicity. Several studies identify (syntactic and/or semantic) iconicity as a primary factor driving the shift to the DAT-ACC order (Antinucci & Marcantonio 1980; DeKock 1985; Galambos 1985; Pearce 1991; Maiden 1995; Russi 2008), suggesting that clitic order is iconic of the VP constituent structure. Aski & Russi (2010) highlight another form of structural iconicity that may have contributed to the fixation of DAT-ACC: in causative constructions and in constructions involving *convenire* ‘to suit’ and *parere* ‘to seem’ + infinitive, DAT-ACC is the preferred order in Florentine. In the first two contexts, the order is structurally iconic since the DAT clitic, which appears first in the cluster, is an argument of the first (and second) verb, while the ACC clitic, which appears second, is the argument of the second verb (the infinitive); in the third context, although the DAT does not have a dual role, it is the experiencer of the main verb *parere*, and the ACC is the patient of the infinitive.

This extension of Aski and Russi’s (2010) pragmatics-based analysis to a larger corpus of 14<sup>th</sup>-century Florentine texts confirms a strong correlation between structural iconicity and the DAT-ACC order, which leads us to conclude that in Florentine, the fixation of the DAT-ACC order was due to a shift from pragmatic iconicity to structural iconicity.

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## **Grammaticalization and evolutionary optimization: a mathematical approach**

Andreas Baumann (University of Vienna)

The paper investigates whether grammaticalization can be formally modeled as an evolutionary optimization process applying to words. In the past two decades, mathematical approaches to language change have become increasingly relevant (e.g. Nowak et. al. 2002, Yang 2000). On the basis of such an approach, I will use the framework of *evolutionary invasion analysis* (see Metz et. al. 2008) to investigate the diachronic behavior of words with respect to their degree of grammaticalization.

Nowak (2000) proposed a model of the population dynamics of lexica and derived a condition for the spread of new words in a population of speakers: in order to become stably established in a population of speakers, a word has to be used frequently by each speaker and needs to be easily memorized. Hence, according to this simplified model, the stable

establishment of a word in a population of speakers presumably depends on two parameters: frequency and learnability.

In this paper, a tradeoff between these two parameters is introduced: it is assumed that the probability that a specific word is uttered and the probability that it is memorized depend on each other. This tradeoff reflects the degree of grammaticalization of a word: less grammaticalized (i.e. lexical, semantically specific, and phonologically elaborate) words are easy to be memorized but not so frequently used, while more grammaticalized (i.e. functional, semantically vague, and phonologically reduced) words are harder to memorize but very frequently used. This roughly coincides with results from language acquisition research, as given for instance in Hoff (2002). Hence, the spread and the stable establishment of words in a population of speakers depend on the degree of grammaticalization, but in a complex way.

Whenever the grammatical status of a word is reanalyzed, the spread of the reanalyzed variant in the speaker population will depend on the combined effects of its frequency and its learnability. The model predicts that there exists an optimal degree of grammaticalization (a so-called *evolutionarily stable strategy*) towards which all words are attracted.

This has two important implications: first, variants that are extremely grammaticalized will vanish, since they become effectively unlearnable. Second, given that new words almost always enter the lexicon as lexical open-class words, the evolutionary development of the degree of grammaticalization is largely unidirectional. Both implications are in accordance with empirical observations (e.g. Heine and Kuteva 2007), which suggests that the model deserves to be investigated further.

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### **Looking up and down the cline again: degrammaticalization of Galician *aquelar* and *aquelado(s)/a(s)*?**

Zeltia Blanco-Suárez (University of Santiago de Compostela)

The Unidirectionality Hypothesis, the ‘very cornerstone of grammaticalization’ (cf. Norde 2001: 231), has centred a much heated debate about its uncontested directionality. Many studies have been blooming on the topic since Lehmann (1982) had claimed that there are no cogent counterexamples to the unidirectionality principle. Since then, scholars have put forward different examples which appear to demonstrate the actual existence of degrammaticalization (cf., among others, Burridge 1998; Kim 2001; Norde 2001 and 2009, and van der Auwera 2002). Others, by contrast, have argued that most of the alleged cases of degrammaticalization in the literature can be redefined as instances of a different

phenomenon, namely lexicalization (cf. Haspelmath 1999; Traugott 2001, and Brinton and Traugott 2005).

This paper also approaches the directionality cline, and presents a case study which, on the surface, runs in the opposite direction of grammaticalization. More specifically, it tackles the emergence of the Galician verb *aquelear* ('repair', 'manage to', 'fetch something') and the participial adjective *aquelado(s)/a(s)* ('upset', 'broken'), both derived from the demonstrative pronoun *aquel* ('that'). The earliest records of *aquelear* and *aquelado(s)/a(s)* go back to the 19<sup>th</sup> century, as shown in (1) and (2) below:

- (1) *Está aquelado, que lle rompeu unha roda.*  
 be-PRS.3SG upset-PTCP.M.SG. that he-DAT.SG break-PST.3SG INDF.ART.F.SG wheel-SG  
 'He is upset, because a wheel got broken'.  
 (1820. *TILG*, s.v. *aquelear*).
- (2) *Son favores que non merezo, pois xa sei que non nacín pra xastre, e gracias si me vou aquelando pra botar unha puntada.*  
 be-PRS.3PL favour-PL that NEG deserve-PRS.1SG. since already know-PRS.1SG. that  
 NEG be born-PST.1SG. for tailor-SG and thank.PL if I-DAT.SG go-PRS.1SG.  
 manage-PRS.PTCP to put-INF INDF.ART.F.SG. stitch-SG  
 'I do not deserve those favours, since I already know that I was not born to become a tailor, and thanks if I even manage to put a stitch'.  
 (1884. *TILG*, s.v. *aquelear*).

These forms are highly idiosyncratic, in that they appear to have no parallel in other Romance languages, and they have a wide range of meanings in modern Galician. Galician *aquelear* and *aquelado(s)/a(s)* have generally been discussed in the grammars as a popular use within the demonstrative paradigm (cf. Freixeiro-Mato 2000, and Álvarez-Blanco 2002), but so far they have not been examined from a diachronic and grammaticalization perspective. Therefore, I aim at presenting a diachronic overview of how these forms have come into use in modern Galician. Furthermore, a historical analysis of these forms will eventually allow me to determine whether *aquelear* and *aquelado(s)/a(s)* are best understood as actual cases of degrammaticalization or, conversely, they rather evince lexicalization.

Data for the present paper will be drawn from the *Tesouro Informatizado da Lingua Galega (TILG)*. This corpus, compiled at the *Instituto da Lingua Galega (ILG)* from the University of Santiago de Compostela, contains written texts from different genres, as well as oral transcripts, from 1612 to 2004.

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### **Directional deixis and person deixis: on a few grammaticalization pathways**

Philippe Bourdin (York University, Toronto and Université Paris X)

When looking at the grammaticalization of ventive and itive markers typologists have tended to focus on pathways involving the metonymous and/or metaphorical links between directional deixis and time deixis. Less attention has been paid to the links between directional deixis (DD) and person deixis (PD).

The ventive suffix of Lango (Nilo-Saharan) and the ventive particle of Kabyle (Afro-Asiatic, Berber) can substitute for pronominal markers when the speaker is Beneficiary or Recipient. By the same "Lango/Kabyle logic," one would expect ventive markers to evolve naturally into markers of 1<sup>st</sup> and/or 2<sup>nd</sup> person in indirect or direct object function. This development is attested in languages as diverse as Taiof (Austronesian, Oceanic), Shasta (Hokan) and Mohawk and Cayuga (Iroquoian), with a dividing line either between 1<sup>st</sup> person and 2<sup>nd</sup> person or between speech-act participants and 3<sup>rd</sup> person. In all the instances of grammaticalization reviewed here, except possibly for Akkadian (Afro-Asiatic), DD markers have developed into PD markers, not the other way round: this is in keeping with the reality that PD tends to be more deeply embedded than DD in the grammatical fabric of languages. More difficult to explain is why this grammaticalization pathway is not as frequently travelled as might be expected: thus, the interpretation of ventive *mai* as a makeshift 1<sup>st</sup> person marker in many Oceanic languages is almost invariably a pragmatic inference unaccompanied by morphosyntactic reanalysis or phonological erosion.

Ventives are far more susceptible to reanalysis as PD markers than itives. Arguably, this is because crosslinguistically they exhibit greater deictic strength than itives. Gidar (Afro-Asiatic, Chadic) cannot really be invoked as a counter-example because the motivation at play is somewhat idiosyncratic.

The Lango/Kabyle logic has triggered a more extensive reshuffling of the cards in Sahaptian and Nez Percé (Penutian), where deictic directionals suffixed on verbs have undergone further grammaticalization into transitivity markers suffixed on nouns. At play here is the ability of ventives to act as inverse markers: this may be observed, with or without grammaticalization, in languages as diverse as Chin (Tibeto-Burman), Adyghe and Ubykh (North Caucasian), Japanese, and Gaagudju (Australian).

The final part of the paper explores two grammaticalization pathways which, though seemingly totally unrelated, are shown to be both ultimately grounded in special ways of linking DD and PD. What is involved are processes of cognitive mapping that are more abstract, however, than the Lango/Kabyle logic.

The first pathway is attested in a very small number of languages, e.g. Mohave (Hokan) and Supyire (Niger-Congo, Gur), where deictic directionals have been the source of switch-reference markers.

The second pathway is pervasive across several branches of Indo-European, notably in Indo-Iranian: for reasons that have never been satisfactorily explained, verbs of ‘coming’ and/or ‘going’ are known to be a major source of passive auxiliaries. Crucial pieces of the puzzle are arguably the decoupling, intrinsic to passive voice, of Agent and Topic, the abstract oriented *kinesis* that ensues and whether the speaker identifies with Agent or Topic.

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### **Grammaticalisation in Dynamic Syntax**

Miriam Bouzouita (Queen Mary, University of London / University of Cambridge)

In this paper, we shall discuss different clitic phenomena within the Dynamic Syntax framework (Kempson et al. 2001, Cann et al. 2005): the variation between the analytic and synthetic futures and the historic development of Spanish clitic placement from the 13<sup>th</sup> till the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Bouzouita 2008a, 2008b, 2011).

Generally speaking, two kinds of theoretical explanations can be found in the literature for the diachrony and synchrony of Spanish clitic placement: the formalist explanations (e.g. Martins 2005; Fontana 1993) and the functionalist ones (e.g. Nieuwenhuijsen 2006). Whereas the former approach concentrates on the changes in the grammar as they are regarded to be the source of any morpho-syntactic change, the latter focuses on language in use in order to determine how this leads to language change. Despite these two theoretical schools not being internally homogeneous, the formal generativist model can thus be regarded as a top-down approach whereas the functional grammaticalisation framework employs a bottom-up methodology (Fischer 2006). In this paper, we shall argue that the two approaches need to be combined in order to obtain a more complete understanding of morpho-syntactic change. More specifically, we shall show that the synchronic and diachronic facts presented by the Spanish clitic phenomena should be explained within a model that brings together grammatical knowledge and real-time structure building, such as for instance the Dynamic Syntax framework, which is a grammar formalism that tries to reflect the dynamics of the parsing/production process with syntax defined as the incremental growth of semantic trees following the time-linearity of utterance production.

We shall show that for the morpho-syntactic phenomena under discussion a processing explanation seems more apposite than an account in purely formal theoretical terms as processing/performance factors play an important role in both the diachrony and the synchrony of Spanish clitic placement. To be more precise, processing strategies i.e., the different ways of building up semantic content are shown to contribute not only to syntactic intra-speaker variation but also to syntactic change. Another important performance factor in the various syntactic changes is ‘routinisation’ i.e., the cognitive process whereby expressions get fixed to a relatively great extent in order to create a processing short-cut (Pickering & Garrod 2004). In this formal account, ‘routinisation’ is modelled as the process whereby the building of semantic structure of the clitic, which in Latin seems to have been carried out by pragmatics, becomes calcified/incorporated in the lexical entry of the clitic, presumably due to frequency effects. Subsequent changes in clitic placement are modelled as the loss/simplification of instructions in the lexical entry of the clitic. In other words, this analysis represents the grammaticalisation process of the clitic pronoun as the incorporation in the lexicon of syntactic representations and subsequent lexical change, as such reversing the traditional view of grammaticalisation, according to which elements or constructions move away from the lexis towards the grammar.

In view of all the previous, this approach raises interesting questions about the grammaticalisation and its relation to lexicalisation.

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### **The development of discourse deixis: intersubjectification or grammaticalization?**

Tine Breban (the Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung, KU Leuven and FU Berlin)

Traugott (2003) introduces intersubjectification as complementary process to subjectification, focusing on processes whereby "meanings over time come to encode S/W's attention to the 'self' of the AD/R in both an epistemic and social sense" (Traugott 2003: 130). Intersubjectification results in new semanticized meanings indexing the speaker's attention to the addressee's self-image, e.g. euphemisms, politeness, expletives (Traugott 2010: 32-33). Recently, several authors (e.g. Carlier and De Mulder 2010, Ghesquière 2011, Narrog 2012) have commented that this view of intersubjectivity and intersubjectification is very narrow. With reference to Fillmore (1997), Breban (2010) suggested that Traugott's definition restricts intersubjectivity to expressions of "social deixis" at the exclusion of "discourse deixis", i.e. expressions that refer to the speaker and addressee as deictic centre in the discourse.

The aim of this paper is to examine whether it might be instructive to extend the definition of intersubjectivity/intersubjectification to include (the development of) expressions of discourse deixis and which problems might arise if we do so. The investigation is based on a corpus study of the semantic development of two prime discourse deictic elements, the adnominal demonstratives *that* and *this* in Late Middle English (1300-1600) using data from the Middle English Grammar Corpus. After the split of Old English *se* into *the* and *that*, the more deictic meanings were proposed to be transferred to demonstrative *that* (McColl Millar 2000, Rissanen 1999). Middle English *this* is typically qualified as the proximal counterpart of *that* (Fischer 1992). The new corpus study reveals that both *that* and *this* undergo semantic shifts in Middle English. In the 14th century, *that* is mainly used to express deictic relations to past-future events (and the referents involved in them), whereas *this* is mostly used to refer

to the current time or the current text. *That* has a second usage as marker of topic status of the referent (see Diessel 1999). By the beginning of the 16th century, main usage of *that* has shifted to the expression of anaphoric relations between discourse referents. *This* typically indicates the resumption of a topical referent. *That* and *this* hence have three types of meanings: deictic ones, which depend on the deictic centre for their interpretation (they have a deictic origo (Diewald 2010)); textual-cohesive meanings, with a transferred origo (Diewald 2010); and discourse-pragmatic meanings dealing with relative importance of referents. The synchronic question this raises is whether all meanings are intersubjective. The meanings that need the deictic centre for their interpretation, are clear candidates to be labeled "intersubjective" in a discourse-deictic sense. The latter two meanings are clearly grammatical ones, but is it advisable to extend intersubjectivity to include them? Different answers to the synchronic question will lead to different interpretations of the shifts from deictic to textual-cohesive and discourse-pragmatic meanings: do they instantiate further intersubjectification or just grammaticalization? In the latter case, the shifts illustrate that discourse-deictic intersubjective meanings can be input for grammaticalization towards textual meanings. A similar path has been suggested by Narrog (2012) for connectives and Traugott (2012) for turn-takers developing from social-deictic intersubjective items.

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## The development of mirative *no wonder*-constructions

Lieselotte Brems, Kristin Davidse, Lennart Matthijs & An Van linden (University of Leuven)

In this paper we are concerned with the development of grammaticalized uses of expressions with *no wonder*, which qualify propositions miratively (Chafe 1986) as being very ‘unsurprising’. As is the case with other negation + noun-strings, *no wonder* occurs in Present-Day English in comment clauses (Brinton 2008) and adverbials. The clauses can take complementizers *that, why, if* as in (1).

(1) Just think of all the vested interests in competitions. *It's no wonder that/ why /if* scandal so often clouds sport.

The adverbials can qualify clauses they have structurally in their scope (2), but they can also qualify propositions that are ‘presupposed’ by clausal ellipsis (Halliday & Hasan 1976: 216), and on which subordinate clauses depend that explain why the proposition is unsurprising (3).

(2) The relatives were very annoyed, *no wonder*, and it caused friction in the family. (WB)

(3) That Martin Hobbs is a bundle of nerves. And *no wonder* [presupposed ‘he is a bundle of nerves’] with the life he's led. (WB)

Much of this variation, which we will systematically describe on the basis of a 500 token sample from *WordbanksOnline*, seems motivated by the cohesive and argumentative relations *no wonder* construes and which often have both backward and forward pointing dimensions.

With regard to their diachronic development, we start from the hypothesis that the clausal and adverbial expressions resulted from largely distinct paths, with the adverbials not necessarily deriving via ellipsis from the clausal constructions. (Such distinct paths were also found for the development of clausal and adverbial qualifiers with *no question* by Davidse & De Wolf forthc.)

A preliminary look at data from the OED and historical corpora reveals that subjectless matrices such as *(no) wonder is* and ‘extraposition’ constructions with matrices like *it is no/ not any/ small/ a/ great wonder* are attested from the early 11th century on. On the basis of exhaustive extractions from the Helsinki corpus and the Corpus of Late Modern English, we will reconstruct how the positive and negative polarity values of these matrices developed and crystallized, as well as their different complementizers (*that, if, though, why*). The emergence of parenthetical comment clause will also be traced. We expect a history of multiple local changes, extensions but also disappearances (e.g. of complementizer *though*). Adverbial uses appeared at the beginning of the 15th c. In contrast with the clausal structures, adverbial uses are found with negative polarity value only, which can be expressed by *no/ small/ little* or *what*:

(4) And others (harder still) he paid in kind. Dryden alone (*what wonder?*) came not nigh (CLMETEV, 1710-1780)

Our hypothesis is that the adverbials emerged mainly via analogy with the set of adverbials instantiating the schema negation + noun, which were already entrenched in Early Modern English. These included the French loan *saunz doute, no doubt, without doubt, out of doubt* and *no way*.

If these hypotheses are confirmed, the motivation behind the different development of comment clauses and adverbials might lie in the more intricate and more ‘persistent’ (Breban 2009) grammatical relations defining a complex sentence as source construction. By contrast, the schematic structure of an adverbial modifying a clause can more readily be adopted by a functionally suitable unit. While the adverbials do not appear to derive directly from the clausal structures by ellipsis, more indirect semantic and pragmatic interactions between the two can be assumed.

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## Licensing Conditions of Negative Polarity Items Vary in Different Stages: A Case Study of Mandarin Chinese Minimizers

I-Hsuan Chen (University of California, Berkeley)

Linguists have dealt with how Negative Polarity Items (NPIs) are licensed from different perspectives. Klima (1964) and Progovac (1994) propose that NPIs are c-commanded by a negation operator to get syntactically licensed. Ladusaw (1997) and Giannakidou (2011) define the semantic environments where NPIs can be sanctioned. Previous works show that it is difficult to find a unified generalization to capture the licensing requirement. This study of Mandarin Chinese minimizer NPIs will show that grammaticalization is involved in defining how NPIs are licensed, providing an answer to the question why licensing conditions are hard to define.

The requirements of the licensing conditions are different for NPIs belonging to different stages of development. Mandarin minimizers show that negation alone is a necessary condition but not always sufficient. Other determinants, focus and the syntactic positions of NPIs, also play important roles.

The minimizers discussed here include *si-hao* ‘shred-down’, *yi-dian* ‘one dot’, and *ban-dian* ‘half a dot’. When used as adjectives, *si-hao* ‘shred-down’ and *ban-dian* ‘half a dot’ occur exclusively in negative contexts, while *yi-dian* ‘one dot’ only tends to appear in negative contexts. *Si-hao* ‘shred-down’ and *ban-dian* ‘half a dot’ can be regarded as canonical NPIs, while *yi-dian* ‘one dot’ is not a full-blown NPI yet. The minimizer NPIs are classified as strict NPIs because they cannot occur without negation. Their licensing by negation is mediated via syntax. As adjectives, the minimizers are used to modify noun phrases. The negator c-commands the NPI, as shown in (1a), where the NPI concerned is bracketed. In (1b), the NPI phrase is fronted due to the focus marker, *dou* ‘all’.

- (1) a. ta *mei* you [*ban-dian* chengyi]  
he NEG(ATION) have half-dot sincerity  
‘He doesn’t have any sincerity.’  
b. ta [*ban-dian* chengyi] *dou mei* you  
he half-dot sincerity all NEG have  
‘He doesn’t even have any sincerity.’

The fronting is optional for fully-developed NPIs, but not for other NPIs, as in (2). Syntactic positions matter in licensing the developing NPIs.

- (2) tamen *dou mei* you [*\*ban-dian/yi-dian* qian]  
they all NEG have half-dot/one-dot money  
‘They have no money at all.’

As adverbials, *yi-dian* ‘one dot’ cannot appear without the focus marker, but fully-developed NPIs have no such restriction, as shown in (3).

- (3) a. *yi-dian* \*(dou) **bu** kunnan  
one-dot all NEG difficult  
‘It is not difficult at all.’  
b. ta *si-hao* **bu** chongdong  
he shred-down NEG impetuous  
‘He is not impetuous at all.’

Mandarin NPIs are dispersed over the path of grammaticalization. Some are fully developed, while others are not. Thus, their licensing requirements vary from one another. The NPIs which are not full-fledged yet require more conditions to be licensed. For instance, they have to occur with both negators and focus markers. The Mandarin minimizer NPIs show that the licensing of NPIs is determined by the interaction between several conditions. Results from a corpus study will be shown to tease out how grammaticalization affects NPI sanctioning. This case study paints a broad picture of how relevant licensing elements interact with NPIs at different stages of development.

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### **Contact-induced grammaticalization and discourse traditions.**

#### **The case of ‘promise’ and ‘threaten’**

Bert Cornillie (University of Leuven)

The verbs ‘promise’ and ‘threaten’ combine lexical and grammaticalized uses in many European languages, e.g. German, English, French, Dutch or Spanish, (cf. Traugott 1997, Verhagen 2000, Diewald & Smirnova 2010, Heine & Kuteva 2006, Vliegen 2006, Cornillie 2007). The grammaticalized uses of ‘promise’ and ‘threaten’ have undergone a process of auxiliatization, involving decategorialization and subjectification. The subjective uses express that the speaker has some evidence to suggest that it is likely that something (un)desirable will happen, whereas the lexical uses express a promise or a threat to some kind of participant.

Since the geographic diffusion of these constructions is limited to the languages of Europe, it begs the question whether the linguistic changes that these verbs underwent are externally induced (via language contact) or whether they are the result of a (shared) internal development. The above-mentioned languages all have lexical and grammaticalized uses, which suggests that the new uses are instances of functional borrowing rather than formal borrowing. Yet, the very fact that the lexical uses of ‘promise’ and ‘threaten’ were attested several centuries before the subjective ones may be considered evidence for a path of shared grammaticalization without borrowing, i.e. as an internal development in the respective languages.

Yet, Heine & Kuteva (2006:94) argue that grammaticalization in itself does not provide a comprehensive explanation of the presence of these verbs in many different European languages and attribute its timing (15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries), its diffusion (the geographically contiguous area of western Europe) and its exclusivity (no examples in languages in other parts of the world) to French influence. However, their account does not detail the contact between French and the other languages.

Elaborating on Heine & Kuteva's (2006) analysis, my paper will refine the external factors that they proposed and determine the pace of the internal changes for several languages, with a focus on Spanish, Dutch and English. The main claims will be that language contact leads to the functional borrowing of the new subjective use and that the pace of the extension of the construction depends on the specific discourse traditions in which the new constructions showed up most frequently (Kabatek 2008, Pons Rodríguez 2010).

On the basis of new empirical data of Spanish and Dutch 'threaten' in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> century, I will show that translations play a key role, not so much because of direct borrowings, but in terms of a creative process of using different constructions enhancing the syntactic productivity of the verb. The first Spanish subjective 'threaten' construction with an infinitival complement is found in the Spanish translation of Bartolomeus Anglicus's widely known medieval encyclopedia *De proprietatibus rerum*, which was published in 1494 in Toulouse (France). Interestingly, the subjective 'threaten' construction does not show up in the French (1372) nor in the Latin (1240) version. Moreover, several other examples come from Castilian texts written in Aragon, which was in close contact with France.

Thus, the proposed contact-linguistic account revisits previous cognitive-pragmatic accounts of the different historical evolution of 'promise' and 'threaten' (Verhagen 2000; Cornillie 2007).

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**The Grammaticalization of Pashto Light Verbs**  
Anne David & Sarah Goodman (University of Maryland)

This paper investigates contracted light verb constructions (LVCs) in Pashto, which violate Butt’s (2003) assertion that light verbs do not “enter the grammaticalization cline,” but instead remain “form-identical to a main verb.” In the continuous aspect only, the initial consonant of the light verb in some LVCs is deleted, leaving a bound verbalizer on its complement, as detailed below. We propose that this apparent change in progress (or arrested change) parallels an earlier, completed change in the language that yielded numerous modern Pashto intransitive verb forms from grammaticalized light verbs, a process that also would have been a violation of Butt’s stricture.

Like many languages of South and Central Asia, Pashto has a robust system of LVCs. They follow the pattern Noun/Adjective + Verb, where the verbal component is a form of either /kedól/ ‘become’ (intransitives) or /kawól/ ‘make; do’ (transitives). But in contrast with LVCs of those other languages, some LVs in Pashto have partially fused with their complement. As shown in the table below, initial /k/ deletes: /kedól/ → /-edól/, and /kawól/ → /-awól/; furthermore, nothing may intervene between the complement and the fused verbal element.

	Complement	LVC	Tense	1 SG Continuous	1SG Aorist
Uncontracted LVC	xāyista ‘pretty’	xāyista kedól ‘become pretty’	PRES	xāyista kégəm	xāyistá šəm
			PAST	xāyista kedóm	xāyistá šwəm
		xāyista kawól ‘make pretty’	PRES	xāyista kawém	xāyistá k(ɾ)əm
			PAST	xāyista kawóləm	xāyistá k(ɾ)əm
Contracted LVC	pox ‘ripe; ready’	pax-edól ‘be cooked’	PRES	pax-égəm	póx šəm
			PAST	pax-edóm	póx šwəm
		pax-awól ‘cook’	PRES	pax-awém	póx k(ɾ)əm
			PAST	pax-awóləm	póx k(ɾ)əm

We see a spectrum of grammaticalization among Pashto LVCs. Contraction occurs only in the continuous aspect and not at all in the non-continuous (aorist). Additionally, not all Pashto LVCs contract in the continuous: *k*-deletion is confined to certain LVCs with adjectival complements and a very few nominal ones. Finally, while continuous contracted LVCs predictably disallow intervening lexical material between the complement and the verb form, so do continuous *uncontracted* LVCs with adjectival complements, nor do adjectival complements of continuous LVCs inflect. Aorist LVCs, on the other hand, comprise two full lexemes—whether nominal or adjectival: no contraction, potential for intervening lexical material, and inflected complements.

These data may illustrate a change in progress. Indeed, there is evidence that a similar change was completed previously. Pashto has a large class of intransitive verbs with anomalous present/past markers—but identical to those of the LV /kedól/ (see table above)—throughout its continuous and aorist forms. For example:

- ras-eg-/ras-ed- ‘arrive’
- tsar-eg-/tsar-ed- ‘graze’
- gaḍ-eg-/gaḍ-ed- ‘dance’

Some of these verbs have correspondents among modern Pashto nouns; e.g., /ɣag-edól/ ‘speak,’ corresponds to the noun /ɣag/ ‘voice.’ Others show borrowed Indic verb stems: /ḍār-edól/ ‘fear’ from /ḍār/. Creation of a light verb is a common strategy for incorporating borrowed verbs; these examples suggest that some now-simplex verbs were once LVCs whose verbal element grammaticalized into an affix.

This previous change provides another counterexample to Butt's argument that non-participation in the grammaticalization cline is one quality that separates LVs from auxiliary verbs.

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### Scalarity and subjectivity in the development of English particularizers.

Tine Defour (Ghent University)

Particularizing focus adverbs are generally classified as a subcategory of restrictive adverbs (Quirk et al. 1985; Nevalainen 1991), because they restrict the application of the utterance they occur in predominantly (though not exclusively) to a focused value. This focus is typically created by a restriction of a larger group of values. In (1), for instance, the focus placed on *the rural poor* is a restriction of a broader group of poor people against which institutional structures are said to militate.

(1) Institutional structures militate against the poor, **especially** the rural poor. (BNC)

Particularizers are influenced by subjective grading, because they allow speakers to include clear manifestations of a relevant property, exclude less prototypical alternatives – and rank different focus values on a scale of semantic strength. These scales are not degree-based (cf. intensifiers, which are inherently scalar) but are rather based on speaker-addressee expectations and can be 'activated' (cf. Traugott 1999).

The particularizers selected for this paper, i.e. *notably*, *especially* and *in particular*, modify a range of focus constituents in their present-day use, including verbal (2), nominal (3) or PP modification (4). When modifying adjectives, they can take on intensifying meanings (*He had been a notably successful chairman*).

(2) When I was with other girls I **especially** enjoyed playing at nunneries. (BNC)

(3) The workers, **in particular**, are dissatisfied. (Quirk et al. 1985)

(4) In nature, and **in particular** in the development of the human embryo,.... (BNC)

Our aim is to trace the selected forms' synchronic diversity and subjective properties back to possible influences in their earliest uses. Data show that *notably* and *especially* originally occur as manner adverbs in Middle English ('in a notable / (e)special manner') but develop particularizing as well as intensifying meanings at different stages in their developments. *In particular* originates in a sentence-internal prepositional phrase with the sense 'in detail' (*Let me speake in more particular* – OED).

By means of a detailed analysis of the forms' semantic-pragmatic and structural diversification, we want to attest whether a shift from a limited to a broader range of syntactic modifications coincides with an increased degree of grammaticalization, and whether meaning changes involve increased delexicalization and subjectification. In addition, we want to examine whether scalar meanings in early polysemies have had an influence on the development of particularizing uses and their degree of subjectivity.

Our analysis is based on historical data from the *Helsinki Corpus*, *A Corpus of English Dialogues*, *CLMET* and *ARCHER*, and takes into account frequencies, semantic-pragmatic features (meaning changes; verb type collocations) and structural changes (e.g. correlations with focus constituents).

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## Grammaticalisation and prosody: the case of English *sort/kind/type* of constructions

Nicole Dehé (Universität Konstanz) & Katerina Stathi (Universität Hannover)

This paper investigates the relation between grammaticalisation and prosody. It is well known that later stages of grammaticalisation involve weakening of phonological form (Meillet 1912) or loss of phonological weight (Lehmann 1995). This involves segmental changes like reduction, fusion, and loss. We argue that earlier stages of grammaticalisation also involve phonological changes, but that these are suprasegmental rather than segmental in nature. Recently, Wichmann (2011: 331) argued that the segmental changes “are secondary consequences of underlying suprasegmental (prosodic) changes” and that “the prosodic changes are primary”. Previous research on the topic is scarce and basically involves the development of pragmatic markers (see Wichmann 2011).

We are also interested in earlier stages of grammaticalisation, which show semantic bleaching and syntactic reanalysis. We assume that these mechanisms are accompanied by prosodic changes.

In order to test this hypothesis, we investigate a family of constructions, whose grammaticalisation has been previously documented, the so-called *SKT*-constructions (see (1)); we begin by relating the prosodic patterns observed in present-day English to their degree of grammaticalisation.

- (1) a. *sort, kind, type* + *of* + (Noun)  
b. N1 + *of* + (N2)

Based on Denison (2005, 2011) we distinguish three types of *SKT*-constructions, which show increasing degrees of grammaticalisation (see (2)):

- (2) a. What *kind of* bicycles do you ride on ... *binominal construction (BC)*  
b. ... wouldn't you expect to get some *kind of* discount ... *qualifying construction (QC)*  
c. I was *kind of* thinking for myself about my life ... *adverbial construction (AC)*

We hypothesise that the different degrees of grammaticalisation given in (2) correspond to differences in the prosody. We predict that prosodic weakening effects are strongest for AC, followed by QC and BC in that order. In order to test this hypothesis we searched the spoken part of the ICE-GB and extracted all instances of “sort of” (985 hits), “kind of” (386), and “type of” (41). To begin, all instances of the *kind* and *type*-constructions were classified according to (2) based on their semantic and syntactic properties and their context. All items were investigated according to the following prosodic parameters: accent position within the target sequence (see (1b)), degree of prominence (unstressed/prenuclear/nuclear), accent type (e.g., falling), vowel duration (N1), phrasing, closure duration and VOT of the plosive (N1), and reduction of *of*/fusion of N1 and *of*.

The main results at this stage are as follows, confirming our predictions: (i) accent placement on N1 is most frequent in BC and does not occur in AC; N2 (or the corresponding lexical element in AC) may well be prominent in all three constructions, but is most

frequently prominent in QC; (ii) more segmental reduction and fusion is observed for N1 in AC than any of the other two constructions; (iii) there are no differences in prosodic phrasing between the types.

We take these results as evidence for the reflection of the degree of grammaticalisation of a given construction in its prosody.

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### **New reflections on the grammaticalization of the English progressive**

Astrid De Wit & Frank Brisard (University of Antwerp)

The progressive in English is markedly grammaticalized compared to its equivalents in such other Germanic languages as Dutch and German. Despite the large array of diachronic studies on the construction, the reason as to why it has become so heavily grammaticalized remains difficult to pinpoint. Bringing together data presented in the literature, we hypothesize a diachronic pathway for the English progressive that has, to our knowledge, not been proposed previously.

In Old English (just like in present-day Slavic languages), perfective verbs were formed by means of prefixes, such as *ge-*, *a-* or *on-* (Núñez-Pertejo 2004: 66-67). Consequently, the verbs that remained unmarked were imperfective (typically atelic, durative verbs). At that time, the ancestor of the present-day progressive, *beon/wesan + V-ende*, already existed, but it appears to have been a stylistic device that was used unsystematically, rather than an aspect marker. Various studies (e.g., Scheffer 1975: 162, Núñez-Pertejo 2004: 65-66) indicate that the construction was most commonly associated with intransitive, durative verbs. This, we argue, indicates that it used to be a *concord construction* (Michaelis 2004), selecting a particular type of verb with which it was in accordance semantically.

By the end of the Old English period, the prefix system disappeared and, consequently, the formal disambiguation between perfective and imperfective verbs got lost. Hence, a new way of aspect marking was called for, and this triggered the grammaticalization of *beon/wesan + V-ende* as an aspectual construction (Núñez-Pertejo 2004: 67). By the beginning of the Middle English period, the synthetic aspectual system with perfective aspect as the marked member had given way to a new analytic aspect system with formal marking of imperfectivity.

In the Modern period, the progressive rose in frequency and underwent paradigmatic expansion. This continued increase in grammaticalization can, in our view, be related to the association of unmarked verbs with perfectivity: the more the progressive was used in durative, imperfective contexts, the more simple, unmarked dynamic verbs were interpreted

perfectively. Consequently, the English simple present (as opposed to the simple present in German and Dutch) specialized into a marker of *perfective present tense*. Since the combination of perfective aspect and present tense is infelicitous (cf. Malchukov 2009 on the “present perfective paradox”), we suggest that the present progressive was needed to imperfectivize dynamic events, and thus became obligatory in these contexts. Hence, the *be + V-ing* periphrasis has turned from a concord construction into a *type-shifting construction*: by the end of the Modern period, it has adopted the function of coercing verbs from the class of perfective into that of imperfective aspect.

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### From deontic to reportive and quotative: the case of German *sollen* Gabriele Diewald & Elena Smirnova (Leibniz Universität Hannover)

Like the other German modal verbs, deontic *sollen* has undergone a process of grammaticalization, which led to several more grammaticalized functions. Among these are two "epistemic" functions: one restricted to the past tense forms of *sollen*, the other to its present tense forms. While *sollte* in (1) shares the prototypical epistemic meaning of other modal (e.g. *können*, *müssen*, *dürfte*) in expressing speaker-based factuality judgement, the present *soll* in (2) displays a 'reportive' use, indicating that the speaker learned about the described event from someone else's words, and thus is part of the newly grammaticalizing evidential paradigm in German (Diewald & Smirnova 2010):

(1) *Eigentlich sollte es derzeit kaum mehr kurzfristige Stornierungen geben als sonst.*

'Actually, there should be hardly more cancellations at short notice presently than usually'

(2) *Nach Auskunft der Veranstalter soll es derzeit kaum mehr kurzfristige Stornierungen geben als sonst.*

'According to the convener there are said to be [lit.: shall be] hardly more cancellations at short notice presently than usually'

The present study investigates the further development of this reportive usage of *sollen* in relation to the German subjunctive I (Konjunktiv I), whose prominent function is that of a quotative marker, indicating indirect speech via origo shift (Diewald 1999), as in (3):

(3) *Nach Auskunft der Veranstalter gebe es derzeit kaum mehr kurzfristige Stornierungen als sonst.*

'According to the convener there are-PRES.SUBJ presently hardly more cancellations at short notice than usually'

Traditionally, the reportive function of *sollen* is seen as similar but not identical to that of subjunctive I. Both refer to an other communicative event as source of the presently given information, but while subjunctive I shifts the origo to the original speaker, and thus is a true quotative, *sollen* – as a reportive – does not shift the origo, and instead points to the evidence the present speaker has for his/her statement. This functional distinction is reflected in several well-attested distributional differences (Smirnova & Diewald 2011). Recently, however, *sollen* seems to enter contexts which had been restricted to subjunctive I. Most notably, while

the traditional reading of *sollen* in (4) is the one of 'report-within-a-report' (4a), many speakers of German interpret sentences like (4) as referring to the speech of the speaker *he* (cf. Letnes 2008), i.e. they assign *sollen* the same quotative meaning as subjunctive I (4b).

- (4) *Er sagte, dass er krank sein soll.*  
'He said that he was [lit.: shall be] ill'  
(4a) He said: "He is said to be ill".  
(4b) He said: "He is ill".

Using corpus data from different periods of German, this study investigates the following questions:

1. Is the 'subjunctive-like' use of *sollen* indeed a new development in the German language?
2. In which contexts does this quotative use of *sollen* occur?
3. Is this a new stage of grammaticalization on a path leading from deontic to reportive to quotative (test of grammaticalization status, possible alternative pathways, interdependencies with other grammaticalized uses of *sollen*)?
4. Which impact has the basic deontic meaning of *sollen*, and how is it reinterpreted in the different types of "indirect speech" marking?
5. What are the consequences for the existing grammatical distinctions in the paradigm of verbal mood?

Finally, the findings are evaluated as to their cross-linguistic generalizability.

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### **The grammaticalisation of German *scheinen* and English *seem*: a contrastive analysis** Gabriele Diewald & Katerina Stathi (Leibniz University of Hanover)

In this paper we investigate the grammaticalisation of the German verb *scheinen* and its English correspondent *seem* to markers of evidentiality. In present-day German and English both verbs are used in certain constructions with evidential meaning, i.e. expressing the evidence a speaker has for making a claim, as illustrated in the equivalent sentences in (1):

- (1)a. English: She seems to be working.  
b. German: Sie scheint zu arbeiten.

For German, Diewald (2001: 91) has suggested that the meaning of *scheinen* can be paraphrased as 'on the basis of not further specifiable evidence probably that p [proposition]'. She analyses *scheinen* in the construction with *zu* + infinitive as a grammaticalised verb expressing modality with an additional unspecified evidential semantic component (Diewald 2001: 90). The use of English *seem* as an evidential marker in a construction like (1a) is also well known (cf. e.g. Aijmer 2009, Johannson 2001).

In our paper we compare the grammaticalisation of the verbs from their original meanings – *scheinen* ‘to shine’ and *seem* ‘to be suitable, befit, beseem’ – to markers of evidentiality. Although the two verbs depart from quite different original meanings, they soon converge to verbs of ‘appearance’, which is a source for markers of evidentiality (Heine & Kuteva 2002). We contrast the development of the two verbs by using data from diachronic corpora (Helsinki Corpus for English, Kali, Mittelhochdeutsche Begriffsdatenbank and Bonner Frühneuhochdeutschkorpus for German). Our research concentrates on the neuralgic points of the grammaticalisation paths of the verbs, which show remarkable parallels with respect to their semantic and syntactic development. In particular, we are interested in the influence of the constructions in which these verbs occur. The comparison of the diachronic development focuses i) on the common defining stages forming a grammaticalisation path, and ii) on the relevant differences of the contextual and structural conditions of each verb in the relevant diachronic layers. For German *scheinen* Diewald (2001) has shown that the merger of different constructions has played an important role in its grammaticalisation. On the basis of the German evidence we predict a similar development for English *seem*. This merger is assumed to be decisive in the early stages of the grammaticalisation process, while in the later stages other processes like analogy are likely to be relevant. The study explores the details of these stages in both languages: First, it works out the commonalities of the grammaticalisation paths, which are due to the common semantic feature of ‘appearance’, constituting that path to begin with. Second, it contrasts the array of divergent constructional and structural conditions of both verbs through time.

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### **The effect of error in the OED on grammaticalisation research**

Steve Disney (University College Plymouth MarJon)

The OED has long been used as a source of examples to illustrate the history of English. However, there are sometimes problematic, particularly with respect to the dating of early examples of uses that are argued to be grammaticalised forms. This paper examines examples of such use and relates the findings to data such as large corpora such as the *Early English Books Online* (EEBO) collection. I focus on how some constructions have been erroneously classified in the OED, which has led researchers to make claims that, for example, data in the EEBO do not appear to corroborate.

The earliest example the OED provides of non-motion BE *going to* (1), is used for illustration by Danchev and Kytö (1994) and is widely cited in discussions on grammaticalisation. The extended context quite clearly mentions that the soul was already in the possession of the spirits in question and, crucially, the group was already on the way to hell. The construction therefore has a motion ‘purposive’ meaning, and is not expressing merely some intention to act.

(1) Therefore while thys onhappy sowle by vycторыse pompys of her enmyes *was goyng to be broughte* into helle for the synne and onleful lustys of her body (...) Loe sondenly anon came done an hye fro heuyn a gret lyght by the whyche bryghtnes and bemys. the forseyde wykyd spiritys and minystrys of the deuyl. ware dullyd and made onmyghty and fyl done to the gronde wyth the sowle that they had. (1482. *The Revelation to the Monk of Evesham*. p. 43)

I highlight how the necessary context can be some distance away from the actual sentence cited. This is particularly the case with the OED's example of the first reputed sense of BE *meant to* (2). The hearsay use is established enough in present day English for the OED (3<sup>rd</sup> edition) to have an entry covering it, but older dictionaries make no mention of it, despite the earliest instance being cited from the mid-19<sup>th</sup> Century (2). I show how the extended context of the original text disallows a 'reputed' sense and that this is the original passive 'intend' sense.

(2) 1878 R. SIMPSON *School of Shakspeare* I. 34 It is confessed that Hawkins and Cobham *were meant to* be buccaneers, and it is absurd to deny the like of Stucley.

I discuss in more detail examples of BE *supposed to* from the OED, which were used by Noël and van der Auwera (2009) to illustrate the grammaticalisation of the construction's deontic sense. However, the extended context reveals that all of the examples claimed to be deontic are instead expressing suppositions. The paths of change for all three of the constructions cited above are therefore in need of reformulation and I conclude with some suggestions on each.

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## Textual frequency effects in the historical development of Spanish pronominal clitics

Andrés Enrique-Arias (University of the Balearic Islands)

& Miriam Bouzouita (Queen Mary, University of London / University of Cambridge)

Up until now, historical accounts of the evolution of Spanish object clitics have focused their attention mainly on (i) syntactic properties (e.g. position with respect to the verb, clitic climbing, and doubling; Bouzouita 2008a, 2008b), (ii) phonetically conditioned features (e.g. apocope, Matute 2004; change *ge* > *se* and *vos* > *os*, Enrique-Arias 2005) or (iii) semantic/referential properties of the clitic (e.g. *laismo*, *loismo*, *leismo* and their geographic variation, Fernández-Ordóñez 2001; and the development of the different referential values of *se*, Bogard 2006). It has been generally agreed that some of these diachronic changes are linked to the grammaticalization process through which unstressed pronouns gradually become affixal object agreement markers (e.g. Enrique-Arias 2003). Notwithstanding this, there is one aspect which has, by and large, been overlooked in the literature on clitic pronouns and which merits more attention: to wit, the increase in textual frequency of these pronouns across time –something expected in grammaticalization processes (Bybee 2007).

The aims of this paper consist in examining (i) the interplay of frequency changes with changes affecting the semantic properties of the clitics, shifting from more referential meanings (DO, IO, genuine reflexive) to more grammatical ones (voice markers such as passive, impersonal, anticausative, antipassive), and, more generally, (ii) the exact role of

frequency effects in the grammaticalization process. The current study gives a quantitative and qualitative analysis of the clitic pronouns found in a parallel corpus of Spanish biblical translations ([www.bibliamedieval.es](http://www.bibliamedieval.es)) which contains different versions of the same texts produced from the 13<sup>th</sup> till the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The advantage of a parallel corpus over a conventional one is that, as the underlying content is the same for the texts to be compared, it is possible to locate and to examine a large number of occurrences of the same linguistic structure in versions that were produced at different time periods.

The present study reveals that there is indeed an increase in the textual frequency of these clitic elements due to a number of changes, which include the rise of clitic doubling, the increase in use of IO pronouns (possessive and ethical datives), and, above all, the diversification of *se* as a voice marker (passive, impersonal, anticausative, antipassive). At the same time, those uses that retain a referential meaning, exhibit no increase at all (such as DOs) or relatively lower growth (genuine reflexives). Moreover, the increase in frequency can be observed across various genres (narrative, lyrical-sapiential, prophetic). In sum, this study of frequency effects in the diachronic study of Spanish clitic markers tries to offer a more complete understanding of the interrelations between the different components that play a role in the grammaticalization process whereby an unstressed pronoun becomes an agreement marker (and beyond).

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### **Types of intensifying adjectives: Focus marking and degree marking**

Elke Gehweiler (Deutsches Wörterbuch, Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities)

Attributive adjectives typically attribute properties to entities. But consider the following examples of intensifying adjectives that are derived from privative adjectives, i.e. adjectives that express the absence of a certain property or quality (Gehweiler 2011; Leisi 1967).

- (1) Since horse-drawn wagons went out of fashion, both gypsies and tinkers lead a curious, inverted life, buying and selling horses among themselves for **sheer** pleasure. (BNC ADM)

(2) Gould is on the Fabians' executive committee, while Smith and Beckett are **mere** members, and Prescott is not even that. (BNC CAK)

The adjectives in the above examples do not attribute properties to the entities denoted by their head nouns. *Sheer* in (1) intensifies, reinforces or emphasizes the meaning of its head noun by expressing that the emotion denoted by the noun applies to a high degree; *mere* in (2) establishes a comparison relation of the entity denoted by its head with another entity (members vs. executive committee), indicating that the referent of the NP of which it is part is the lower-ranking of the two. Furthermore intensifying adjectives do not fulfill all of the formal and semantic properties of central members of the category 'adjective', which is further evidence for their grammaticalization.

We will draw a new distinction between four different types of intensifying adjectives that have emerged from privative adjectives through grammaticalization. The four types differ with respect to the scales on which they operate and with respect to position on the scale: **Degree intensifying adjectives** (including **emphasizers** like *sheer* in (1) and **diminishers**) operate on traditional scales (cf. e.g. Horn 1976) and intensify a gradable meaning component of their head noun. **Focus intensifying adjectives** (including **amplifiers** and **downtoners** like *mere* in (2)) operate on pragmatic scales (cf. Hirschberg 1991; König 1991) and establish a ranking between alternatives (see also Quirk et al. 1985). Corpus studies suggest that degree intensifying adjectives and focus intensifying adjectives are grammaticalized to different degrees, with focus markers displaying a number of properties that are indicative of later stages of grammaticalization.

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### Noun-intensification as subjectification and grammaticalization

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Studies on intensifying meanings in English have traditionally focused on adjective-intensification as it is realized by adverbs such as *really* in *a really nice book* (e.g. Lorenz 1994, 2002). In contrast, noun-intensification, typically realized by adjectives, is a so far largely uncharted domain. Noun-intensifiers, typically referred to as 'emphasizers' (e.g. Quirk et al. 1985) or 'reinforcers' (e.g. Paradis 2000), have scope over and modify the degree of all gradable elements contributing to the type specification of the NP referent, e.g. *utter madness*, *pure paranoid fantasy*, *complete idiot*. The noun-intensifiers I will focus on are the adjectives *true* and *sure*, as in (1) and (2).

(1) He was a lovely man,' Nancy recalls warmly, 'a **true** gentleman. (WB brbooks)

(2) He chewed his beard restlessly, a **sure** sign that he's worried. (WB brbooks)

For the adverbs *truly* and *surely*, Lorenz (2002: 152) argues that they are recruited from the modal domain to convey adjective-intensification by expressing a high degree of certainty or speaker commitment. I will investigate by means of in-depth diachronic corpus study whether a similar path of development can be posited for the adjectives *true* and *sure*.

Firstly, true to their grammaticalized nature, noun-intensifiers are defined by abstract distinctions and dimensions, such as mode and type of intensification. First, I will look into the nature of the properties which *true* and *sure* intensify, viz. qualitative (*a terrible bore*) versus quantitative (*oodles of money*) (e.g. Bolinger 1972). Second, Kennedy & McNally (2005) distinguish between open and closed scale intensifiers. The former activate ranges on an open-ended scale defined by measure units (*a terrible bore*), whereas the latter measure the degree of a property by locating it as a point on a closed scale (*a complete failure*). Corpus study will show which type(s) of intensification *true* and *sure* express. Third, traditional grammars (e.g. Quirk et al. 1985: 590-7) classify intensifiers in terms of mode of intensification, viz. upscaling (*pure bliss*) and downscaling (*a mere pittance*). For the adverbs, Lorenz (1994: 101) argues that they are “positively enhancing in most cases”. Again, corpus study will have to show whether this is also the case for the adjectives.

Secondly, for *surely* and *truly*, Bolinger (1972: 91ff) posited a developmental path from truth identifier to intensifier. More specifically, he proposes a subjectification process from referring to the truth of a proposition to commenting on the (affirmation) of truth. Like the adverbs, *true* and *sure* also have identifying uses, as illustrated in (3) and (4). Data study will show whether the noun-intensifying meanings of the adjectives indeed developed from the identifying uses.

(3) For most Aborigines throughout Australia, Uluru is the **true** navel of the earth. (WB brbooks)

(4) The true way and the **sure** way to friendship is through humility-being open to each other, accepting each other just as we are, knowing each other. (WB brbooks)

### ***Corpora to be consulted***

York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose

Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English (second edition)

Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Early Modern English

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## Intersubjectivity and intersubjectification: Typology and operationalization

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Recent years saw a growing interest in the study of subjectivity, as the linguistic expression of speaker involvement through lexical, grammatical and/or construal choices (e.g. Athanasiadou, Canakis & Cornillie 2006, Cornillie & Delbecque 2006, De Smet & Verstraete 2006). *Intersubjectivity*, on the other hand, as the linguistic expression of focus on the hearer, has received little explicit attention so far, let alone systematic definitions and operationalization criteria. Intersubjectivity and seemingly related notions such as interpersonal meaning, appraisal, stance and metadiscourse, appear frequently in cognitive-functional accounts, as well as historical linguistic and more applied linguistic ones. These domains offer (partly) conflicting uses of 'intersubjectivity', differ in the overall scope of the concept and the phenomena that it may cover (see Traugott 2010, Verhagen 2005, Nuyts to appear and Hyland 2005). In this paper we present our views on intersubjectivity and intersubjectification with reference to case studies on adjectives, hedges, tags, honorifics, etc. Building on Diessel's (2006) notion of "joint attention" and taking Traugott's approach to intersubjectivity as our starting point, we propose a distinction between three types of intersubjectivity: attitudinal, responsive, and textual (cf. Ghesquière 2011). First, attitudinal intersubjectivity refers to meanings which code the speaker's image of (his/her relation to) the hearer, and attention to the face needs and social self of the hearer. Second, responsive intersubjectivity involves the elicitation of a certain (speech) act or behaviour on the part of hearer thereby aiding discourse continuity or cooperation. Third, textual intersubjectivity captures meanings that are specifically oriented toward steering the hearer's interpretation. In addition to the typology, we propose and evaluate formal recognition criteria to operationalize the essentially semantic notion of intersubjectivity. We recognize three potential criteria for intersubjectivity, namely prosody, linearization and directionality. Crucially, rather than seeing subjectivity as a prerequisite for intersubjectivity, we argue that in our typology intersubjective meanings of constructions may diachronically precede subjective ones.

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## Dhivehi Third-Person Demonstratives Resist Grammaticalization

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Many South Asian languages use demonstrative expressions in lieu of third-person personal pronouns. Such proforms may be either bare demonstratives, as in the Indo-Aryan Hindi, or demonstratives combined with noun-class identifying suffixes, as in the Dravidian Tamil, which identifies human male, honorific human male, human female, plural human, and nonhuman categories. However, Dhivehi (Maldivian), an Indo-Aryan language with areal Dravidian influence, uses full demonstrative *phrases*. With the single exception of the nonhonorific human singular proform, composed of a demonstrative plus Tamil-style classifying suffix, Dhivehi uses demonstratives combined with full words. By contrast, Dhivehi's closest relative, Sinhala, uses a demonstrative + suffix model similar to Tamil's, with the addition of class suffixes for animals. This paper describes the system of demonstrative phrases that serve as proforms in Dhivehi and suggests a rationale for why, in defiance of areal and typological pressure (cf. Givon 1984), these phrases have failed to undergo grammaticalization.

The few published resources on Dhivehi (e.g. Cain & Gair 2000) suggest that third-person personal pronouns in Dhivehi are as in the table, using the distal form of the demonstrative (which is most common in anaphoric reference). Of the forms in the table, only the plain singular human (*ēnā*) does not decompose into a demonstrative + word.

		Singular	Plural
Human	plain	ēnā	emihun (those people)/ebaimihun (that group of people)
	honorific	ebēfulā (that aristocrat)	ebēfulun (those aristocrats)
Nonhuman		ēti (that thing)	ēcechi (those things)

The situation is actually more complicated. Most importantly, it is inaccurate to suggest that *ēti* ('that thing') is the equivalent of English *it* in referring to anything that is not human. In fact, *ēti* refers only to objects. A major category of things that are not objects is covered by the Dhivehi word *kan*, 'deed'. One does not do *eccehi* 'things' in Dhivehi, but rather *kantak* 'deeds'. Similarly, the proform (or 'prophrase') *ēti* ('that thing') is not used for this category, but rather *ekan* 'that deed'.

Why haven't Dhivehi demonstrative prophrases grammaticalized? Why aren't Dhivehi proforms more like Sinhala's suffixed proforms? Sinhala and Tamil follow an animacy hierarchy, making careful distinctions higher on the hierarchy and resorting to calling everything below a certain point a 'thing' or 'it'. I suggest using *kan* for actions, restricting *eti* 'thing' to actual things, keeps there from being a default category of 'it' in Dhivehi, which in turn encourages the enumeration of many other categories that are neither objects nor deeds, resulting in a spectrum of anaphoric phrases ranging from broad and relatively lexicalized (*ekan*, 'that deed') to quite specific (*ebas*, 'that language'). This proliferation of categories combines with a cultural tendency to avoid pronouns in referring to other people, resulting in a wide variety of anaphoric phrases, like *edemafirīn*, 'that couple', and honorific prophrases, such as *emanikufānu* ('that excellency') and *ekalāṅge* ('that god'), for humans/rational beings. The prediction is that the lack of a default 'it' and the cultural attitudes toward pronoun use for humans will, if maintained, keep Dhivehi proforms phrasal and varied.

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### ***Apenas*. Aspectual Reduction and Subjective Evaluation in Spanish.**

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Well established grammaticalization paths (Traugott 1998, 1995a, b) have pointed out that changes in language go from referential, to textual spheres, to the word of the speaker. While this tendency has been strongly documented there are cases where such tendency is reversed. The purpose of this paper is to show that *apenas* runs against the canon: from subjective to objective values, a phenomenon accounted for as a determinacy of the core semantic composition of the base form. Traditional grammars and dictionaries treat *apenas* ‘as soon as, hardly, barely’ is an immediacy marker (Alcina y Blecua. 1975, Bello. 1988, Beristain. 2006, Cuervo. 1981, Pavón Lucero 1999, DRAE 1973, DUE 2007) that can portray an array of seemingly unrelated meanings with different degrees of subjectivity: difficulty (1), reduction, “small amount” (2) and immediacy (3):

- (1) *La falda apenas llega hasta la rodilla* (CREA) (subjective)  
‘The skirt hardly goes all the way to the knee’
- (2) *Apenas nos hablamos* (CREA) (subjective-objective)  
‘We barely talk to each other’
- (3) *Apenas puesto el pie en Veracruz, emprendieron el viaje.* (CREA). (objective)  
‘As soon as they put their feet in Veracruz they started their journey’

While these and other meanings exist no analysis has been able to provide an account for the emergence of the reduction and the immediacy values from the root subjective meaning of *apenas*: ‘in pains/painfully’. In line with Matos (2012) analysis of approximated adverbs as degree modifiers establishing a comparison between properties along a scalar dimension, this paper provides not only the motivating conditions for these meanings but also the syntactic-semantic conditions determining the change from the internal representation of the events in the speaker’s evaluative mind to the objective calculus of events organized in a sequential manner. From a Cognitive Grammar perspective (Langacker (1985, 1991, and subsequent writings) it is demonstrated that the subjective and the objective meanings obtain from two determining factors: the Force Dynamic configuration (Talmy 1985) of the core meaning of *apenas* and the *actions art* of the verb as combined with the aspectual configuration of the event (perfective /imperfective). The lexical and morphological aspectual interaction determines the event to be construed either as a pure objective sequence of subevents or as an

event measured against cultural evaluative scales held by the speaker. The paper proposes a path where the presence of the evaluative qualification of the speaker diminishes as the force-dynamic configuration of *apenas* is attenuated and the perfective configuration of the event gains ground.

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### **Grammaticalising by growing syntactic structure: syntacticisation in Germanic nominal syntax**

Pauline Harries (University of Central Lancashire)  
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An important development in work on grammaticalisation has been the move from it being viewed as a process that applies to individual words towards it applying to constructions (see for instance Traugott 2003 and papers in Hoffmann & Trousdale (eds) 2011). We argue that a particular form of syntacticisation fits naturally with this view of grammaticalisation. Syntacticisation is not a well-defined notion; we use the term to refer to historical change whereby functional structure develops where previously there was none; functional information is syntacticised. In particular, we argue that in earlier forms of Germanic, NP was the maximal nominal projection, whereas in modern Germanic it is DP.

Crucial to our approach is the assumption that a D-projection is not required for there to be (in)definite reference (compare Chierchia 1998, NP vs DP languages); the semantics of reference is accounted for independently of there being a D-node. We also assume that structure is not necessarily binary-branching.

In Old Norse, definiteness could be expressed as a bound morpheme on the noun or the adjective, or as a syntactic element, and nominal word order was relatively free. The syntactic definiteness marker was not obligatory, but was restricted to environments where the noun was modified by an adjective or where a weak adjective was nominalised. If the noun was flanked on either side by adjectives, the syntactic marker was often repeated. Possessive determiners and adjectives followed the noun in information-structurally unmarked noun phrases; however, if the possessive relation was emphasized or contrasted, the possessive preceded the noun. The relative freedom of word order and the fact that definiteness marking was optional and more closely associated with modification than with the nominal lead to the conclusion that the noun phrase had a flat structure, with one information-structurally privileged position before the noun.

In older forms of Faroese, the noun became the morphological locus of definiteness marking, irrespective of the presence or absence of adjectival modification. Ordering was no longer used for information structural purposes, but each constituent of the phrase became

associated with a strict syntactic position. We take this as evidence that the noun phrase had developed more structure, become more configurational.

In modern Faroese, there is both syntactic and morphological definiteness marking. Only the morphological one can occur as the sole exponent of definiteness. When there is no pre-modification, the definite noun occurs on the left edge of the noun phrase. When material precedes the noun, a syntactic definiteness marker is required. This and other data from modern Faroese suggest that for referential noun phrases, (in)definiteness has to be marked on the left edge, but it can be marked morphologically or syntactically, hence (in)definiteness is associated with a particular position. Furthermore, the order between other elements cannot be varied for information structural purposes. This is evidence for a functional D category having developed and an articulated DP structure having replaced the flat structure where information structure determined the order; syntacticisation of definiteness has taken place (cf Vincent 1997 for Romance).

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### **The syntactic peripheries as domains of grammaticalization in spoken language**

Alexander Haselow (University of Rostock)

In many languages, the peripheries of an utterance (left and right periphery) are the primary loci of the grammaticalization of lexemes (e.g. adverbs, conjunctions, discourse markers) into pragmatic markers, i.e. indicators of both textual information (cohesion, type of semantic link between two units of discourse) and subjective, often also intersubjective, meaning components, such as speaker attitude, commitment to the truth value of the proposition, and awareness of the relation towards the addressee. Based on corpus-data from spoken Present-Day English I will show that a large number of monomorphemic lexemes has gravitated not only to the left periphery (LP) (*actually, anyway*), but also to the right periphery (RP) of an utterance, which has become an important topological site for grammaticalization in spoken discourse. Examples are final *though, then, actually* or *even*, all of which acquired progressively more pragmatic than propositional meanings (pragmatic strengthening) (Traugott & Dasher 2002; Haselow 2011; Kim & Jahnke 2011) and underwent a diachronic process of subjectification and intersubjectification (Traugott & Dasher 2002: 89-99).

My basic claim is that both peripheries, the left and the right one, are equally important domains for the grammaticalization of pragmatic markers (“particles”) in spoken discourse, but differ in the cognitive effect produced by these markers. The reason is that particles in the LP introduce a new discourse segment and frame the upcoming proposition, guiding the hearer in the interpretation of the following message (Swan & Breivik 2011). Particles in the RP, however, add textual information on the linking between a preceding and the current utterance *after* the latter has been fully produced and is thus manifest to both participants. It

is, moreover, the last opportunity for the speaker to add information (e.g. as an afterthought) on how the utterance is to be interpreted by the hearer, and thus for the indication of subjective and intersubjective information, e.g. degree of certainty or self- and other-correction. The multifunctional character of final pragmatic markers or “particles“ (e.g. *then, though, anyway, even, but*) and their specific grammatical properties (e.g. they are syntactically deletable and bound to specific illocutionary types) justify an analysis of these elements as a class of its own, characterized by a common functional value and paradigmatic organization.

The grammaticalization of particles, above all final particles, is one among a variety of examples for grammatical (syntactic) change evolving out of pragmatically motivated discourse patterns. They illustrate the extent to which language is sensitive to extralinguistic factors, above all the speaker’s concern about how his/her message is supposed to be interpreted by the hearer, and the pressure imposed upon speakers by the principles of turn-taking and the sequential organization of talk (cf. Ford & Thompson 1996).

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### **Word order change as paradigmatic reorganisation**

Lars Heltoft (Roskilde University)

Traditional word order studies have a focus on the possible linear layouts of a given language, and with typological or variational generalisations across them, see e.g. Pintzuk (2003). Similarly, typological studies of word order changes repeat this syntagmatic focus, e.g. in speaking of changes from SOV via SVO to VSO. Grammaticalisation studies (in the narrow sense) have their focus on syntagms, too: *Habeo probatum* and *probare habeo* are both possible Latin syntagms, each the source of a different morphological category in the Romance languages (periphrastic perfect and future, respectively), cf. Hopper and Traugott (2003, 57-63).

A paradigmatic perspective must be added. As stressed by Nørgård-Sørensen, Heltoft & Schøsler (2011), grammaticalisation always involves meaning, and as a means to identify word order systems, paradigmatic organisation and the principles behind it are just as important as syntagmatic structure. All word order differences carry meaning, and in some cases, regrammation (Andersen 2006) processes of word order may even lead to outcomes which look deceptively like the input syntagms of their source. Verb second orders such as those found in Old and Modern Scandinavian look alike, but they are not. Both stages of Scandinavian have their finite verb in second position, and verb initial patterns occur as well. Both Old and Modern Scandinavian form V1-questions and conditionals, but the old languages had a third option as well: the narrative inversion shown in (1):

(1) *en guð sa værc þeirra ok iðran*                      *ok toc af þeim*                      *ræiði sina*  
 but God saw their work and effort                      and turned away from them his wrath  
*ok fyrirforosc*                      *þeir æigi*  
 and perished                      they not  
 ‘but God saw the effort in their work and turned away from them his wrath, and (thus) they did not  
 perish’ Indrebø 1931: 73, 26-27

The sequence *fyrirforosc þeir æigi* reads ‘structural zero + finite verb + subject, and thus, it is syntagmatically similar to other V1-clauses. However, being a cohesive marker, its meaning potential differs from that of the modern V1. Thus, a central part of the change to the modern situation is the loss of this reading of V1-clauses.

At a more complex level, Scandinavian verb second clauses are reanalysed to form complex paradigms with subordinate clauses, identifying their first and second positions with the positions for subjunctives. This late medieval process makes sense in the light of the paradigmatic analysis, and this proposal may be read as a functionalist attempt to answer the basic question: What are subjunctives doing at the position of the finite verb?

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### **Competition between causal clauses in Modern Japanese: Case study of the grammaticalisation of the *kara*-clause and the *node*-clause**

Yuko Higashiizumi (Tokyo Gakugei University)

This paper analyses diachronically the competition between the two synonymous causal clause constructions in present-day Japanese, namely the *kara*-clause and the *node*-clause. Many Japanese linguistic studies have presented the difference between these clauses in present-day Japanese (e.g., Nagano 1952; Minami 1974, 1993; NKBK 2008). They are often interchangeable, as in (1), while the *node*-clause is sometimes not preferred, as in (2).

- (1) a. *zutsuu ga suru kara/node, sootai shi-masu.*  
 headache NOM do KARA/NODE leaving.early do-POL  
 ‘Since I have a headache, I will leave (school, work) early.’ (NKBK 2008: 122)
- b. *abunai kara/node, yame-te kudasai.*  
 dangerous KARA/NODE stop-GER please  
 ‘Since (it is) dangerous, please stop (it).’ (NKBK 2008: 123)
- (2) *abunai kara/(? ) node, yame-ro.*  
 dangerous KARA/NODE stop-IMP  
 ‘Since (it is) dangerous, stop (it).’ (NKBK 2008: 123)

More recent corpus-based researches report that both clauses are relatively infrequent in the genre of white papers and newspapers and that they appear mainly in more colloquial genres. They also point out that *node*-clauses often appear in genres sensitive to the addressee, such as Q&A sites and workplace conversations. However, there are few diachronic studies on the differences between these clauses. The causal clause marker *kara* developed from the

ablative *kara* ‘from’ (Ishigaki 1955). It began to appear as a causal clause marker in colloquial texts in the Tokyo area from around 1700 and became frequent around 1760 (Yoshii 1977). The causal clause marker *node* comprises *no* (genitive or nominaliser) and *de* (the *renyookei* ‘adverbial form’ of the copular *da* or the particle *de*). It also appeared from around 1700 but it was infrequent until around 1950 (Yoshii 1977; Haraguchi 1971). In analysing the data from conversational parts of novels and theatre scripts (1600–1950) collected both manually and electronically, and from the *Taiyo* Corpus (3,409 articles in 60 issues of the *Taiyo* journal, approximately 15 million characters, 1895–1925), this paper will investigate the grammaticalisation path of these constructions and the competition between them.

Abbreviations: GER (gerundive), IMP (imperative), NOM (nominative), POL (polite)  
 Symbol: (?) (strange if not unacceptable)

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### ‘Questions’ and ‘Things’ in the evolution of nominal hedges Chad Howe (University of Georgia)

This paper explores the distribution of nouns used as approximatives in Romance, focusing primarily on Spanish and Portuguese. The nouns under consideration, as in (1) with Spanish *cosa* ‘thing’ and in (2) with Portuguese *questão* ‘question’, can be used with a type of quantificational force that indicates an approximate quantity and can be paraphrased by ‘more or less’. In the first part of this analysis, I propose that these ‘THING/QUESTION’ constructions are used as hedges, following Lakoff (1973) and Lasnik (1999), in that instead of restricting the vagueness of the complement, these structures indicate increased vagueness. The primary focus of this paper concerns the nominal sources of semantic vagueness arguing that the meaning of the hedge results from (i) the semantically neutral/vague meaning of the noun in combination with (ii) a non-referential complement (as in examples 1 and 2).

(1) *hemos estado ahí cosa de dos horas*. (Corpus del Español, oral)  
 ‘we have been here for **more or less two hours**’

(2) *há questão de alguns dias*, o BC resolveu apertar mais a liquidez de a economia (Corpus do Português, written)  
 ‘**some days ago, more or less**, the BC resolved to limit the liquidity of the economy’

Like English binominal hedges (*a sort of* and *a kind of*) (Tabor 1993), the source of the vagueness with the THING/QUESTION constructions is the semantically weak nouns that form the head of the structures. What distinguishes these constructions in Spanish and Portuguese is their ability to appear with quantity complements (e.g., *dos, dos pesos*, etc.), a pattern not shared by similar structures in English—e.g., \**John has kind of / sort of three sisters*. I argue then, following Doetjes (2008), that these structures represent a type of count modification and not degree modification. Further evidence of this can be found in comparing (3a) and (3b) where Spanish *cosa de* is not compatible with gradable adjectives like ‘sick’. The feature distinguishing the THING/QUESTION constructions from the binominal hedges in English is the nature of the vagueness indicated by the head noun.

- (3) a. \**María está cosa de enfermo.*  
b. Mary is **kind of sick**.

The remainder of this paper is devoted to outlining the development of these constructions using corpus data from Spanish (*Corpus del Español*, Davies 2002) and Portuguese (*Corpus do Português*, Davies & Ferreira 2006). First, I observe that the THING collocates are a relatively early development, occurring with a range of concrete and non-referential NP complements. The use of the QUESTION collocates as nominal hedges is a later development (after the 18<sup>th</sup> century). More importantly, it is shown that the emergence of the hedging uses of these elements involves structural reanalysis of THING and QUESTION from the head of an NP<sub>1</sub> *of/de* NP<sub>2</sub> construction (see Traugott 2008), to NP<sub>1</sub> serving as a modifier of NP<sub>2</sub>. Given the non-canonical behavior of certain types of ‘abstract’ complements (like temporal NPs, see Hopper & Thompson 1980), I argue that temporal complements serve as a vector for change, precipitating the type of structural reanalysis and semantic extension that give rise to their behavior as hedges.

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### **Subjectification and the Development of Deontic Modals**

Ting-ting Christina Hsu (National Tsing Hua University)

Though subjectification (Langacker 1990) has proven to be influential in explaining the rise of epistemic modality (ex. Traugott 1989, Sweetser 1990), it is less applied as a motivation for emerging deontic modals, partly because epistemic modality is by nature defined as ‘subjective’ and a false judgement would be that deontics are not subjective. However, following Traugott and Dasher (2002), deontic modals can be subjective according to the participation of speakers. The modal *tioh*<sup>8</sup> (as in 1.) in Southern min (SM), an old-established dialect in China, is claimed in this article to develop from verb to obligative modal with the effect of subjectification. Intermediate stages include contact-induced sentence-final particles

(as in 2.) and causative verbs (as examples 3. in Chinese and 4. in SM): the former provides the source of semantics and the later gives the basis for grammatical reanalysis. According to the contrastive analysis on historical datum, the force of will (Talmy 1988) in causation is supposed to be acquired during Early Middle Chinese (EMC) influenced by the mass interpretation of Buddha scripture from Sanskrit, and the deontic *tioh*<sup>8</sup> is emerged during Modern Chinese (ModC) with economy concern that the causer subject should be deleted when it equals to the speaker himself and can be recovered immediately without posing any communication problems.

Studies on the development of *tioh*<sup>8</sup> (e.g. Mei 2000, Cao 1986) always focus on the cline going from content verb to preposition and eventually to post-verbal particles indicating the continuation or completeness of the preceding verb in Late middle Chinese (LMC). With the common belief that the development of *tioh*<sup>8</sup> has come to an end in LMC, it is less noticed that the borrowing of homophonic *zhao*<sup>2</sup> (Lü 2001), a cognate of SM *tioh*<sup>8</sup>, in EMC had impact on the causative function later in the early ModC and initiated a new cline of grammaticalization in SM. Stages involved in the development of SM deontic modal *tioh*<sup>8</sup> are: (1) Eliminate the non-profiled CAUSER NP (according to Diachronic Continua (Traugott, 1995)) in the causative constructions when it became shared background, yet keep the force of imposition on the profiled CAUSEE acquired from the causative verb; (2) To profile the CAUSEE at stage one, map it to the grammatical structure, i.e. raise it to the matrix subject position; (3) Reanalyze the now adjacent *tioh*<sup>8</sup> and action verb as monoclausal since *tioh*<sup>8</sup> has lost its external argument and what left is merely the imposition from Stage (1); (4) Apply the innovative use of *tioh*<sup>8</sup> to imposition made by authorities other than the speaker, e.g. the social disciplines or morality. Though up to now the modal function of *tioh*<sup>8</sup> is found to be unique in SM among dialects in China, the influence of subjectification should not be under-estimated when it comes to the emergence of deontic modals.

Examples\*:

1. 汝著較細膩咧。 (Lien 2001)  
 li<sup>2</sup> *tioh*<sup>8</sup> khah<sup>4</sup> se<sup>3</sup>-ji<sup>7</sup> leh<sup>0</sup>  
 2SG *tioh*<sup>8</sup> COMP careful PRT  
 ‘You should be more careful.’
2. 井中水滿錢盡，遣我出著。 《敦頤11.73》  
 jing<sup>3</sup> zhong<sup>1</sup> shui<sup>3</sup> man<sup>3</sup> qian<sup>2</sup> jin<sup>1</sup> , qian<sup>2</sup> wo<sup>3</sup> chu<sup>1</sup> zhao<sup>2</sup>  
 well inside water full money exhaust send 1SG out PRT  
 ‘The well is full of water yet the money has been exhausted, (therefore) I was sent out (to somewhere by someone).’
3. 著兩箇看行李，俺兩箇問去。 《古本老乞大 36》  
 zhao<sup>2</sup> liang<sup>3</sup>•ke<sup>4</sup> kan<sup>4</sup> xing<sup>2</sup>-li<sup>3</sup>, ang<sup>3</sup> liang<sup>3</sup>•ke<sup>4</sup> wen<sup>4</sup> qu<sup>4</sup>  
 CAUS two-CL watch luggage 1PL (incl.) two-CL ask go  
 ‘Leave two people to watch the luggages, you go to confirm with me.’
4. 我著人就去提來拷問發落伊。 《荔鏡記嘉靖本51.159》  
 gua<sup>2</sup> *tioh*<sup>8</sup> lang<sup>5</sup> ciu<sup>7</sup> khi<sup>3</sup> theh<sup>8</sup> lai<sup>5</sup> kho<sup>2</sup>-bun<sup>7</sup> huat<sup>4</sup>-loh<sup>8</sup> i<sup>1</sup>  
 1SG CAUS person CONJ go arrest come heckle treat 3SG  
 ‘I’ll send someone to arrest and heckle him right now.’

\*Abbreviation Conventions: CAUS: causative; CL: classifier; COMP: comparative CONJ: conjunction; incl.: inclusive; PRT: particle.

\*\*In SM examples (1. and 4.), the romanization and diacritic numbers are conformed to TLPA announced by the Ministry of Education in Taiwan; and in Chinese examples (2. and 3.), Tongyong Pinyin system is adopted.

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### On the polysemy of object markers and topic markers: a study in diachronic typology Giorgio Iemmolo (University of Zurich)

Differential object marking (DOM) is the phenomenon whereby some direct objects (DOs) are overtly coded based on some semantic and pragmatic properties they exhibit (such as animacy, definiteness, topicality), as shown in (1) and (2), from Persian, where only the definite DO in (1) gets overt coding:

- (1) *Hasan ketab-râ did*  
Hasan book-DOM see:3SG.PST  
“Hasan saw the book”
- (2) *Hasan ketab did*  
Hasan book see:3SG.PST  
“Hasan saw a book” (Comrie 1989: 132)

Differential object markers are very often identical or historically similar to markers for topic-related functions, such as *as-for* expressions, spatio-temporal expressions, conditional and temporal markers in a number of unrelated languages. For instance, in Tsamakko (Afro-Asiatic, Cushitic), the differential object marker is obligatory with dislocated DOs (3a) as opposed to DOs in their canonical sentence-medial position (3b). In addition, it encodes spatio-temporal expressions as well as causal and conditional clauses preferably in pre-verbal position:

- (3) Ts'amakko (Afro-Asiatic, Cushitic)
- (a) *?usk-akk-o ?ise bogi*  
dirt-SG.M 3SG.F.OBJ kill-3SG.M.UNM  
“The dirt killed her”
- (b) *?ise-ka gee-ŕ-i*  
3SG.F-DOM want-1SG.UNM  
“I want her” (Savà 2005: 141)
- (c) *?ano ka n-boo-i yaaka maanf-o goh-a*  
1SG.SUBJ KA 1-sow-1SG.UNM when sorghum-M grow-3SG.M.JUSS  
“If I sow, may the sorghum grow” (Savà 2005: 113)

At first glance, this is an unexpected fact, since DOs are not usually aligned with topics. However, the recurrent formal similarity between these two forms cannot be accidental, and

must be an indicator of functional relatedness. Through the examination of a wide range of data from a sample of 133 languages, I show that the extension of topic markers to (some) direct objects is triggered by the topical nature of such direct objects. In particular, I argue that the grammaticalisation of topic markers into object markers is motivated by the fact that DOM systems usually arise in topic-shift constructions, such as left dislocations. Thus, differentially marked objects share with topics and topic-related functions a number of formal and functional properties, such as the tendency i) to appear in sentence-initial position, and ii) to be animate and definite.

The similarity between object markers and topic markers lies in the function the DOM systems fulfil in discourse. DOM is employed to signal topic discontinuities, such as topic shifts and topic promotions. Topical direct objects are less frequent than non-topical ones (see Dahl 2008; Jäger 2007, for statistical counts and discussion, among others) and thus unexpected (see Iemmolo 2011, ch. 3). At the sentence level, DOM encodes the fact that the information structure of the sentence does not follow the predicted pattern. The high topicality of differentially marked DOs has its correlates at the discourse level, in that DOM shifts the topic of conversation from the immediately preceding topic (usually the subject) to another one, which is a grammatical DO.

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### **Constructional (re)grammaticalization: The case of Estonian adpositional phrases**

Anni Jürine (University of Tartu)

The present study is concerned with the grammaticalization of Estonian adpositional phrases related to body parts. Grammaticalization of body part terms into function words is a widely attested phenomenon (Heine, Kuteva 2002). However, this study explores the grammaticalization on the constructional level, i.e. the study rests on the assumption that constructions may be both — the outcome as well as the subject of grammaticalization (Traugott 2003, Trousdale 2010). In this study, the instance of grammaticalization is the whole adpositional phrase, which by definition already contains a grammatical item (see example 1). As this process is not considered to be regrammaticalization of the adposition alone, this paper determines the role and contribution of both components of the adpositional phrase — the noun and the adposition — in the grammaticalization process. Furthermore, it provides a more in-depth semantic analysis of the different usage patterns of the grammaticalizing adpositional phrases.

The data has been extracted from Google in order to be representative of colloquial Estonian. The process of grammaticalization is described mostly in terms of contextual expansion and meaning change, which is motivated by metaphorical and metonymical transfers. Sentence 2 exemplifies a usage where both of these mechanisms are at work. The adpositional phrase *käe all* (literally ‘under one’s hand’) here expresses a non-spatial and a more abstract meaning (‘control’), which refers to desemanticization. Contextual expansion is manifested by the ability of the phrase to take collective modifiers (*juhtkond* ‘board’).

1. **selja-Ø taga**  
back-gen behind  
noun postposition  
'behind one's back', 'over' (temporal)
2. Firma on uue-Ø juhtkonna-Ø käe-Ø all  
Company is new-gen board-gen hand-gen under  
The company is under the hand of the new board  
'The company is under the control of the new board'

The preliminary findings of this study suggest that characteristics of (incipient) grammaticalization are found among several adpositional phrases related to body parts. Semantic bleaching and contextual expansion, along with high token frequency of the phrases, suggest the increasing schematicity of the adpositional phrases. The individual components of the phrases lose their referential capacity and the formerly specific phrases move towards more general meanings (e.g. *nina all* 'under one's nose' > 'in front of') and grammatical functions (e.g. *käe all* 'under one's hand' > 'control', 'possession'). The meaning change is primarily motivated by the semantics of the body part noun as the lexically contentful component of the phrase. However, the contribution of the adposition should not be disregarded, for it is claimed that it is the whole construction that is the subject of grammaticalization.

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### **Grammaticalisation of prospective from quotatives: the case of Mano (Mande)**

Maria Khachaturyan (LLACAN – CNRS, France)

In my presentation I will discuss specific morphophonological, syntactic and semantic features of prospective markers in the Mano language (South Mande). I will also discuss the origins of these markers in Mano in relation to their parallels in other Mande languages.

Prospective markers in Mano have several specific features.

#### 1. Syntax

The regular structure of a simple predication in Mano is represented as follows:

(S) - PM – (DO) – V

PM stands for predicative marker which expresses time, aspect, modality and polarity meanings but also person and number, as *léē* in (1).

- (1) *Kɔ́ɔ́ léē yī zē.*  
PROP 3SG.IPFV sleep kill  
'Ko sleeps'.

Unlike any other PM, prospective marker is obligatorily followed by another PM, as in (2).

- (2) *Kòó yèlè é yī zē.*  
 PROP 3SG.PROSP 3SG.CONJ sleep kill  
 ‘Ko is about to fall asleep’.

## 2. Phonology

1SG prospective marker has two variants, *mòlò* and *mònò*. The *mòlò* form violates a phonological rule according to which intervocalic // and initial nasal consonants cannot coexist within a non-derived lexeme of CVCV structure. Therefore *mòlò* has a structure characteristic of derived lexemes. It proves that the grammaticalization of the prospective series is an on-going process.

## 3. Semantics

The prospective series has a remarkable diversity of functions including the above mentioned prospective (2), quotative (3), and intention (4).

- (3) *Yèlè à mós̄ ŋwò gbàlà mià*  
 3SG.PROSP 3SG.NSBJ surface thing:IZF Kpelle person.PL  
*yà-à lē lūú yí.*  
 sit-GER COP bush in  
 ‘He says (that) this is why Kpelle occupied the forest’.
- (4) *Gèwūlū yèlè gbāā é kpìli kē.*  
 PROP 3SG.PROSP now 3SG.CONJ feast do  
 ‘Gewulu wants to organize a feast’.

It is widely attested in the crosslinguistic literature that quotative constructions may express intention and subsequently acquire future meaning (Güldemann 2008: 425). The grammaticalisation path of the prospective series of markers in Mano is represented as follows:

quotative → intention → prospective

This grammaticalisation path seems to be unique within the Mande family.

Quotatives in Mande languages are analyzed in (Idiatov 2011), (Güldemann 2008). Mano quotatives appear to be different from quotatives in other Mande languages in various aspects. First, Mano appears to be the only language where quotatives form a full conjugation paradigm. In other languages the paradigm is always syncretized. Second, what we have in Mano is not quotative markers, as in the majority of other Mande languages, but a quotative predicator. It means that they are in complementation relation to a clause-level quotative index, that is, a “normal” predication including a speech verb (5a). Finally, their unique feature is that they may be followed by a clause-linking marker (5b).

- (5) a. *Láà gèē (kélē) à mós̄ ŋwò gbàlà mià*  
 3SG.IPFV say:IPFV that 3SG.NSBJ surface thing:IZF Kpelle person.PL  
*yà-à lē lūú yí.*  
 sit-GER COP bush in  
 ‘He says (that) this is why Kpelle occupied the forest’.
- b. *Yèlè kélē à mós̄ ŋwò gbàlà mià*  
 3SG.PROSP that 3SG.NSBJ surface thing:IZF Kpelle person.PL  
*yà-à lē lūú yí.*  
 sit-GER COP bush in  
 ‘He says that this is why Kpelle occupied the forest’.

This analysis may supplement the one proposed in (Vydrin ms). In this paper the prospective construction in Mano is linked with prospective constructions in other South Mande languages, Dan and Tura, and a reconstruction for the subgroup Dan - Tura – Mano is proposed. The author states intention as the original meaning of this construction. From my point of view, the initial meaning of the prospective series was quotative. This meaning was lost in all languages but Mano. Such an interpretation is supported by the already mentioned

grammaticalisation path from quotative meaning into prospective via intention (Güldemann 2008).

#### Abbreviations

1 - 1 person; 2 - 2 person; 3 - 3 person; CONJ - conjunctive; COP – copula, GER - gerund; IPFV - imperfective; IZF – izafet, PL – plural, PM – predicative marker; PRF - perfect; PROP - proper noun; PROSP - prospective, REFL - reflexive; SG - singular.

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### On-going grammaticalization of Korean verb *nayta* ‘put out’

Ahrim Kim (University of New Mexico)

Korean verb *nayta* ‘put out, take out, make’ is currently being used both as a lexical verb and also as an auxiliary verb as shown in (1) - (2).

(1) [*nayta* used as a lexical verb]

*ku-nun chayksang-ul pakk-ulo nay-ss-ta*  
he-NOM desk-ACC out-ABL **put out**-PAST-END  
‘He put the desk outside.’

(2) [*nayta* used as an auxiliary verb]

*sumi-nun pyungma-lul ikye nay-ss-ta*  
Sumi-NON disease-ACC win **AUX**-PAST-END  
‘Sumi overcame the disease.’

Although Korean auxiliary verbs have been extensively studied by scholars over the years, the verb *nayta* ‘put out’ received comparatively little attention. There seem to be a few exceptions such as Oh (1979), Jang (2006), Hong (2008), and Park (2003), however, none of them focused on the grammaticalization process of *nayta*. Although there seems to be a notable exception such as Rhee (2008), who included *nayta* as a small part of his description on the grammaticalization of perfective markers in Korean, no study seems to be thoroughly done on *nayta* in detail from the grammaticalization perspective. This paper aims to fill this gap.

This present study illustrates the grammaticalization process of the lexical verb *nayta* ‘put out’ into an auxiliary verb functioning as a completive, which is defined in Bybee et al. (1994) as ‘to do something thoroughly and to completion.’ This study suggests that *nayta* has grammaticalized from serial verb constructions, via reanalysis and conventionalization of inference.

Furthermore, this paper particularly focuses on the current and still on-going grammaticalization process of *nayta* by conducting a quantitative diachronic study, using corpora of relatively recent data. By comparing two time periods, before the year 1970 (from 1886 to 1965) and after the year 1970 (from 1970’s to 1990’s), which is not a very large range of time, this present study demonstrates the on-going change of language, and manifests that numerous types of changes are occurring and can be observed even within one century (1896~1990’s).

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### **From Causative-Passive to Attenuative Stance-Marking: A Grammaticalization Perspective**

Hyun Jung Koo (Sangmyung University) & Seongha Rhee (Hankuk Univ. of Foreign Studies)

Causatives and passives are inherently related because the difference is a matter of perspectives on causation: causatives look at an event as caused by an external force from the agent-perspective, while passives look at the event from the viewpoint of the theme/patient experiencing the exertion of the force. Furthermore, since the strength and agentivity of causation can vary widely, if the agentivity is not prominent, the causative serves merely as a passive marker. Reflecting this state of affairs, Korean has a number of morphemes, in the forms of derivational morphemes and verb-based periphrases, which carry functional ambiguity between causatives and passives (Nam & Ko 2006, Kwon 1992).

Of particular interest is that in recent years, causative-passives are extensively expanding their uses for discursive strategic purposes, i.e. marking the speaker's attenuative stance. These phenomena have not yet received scholarly attention to date, except in contexts where such uses are denounced by prescriptive grammarians as ungrammatical. This paper intends to fill this gap by presenting an analysis of this usage pattern from the grammaticalization perspective.

There are two major channels whereby such causative-passives come to serve the stance-marking function. One channel is the 'mode-channel' that begins from the adverbializer *-key* designating the mode, and through syntagmatic compacting procedure involving a light verb and a verb of existence, becomes *-keyss-*, the marker of futurity and conjecture, around the turn of the 19th century (Rhee 1996). Since futurity and conjecture are inherently indeterminate, *-keyss-* comes to be used to soften the illocutionary forces of assertions or statements. This is well illustrated in the following example by a cashier, the kind often encountered in commercial transaction (Hon: honorific; Atten: attenuative; End; sentential ending):

- (1) *chong 30,000-won toy-si-keyss-supnita*  
total 30,000-won become-Hon-Atten-End  
'The total is 30,000 won.'

The other channel is the 'fall-channel' that begins from the fully lexical verb *ci-* denoting 'fall' and through verb serialization becomes *-eci-*, the marker of passivity, in the 15th or earlier. Since falling is typically caused by the natural force of gravitation it seems to have implied uncontrollability, thus helplessness. It is in this sense that the passive *-eci-* is deemed

suitable for marking attenuation. In other words, the event denoted by the proposition is 'what occurred to the speaker' rather than 'what the speaker actively did'. This is exemplified in the following example where the speaker wants to tone down his/her negative opinion (Top: topic; Adn: adnominal; Comp: complementizer; Pass: passive):

(2) *kuke-n pwucekcelha-n cengchayk-i-lako sayngkak-toy-eci-pnita*  
that-Top inappropriate-Adn policy-be-Comp think-Pass-Atten-End

Drawing upon historical and contemporary data corpora, this paper traces the development of causative-passives and shows how subjectification and intersubjectification played a role in the emergence of the attenuative stance-marking function from causative-passives in Modern Korean.

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### **New reflections on auxilia(riza)tion** Manfred Krug (University of Bamberg)

This paper discusses the relation between auxiliaries and grammaticalization. It focuses on how the development of auxiliaries – that is, auxiliarization or auxiliation – contributes to the theory of grammaticalization and, vice versa, how grammaticalization may shed light on some notorious problems in the synchronic description of auxiliaries. Aspects to be discussed include morphological, phonological and syntactic structure and developments. At the centre of the present investigation are attempts at dynamic definitions of auxiliaries, including those by Heine (1993), Kuteva (2001) and Anderson (2006). In particular the following three criteria proposed in Krug (2011: 558) will be examined more closely:

- (i) An auxiliary is a (de)verbal entity with scope over a (de)verbal complement which is less than fully finite.
- (ii) An auxiliary has a synchronic allomorph in the form of a free morpheme or clitic.
- (iii) An auxiliary helps form a grammatical construction for the expression of crosslinguistically recurrent meanings beyond person, number and case marking.

The present paper embraces a panchronic approach, which integrates synchronic variation and historical change in one language as well as examples from unrelated languages. In so doing, it tries to shed some further light on problems relating auxiliaries and issues of taxonomy and typology as exemplified in van der Auwera (2006) or Haspelmath (2011).

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### **Prosodic properties of the evolution of the infix *-I/ESC-* from Latin to Romance: a case of grammaticalization?**

Béatrice Lamiroy & Claire Meul (KU Leuven)

The aim of the paper is twofold. **First**, we intend to investigate the relation between grammaticalization and prosody by focusing on the Romance verbal infix *-I/ESC-*, which was originally used as a derivational morpheme, allowing to create inchoative verbs out of statives (e.g., Latin *RUBĒRE* ‘to be red’ → *RUB-ĒSC-ĒRE* ‘to turn red’). In most Romance varieties, *-I/ESC-* lost this particular status and instead became part of the inflectional paradigm of certain fourth conjugation verbs in *-i(r)* (e.g., French *finir* ‘to finish’, pres.ind. 4. *nous fin-iss-ons*, 5. *vous fin-iss-ez*). Interestingly, in Romance, the grammaticalization of *-I/ESC-* from derivation to inflection often patterns with prosodic properties of the verb form, in particular the alternation between *rhizotonic* (root-stressed) and *arhizotonic* (ending-stressed) verb forms. Thus, in most Romance varieties, the reflexes of *-I/ESC-* are attracted to the *rhizotonic* forms of the verbal paradigm, viz. the singular and third plural of the present, both in the indicative and the subjunctive (e.g., Italian *finire* ‘to finish’, pres.ind. 1. *fin-isc-o*, 2. *fin-isc-i*, 3. *fin-isc-e*, 4. *finiamo*, 5. *finite*, 6. *fin-isc-ono*). Since *-I/ESC-* takes stress, the result is an entirely *arhizotonic* and hence ‘uniform’ stress-pattern. As such, the Romance intra-paradigmatic restructuring of the Latin *-I/ESC-* morpheme nicely shows that grammaticalization processes interact significantly with prosody. One of the research questions here is that of the exact ‘nature’ of this interaction: does a prosodic factor such as ‘stress-alignment’ trigger the grammaticalization process or is it rather a side effect?

The **second** objective is to assess the terminological question raised by *-I/ESC-* with respect to the related notions of ‘grammaticalization’, ‘degrammaticalization’ and ‘exaptation’. If we focus on the fact that *-I/ESC-* was transferred from the domain of derivation (cf. its status in Latin) to the domain of inflection (cf. its status in most of contemporary Romance), its evolution can be considered an instance of **grammaticalization**. However, from another perspective we might rather analyze the evolution of *-I/ESC-* in terms of **degrammaticalization**, as defined by Ramat (1992), i.e. the process whereby linguistic items lose their grammatical content. The reason is that, although *-I/ESC-* appears in the inflectional paradigm of certain fourth conjugation verbs, it cannot be treated as a proper inflectional morpheme, since it lacks specific inflectional value such as tense, aspect or mood. On the other hand, a more thorough investigation of the fate of *-I/ESC-* in Romance (cf. Meul 2011:109-187) shows that the Romance infix, in spite of lacking a clear inflectional content, fulfills various other functions in the verb system. According to the Romance variety in which it is used, the Romance outcome of Latin *-I/ESC-* can act as a means to **(1)** generalize a particular stress-pattern (cf. *supra*); **(2)** avoid stress-conditioned root-allomorphy, by shifting stress from the verb root towards itself; **(3)** clearly distinguish the morphological shape of the fourth conjugation from the other conjugation classes; **(4)** introduce semantic-aspectual shades of meaning (e.g., Francoprovençal *dze partyo* ‘I leave’ without infix is used in habitual contexts (e.g. ‘each day I leave for work’), whereas the infixed counterpart *part-ich-o* has progressive meaning (e.g. ‘I am leaving now’)). Taking into account this multiple functionality of the infix, it might be more appropriate to analyze the evolution of the *-I/ESC-* morpheme as a case of **exaptation** (Lass 1990) rather than as an instance of

degrammaticalization. Thus, the Romance evolution of *-I/ESC-* also raises the question of the terminological fuzziness that surrounds the very notion of grammaticalization.

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### **On grammaticalisation of less frequent subordinators introducing final clauses in Middle English**

Andrzej M. Łęcki (Pedagogical University of Cracow) & Jerzy Nykiel (University of Silesia)

Our previous studies, (cf. Łęcki and Nykiel in press, under review) have demonstrated that apart from *(so) that*, which has been used to introduce finite clauses of purpose since the beginning of recorded English, a number of expressions emerged to reinforce the same function, e.g. *in order that*, *to the end that*, *to the intent that*, etc. This paper deals with the development of some conjunctions expressing purpose whose characteristic feature is their relatively brief popularity. They include *as*, as in *Besekyng his highnesse to geve vs suche..ayde, as we may be able..to resiste ayenst the malice of his enemyes* 'Beseeching his highness to give us such aid so that we could resist the malice of his enemies' (c1460) Let.Sou.in Sou.RS 22 (Sou SC.2/9/2) 21, *by so*, e.g. *In englich..it is wel harde wel to expounen, Ac somdel I shal seyne it, by so how vnderstonde* 'It is hard to translate it into English, but sometime I shall interpret some part of it so that you will understand' c1400(c1378) PPI.B (LdMisc 581) 14.278, *for as much*, e.g. *Þey whiche been sike schullin haue proper place..For as mochel þat þe reste..be nat distourbid* 'Those who are sick should have a proper place so that the rest should not be disturbed' a1500 Rule Minoreesses (Bod 585) 87/25, *for-why*, as in *In hyr hand A braunche newe, Forwhy that no man sholde her lette* 'In her hand a new twig so that no man should hinder her' a1500(?a1400) Morte Arth.(2) (Hrl 2252) 2617 and *with*, as in *Alle leawede men þe understonden ne mahen latines ledene ... lusted þe liflade of a meiden þet is of latin iturnd to engliche leode wið þon þet teos hali leafdi in heouene luuie us þe mare* 'All uneducated men who cannot understand Latin want the life story of a maiden to be translated from Latin into English so that the Virgin Mary should love us more' c1225(?c1200) St.Juliana (Bod 34) 3/7. A short-lived adverbial subordinator which expresses negative purpose in English and which is also the subject of our study is *ne happe that*: *Wurshepe my goddys, ne hap thoue euyl dye* 'Worship my gods lest you wickedly die' 1447 Bokenham Sts.(Arun 327) 662.

The grammaticalisation of the constructions above is investigated with reference to the mechanisms of grammaticalisation delineated by Lehmann (1982) [2002], Hopper (1991) and Heine (2003) [2005] on the basis of the language data gathered mainly from the electronic corpora of the English language such as the MED, Penn-Helsinki and ICAME corpora. Our main aim, however, is to address the issue of the role of frequency in grammaticalisation, especially with respect to Bybee's (2007: 336) claim that "one striking feature of this process [i.e. grammaticalisation] is a dramatic frequency increase." It seems that these connectives did not gain in popularity in the language because they were thwarted by their heavy functional load which is the main reason for the extremely low frequency of the purposive subordinators analysed in this study.

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## The grammatical status of semi-modals of obligation in Asian Englishes

Lucía Loureiro-Porto (University of the Balearic Islands)

All recent studies of modality in Standard English lead to the same conclusion: the semi-modals *need (to)*, *want to* and *have to* are gaining ground to the detriment of central modals such as *must* (see Krug 2000, Leech 2003, Smith 2003, Nokkonen 2006, Pfaff 2010, Aarts 2011 among many others). While this is true for Kachru's (1985, etc.) inner circle varieties of English, it still needs to be proved for the outer circle varieties, and also what their grammatical status is within each of these varieties in contact with other languages.

Several studies on modality in New Englishes have recently been published, but the field is still widely underexplored. Thus, for example, it has already been pointed out that the AmE and BrE trend to favour semi-modals against central modals is being led, among new Englishes, by those spoken in SE Asia (Philippines, Singapore, Hong Kong and India, cf. Collins 2009), but such a study is based on frequency alone and pays no attention to meaning differences. Likewise, Biewer (2009), in a study based on her self-collected corpora, found deontic *must* to be very rare in Fiji and Samoa Englishes, but no equivalent study has been conducted yet for SE Asian Englishes. As for the particular use of *need* and *need to* in new varieties of English, whereas the pioneer study by Lee (2001) shows that polar *need* is widely accepted in Hong Kong English, van der Auwera et al. (forthcoming) show that its use has declined in this variety.

Therefore, there are several questions that still need to be answered, such as: is there a universal trend for semi-modals to replace core modals in all varieties of English?, what is the actual grammatical status of the semi-modals in the different varieties?, in what way, if any, does the semantic distribution of the verbs *must*, *need (to)* and *want to* in new Englishes

differ from those they exhibit in Standard Englishes?, what might be the role played by the substratum in the peculiarities observed? With the aim of shedding some light on these issues, this paper will start by exploring the ICE corpora for Hong Kong and India, and contrast the results obtained with those retrieved from ICE-GB. Examples of *must*, *need (to)* and *want (to)* will be analysed from a semantic point of view, following the cognitive approach of Force Dynamics (cf. Talmy 2000) and the semantic analysis will be combined with their morphosyntactic features so as to: carefully describe the degree of grammaticalization of these items in Hong Kong and Indian English, and draw a preliminary semantic map of the distribution of the semi-modals *need* and *want* in these two varieties of the outer circle of English as compared with Standard British English.

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### The grammaticalization of NP BE ADJ ADJ / NP<sub>1</sub> VB NP<sub>2</sub> ADJ patterns

Hélène Margerie (University Michel de Montaigne, Bordeaux)

Grammatical constructionalization is "a process which involves the creation of sets of schematic and productive form-meaning pairings in which gradually reductive phonetic strings typically encode increasingly lexical and procedural meaning" (Trousdale 2011).

The present paper is concerned with a particular instance of grammatical constructionalization, i.e. the emergence of the micro-constructions (see Traugott 2008, *inter alia*) NP<sub>1</sub> VB NP<sub>2</sub> AWFUL / NP BE ADJ AWFUL, NP<sub>1</sub> VB NP<sub>2</sub> TERRIBLE / NP BE ADJ TERRIBLE and NP<sub>1</sub>

VB NP<sub>2</sub> HORRIBLE / NP BE ADJ HORRIBLE, illustrated in (1)-(2), as they join a set of meso-constructions, i.e. NP<sub>1</sub> VB NP<sub>2</sub> ADJ / NP BE ADJ ADJ, and thereby strengthen speakers' mental representation of a higher-level pattern in the taxonomic network, i.e. the degree modifier macro-construction.

(1) Everyone was so perturbed about the new fireworks law. The large booms were going until all hours. I have dogs, and they just shook and shook. They were **scared awful**.

(<http://www.kentucky.com/2011/07/10/1806638/letters-to-editor-july-10.html>)

(2) Gaiman has certainly initially screamed plagiarism. Only when he had a movie contract, changed his comments. At first he was **angry terrible**.

(<http://edilgaimanen.blogspot.com/2008/04/swollen-receding-gums.html>)

It is argued that the (unusual) use in present-day English of *awful* in the pattern NP<sub>1</sub> VB NP<sub>2</sub> AWFUL / NP BE ADJ AWFUL, for instance, does not necessarily represent a further step in the grammaticalization of the degree modifier *awfully* as a phonetically reduced form of the latter. Nor is it assumed that the use of *awful* in (1) is similar to the use in (3) of the degree modifier *awful* that grammaticalized in the nineteenth century (OED s.v. *awful*, adj. 4d).

(3) "Coz we got scared [,] **awful scared**," said Dulcie under her breath. "Scared most to death," Doosie added solemnly.

(<http://www.ebooksread.com/authors-eng/mary-e-mary-ella-waller/flamsted-quarries-ala/page-17-flamsted-quarries-ala.shtml>)

Rather, my assumption is that the patterns illustrated in (1)-(2) are best analysed in terms of constructionalization and are the result of a process of analogization (Traugott and Trousdale 2010) based on other degree modifier micro-constructions, e.g. NP<sub>1</sub> VB NP<sub>2</sub> SICK/RIGID/STIFF / NP BE ADJ SICK/RIGID/STIFF. This in turn strengthens the grammaticalization of a higher-level pattern, i.e. the meso-construction NP<sub>1</sub> VB NP<sub>2</sub> ADJ / NP BE ADJ ADJ which is part of the degree modifier macro-construction.

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### **On internal vs. external renewal: the Medieval Greek analytic comparatives**

Theodore Markopoulos (University of Patras)

The formation of analytic comparative forms of adjectives alongside older synthetic equivalents is a development common to many European languages, to the extent that it may be considered as one of the core characteristics of the so-called 'Standard Average European' (cf. e.g. Haspelmath, 2001). Crucially, this instance of renewal has been often linked with language contact situations (cf. e.g. Gonzalez-Diaz, 2008 for the English construction), while in some cases the 'external' motivation for such developments is more than possible (cf. e.g. Heine & Kuteva, 2006). This paper focuses on the equivalent Greek construction and argues that language contact should be viewed as a facilitating factor for its development.

The Modern Greek analytic comparative construction ‘pjo + (positive) adjective’ is usually referred to in connection with the Balkan Sprachbund, since it instantiates its characteristic of periphrastic comparatives (cf. Joseph, 2010). Its origin arguably lies in the Late Medieval Greek (LMG) construction ‘pleon + Adj.’, which was phonetically reduced to ‘plia/plio + Adj.’. However, there is considerable controversy with regard to the actual emergence of the Modern Greek form of the particle (‘pjo’), in particular whether it is the result of influence from the equivalent Italian construction involving the particle ‘piu’ (as was originally suggested in Jannaris, 1897). The paper aims to clarify this issue by providing new, previously ignored data such as the following:

«...diatin to telos tis praxis aftis thoronda inen prama **pja kaliotera** na  
BECAUSE THE END THE AFFAIR-GEN THIS BELIEVING IS THING MORE BETTER THAT  
teliothi meta ton ...»

FINISH WITH HIM

“because the end of this affair, as we believe, is something that should better end with him... = because we believe this issue should end with his participation” (Lefort, 1981 / 21, d. 1489)

This example is found in a private letter from the Master of the Knights of St. John to the Ottoman ruler, dated in 1489 and written in Greek, as was usually the case for the correspondence between the Master of Rhodes and the Ottomans. It contains one of the oldest instances yet found of the periphrastic construction involving ‘pja’ (and not its much more frequent equivalent ‘plia’) and, what is perhaps more important, has a number of syntactic oddities / ‘mistakes’ which make us believe that its scribe was probably a Westerner with knowledge of Greek as a second language. This piece of evidence, together with numerous other data provided in the paper, argue for at least a partial language contact account for the development of the Greek analytic comparative construction.

Finally, the paper discusses whether the LMG data fit with the scenario proposed by Heine & Kuteva (2006) for this type of construction, and if so, whether this can provide some new insights for the overall development of the construction from its earlier stages involving the full adverb ‘pleon’ to its current Modern Greek form ‘pjo’.

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#### ***Sempre che and casomai:***

#### **the grammaticalization of two conditional connectives in Italian**

Caterina Mauri (University of Pavia) & Andrea Sansò (University of Insubria)

The literature on grammaticalization has identified a pool of sources of conditional connectives: copular constructions and other topic-marking strategies, forms marking something as known (*given that*), verbs with hypothetical meanings (*suppose*), and temporal

connectives (*when, as long as*; Haiman 1978; Traugott 1985; Hopper & Traugott 2003: 186; Heine & Kuteva 2002: 94-95, 263, 301).

The aim of this paper is to analyze the development of two conditional connectives of Italian whose source does not fall within this restricted list of sources.<sup>1</sup> The two connectives in question, *sempre che* and *casomai*, have two temporal adverbs of quantification with opposite semantics (*sempre* ‘always’, *mai* ‘never’) as their building blocks, but various factors are at play in the emergence of their conditional meaning besides their temporal semantics. *Sempre che* in Italian functions as a restrictive conditional (Visconti 2000) and presents the event as only weakly probable (see (1)), whereas the event in the scope of *casomai* is presented as a simple hypothesis with some degree of likelihood (see (2)); *casomai* also functions as an adverb in independent clauses, meaning ‘if anything’ (ex. (3)).

(1) *Ti dirò quello che ne penso, sempre che ti interessi sentirlo!*

‘I’ll tell you what I think about that, provided that you’re interested in hearing it’

(2) *Casomai ti interessasse, fammelo sapere per tempo*

‘In case you are interested, just let me know beforehand’

(3) *Ci vado domani, casomai.*

‘If anything I’ll go there tomorrow’

The earliest occurrences of *sempre che* with a connective function can be dated back to the 13<sup>th</sup> century, when *sempre che* had a temporal meaning paraphrased as ‘every time (when)’. Up to the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the temporal connective *sempre che* mostly occurs with present/past time reference and with iterative semantics as in (4). From the 16<sup>th</sup> century on, there is an increase in contexts with future time reference (still with an iterative meaning), as in (5). These potentially ambiguous contexts foster the reanalysis of *sempre che* as a conditional connective involving low probability, which also dates back to the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Once the reanalysis has taken place, the conditional use (which, unlike the temporal one, requires a verb in the subjunctive) spreads at the expenses of the temporal use, no longer attested in present-day Italian.

(4) *sempre che il re voleva salire a cavallo, egli ...* (Giamboni, *Orosio*, 1292)

‘whenever the king wanted to ride, he...’

(5) *sempre che lo vederà lo admonisca [...] a non gittare il tempo* (Ariosto, *Lettere*, 16th century)

‘every time he will see him, he should warn him not to waste his time’ / ‘should he see him, he should warn him etc.’

As far as *casomai* is concerned, the picture is slightly more complex: as early as the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the temporal adverb of quantification *mai* behaves as a negative polarity item bearing a value of uncertainty. With this value, it comes to be used together with *nel caso* ‘in (the) case’, thus reinforcing the conditional semantics already encoded in this phrase. At a later stage (17<sup>th</sup>/18<sup>th</sup> centuries), *caso mai che* starts to be attested as a connective, but *caso* can be still modified (ex. (6)). Eventually, during the 19<sup>th</sup>/20<sup>th</sup> centuries, *caso mai* is attested as a conditional connective. The earliest occurrences of its adverbial function can also be dated around the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, and can be argued to arise from the ellipsis of the protasis.

(6) *mi indusse a sistemare amichevolmente con mia sorella altri mezzi [...], caso mai ch’io dovessi sopravvivere a lei* (Alfieri, *Vita*, 18th century)

‘(this fact) led me to amicably entrust other goods to my sister, should it be the case that I outlive her’

The differences between the two paths include the role of the source meaning of quantification (direct connection with quantification over events in *sempre che*, only indirect in *casomai*, where *mai* enters the construction already with a non-universal value), the type of development (semantic change in *sempre che*, reanalysis + semantic change in *casomai*, with univerbation and category change) and the role of context (e.g. future contexts determine the low-probability semantics of *sempre che*).

<sup>1</sup> The diachronic corpus used in this paper consists of the following subcorpora: OVI corpus (13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> century Italian); *Biblioteca Italiana* corpus (14<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> century Italian); *La Repubblica* corpus + *Primo Tesoro della Lingua Letteraria Italiana del Novecento* (20<sup>th</sup> century written Italian); *LIP (Lessico dell'Italiano Parlato)* corpus + *Lablita* corpus (present-day spoken Italian).

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### New developments for an old Serial Verb Construction: *tek* in Nigerian Pidgin

Maria Mazzoli (University of Padua)

Nigerian Pidgin (NigP)'s serial verb construction (SVC) with the verb “tek” (from the English *take*) is usually referred to as “instrumental SVC”. *Tek* performs as a manner, instrument, circumstance, material and function introducer or as a general valence increaser (Faraclas 1996: 75-80, 141-150, 161, 244, 245, 248). Instrumental constructions with *tek* is a typologically important function, grouping NigP with ‘deep’ Creoles such as the Jamaican Creole, Surinamese languages, Krio and Haitian (Patrick 2004: 829). This feature is present where the contribution of the first languages of the slaves has been more prominent: virtually no Kwa language lacks the instrumental SVC with a verb similar or identical to the one for “take” (Creissels, pc). NigP instrumental SVCs with *tek* should then be regarded as cases of “apparent grammaticalization” (Bruyn 1996).

Data collected in Southern Nigeria in 2007 apparently show a divergent usage, which may suggest that the serial verb *tek* is grammaticalizing, or at least shifting in function, in a way not yet reported in the literature. In my data we find several instances where serial *tek* appear in constructions such as (1):

- (1) Me, I jos like as you jos **tek** handle am  
Me, I just like how you just take handle it  
Me, I just like the way you managed to handle it

Here *tek* lacks a specific argument, so that the whole construction lacks a specific instrument. The argument of *tek* is a non-specified “way” or “attitude” (i.e. “as”) that permitted the subject to accomplish the action expressed by the main verb (handle). *Tek* indicates the expression of a **non-specific manner** and its meaning comes close to “manage to”, as we can also see in (2):

- (2) How you **take** know say na di guy?  
How you **tek** know COM FOC the guy?  
How can you be sure that this is the guy?

This use can be related semantically to the use of *tek* in instrumental SVC, especially the more abstract ones (Faraclas, pc), but nevertheless it is reasonable to note that the item has started a path of change, along which some modal features are emerging. The cline would be:

*tek* as instrument-introducer > manner-introducer > modal verb

In NigP we find an instrument-introducer *tek*, a manner-introducer *tek* and a “modal” *tek* (as in 1 and 2 above). The three constructions are present in the language synchronically (along with a fully lexical *take*), as a part of a gradience (Traugott and Trousdale 2010) that may reflect the diachronic development of the path.

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### From coordination to interrogativity: the development of Estonian question particles

Helle Metslang, Karl Pajusalu & Külli Habicht (University of Tartu)

In Estonian, as is common in Circum-Baltic languages, polar questions are typically formed by means of particles. The presentation will focus on grammaticalization processes of Estonian question particles in the previous centuries and nowadays; some examples from other languages of the region will be discussed as well. Our analysis of Estonian is based on the corpora of the University of Tartu. We assume that there could be some source types of question particles that are known at least in the Circum-Baltic area.

The main markers of Estonian polar questions have undergone grammaticalization or are in the process of grammaticalization from particles and conjunctions with a coordinative meaning. These particles can be divided into conjunctive and disjunctive ones by their origin.

The source structure of the **conjunctive** particle can be schematically depicted using the following formulas:

*AND P*: it entails the context of the question and originates from the connective conjunction or particle. This type is represented by the particle *kas*, which comes from the meaning ‘also’. The particle emerged in the 17th–18th c. and is the basic question marker in contemporary Estonian. Also, the Lithuanian question particle *ar* has the source meaning ‘also’.

*AND not-P*. This type is represented by the particle *ega* (<‘also not’) that developed in the 18th–19th c.

The source structure of the **disjunctive** particle can be depicted by means of the formula *P OR not-P*. The element with the meaning ‘or’ or the element with the meaning ‘not’ can be grammaticalized into an interrogative particle.

The ‘or’ case is represented by the Estonian sentence-final particle *või~vä*, which is now spreading in the spoken language. The source meaning ‘or’ can be found in question markers in Livonian (*voi*), Latvian (*vai*), Russian (*li*), German (*oder*), but also, for example, in Thai and Vietnamese.

The ‘not’ case is represented by the question particle *es* (<*ei-ko-s* NEG-Q-CONF) in 17<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> c. South-Estonian texts.

In addition to these polar question markers with a broad sphere of use, Estonian reveals a limited interrogative use of some conjunctive conjunctions: *ja* ‘and’; adversative *aga* ‘but’,

*kuid* 'but'. The emergence of coordinative interrogative particles could be explained by interplay of linking clauses in texts and presuppositions of polar questions.

Also, sentences with a modality marker (*ehk* 'perhaps', *võib-olla* 'maybe') may function as a polar question marker.

The use of coordination and modality markers as polar question markers is based on reanalysis of a part of the presupposition of a potential question to the question itself.

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### **Neg-Raising Phenomenon as a Product of Grammaticalization**

Tetsuharu Moriya (Kanazawa University) & Kaoru Horie (Nagoya University)

Neg-Raising Phenomenon (hence force NRP), in which the main clause negation behaves as if it is in the subordinate clause (e.g. (1)) has been analyzed from varying theoretical viewpoints like transformational grammar (Cattell 1973), formal semantics (Bartsch 1973, Heim 2000 ), pragmatics (Horn 1978, 1989, Horn and Bayer 1984 ), and functional linguistics (Prince 1976), but no one theory seems to sufficiently explain a wide variety of characteristics of NRP.

(1) I *don't* think [he will come back *until tomorrow*].

In this presentation, we will argue that NRP emerges through the process of grammaticalization. Namely, the apparent main clause (*I don't think*) is downgraded into a modal parenthetical phrase which expresses the speaker/writer's subjective attitude toward the proposition expressed in the subordinate clause.

This is manifested in morpho-syntactic reanalysis, constructional (rather than lexical) change, divergence, and subjectification, all of which are held to be constitutive characteristics of grammaticalization in Hopper and Traugott (1993). For instance, in (1), *think* expresses a subjective attitude of the speaker rather than a description of the cognitive process of thinking (cf. Thompson and Mulac 1991).

By taking this perspective, some controversial characteristics of NRP, such as lexical characterizations of NRP versus non-NRP predicates, will be more naturally explained. The most typical NRP predicates are the ones which show general belief such as *think* and *believe* and the ones expressing particular thinking process is less suitable and gives different judgments of acceptability by native speakers. This accords with the idea that lexical sources of grammaticalization are general in meaning, which is also suggested in Hopper and Traugott (1993). This characterization of NRP predicates applies not only to English but also to other languages like Japanese. Thus, *omou*, which roughly corresponds to *believe*, is a NRP predicate, but *kangaeru*, which is usually taken as corresponding to *think*, sounds awkward as shown in (2):

(2) *sono nimotsu-wa raigetsu made todoku to omowa-nai/ ??kangae-nai.*

The parcel-TOP next month until reach COMP don't think  
"I don't think the parcel reaches us until next month."

In this way, apparent difference of NRP predicates across different languages (e.g. *think* in English is a NRP predicate while Japanese *kangaeru*, which roughly corresponds to *think*, is not), pointed out by Horn (1984, 1989), is partly explained by referring to the general meaning condition of grammaticalizing predicates (In Japanese, the unmarked thinking verb is *omou* rather than *kangaeru*).

Furthermore, the difference between the NRP expressions and the non NRP-expressions such as *I think he will not come* will naturally follow since the latter is a true complex sentence but the former is not. On the problems of licensing negative polarity items and the ability of the same polarity tag question such as *I don't suppose John will lose, will he?*, the pragmatic explanation given by Horn (1989) will generally hold, which explains the characteristics based on pragmatic inference, since grammaticalization arises from negotiation of meaning between speakers and hearers, as pointed out by Traugott and Dasher (2002).

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### **When decategorialization precedes context expansion: the case of the Dutch preposition *richting***

Muriel Norde (University of Groningen)

Recent theorizing about grammaticalization has emphasized the importance of context-induced semantic change in grammaticalization (Heine 2002; Himmelmann 2004). Common grammaticalization pathways, such as the development from body-part nouns to spatial adpositions (Heine 1997) or the development from motion verb to future auxiliary (Heine & Kuteva 2002: 161ff.) typically involve an initial stage of pragmatic inferencing, which is metonymic in origin (e.g. Hopper & Traugott (2003: 76). Such inferences may come to be conventionalized, with polysemy as a result. For example, a *post hoc ergo propter hoc* inference is the basis of the causal meanings of the originally temporal adpositions *since* and *after*. The new meanings are typically more abstract in meaning, so that pragmatic enrichment paradoxically leads to semantic bleaching. Bleaching, in turn, may be followed

by context expansion and decategorialization (Heine & Kuteva 2002: 2), i.e. the loss of morphosyntactic properties such as inflection or definiteness. A vast body of empirical evidence indeed suggests that meaning change is usually historically prior to form change.

In my paper however, I will discuss a case in which decategorialization precedes context expansion, and where the semantic change is metaphorical rather than metonymic. This change concerns the shift of the Dutch word *richting* from a noun meaning ‘direction’ to a preposition meaning ‘to(wards)’. *Richting* is a very frequent word in public transport announcements, where it is used in constructions of varying degrees of decategorialization:

- (1) a. *de trein in de richting van Zwolle*  
 the train in the direction of Zwolle  
 b. *de trein in de richting Zwolle*  
 the train in the direction Zwolle  
 c. *de trein richting Zwolle*  
 the train direction Zwolle  
 ‘the train to Zwolle’

In (1a), *richting* is the head of a full NP followed by a postmodifying prepositional phrase, it takes a definite article and can be pluralized (*de treinen in de richtingen van Amsterdam en Schiphol*). In (1b) the preposition *van* is elided, but *richting* can still be pluralized. *Richting* in (1c) however is clearly a preposition, it can no longer be marked for definiteness nor can it be pluralized. Once this categorial reanalysis had taken place, the meaning of APPROXIMATION IN SPACE came to be metaphorically extended to a whole range of new contexts, e.g. APPROXIMATION IN TIME (2a) or APPROXIMATION IN QUALITY (with adjectives; 2b). It may also be used in the context of abstract transfer, as in the beneficiary construction in (2c).

- (2) a. *We gaan al langzaam richting zomer*  
 ‘We are slowly approaching summer  
 [okj.okkn.nl/pagina/346/we\_gaan\_al\_langzaam\_richting\_zom]
- b. *En toen spotte ik iemand, die redelijk aangeschoten was, als het niet richting dronken was.*  
 ‘And then I spotted someone who was quite tipsy, if it wasn’t near-drunk’  
 [incognito-d.blogspot.com/2011\_09\_01\_archive.html]
- c. *Ze was altijd vol liefde richting mij.*  
 ‘she was always full of love towards me’  
 [www.midlife-info.nl/index.php?topic=401.65;wap]

Using data from contemporary Dutch corpora, I aim to show that although formal and semantic change occurred in reverse order, they nevertheless conform to cross-linguistically observed regularities.

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## **Grammaticalisation: cline and/or paradigm?** Jens Nørgård-Sørensen (University of Copenhagen)

Since the revival of grammaticalisation studies in the 1980's grammaticalisation has primarily been approached from the point of view of the so-called *cline of grammaticality* (Hopper and Traugott 1993, Heine and Kuteva 2002, Fischer, Norde and Peridon (eds.) 2004)). This approach has been criticised, among other things, for ignoring non-lexical sources of grammatical elements like, e.g., sound changes (Joseph 2003, Joseph and Janda 1988).

While acknowledging the cline as a valid generalisation of a variety of changes, this presentation suggests a somewhat different approach to grammaticalisation. Grammaticalisation is viewed as involving paradigmatic restructuring (Nørgård-Sørensen, Heltoft and Schøsler 2011). This implies that grammaticalisation necessarily affects content, while pure changes in expression, e.g. the replacement of one grammatical marker by another through analogy, should not be considered cases of grammaticalisation (cf. Andersen 2006). This theory presupposes a view on grammar as a complex sign system consisting of paradigmatically ordered language elements. The traditional concept of the inflectional paradigm is generalised as a common structuring principle of grammar; a principle that can be applied to all subsystems of grammar.

However, in this presentation the paradigmatisation theory will be tested on examples from the traditional realm of the paradigm: morphology. The focus will be on the explanatory force of the theory in cases where the cline approach is faced with problems. The grammaticalisation types to be discussed include a case of *resegmentation* (transition of the Russian verbal suffix *-va-* to *-iva-* and reanalysis of its content) and a semantically *empty sound distinction being reanalysed as expressing a grammatical distinction* (Russian masc.sg.gen. *-a* vs. *-u* reanalysed to express quantification). Finally, I will discuss the development of Polish past from the Common Slavic periphrastic perfect. With the former auxiliary having been cliticised and now being in the process of affixation this change apparently represents a standard case of movement "down the cline". I shall, however, show that a description based on the cline approach does not grasp the essence of the change.

In the conclusion I will discuss the status of the so-called cline of grammaticality.

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## Grammaticalization of Negative Sensitive Items *pakkey* in Korean and *sika* in Japanese

KangHun Park (Hankuk University of Foreign Studies)

This paper investigates the grammaticalization of Negative Sensitive Items (NSIs) in Korean *pakkey-anhta* ‘only’ and *sika-nai* ‘only’ in Japanese. The grammatical development of NSIs in Korean and Japanese has not been paid much attention due to considerable lack of diachronic data. The main purpose of this paper is to explore how *pakkey* and *sika* are which are used as NSIs grammaticalized and what grammaticalization principles and mechanism are involved in such process. An attempt will be made to elucidate the grammaticalization of the NSIs with panchronic corpus data and cross-linguistic research.

In fact, studies on the grammaticalization of *sika* have never been made, because it has been said that the origin of *sika* is unclear. According to Miyachi (2007) among others, *sika* firstly appeared in the literature of mid-end 18<sup>th</sup> century in Edo period and it was used as an NSI at that time. This paper proposes that we can see the grammatical development of *sika* through the contrastive study with *pakkey* in Korean, which is a counterpart of *sika*.

Most of the previous studies (See Nam (1994), Sells (2001), inter alia) have considered that the counterpart of *pakkey* is *sika* because *pakkey* has almost all grammatical properties of *sika*. However, conversely, *sika* does not have all grammatical features of *pakkey*. Specifically, *pakkey* can appear in multiple NSI constructions and rhetorical questions, whereas *sika* cannot. This paper focuses on these contrasts. In Japanese, there exists a similar expression of *sika*, which is *hoka-nai* ‘only’. Interestingly, *hoka* has the above mentioned grammatical properties which *sika* does not have. Moreover, *hoka* has morphological and grammatical similarities with *pakkey*. However, *pakkey* has all grammatical features of *hoka*, while *hoka* does not have every grammatical feature of *pakkey*, namely, *hoka* is limited to getting attached to nouns or verbs, unlike *pakkey*. Here, a question arises: what kinds of grammatical relations between *sika/hoka* and *pakkey* are there?

Interestingly enough, the four stages of grammaticalization processes of *hoka* and *pakkey* as NSIs are amazingly similar (nouns > adverbs > postpositional particles (NSIs) I > postpositional particles (NSIs) II), based on the diachronic corpus data. However, there are two different points: (i) unlike *pakkey*, *hoka* which was *kamigatago* ‘Edo-period Kansai dialect’ shrunk the fourth stage of grammatical development in early-mid 20<sup>th</sup> century, because it confronted *sika* which was *edogo* ‘Edo dialect’ (→Dialect Contact). Eventually, *sika* replaced *hoka* with the 4<sup>th</sup> stage of grammaticalization (contra A. H.-O. Kim (1997)), (ii) the degree of grammaticalization of *pakkey* is relatively lower than one of *sika* and this is supported by the fact that they have some differences as follows: (i) use frequency, (ii) ability to be attached to secondary prepositions, (iii) periods of grammatical development at each stage.

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**The relevance of constructions for the evolution of tense markers:  
the case of the French conditional (*conditionnel*)**

Adeline Patard & Walter De Mulder (University of Antwerp)

Recently an increasing number of studies have shown that construction grammar can provide useful insights into language change and grammaticalization phenomena (e.g. Noël 2007, Traugott 2008a and 2008b., Trousdale 2008a, 2008b and 2010). In the line of these works, the present paper wishes to demonstrate the relevance of the notion of *construction*, as “learned pairings of form with semantic or discourse function” (Goldberg 2006), in explaining the evolution of the French conditional tense (henceforth: COND). The study is based on the systematic analysis of the COND-constructions, as observed in samples<sup>1</sup> of texts extending from Old French to Modern French.

The talk will concern two aspects of the evolution of COND.

A first aspect is the development of new uses corresponding to the emergence of new constructions and/or the loosening of existing constructions. An emblematic case is the attenuative use of the COND, which can be found in Very Old French:

(1) Sire, s’il vos plesoit, bien **devriez**, et par raison, votre ostel **prendre** en ma meson quant vos filz estes Lac le roi.

‘My Lord, if it pleases you, it is right for you to stay [lit. **would have to stay**] at my house, since you are the son of King Lac.’ (Chrétien de Troyes, *Erec et Énide*, 1146)

The development of this use is the result of (i) the loosening of an if-construction [*si P, Q(COND)*] (1) which progressively ceased to require the expression of the protasis *si P*, (ii) and the extension of new constructions based on desiderative or modal verbs (e.g. *j’aimerais, pourrais-je*). Correlated with this change is the transition between a subjective (epistemic) meaning of uncertainty and an intersubjective meaning of mitigation (*via* “bridging contexts”, cf. Heine 2002, illustrated in (1)). We further argue that the emergence of the “evidential” use of COND also originates in the relaxation of constructional constraints in uses such as free indirect speech, where the syntactic embedding of the reported utterance [*SAY<sub>verb</sub> que Q(COND)*] is no longer mandatory. This constructional change goes hand in hand with a semantic bleaching of COND: the reference to a previous enunciation (in indirect speech) is reduced to the non-commitment of the speaker to the truth of the utterance (in the evidential use):

(2) Les Américains **auraient capturé** Ben Laden ce matin à la frontière afghane.

‘(It is said that) the Americans have captured [lit. **would have captured**] Ben Laden this morning at the Afghan border.’ (Bourova and Dendale forth.)

The second aspect we explore is the link between the development of constructions (or *constructionalization*) and the frequency of grammaticalized markers. We argue that, in the case of COND, the dramatic rise in frequency observed between Old French and Modern French (cf. X to appear) is not so much due to the emergence of new usage types, but to the development, within each usage type, of specific but productive COND-constructions. This notably true for the epistemic use of COND which developed numerous constructions (e.g. *on dirait que, ne serait-ce que, faire(COND) mieux de*).

<sup>1</sup> Each sample represents 100 years.

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### **The source is not 'to be'. Grammaticalization of *be* + non-finite verb form into a modal construction.**

Heli Pekkarinen (University of Helsinki)

Although it has long been observed that it is the entire constructions of different elements that grammaticalize, the studies on grammaticalization tend to focus on the lexical item in a construction (if there is one). An example of this is that the verb 'to be' is considered as a source of modal constructions of 'be' + infinitive or participle such as German modal infinitive or passive (e.g. Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994, with some reservations also van der Auwera & Plungian 1998). The constructionist approach provided in this paper argues that the properties of the non-finite and the overall context in fact play more significant role in grammaticalization of these constructions. Taking account of all the construction properties also helps to understand why these constructions are often vague between the possibility and necessity (van der Auwera & Plungian 1998).

In my presentation, I focus on the Finnish necessive construction formed with the verb 'to be' (in its 3rd person singular form) and a present passive participle as exemplified in (1).

- (1) Se on makse-ttava  
 It be.3sg pay-pass.pres.ptc  
 'It must be paid'

This construction is typical for written, standard Finnish in which it is the most common expression of necessity. Drawing on the data taken from various corpora I show that its grammaticalization originates in specific syntactic environment with an implication of practical necessity. The necessive interpretation arises when the action expressed by the (descriptive) participle is a condition for achieving some goal. The necessive 'be' + participle is dramatically more frequent in eastern (Savonian) dialects than in western dialects of Finnish. The areal differences suggest a possible influence of language contact with Carelian and Russian which both have similar constructions. (Pekkarinen 2011.)

The analysis of environmental constructional change presented in this paper sheds light to the emergence of a construction which would otherwise be hard to explain. It shows in a concrete way that grammaticalization is a result of constructionalization and thus, it supports

the increasingly accepted view that grammaticalization is best described and explained by the concept of construction as it is understood in different models of construction grammar (e.g. Bybee 2010; Traugott & Trousdale 2010).

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### What I am going to talk about is Analogy: internal and external analogy and dual constructional membership

Peter Petré (University of Leuven/Research Foundation Flanders)

An iconic case study in grammaticalization research is the development of the *going to*-construction. In this talk, I look at new evidence with respect to its early emancipation out of a compositional combination of *going* with a purposive adjunct. I argue that the emergence of a grammaticalized futurate construction was made possible through an analogical model involving a number of verbs such as *intend*, *begin* and *desire*. While recent studies have already amply stressed the primacy of analogy (e.g. Fischer 2007, De Smet 2009) the *going to*-construction has played an iconic role in the argumentation of proponents of the primacy of reanalysis, with, most recently, Traugott’s (2011) arguments against external analogy via periphrastic auxiliaries suggested in Fischer (2007). Alternatively, Garrett (2012) argues grammaticalization occurred via an internal analog, the free adjunct *going to* meaning ‘turn to’. Complementing his account, I argue that an external analogical model was also present.

The original compositional combination of [[*go*][allative motion]] + [[*be Ving*][imperfectivity/on-goingness]] + [[*to* Inf][purpose adjunct]] is illustrated in (1).

(1) As they **were goynge to bringe** hym there, ... cometh one Piers Venables ... (1439 [MED])

Note that already in this early example, spatial motion is demoted through the integration of the goal location within the infinitival phrase (*there*).

An early example of the extended construction, where the motion + purpose adjunct-reading is no longer available, is (2).

(2) Hee tooke his owne garters off; and as he **was going to make** a nooze, I watch’d my time and ranne away. (1611 [taken from Garrett 2012])

I argue this extension was motivated by existing analogs such as those in (3)-(4).

(3) Seeing you **are beginnyng to tell** a tale, I cannot tell howe longe you woulde ... remember my questions. (1572)

(4) The duke of Aniove **was entending to make** a voyage. (1523)

Besides the formal similarity of the examples and the chronological evidence, there is also semantic evidence that [*begin/intend/... to Inf*] + [*be Ving*] are plausible analogs, as they too conveyed planned action, either already started (*beginning*) or well contemplated (*intending*). Theoretically, I draw attention to a stage in the development where [*be going to*] is a member of two constructional schemas, the original one, and that of the analog, where dual membership has to be distinguished from ambiguous membership (a refinement of De Smet's [2009] notion of recategorization). This stage, which can elegantly be represented in a constructionist framework, allows for internal analogy (as in Garret 2012) and external analogy to reinforce each other for a while before actualization and subsequent automation drive the grammaticalized construction away from its origins.

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## Grammaticalization and subject expression in Spanish and Portuguese 'I think' constructions

Pekka Posio (University of Helsinki)

Previous grammaticalization research has addressed the development of *I think* into an epistemic parenthetical (e.g. Thompson & Mulac 1991, Bogaert 2011). The present study argues that a similar tendency affects the most frequently used mental verbs in Peninsular Spanish (PS) and European Portuguese (EP). These verbs (PS *creer*, EP *achar* 'think') are mostly used in the construction '(I) think that' (cf. Figures 1-2), while their use in other contexts is rare. Although PS and EP lack formal criteria similar to English "that-deletion", the grammaticalization of the constructions is evidenced by a series of formal, functional and distributional properties including the fixation of word order, specialization and de-categorialization.

The aims of the present study are twofold: (1) assess the degree of grammaticalization of 'I think' constructions in PS and EP and (2) provide an explanation of subject pronoun usage in these constructions. PS and EP are null subject languages, but pronominal subjects are generally expressed more often in EP than in PS: in first person singular, the expression rate is 49% in EP but only 35% in PS (Posio, to appear). However, the constructions under survey differ from the general tendency: subject pronoun usage is significantly more frequent with *creo que* '(I) think that' in PS (66%) than with *acho que* '(I) think that' in EP (46%).

Previous research on PS has attributed frequent use of subject pronouns with mental verbs to an alleged need to emphasize the subject of verbs expressing opinions (e.g. Enríquez 1984), but the explanation does not hold for EP. Qualitative examination of these constructions in speech corpora (COREC and CdP) reveals that in PS subject pronouns are expressed when the construction has a subjectivizing function, signalling that the speaker assumes responsibility of the truth value of the utterance (cf. Aijón Oliva & Serrano 2010), while omitting the subject is associated with a mitigating function. In EP, the division of labour between the constructions with and without subject pronoun is not as clear as in PS and subject pronoun expression rather follows the general tendency.

In the present study, it is argued that the difference between PS and EP is related to the entrenching effect of high frequency (cf. Bybee 2010). Given that the verb form *creo* ‘I think’ has a high token frequency in PS (occurring 16 times per 10,000 words), the specific distribution of subject pronoun usage has become entrenched with that verb form. As for EP, *acho* ‘I think’ has a significantly lower frequency (6 occurrences per 10,000 words), which does not support the entrenchment of a specific subject expression pattern to the same extent as in PS. In conclusion, in both PS and EP the constructions under survey display a tendency towards grammaticalization, but the tendency is more advanced in PS due to the higher frequency of the construction.

Figure 1. ‘I think’ constructions in PS  
(N = 455,703 words)

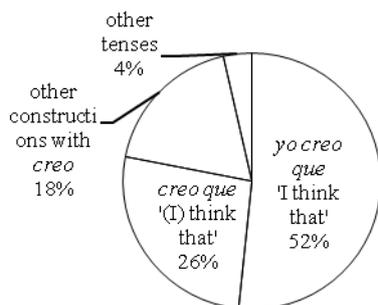
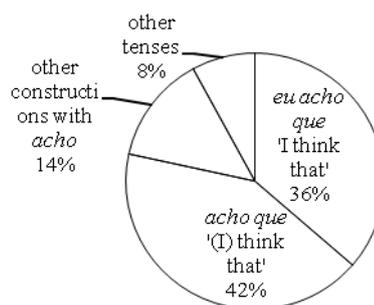


Figure 2. ‘I think’ constructions in EP  
(N = 548,288 words)



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## The grammaticalisational relationship between comitatives and instrumentals in Thai: a diachronic typological perspective

Vipass Pothipath (Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok)

Languages are divided into 3 types with respect to the encoding of comitatives and instrumentals: *IDENTITY* (i.e. only one single relator for the two categories), *DIFFERENTIATION* (i.e. two different relators at least for the two categories), and *MIXED* (i.e. a mixture of features of the two aforementioned types) (Stolz, Stroth & Urdze 2011). This paper argues in favour of the diachronic typological view that language types can be considered as stages in the process of language change (cf. Croft 2003). Evidence is given from the development of the encoding of comitatives and instrumentals in the history of Thai.

Diachronic data from Thai (13<sup>th</sup>–21<sup>st</sup> centuries) suggest that the three language types mentioned above correspond to the three stages of development of the relation hold between the two categories. These stages progress as follows: *IDENTITY* > *MIXED* > *DIFFERENTIATION*. In the 13<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> centuries, Thai was presumably characterized by *IDENTITY*, that is to say, the language used only one single relator—the preposition *dûay* ‘with’—for comitative as well as instrumental. Later, in the late 14<sup>th</sup>–16<sup>th</sup> centuries, the preposition *kàp* ‘and/with’, which was originally used as a marker for noun phrase conjunction, had become grammaticalised to a comitative marker as well. Interestingly, this grammaticalisation (NP-conjunction marker > comitative marker) appears to be the reverse of the general tendency. According to Heine and Kuteva (2002), there is some typological evidence for a common grammaticalisation path from comitative to NP-conjunction. Irrespective of this ongoing change, the preposition *dûay* had been preserved to encode comitative as well as instrumental. Accordingly, Thai in the 14<sup>th</sup>–16<sup>th</sup> centuries employed the pattern of *MIXED*. The comitative *kàp* became more frequent during the course of the 17<sup>th</sup>–19<sup>th</sup> centuries. On account of the principle of economy in language evolution (i.e. two forms are unlikely to coexist with exactly the same function), the comitative *dûay* had gradually given way to the alternative comitative *kàp*. In a further stage, around the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the comitative *dûay* was losing its place while the comitative *kàp* remained and developed. Again, Thai underwent another typological change from *MIXED* to *DIFFERENTIATION*. For present-day Thai, the preposition *dûay* has been preserved for instrumental as well as other grammatical functions, but not for comitative. However, sporadic traces of the comitative *dûay* remain in a few lexicalised adverbs (e.g. *dûay kan* ‘altogether’). As for the preposition *kàp*, the relator is now used exclusively to encode comitative function. Interestingly, recently, the preposition *kàp* also appears to have developed into an instrumental marker, severely restricted in its use though. Overall, this paper will contribute to the studies of typological change in the encoding of comitatives and instrumentals.

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### **Rhetorical Reportatives and Intersubjectification** Seongha Rhee (Hankuk University of Foreign Studies)

Reportative is a grammatical device of quoting an utterance. Korean has an interesting class of reportative constructions that display a high level of subjectification in grammaticalization and lexicalization that make use of complementizers (Rhee 2009). A related phenomenon, under the present focus, is the development of reportative endings *-tanta* and its allomorphic *-lanta* that contain the traces of the declarative-based complementizers *-tako* and *-lako* (e.g. *-ta-ha-ko ha-n-ta* > *-tako ha-n-ta* > *-tanta*). The primary function of these reportative endings is to quote a direct utterance or hearsay, the latter being developmentally later and currently more frequent, as shown in (1):

- (1) *ku-ka*                      *aphu-tanta*  
     he-Nominative    be.ill-Reportative  
     'They say that he is ill.' or 'He says that he is ill.'

The ambiguity of the source of the quoted utterance (e.g. ‘he’ or ‘(generic) they’) is due to the fact that *-tanta* and *-lanta*, which originally contained the verbum dicendi *ha-* ‘say’, lost it en route to grammaticalization, and consequently the need for specifying the subject of the utterance became unnecessary. The loss of this utterance verb and consequent opacity of the utterer further led to the extension of the usage to seemingly inappropriate contexts, i.e. when the report is about the speaker himself/herself, as shown in (2) and (3), thus technically the speaker is reporting about himself/herself as if it were hearsay information:

(2) *na-nun maum-I aphu-tanta*  
 I-Topic heart-Nominative be.ill-Reportative  
 ‘(You know what?) My heart is aching.’ (Lit. They say my heart aches.)

(3) *nay-ka ecey ton-ul ilhepeli-ess-tanta*  
 I-Nominative yesterday money-Accusative lose-Past-Reportative  
 ‘(You know what?) I lost money yesterday.’ (Lit. They say I lost money.)

This type of change is motivated by the strategic use of reportative constructions for rhetorical effect, i.e. presenting subjective states of the speaker himself/herself, especially with emotional stances, and often directed to children, as if they had objective validity. Furthermore, the rhetorical effect of this ‘self-reporting’ is the nuance of mirativity, as if the speaker is saying ‘You may be surprised to hear this, and in fact I am stricken by this too’. The mirative function brings forth strong engaging effect on the part of the addressee. Drawing upon historical data, this paper traces the grammaticalization path of these markers, and discusses the intersubjectification phenomena as the driving forces of the change.

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## From Coordination to Focus: The case of the Grammaticalization of the Paratactic Periphrastic Constructions

Angelica Rodrigues (State University of Sao Paulo – Unesp)

In this paper, I subscribe to grammaticalization and construction grammar approaches in order to investigate a group of constructions identified as paratactic periphrastic constructions (PPCs). The PPCs belong to a specific class of construction which has equivalents in many languages of the Indo-European family (Pullum 1990; Stefanowitsch 1999, 2000, Hopper 2002), including the Romance languages (Coseriu, 1977; Merlan, 1999; Arnaiz & Camacho, 1999; Rodrigues, 2006, 2009). Considering data from Brazilian and European Portuguese, the PPCs is described here as a sequence of V1 and V2, where V1 and V2 share inflections for verb tense and subject. The verbs that can occupy the V1 position are basically the verbs **ir** (go), **pegar** (take) and **chegar** (arrive) in the varieties of Portuguese studied. V2 is, in turn, a relatively open class. This research also brings evidence in favor of a pragmatic interpretation of these constructions as a Focus construction.

Example (1) from Brazilian Portuguese represents the cases of PPCs:

(1) *Aí eu peguei falei: "Tudo bem".*  
 Then I take-PastPerf-1sg say-Past.Perf-1sg “all right”  
 I said (lit. I took said) “all right”

The PPCs have properties related to dessemantization and decategorization of V1, compatible with grammaticalization, such as negation and inflection patterns, which guarantee their

identification as a particular construction, although they may share properties with coordinate constructions, auxiliary verb constructions and serial verbs constructions. Considering synchronic data, I will describe the mutual and the contrasting properties of PPCs in Portuguese and I will propose that these constructions grammaticalized from coordinate constructions, which is essential to explain their syntactic structure and grammatical function.

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### **Creation and modifications of a constructional paradigm: the inergative/incausative constructions**

Lene Schoesler (University of Copenhagen)

Alternating constructions illustrated in (1a-b) are well known in different languages. In morphologically ergative languages, the intransitive subject and the transitive object are marked by the same case form, the absolutive, whereas the transitive subject has the marked ergative case (see e.g. Halliday 1996). In other languages, such as English, the ergative pattern is expressed by means of purely syntactic construction alternation. An intransitive, inergative construction is found in (1a), which conveys a change of the state of the referent (X) referred to by the subject argument *the branch*. This subject has the semantic role of inagent, incausative. The transitive, ergative construction (1b) presents the situation differently, because an agent (Y) is added as the external cause of the change of state of the referent (X). The alternating patterns are characterised by a change of syntactic functions (X has the functions of subject or direct object), and a change of construction (intransitive or transitive):

- (1)a. *the branch<sub>x</sub> broke*  
b. *Peter<sub>y</sub> broke the branch<sub>x</sub>*

It is my intention to show that the creation and modification of alternating constructions like these are best described with reference to the paradigmatic organisation that lies behind the syntagmatic realisations. This implies that their relation to other argument reducing constructions should be investigated, i.e. different reflexive and passive constructions, perceived as members of a paradigm of causality and voice. Such an approach represents an important modification of the traditional concept of paradigmaticity. It has been presented and explained in details in a recent publication (Nørgård-Sørensen, Heltoft and Schøsler 2011). The theory presupposes a view on grammar as a complex sign system consisting of paradigmatically ordered language elements. The traditional concept of the inflectional paradigm is generalised as a common structuring principle of grammar; a principle that can be applied to all subsystems of grammar, defines grammaticalisation as involving paradigmatic creation or restructuring.

Furthermore, I will show that the creation and modifications of the constructional paradigm of causality and voice are cases of grammaticalisation and regrammation (according to Andersen's terminology in Andersen 2008). The empirical basis of my paper will be French, where not only one, but two incausative constructions are found, corresponding to (1a), see (2a-b), and which have recently been discussed in Heidinger (2010).

- (2)a. *la branche<sub>x</sub> a cassé*  
b. *la branche<sub>x</sub> s'est cassée*  
c. *Pierre<sub>y</sub> a cassé la branche<sub>x</sub>*

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## **The Emergence of Anaphoric DOM in Brazilian Portuguese**

Scott Schwenter (The Ohio State University)

Recent years have seen an explosion of renewed interest in the topic of Differential Object Marking (DOM), spurred on in large part by the groundbreaking analysis of Aissen (2003), who applied an OT-style formalism to DOM data. The study of the diachronic development of DOM has also been revived by a number of scholars (e.g. on Spanish, see Company 2002; von Heusinger & Kaiser 2005; Laca 2003, 2006), who have endeavored to show how the varied semantic, pragmatic, and discourse tensions on DOM interact to create synchronic systems with relative stability.

In this paper I follow the lead of these DOM scholars in order to examine the development of a rather different kind of DOM system operating in present-day spoken Brazilian Portuguese (BP). While BP has a few vestiges of a Spanish-style DOM system (Ramos 1989), I show that it has a clear DOM system in its marking of strictly ANAPHORIC direct objects, a system that has been ignored both in the literature on DOM, and also in specific

studies of BP, which have tended to focus nearly exclusively on the presence in BP of null anaphoric direct objects (e.g. Cyrino 1997), to the exclusion of direct object referents that are marked overtly by pronouns. My aim is to show that the pronoun vs. null distinction in specifically anaphoric direct objects in BP is nearly identical in motivation to classical DOM systems that exhibit a contrast between overtly case-marked and non-case-marked direct objects.

Because of phonological changes in spoken BP, the third-person clitic pronouns (*o/s/*, *a/s/*) that are still present in European Portuguese were lost in the 19th century, and tonic nominative pronouns were recruited for direct object function in their place. Indeed, diachronic data (Cyrino 1997) show that clitic pronouns dropped from 92% present with propositional referents in the 16th century to 0% in the 20th. In present-day BP, null objects and tonic pronouns compete for the marking of third-person anaphoric direct objects. However, tonic pronouns overwhelmingly mark animate, definite referents, while null objects are employed for inanimates; in the BP spoken in Rio (Schwenter & Silva 2003), null objects constitute 72% of all anaphoric direct objects, while tonic pronouns make up 12% (lexical NPs account for the remaining occurrences). However, approximately 95% of the tonic pronouns in direct object function correspond to referents that are both human and definite, creating a DOM system for anaphoric direct objects that is much like the more familiar DOM systems of case marking studied by Aissen (2003) and many others.

Exceptional instances of the grammaticalization of anaphoric DOM in BP, whereby tonic pronouns mark inanimate NPs, show furthermore that while the system is motivated by definiteness and animacy, it is overarchingly driven by topicality. Such inanimates are only pronominalized when high in independent topicality measures such as referential distance and topic persistence. In sum, the evidence from BP shows clearly that DOM is found across languages not only in the familiar case-marking examples, but also in the coding of strictly anaphoric direct objects.

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**Exploring the development of suppose, imagine and realize as ‘epistemic  
parentheticals’: A diachronic corpus-based multivariate analysis**  
Christopher Shank (Bangor University) & Koen Plevoets (University of Ghent)

Previous diachronic analysis of *that/zero* variation with the mental state predicate (MSP) / matrix verb *think* (Rissanen 1991; Finnegan & Biber 1995) has shown clear evidence of the rise and predominance of the *zero*-complementizer form as an object-clause link in PDE. Furthermore, the research has been used to claim empirical support for several structural factors within and between the matrix and complement which facilitates the use of the *zero* form. These findings have been built upon by Thompson and Mulac (1991); Scheibman (2002); Kärkkäinen (2003) who have postulated that the *I + think* main clause construction has since grammaticalized, via reanalysis, and is now being used as an epistemic adverb or ‘epistemic parenthetical’ (Thompson and Mulac, 1991).

- (1) **I think that** it would be December 27<sup>th</sup>. (OBC: 1850-1913)
- (2) **I think** Walker left my house around 7:00pm. . (OBC: 1850-1913)
- (3) He died, **I think**, in 1892. (OBC: 1850-1913)
- (4) He had on a sailor’s blue Guernsey, **I think**. (OBC 1850-1913)

This paper examines the diachronic development of *that/zero* complementation alternation with three mental state predicates (MSPs), viz. *I suppose*, *I imagine* and *I realize*, and its relation to the emergence of these expressions as epistemic parentheticals (EPARs). We build upon previous work and related findings/claims by exploring the diachrony of *that/zero* complementizer variation in the verbs *suppose/imagine/realize* from 1560-2010 and concurrent pathways of grammaticalization in the construction [*I + suppose/imagine/realize + that/zero + finite complement clause*]. Attention is also given to investigating the increasing development of the (inter)subjective nature of the *I + suppose/imagine/realize* collocation and its use as an epistemic parenthetical in PDE. Using Wordsmith, a total of 17,312 hits (for all 3 verbs) were randomly extracted from separate parallel spoken and written corpora: CEEC and Old Bailey Corpora (1560-1913), CMET & CLMETEV (1640-1920), London Lund (1960-1990), ANC (1990 - 1993), TIME (1920-1990), COCAE (1994-2009) and the Alberta Unset (2010-2010) corpus. All of matrix + complement *that/zero* constructions were coded for 28 structural variables including person, tense, polarity, and presence of modal auxiliaries, syntactic complexity, and complement clause subjects. Statistically sufficient sample sizes ( $n > 30$ ) for all historical periods were extracted and a diachronic multivariate regression analysis is used to examine the statistical significance of 13 structural factors (as summarized in Kaltenböck 2004 and presented in Torres Cacoullos & Walker 2009) in regards to the selection of *that/zero* and EPAR development in both spoken and written genres for all three verbs. The results reveal varying degrees of significance for each of the 13 matrix and complement clause features however; stronger significance and implications are revealed when additional variables (e.g. polarity, length of the subject, the effect of time as a variable etc) are incorporated via a ‘weighted’ variable analysis. These findings are used to identify the structural factors which are diachronically significant in predicting the presence of the *zero* complementizer form within this set of mental state predicate verbs in addition to developing a preliminary framework for both evaluating the epistemic potential of the *suppose/imagine/realize* matrix. (496 words)

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### **Regularity behind apparent lawlessness: Referential shifting of personal pronouns in Japanese and other languages**

Reijirou Shibasaki (Okinawa International University)

Heine and Song (2010, 2011; henceforth, H&S) probe into both possible conceptual sources and developmental pathways of personal pronouns through the analysis of their independent forms. What H&S address is a feature characteristic of personal pronouns especially in languages spoken in Southeast and East Asia, Europe and Africa: particular nouns, deictic forms or intensifiers develop into third person, subsequently giving rise to second person. While the shifting direction from third to second person is found to be a major pattern in their language resources, other directions of referential shifting are witnessed in Japanese; one of those directions seems to be another major pattern of referential shifting judging from an intensive and extensive survey of a large array of Asian languages, as summarized in (1).

(1) The attested directions of referential shifting:

- a. from first to second person – possible and major direction
- b. from third to second person – possible and major direction
- c. from second to first person – possible but limited
- d. from third to first (and to second) person – possible but quite exceptional
- e. from second to third – improbable

The survey results tell us that the directions of change whereby personal pronouns shift their older reference to the newer are not random but mostly unidirectional over time albeit with some marginal (but explainable) cases as in (1c) and (1d). Furthermore, this study lays stress upon the fact that the directions of change can be identified even when personal pronouns were borrowed into different languages e.g. from Chinese to Japanese and from Japanese to Okinawan (Shibasaki 2005).

Then, this study introduces a perspective from which to give a unified account of those pathways: an extended interpretation of the speaker-based intersubjectification (Traugott 2003). Changes often begin with variation as an alternative way of saying one thing; referential shifting can be considered as a kind of variation. From a historical sociolinguistic perspective, referential shifting is related to understanding how and why languages change, because variations of linguistic elements are associated with dimensions that have to do centrally with social attributes of the speaker-addressee dyad at a particular setting along with other outer participants concentrically distributed e.g. known and ratified third person (Bell 1984). Such persons and roles in the speech situation influence the inner or outer next, finally resulting in the change of the affected form through repeated use – i.e. referential shifting.

Politeness and lexical origins also serve as potential factors for referential shifting. What is underlined is that Asian languages are likely to reflect such phenomena in relatively omnipresent ways, as witnessed in referential shifting.

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### **Development of Constructions across Grammatical Categories: A Cross-linguistic Approach from Japanese**

Mika Shindo (Kyoto University)

This paper explores grammatical constructionalization (development of form-meaning pairs) (Traugott 2010) accompanying subjectification, by focusing on two English and Japanese adjectives/adverbs with almost the same meanings: *clear/clearly*, *akiraka-na/akiraka-ni*. In the latter stage of the diachronic semantic changes of these adjectives, subjectification occurs from objective (explicitly describing an entity) to subjective (implicitly expressing the SP/W's belief state) and its processes present similar constructional transitions. This cross-linguistic comparison illustrates how syntactic and semantic-pragmatic aspects interact beyond apparent syntactic categories in each specific language.

The English adjective *clear* that originates in describing objects (e.g. *clear water*) frequently functions as an intensifier (e.g. *clear failure*) expressing epistemic modality in Present-Day English. (Shindo 2009) This semantic-pragmatic change shows a leftward and constructional shift in the pre-nominal strings with other adjectives, schematized as [Adj1 Adj2 Adj3 Noun] > [Adj1 [Adj2 Adj3 Noun]]. This semantic-pragmatic and syntactic change relates to its derivative adverb, *clearly*. Based on analysis of about 5000 data of *clear/clearly* in the OED quotation database, we may hypothesize the following constructional changes accompanying development of epistemic meanings: *it-that* construction → sentential adverbial construction → attributive construction.

The Japanese Nominal Adjective *akiraka* corresponding to *clear* also exhibits grammaticalization accompanying increase of pragmatic meanings, but with greater morphosyntactic and constructional differentiation. The Japanese Nominal Adjective can function both as an adjective and as an adverb by changing its conjugational affix according to its connecting or modifying word. *Akiraka* etymologically described concrete situations “bright” or “open with no obstruction” (Old Jp.), but in Present Day Jp., *akiraka* predominantly means “obvious(ly),” expressing epistemic modality showing the speaker/writer's commitment to the truth of the proposition. My analysis of diachronic corpus-data of *akiraka* shows gradual processes of development of epistemic meanings. Compared to the English *clear*, *koto akiraka nari (it-is-clear-that)* construction emerges earlier (in the late 1500's), but *akiraka* also follows the order of constructional changes, viz.: *koto nari (it-that)* construction → sentential adverbial construction → attributive construction.

Based on the revised definitions by Goldberg (2006) and the comprehensive discussions on construction by Trousdale (2010), the *it is clear that* phrase (*-koto wa akiraka-da*) and *clear* + abstract concept noun (*akiraka-na* + conceptual noun) are both regarded as constructions, while *clearly* (*akiraka-ni*) just functions as an adverb. However, this adverbial usage connects the developmental processes of subjectification to the intensifiers.

This cross-linguistic constructional approach using diachronic data from typologically different languages will reveal “continuity across grammatical categories” (Bisang 2010) in processes of grammaticalization.

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### **Same but different: pathways to the grammaticalization of passive constructions from the comparative perspective of English and German**

Elena Smirnova (Leibniz Universität Hannover) &  
Robert Mailhammer (University of Western Sydney)

It is a well-known fact that English and German developed what contemporary grammars call *the passive* in a similar direction, though both languages grammaticalized different verbs as passive auxiliaries. The function of the Modern English construction of *be* + past participle overlaps in many respects with that of the German construction of *werden* + past participle. It is generally acknowledged that the introduction of periphrastic passive constructions into the verbal systems of English and German is a new development that begins from very similar points of departure, and, after a short period of parallel history, runs in opposite directions, promoting different verbs to the default passive auxiliaries. This paper attempts to discover language-specific factors which influenced these developmental paths, focusing in particular on the situation in Middle English and Middle High German.

Old English as well as Old High German did not possess grammaticalized passive periphrases (Mailhammer & Smirnova *forthc.*). Instead, constructions with the copula verbs with the meaning ‘be’ and ‘become’ plus past participles served as fully compositional structures with primary aspectual meaning; their passive readings resulted from the logical combination of the aspectual and transitivity values of their composite parts. However, already in Late Old English and Late Old High German there is indication of a beginning process of grammaticalization.

Our hypothesis is that, starting from the Late Old High German and Late Old English periods onwards, there are specific relevant contexts of use in which the respective copula verb (i.e. ‘be’ in English, ‘become’ in German) comes to be gradually grammaticalized as a basic passive auxiliary. We will test this hypothesis in a quantitative and multidimensional approach using corpus data, investigating the following factors:

- aspectual parameters of the lexical verbs supplying the participle in the construction,
- temporal values of the copula verbs and frequently used temporal expressions in the contexts of the passive constructions. (In both Old High German and Old English, semantic interpretation as well as frequency distribution of constructions with ‘be’ and ‘become’ differ depending on the past and present temporal perspective.),
- modal characteristics of the copula verbs,
- transitivity values and combinatorics of the lexical verbs,
- competing semantics and pragmatic factors (see e.g. Maienborn 2007 for Modern German), and
- competing constructions with past participles (e.g. E *becuman*, *weaxan*; G *beliben*, *ligen*, *stan*) as well as other constructions with the same copula verbs.

Moreover, the interaction effects with other parameters like e.g. definiteness, information structure, genre, influence of the Latin original (in case of translated texts), etc. will be explored in a comprehensive approach to enhancing our understanding of how passive constructions grammaticalize in English and German, with clear crosslinguistic implications.

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### **Grammaticalization and degrammaticalization in Portuguese and Spanish infinitival constructions with causative and perception verbs**

Augusto Soares da Silva (Catholic University of Portugal, Braga)

The diachronic development of infinitival complement constructions with causative and perception verbs in Portuguese and Spanish displays grammaticalization and degrammaticalization processes. The aim of this study is to describe this double evolution based on a quantitative corpus-based analysis and explain it through the processes of *subjectification* and *objectification* (Traugott 1995, Langacker 1999). The empirical data was gathered from the *Corpus do Português* (45 million tokens, from the 14<sup>th</sup> to the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries) compiled by M. Davies and M. Ferreira, and the *Corpus del Español* (100 million tokens, from the 13<sup>th</sup> to the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries) by M. Davies.

There is, on the one hand, a gradual change from the monoclausal construction to the biclausal construction which developed more rapidly and intensively in Portuguese than in Spanish and involved both causative and perception verbs (and also control and raising verbs). The two infinitival constructions are found in the Old period. From the Old to the Modern period the biclausal construction reinforced the independence of the infinitival complement by introducing structural features of the complement event with minor integration. This evolution involved six syntactic changes in particular: the loss of obligatory clitic climbing, the shift in case marking of the transitive infinitive subject from dative to accusative, the change in word order from verb-subject (VS) to subject-verb (SV), the emergence of predicative negation and of the pronoun *se* in the infinitival clause, and the emergence of the inflected infinitive in the clausal complements of causative and perception verbs in Portuguese from the 16<sup>th</sup> Century (some of these changes were identified by Davies 2000 and Martins 2006, who put forward various explanations about the origin of this

evolution). This change can be characterized as a process of *degrammaticalization*, by which Portuguese and Spanish diverge from French and Italian as regards the evolution of infinitival constructions (Soares da Silva, in press). The emergence of the inflected infinitive in Portuguese is the most obvious manifestation of this *degrammaticalizing* trend. This positions Portuguese into a remote stage of grammaticalization compared to the other Romance languages. On the other hand, the increase of the monoclausal construction with causative verbs and intransitive infinitive shows that Portuguese and Spanish have followed to a certain extent the general *grammaticalizing* tendency of Romance causative constructions.

This diachronic degrammaticalization represents a process of *objectification* of the infinitival clause subject. The main participant of the subordinate event becomes more independent and more engaged in the event; it goes “onstage” as a focused object of attention, as an *object* of conceptualization. Consequently, the complement event gains a certain independence and can be seen “from the outside”, and hence receives the structural properties of this relative autonomy. The Portuguese inflected infinitival construction expresses the most *objective* construal of the infinitival event. The diachronic grammaticalization consists in a conceptual process of *subjectification* or attenuation in subject control. The infinitive subject gradually loses control over its own activity or state and stops being the specific focus of the complement event. As a consequence, the causal/perceptive relation becomes more direct and immediate. All this constitutes diachronic evidence about the synchronic differences in conceptual perspectivization of the causal/perceptive relation between the various Portuguese and Spanish infinitival constructions.

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### **The emergence of imperative and evaluative meanings: evidence from Taiwanese languages**

Po-wen Tseng & Huei-ling Lai (National Chengchi University)

The grammaticalized path from GIVE sense to benefactive meaning has long been attested cross-linguistically (Newman 1996, Sun 2003, among others). In Taiwanese Mandarin (TM), for example, the preverbal *gei* ‘give’ (給) acts as a preposition marking a goal or a beneficiary (Her 2006). Due to its frequent collocation with the first person singular pronoun *wo* ‘I’(我), *gei wo* in a preverbal position has further grammaticalized into a fossilized chunk

carrying an imperative meaning functioning as an emphatic device (Newman 1996, Sun 2003, Lee 2008, among others). Examining Taiwanese languages, we find parallel developments of *ka gua* in Taiwanese Southern Min (TSM) as in (6) to (7), and *lau ngai* in Taiwanese Hakka (TH) as in (8) to (9), forming an interesting paradigm.

Metonymic strengthening and subjectification are argued to be responsible for the emergence of imperative and evaluative meanings, and analogy and reanalysis are demonstrated to account for the rise of the two meanings (cf. Traugott 2010; Hopper and Traugott 2003). Example (1) serves as the bridging context (cf. Heine 2002), exhibiting ambiguity of beneficiary and imperative meanings as both *ni* ‘you’ and *wo* ‘I’ can be the subject of *chifan* ‘eat’; and through metonymic strengthening, the imperative meaning becomes conventionalized since example (2) illustrates a case of imperative meaning only. In tune with *gei wo* in TM, *ka gua* in TSM and *lau ngai* in TH exhibit the same phenomena, as the ambiguous readings coexist in (6) and (8). The same analysis is proposed—*ka gua* and *lau ngai* are grammaticalized in preverbal positions and imperative meanings gain autonomy as illustrated by (7) and (9).

Among the three constructions, only *gei wo* in TM persists, developing further into an evaluative meaning. Such a semantic emergence is also motivated by metonymic strengthening and subjectification, manifesting speaker’s subjective judgment and counter-expectation of the state of affairs (cf. Heine et al. 1991; Traugott 1999). Examples (3) and (4) demonstrate the transition from the bridging context with ambiguous readings to the pure evaluative meaning. Example (5) indicates that the evaluative meaning becomes independent when the construction encompasses stative predicates. The example also shows that such an evaluative construction is often seen to co-occur with scalar predicates, degree modifiers, such as *tai* ‘too’ (太) or *hen* ‘very’ (很), and sentential final particles, such as *-le* (了) or *ba* (吧) to enhance speaker’s subjective perspective as well as the informativeness.

The development of preverbal *gei wo* in TM is likely triggered through language contact with TSM *ka gua*, which exhibits abundant functions preverbally (cf. Tsao 2002; Heine and Kuteva 2005). Subsequently, *gei wo* in TM, the dominant language in Taiwan, also develops its own way. Due to its high frequency in language use, *gei wo* becomes automated, expanding to other pragmatic functions.

Examples:

### Taiwanese Mandarin

(1) Stage 1: 你給我吃飯

*Ni gei wo chifan*

you give I eat-rice

‘Let me have a meal / Eat your dinner.’

(by reanalysis)

(2) Stage 2: 你給我站好

*Ni gei wo zhanhao*

you give I stand still

‘Stand still!’

(by analogy)

(3) Stage 3: 你給我小心一點 (= Sun 2003: 356, (4))

*Ni gei wo xiao xin yidian*

you give I little heart a little

‘You watch out your back (because I will seek revenge.) / Be careful!’

(by reanalysis)

(4) Stage 4: 你也給我太誇張了吧

*Ni ye gei wo tai kuazhang le ba*

you also give I too overacting SFP SFP

‘You are way too overreacting, as far as I’m concerned.’

(by analogy)

(5) 天氣也給我太熱了吧

*Tianchi ye gei wo tai re le ba.*

weather also give I too hot SFP SFP

‘The weather is way too hot, as far as I’m concerned.’

#### Taiwanese Southern Min:

(6) 你共我寫批

*Li ka gua sia phue*

you ka I write letter

‘Can you write a letter for me? / Write a letter!’

(7) 你ka我卡小二 (=Tsao 2002 (65a)) TSM)

*Lí ka guá khah sè jī.*

you ka I much careful

‘I warn you to be much careful.’

#### Taiwanese Hakka:

(8) 你摻 核言仔

*Ngí lau ngai xia xin-e*

you lau I write letter

‘Can you write a letter for me? / Write a letter!’

(9) 這草籃仔你摻 核偈行

*Lia colame ní LAU ngai kai den xien hang.*

this basket you LAU I carry on ASP first leave

‘Please carry this basket for me and leave first.’

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## On the grammaticalization of ('t) *schijnt* ('it seems') as an evidential particle in colloquial Belgian Dutch

Julie Van Bogaert (Ghent University)

This paper is concerned with the non-standard use of the evidential verb *schijnen* ('to seem/appear') in colloquial Belgian Dutch as illustrated in 0. It will be argued that this form of *schijnen* can be regarded as an evidential particle and that as such it is the most grammaticalized use of *schijnen* in the Dutch language. This particle analysis qualifies de Haan's (2007: 142) claim that Dutch *schijnen* is less grammaticalized than its German cognate *scheinen* based on the fact that German allows for a construction like **Error! Reference source not found.** while Dutch supposedly does not. The paper makes use of data from the Spoken Dutch Corpus (*Corpus Gesproken Nederlands*) to describe the grammaticalization path of ('t) *schijnt* and contrast it with both prototypical Dutch parentheticals and recently emerged parentheticals in (Netherlands) Dutch.

- (1) *maar die moet 't schijnt ook wel uh vrij vlot Nederlands gesproken hebben.* (CGN)  
'But he must have spoken Dutch pretty fluently, it seems.'
- (2) *Er ist, scheints, nicht zuhause.* (Diewald 2001: 99, cited in de Haan 2007: 142)  
'He is, it seems, not at home.'

The high frequency – in Belgian Dutch as opposed to Netherlands Dutch – of *schijnen* in a complementation structure with subject extraposition 0 suggests that the particle use of ('t) *schijnt* can be accounted for by Thompson & Mulac's (1991) 'matrix clause hypothesis', which relates the emergence of *I think*-type parentheticals to their frequency of occurrence in complement-taking constructions. Heller and Howe (2008) extend this hypothesis to English SEEM-verbs. However, the use of ('t) *schijnt* that this paper focuses on differs from prototypical Dutch parentheticals, described by Schelfhout et al. (2004) and exemplified by 0, in a number of respects.

- (3) *het schijnt dat ze tegenwoordig hele goeie kunstbenen maken.* (CGN)  
'I'm told that they make very good prosthetic legs these days.'
- (4) *want ze leggen u daar soms toch serieus op hoor ... schijnt het.* (CGN)  
'because sometimes they totally rip you off, I've heard.'

First, ('t) *schijnt* follows the canonical S-V word order while prototypical parentheticals use inversion. Second, ('t) *schijnt* is syntactically integrated into the clause, occupying a position in the middle field, where modal particles occur, while parentheticals, being a type of "interruption construction" (Schelfhout et al. 2004), are unintegrated. Concomitant to this syntactic integration, ('t) *schijnt* is also prosodically integrated into the clause; it does not have its own tone contour and cannot be stressed. This high level of integration points towards an advanced degree of grammaticalization, as does the tendency for the subject *het* to be not only reduced to 't, but often also elided altogether 0. This "attrition" (Lehmann 1985) calls to mind Afrikaans *glo*, which through *glo 'k* derives from *glo ek* ('believe I') and is now a fully-fledged particle (Thompson & Mulac 1991; de Haan 2001).

- (5) *ggg nee dat is dus schijnt echt de kelder dus van het Sint-Lucasinstituut.* (CGN)  
'No, that's really the basement of St Luke's Institute, they say.'

Recently, a seemingly similar use of *schijnt* has emerged in Netherlands Dutch 0. This paper puts forward a different grammaticalization path for this type of *schijnt*, viz. Brinton's (1996) 'parataxis hypothesis', and argues that its grammaticalization is less advanced than that of Belgian Dutch ('t) *schijnt*.

- (6) *oh ja nou zij wonen apart in een ander huis schijnt hè?* (CGN)  
'Oh yeah, well they live in separate houses, I've heard, y'know?'

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### **The demise of the external possessor in Romance and Germanic: language contact, grammaticalisation or both?**

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& Béatrice Lamiroy (University of Leuven)

In external possessor constructions (König & Haspelmath 1998 and Payne & Barshi 1999, among others), the possessor does not stand in an attributive relationship to the possessee, but functions as an argument at clause level. In example (1) the possessor *dem Kind* takes the role of an indirect object, rather than of a genitive modifier of the possessee *die Haare*.

- (1) GERMAN (König & Haspelmath 1998:526)  
*Die Mutter wäscht dem Kind die Haare.*  
the mother washes the:DAT child the hair:PL  
'The mother is washing the child's hair.'

The external possessor construction is widely considered as one of the central features of Standard Average European (see Haspelmath 1998:277-278, 1999, 2001:1498; Heine & Kuteva 2006:24), as it is attested in a continuous area on the continent, including non-Indo-European languages like Basque, Hungarian and Maltese while it is, at the same time, absent in geographically peripheral Indo-European languages such as the Celtic languages and the Scandinavian languages. This is corroborated by West-Germanic: the external possessor is productive in German, one of the languages in the nucleus of the SAE Sprachbund, whereas it is largely absent in English, which occupies a more peripheral position in what Haspelmath calls the 'core', rather than the 'nucleus'.

There are, however, a number of serious problems with dative external possessors as a SAE feature. First, unlike other typical SAE features, it is an ancient construction in the Indo-European languages (see Havers 1911; Haspelmath 1998:282; Harbert 2007:11). Second, unlike other typical SAE features, it is diachronically in retreat (König & Haspelmath 1997:583-584), although it holds up better in some languages than others. Third, focusing on the Romance languages, external possessors appear to be used to a much lesser extent in French than in Spanish (see Lamiroy 2003), which runs counter to what we expect under a SAE account, as French, unlike Spanish, is in the SAE nucleus. Fourth, the non-Indo-

European external possessors in Hungarian and Maltese are not pure examples of SAE external possessors (see Haspelmath 1999:117).

We put forward an alternative account of the diachrony of the external possessors. On the basis of data from Germanic and Romance, we claim that the diachrony of the external possessor is due to grammaticalisation processes in the noun phrase (see already Lamiroy 2003). Taking a constructional view on grammaticalisation and language change (Bergs & Diewald 2008; Traugott 2008; Trousdale 2008a, b, 2010; Gisborne & Patten 2011), it appears that in the course of time, the NP template has gradually grammaticalised since Proto-Indo-European (see Van de Velde 2009a,b). This has led to a much wider use of attributive structures, including possessive constructions. As will be shown, our account can explain the differences between the individual languages in terms of the productivity of the external possessor construction.

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## Interaction of lexical and grammatical aspect in emergent aspectualizers *be in the middle, midst and process of V-ing*

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Present-Day English has developed a set of aspectualizers of the type [ *be in NP of V-ing* ] that construe the situation as going on at the temporal reference point, as in (1). This construction, which I will call the emergent Progressive Aspect Marker or PAM, arose quite recently from a formal and semantic merger of two diachronically distinct constructions, namely one that profiles the subject, i.e. copular *be* + locative/temporal complex preposition (*be in the middle/midst of N*), and one that emphasizes the dynamicity of the verb, i.e. appositive NP + *of* + nominalised verb (*the process of V-ing*). The fully grammaticalized *be in the middle, midst* or *process of V-ing* schematically locates the subject as being ‘in the middle of’ or ‘surrounded by’ his or her dynamic actions, a use in which it seems functionally similar to *be V-ing*, e.g. *he was evicting a woman*.

(1) *Four years ago, the last time this troop came through on a bike ride, the owner was in the midst of evicting a woman from a house on his property.* (COCA)

This paper presents a lexical-collocational analysis of *be in the middle/midst/process of V-ing* and *be V-ing* based on data from the *Corpus of Contemporary American English* (COCA). My purpose is to delineate the current distribution of the emergent PAMs viz-à-viz each other and viz-à-viz *be V-ing* as to answer the question how grammaticalization reshapes the inventory of progressive aspectualizers in English.

First I will argue that the emergent PAM and the semi-auxiliary *be V-ing* pattern with the same range of predicate classes, namely predominantly atelic actions (e.g. *to travel, to look for new songs*) and telic accomplishments (e.g. *to design a study*). Both the PAM and *be V-ing* also impose the same grammatical reading on the sentence: they represent the situation as atelic (or “unbounded”) and durative (Declerck et al. 2006:42;56;72-77), regardless of whether these aspectual properties are already inherent in the predicates or not. In sentence (2), for instance, the atelic reading of the PAM overrules the inherent telic (i.e. tending towards an endpoint) feature of *to bake a pie*, and likewise, in example (3), intrinsically stative *to be kind* is interpreted as temporary, hence durative (cf. Comrie 1976:33).

(2) (...) *he was in the middle of baking a pie.* (COCA)

(3) *She's only being kind, giving me a morning off from my chores.* (COCA)

The difference between *be V-ing* and the PAMs lies in the expanded uses of the former and the specialization of the latter into expressions of continuousness, with the exception of *be in the process of V-ing*. This particular construction seems to have developed into an aspectual marker of imminence, meaning that it refers to the preparatory phase leading up to the action, see example (4). In most instances of *be in the middle* and *midst of V-ing*, however, the PAM indicates that a situation is taking place without interruption at the temporal zero point, as in (1) above. *Be V-ing* does not really display this preference for continuousness, as it takes on as often other shades of progressivity, for instance implied iterativity or habituality (5). *Be V-ing* occasionally even conveys non-aspectual meanings (cf. Brinton 1988), which never occur in the PAMs, such as prospectivity (the “furate” form, cf. Huddleston & Pullum 2002:171) in (6) or subjectivity in (7). It is exactly this functional indeterminacy of the *be V-ing* form (cf. Schopf 1974:26) that probably triggered the development of the PAM as a construction reinforcing one specific feature of progressivity, namely pure continuousness.

(4) *Some of those students are in the process of deciding on a major.* (COCA)

(5) *Sunni tribes there had become disenchanted with Al Qaeda in Mesopotamia, which was killing Iraqis and stealing territory.* (COCA)

(6) *Before we let you go, congratulations on your new show which is launching September 13th, right, on our NBC stations?* (COCA)

(7) (...) *and we are all hoping and praying that it's successful.* (COCA)

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### **The Power of Ellipses: On the Relationship between Omission and Innovation**

Ferdinand von Mengden (Freie Universität Berlin)

“Degrammaticalization” changes have hitherto been described in two main types of approaches. In the traditional one, ‘degrammaticalization’ has been discussed merely as an opposite of ‘grammaticalization’. Here, the main motivation for analysing ‘degrammaticalization’ was to make statements about the nature of *grammaticalization*. More recent approaches (most importantly, Norde 2009) have attempted to study “degrammaticalization” on its own right. These approaches, rather than offering a common explanation of all upgrading changes under discussion, reveal most of all the heterogeneity of “degrammaticalization” changes. Generally, although there can be no doubt that linguistic changes by which an expression or construction gains in autonomy (in whatever respect) are attested, it remains disputed whether or to what extent alleged cases of “degrammaticalization” have common properties, except for the rather vague notion of a ‘movement up the cline’. Moreover, one of the difficulties of both types of approaches is that upgrading changes of any kind are never analysed independently of those diagnostics that have been designed for studying ‘grammaticalization’.

In this paper I would like to present an approach that suggests the complete independence of ‘upgrading changes’ from ‘grammaticalization’ phenomena. ‘Upgrading changes’ – heterogeneous though they may be – have at least one feature in common: the linguistic expression which undergoes an upgrading process profits from the loss or breakdown of some other, concomitant element with which it usually collocates or with which it is usually incorporated into one construction. In this analysis, ‘upgrading changes’ are in principal motivated by the same mechanisms that trigger modifiers to be converted into nouns as a consequence of an ellipsis, as in *return* ‘return ticket’, *convertible* ‘convertible car’, etc.

I will discuss a number of alleged cases of “degrammaticalization” on different linguistic levels (syntax, morphology) in order to demonstrate that whenever a linguistic development gains in substance or autonomy, it is primarily the loss or the obsolescence of other, concomitant elements that causes its upgrading. This assumption would account for the fact that instances of “degrammaticalization” are so heterogeneous. It is thus not the upgraded

element which becomes “degrammaticalized”, but the upgrading requires some surrounding element to be primarily affected by change. Only as a result of this, the “degrammaticalized” element is forced to take on functions or meanings previously carried by the lost element – and thus becomes upgraded. In short, what seems to be a case of “degrammaticalization” is actually the result of a previous ellipsis (either of morphological material or of syntactic constituents). “Degrammaticalization”, therefore, can be taken as a mere conventionalisation of some kind of elliptic construction.

This would mean that the ‘upgrading’ of linguistic material necessarily requires a previous reduction or erosion of concomitant material. If this hypothesis can be confirmed, we will gain an explanation of why linguistic forms occasionally develop in what seems to be an opposite direction to major forces of language change without actually defying these forces.

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### **Grammaticalization of future in the Kakabe language: from locative with focalization to future as a result of language contact**

Alexandra Vydrina (LLACAN, CNRS)

The interaction of focalization with verbal categories is a phenomenon which is specific of the West-African area [Creissels et al. 2007: 104-105]. In my presentation I will consider a case of such interaction in the Kakabe language (Mande family) and I will propose a hypothesis according to which this phenomenon appeared as a result of language contact with Pular (Atlantic family).

In my presentation I will analyze a case of two verbal constructions, progressive and future, which developed from a locative construction. Locative meaning is commonly expressed in Kakabe with a copula *bi* and a postpositional phrase:

- (1) *biréedè bi bútikè là*  
bread.ART be shop.ART LOC  
‘There is bread in the shop’.

The progressive construction in Kakabe evidently originated through the reinterpretation of the locative marker as a gerund marker with verbs:

- (2) *Fánta bi bàntaráà tùgu-la*  
Fanta be manioc.ART pound-GER  
‘Fanta is pounding manioc’.

Apart from this, the copula *bi* and the verbal suffix *-la* (*-na* in nasalization context) is used with a future meaning construction:

- (3) *a mani bòyi kómin, a bi tàláncan-na le*  
3SG COND fall when 3SG be split-GER FOC  
‘When it falls, it **will split**’.

It will be shown that the future meaning evolved from the locative construction independently of the progressive meaning construction, and it followed one of the scenarios of development proposed in [Bybee et al. 1994: 263]. It involves intermediate modal meanings of predestination and intention, which are also attested by the construction *bi ...la* in Kakabe.

The main point of the presentation will be focused very intriguing asymmetry at the level of information structure marking which exists between the two verbal constructions in

question. There is a focus particle *le* in Kakabe which is cliticised to the right of the focalized phrase. Both elicited material and extensive corpus data show that *le* almost never appears in the construction *bi ...-la* with the progressive meaning and is almost always present in the construction *bi ...-la* with the future meaning. This leads to the conclusion that while the progressive meaning emerged simply from the locative construction, the path of semantic development leading to the future meaning included the focus particle.

Kakabe has been under strong influence of Pular for several centuries and the effects of this influence are attested at all levels from phonetics to syntax. A striking feature of the morphosyntax of Pular is a very high degree, to which the expression of focus is grammaticalized and integrated in the paradigm of verbal suffixes. There are separate paradigms of verbal markers for the utterances with neutral information structure and for those with a focalized phrased, on the other hand. At the same time, there are no languages, genetically related to Kakabe where any relation between focalization and TAM categories would be attested, though almost all of them also possess a focalizer.

As has been shown in [Heine & Kuteva 2005] language changes following general paths of grammaticalization and changes, induced by language contact are not opposed to each other as had been usually implied before, but rather the latter often acts as a reinforcement for the former. By a detailed comparison of the data of the two languages I will try to show that the grammaticalization of the future meaning construction *bi ...la* in Kakabe, which, on the whole, follows one of general paths of grammaticalization, was triggered by the existence of an analogous construction with contrastive focalization in Pular.

ART – referential article; COND – conditional; LOC – locative; GER – gerund marker; SG – singular.

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## **Identifying the role of pragmatic change in the grammaticalisation of Middle English**

*not*

Phillip Wallage (Northumbria University)

Recent accounts of the grammaticalisation of French *pas* have highlighted the role of pragmatic change in this process (Hansen 2009, Hansen & Visconti 2009, Detges & Waltereit 2002). This paper examines whether similar pragmatic changes play a role in grammaticalisation of English *not* during the Middle English period (1150-1500AD).

I identify two constraints on variation between the negative markers *ne*, *ne...not* and *not*, using quantitative data from the PPCME2 corpus (Kroch & Taylor 2000). One is syntactic (clause type), the other pragmatic (information status of the proposition). A logistic regression analyses establishes that both exert statistically significant effects on the distribution of *ne*, *ne...not* and *not* in the period 1150-1350.

Detges & Waltereit (2002), Hansen (2009) Hansen & Visconti (2009), van der Auwera (2009) propose that pragmatic unmarking is involved in the grammaticalisation of medieval French *pas*. My regression data provide evidence to test whether the spread and grammaticalisation of English *not* involves a similar pragmatic change. Kroch (1989) shows

that when regression analyses are applied to successive periods of change, they allow us to distinguish factors whose effect remains constant during the change from those whose effect changes over time. Reweighting of pragmatic constraints on the variation between negative markers provides an empirical basis to identify whether or not pragmatic unmarking occurs as the frequency of Middle English *not* increases and it becomes grammaticalised.

The results of this analysis indicate that Middle English *not* is subject to pragmatic constraints similar to those on French *pas*, in that it is more likely to appear in clauses that constitute hearer-old information than those that constitute hearer-new information. However, the results of the regression analysis show that this constraint remains strong even as the overall frequency of *not* increases. Therefore, I argue that its loss is not responsible for the increasing overall frequency of *not*. Instead, it is only lost once *not* is grammaticalised as the default marker of sentential negation.

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## **Exaptation and degrammaticalisation within an acquisition-based model of abductive reanalysis**

David Willis (University of Cambridge)

Historical linguists have increasingly come to accept that, while grammaticalisation in general follows a unidirectional pathway creating items more closely integrated phonologically, syntactically and semantically into the grammatical system, a stubborn residue of genuine counterexamples remains, showing precisely the reverse development. One focus of research has therefore shifted to attempting to explain the circumstances under which a linguistic subsystem will undergo grammaticalisation as distinct from those where it will witness degrammaticalisation (Norde 2009).

This paper contributes to this area by showing that exceptions to the unidirectionality of grammaticalisation are linked to morphological obsolescence, a phenomenon also crucial in exaptation, where 'grammatical forms which have lost most or all of their semantic content ... are put to new uses as semantically distinctive grammatical forms' (Heine 2003: 168). Poor evidence for acquisition may lead to two outcomes: loss of the relevant material (acquisition failure); or the use of particularly creative hypotheses (abduction) (cf. accelerated change in creolisation). In the second case, the material may come to express an existing grammatical category or give expression to a category not previously encoded in the language.

Change is caused by failure of children to acquire a particular grammatical category. Faced with material that expresses that category, they either interpret it as an instance of some category whose existence they have already posited or else abduce the existence of some new grammatical category. In the light of this interpretation, exaptation and degrammaticalisation can be understood as special cases of familiar processes of reanalysis within an acquisition-based framework of change. I demonstrate how several cases of exaptation and degrammaticalisation can be approached within this general overall framework:

(i) reanalysis of indefinite pronouns ('something') as nouns ('thing') in Bulgarian (*nešto* 'something' > 'thing') and Irish (Old Irish *ní* 'something' > 'thing') results from failure to identify the relevant class of indefinite pronouns at all (Irish) or failure to attribute particular pronouns to their correct class due to morphological opacity / paradigm irregularity (Bulgarian); an alternative analysis, that the items are nouns, is available and not blocked by morphological evidence;

(ii) exaptive reinterpretation of the *was* : *were* distinction as expressing polarity in various English dialects (affirmative *was* vs. negative *weren't*) results from failure to acquire the category (feature) of number in the verb as number morphology eroded from Middle English onwards; polarity sensitive morphology in other auxiliaries (cf. affirmative *will* vs. negative *won't*) meant that a polarity feature on verbs had to be posited anyway, hence children failed to acquire the feature of number, attributing its effects instead to the feature of polarity.

Under this view, possible pathways of change are limited by the possible hypotheses that acquirers may make. Where evidence is poor, as in the case of obsolescent grammatical subsystems, these hypotheses are relatively unconstrained and may lead to unexpected developments: assignment of a phenomenon to a new grammatical feature (exaptation) or to an existing lexical feature counter the general trend of grammaticalisation (degrammaticalisation).

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## The Multi-functions of *tin7* in Taiwanese Hakka: Grammaticalization and Lexicalization

Chiou-shing Yeh & Huei-ling Lai (National Chengchi University)

This paper integrates approaches of grammaticalization and lexicalization in line with Brinton and Traugott (2005) to analyze the multi-functions of the morpheme *tin7* (定) in Taiwanese Hakka, illustrated by examples from (1) to (10). While lexicalization and grammaticalization show certain degrees of parallelism, metonymization is argued to give rise to multifunctional patterns, as will be demonstrated by our analysis of *tin7* in Taiwanese Hakka.

The prototypical meaning of *tin7* in Taiwanese Hakka is 'to stabilize' as the predicate in (1). More data show that *tin7* exhibit multiple grammatical functions and meanings. It easily extends to a manner adverb as in (2), a manner complement as in (3) denoting 'steadily' or a resultative complement as in (4). The state of being stable involves both the conception of process and change of state. When the process is profiled (cf. Langacker 1987), the semantic meaning of manner is triggered; when change of state is profiled, the resultative meaning is triggered. Both meanings become conventionalized through metonymization. When more

data are scrutinized, it is found that *tin7* persists in semantic and grammatical extensions. For example, ambiguity is observed in (5), interpreted as ‘He decides to do the job’ or ‘He has done the job’. In addition, epistemic interpretation occurs in (6); and the semantic representation of ‘just; only; exclusively’ is found in (7). The semantic manifestation of *tin7* can also illustrate the concept of certainty, confidence in doing some judgments, or subject’s subjective belief. Consider (8) and (9). *Tin7 chog8* (定著) in (8) is a lexicalized simplex with fossilized structure and opaque meaning (cf. Packard 2000). It is used to express the possible judgment of the speaker, reifying the speaker’s viewpoints or attitude of certainty. Since the epistemic meaning of *tin7 chog8* indicates that the speaker, based on his/her experience, makes an assertion with certainty, the factuality of the proposition assumed by the speaker therefore is one hundred percent. It is again metonymic in nature, and it relates to the concept of ‘absolutely’ or ‘must’, the typical epistemic representation. Another simplex *tin7 tin7* (定定), denoting ‘nothing but, nothing more, exclusively’ is given in (10). While *tin7 chog8* represents epistemic modal meaning ‘must’, the reduplicative form *tin7 tin7* denotes ‘nothing but’ instead. Unlike the other data which involve scalar properties, *tin7 tin7* profiles the endpoint only. The highlight of the endpoint undergoes semantic extension, giving rise to the meaning of ‘exclusively’. Metonymization also plays a crucial role in the development of *tin7 tin7* making it a non-scalar focus particle.

This study demonstrates a case of the integration of grammaticalization and lexicalization, operating in an interactive and a parallel manner. The analysis presents not only the evolutionary path of grammaticalization of *tin7*, but the manipulation of metonymization as a key mechanism of semantic change. The complicated grammatical and semantic functions associated with *tin7* (定) constructions are plausibly teased out through the account of the interaction of semantic meanings, syntactic constructions and collocations.

#### Examples:

(1) 心神毋定个人，輒常會反躁。

*sim2shin5 m5 tin7 gai1 ngin5, ziab8shong5 voi7 fan2cau3*  
 mind not stable NOM<sup>1</sup> person usually would insomnious  
 ‘A person whose mind is not stable is usually insomnious.’

(2) 行較定兜仔。

*hang5 ha3 tin7 deu1-er55*  
 walk more steadily a little  
 ‘Walk more steadily.’

(3) 坐定講話。

*col tin7 gong2fa3*  
 sit steadily speak  
 ‘Sit steadily before you speak.’

(4) 藥費都係照講定个價數。

*rhog8 fui3 du7 he3 zhau3 gong2 tin7 gai3 ga3sii3*  
 medicine fee all is according-to say stabilize NOM price  
 ‘The fee of the medicine is based on the negotiated price.’

(5) 這工作佢搞定了。

*lia2 gung1zog4 gi5 gau2 tin7 le*  
 this job he do TIN PART  
 ‘He decides to do the job.’ or ‘He has done the job.’

(6) 無定分你尋到好東西。

*mo5- tin7 bun1 ni5 cim5 do3 ho2 dung1sil*  
 perhaps PA you find ASP good stuff  
 ‘Perhaps you may find good stuffs.’

(7) 兩三家人有電視定。

*liong2 sam1 gal ngin5 rhiu1 tien7shi7 tin7*  
 Two three family person have television just  
 ‘Just two or three families have televisions.’

- (8) 佢開冰店，地點還言定著。  
*ngai5 siong2 koi1 ben1 diam3, ti7diam2 han5mang5 tin7 chog8*  
 I want open ice shop location not-yet set ASP  
 ‘I want to open an ice shop, but the location is not decided yet.’
- (9) 好个作品定著係用佢自家个語言。  
*ho2 gai3 cong2pin2 tin7chog8 he3 rhung7 gi5 cid4ga1 gai3 ngi1ngien5*  
 good NOM creation must is use he self NOM language  
 ‘Good creations must be written in the mother languages (of the authors).’
- (10) 佢正一歲定定，就當會講話。  
*gi5 zhang3 rhid4 soi3 tin7tin7, ciu7 dong1 voi3 gong2fa3*  
 he just one year-old nothing more, CIU<sup>2</sup> very would speak  
 ‘He is nothing but one year old. (Nevertheless), he speaks fairly fluently.’

<sup>1</sup> The following abbreviations are applied for their corresponding grammatical functions: NOM, a nominalizer; PART, a particle; PA, a passive marker; and ASP, an aspect marker.

<sup>2</sup> CIU serves as an auxiliary confirming and stressing the verb following.

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