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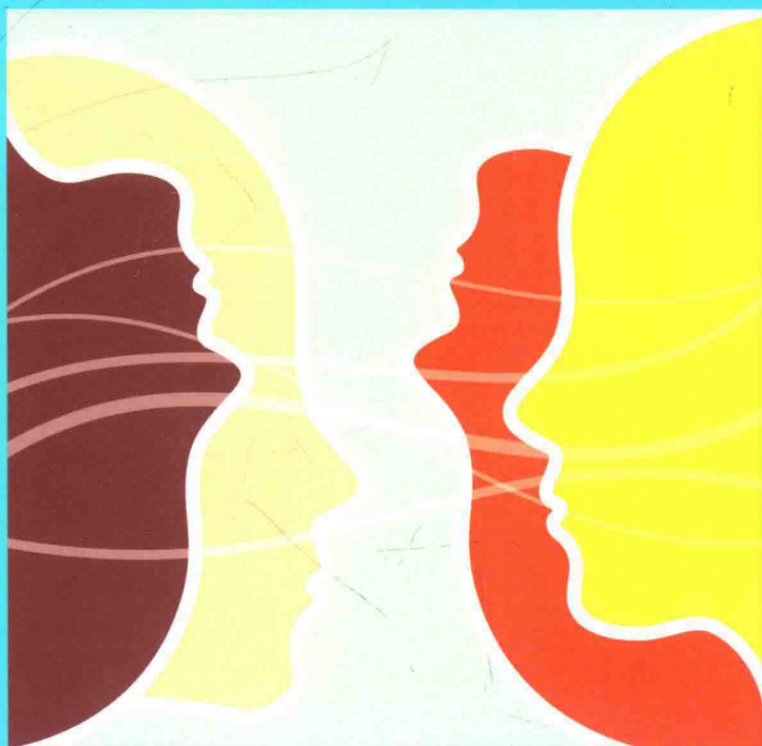
語 法 化

Grammaticalization

(第二版)

Paul J. Hopper、Elizabeth Closs Traugott 原著

張麗麗 翻譯



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GRAMMATICALIZATION by PUAL J. HOPPER AND ELIZABETH
CLOSS TRAUGOTT

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LANGUAGE AND LINGUISTICS MONOGRAPH SERIES 51

by Paul J. Hopper and Elizabeth Closs Traugott
translated by Li-li Chang

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Preface to the 2013 translation of
Paul J. Hopper and Elizabeth Closs Traugott,
***Grammaticalization*, 2nd ed.**
Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003

The following is a brief sketch of some major issues that have been drawing the attention of researchers in grammaticalization in the decade subsequent to the preparation of the second edition of *Grammaticalization*, published in 2003. The focus is on grammaticalization as a phenomenon of change attested in historical written documents, but some attention is also paid to work on grammaticalization as an emergent phenomenon in spoken language. A far more detailed account showing the breadth and depth of the field can be found in Narrog & Heine's *Handbook of Grammaticalization* (2011). References for this preface are cited at the end, so that the integrity of the original book is maintained.

The early part of the twenty-first century saw the dramatic expansion of a trend that started in the nineteen-nineties: the parsing and development of historical electronic corpora of a larger set of text types and of exponentially larger size. For example, the subparts of the groundbreaking Helsinki Corpus (HC) (compiled in 1991 with a total of a little over one and a half million words) were parsed, and corpora of correspondence, medical treatises, and other genres were developed. CLMETEV, a large corpus (close to 15 million words) of literary British texts from 1710 to 1920 became available in 2006, and COHA (a four hundred million corpus of American English from 1810-2009) in 2010. Similar kinds of corpora have been developed for other languages, including Chinese and French. These are balanced corpora selected to represent various aspects of textual record. They enable detailed statistical accounts of changes over time. In addition there are now massive data bases such as Googlebooks provides, but being open-ended they are hard to use. There has also been a dramatic increase in the availability of on line corpora of spoken language, including the Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English (SBCSAE) and spoken parts of the British National Corpus (BNC) and of the International

Corpus of English (ICE). A fairly comprehensive list of electronic data bases to date on English is available in Nevalainen & Traugott (2012:906-910). The effect of electronic corpora has had a massively profound effect on research on grammaticalization and has led to sophisticated quantitative as well as qualitative work.

Among the major issues debated are the following:

a) Unidirectionality. Much of the debate about grammaticalization in the late nineteen-nineties had to do with the hypothesis of unidirectionality and largely culminated in the papers in Campbell (2001). The issue is still discussed, but in two new contexts. One is a generative framework in which innate pressure to optimize is invoked (e.g. Roberts & Roussou 2003, van Gelderen 2004, working with features in a Minimalist Theory of grammar, and Kiparsky 2012 working in Optimality Theory). The other context is a usage framework in which the assumption is that linguistic structure is not innate or unique to humans, but derives from general cognitive processes, and that one of the main factors in unidirectionality is repetition and frequency (e.g. Bybee 2006, 2010). The focus in both lines of research is on very small micro-shifts rather than large macro-parameters such as had been favored in Lightfoot (1979). Micro-steps help to account for gradualness of change as well as synchronic gradience (Traugott & Trousdale 2010a).

Norde (2009) is an important book investigating legitimate and illegitimate examples of the hypothesis of degrammaticalization, understood in terms of a model of grammaticalization as reduction (see Chapter 5.7). Like many other researchers (e.g. Haspelmath 2004, Lehmann 2004) Norde points out that use of the adverb *up* as a main verb is a case of word-formation, specifically conversion, and *-ism* is the clipping of a derivational morpheme; neither is an instance of degrammaticalization as proposed by Ramat (1992).

b) The role of analogy. Probably the most important debate in the last ten years has concerned the role of analogy in grammaticalization (Anttila 2003, Fischer 2007, De Smet 2009). Whereas Lehmann (2004) refers to “pure grammaticalization without analogy”, it is now widely agreed that analogy is a very important factor in grammaticalization. However, the term has been used ambiguously to refer to both analogical

thinking (a motivation enabling change) and change based on pattern match (a mechanism). Traugott & Trousdale (2010b) argue that it is important to distinguish the two. Analogical thinking provisionally matches aspects of meaning and form; it enables, but may or may not result in change. By contrast, analogization is a mechanism or process of change bringing about alignments and matches of meaning and form that did not exist before. Likewise it is important to distinguish the process of parsing, which may enable (i.e. motivate) different analyses from those current before, from the mechanism of reanalysis, which results in new structures. One avenue of thought about analogy is Kiparsky's (2012) suggestion that optimizing is analogical expansion; most other approaches focus not on innate optimization but exemplar-matching and growth of new grammatical types as meaning becomes bleached and more general (Bybee 2010).

De Smet (2012) combines a study of analogical matching with gradual spread of usage patterns. He notes that change starts in a relatively small corner of the system and there is an increase in the distribution of the grammaticalizing item over time, along a path that is minimally "obtrusive" (De Smet 2012:607). An example given is of the downtoner *all but* 'nearly' (< 'everything except'). The downtoner use originally appears primarily with predicate nominals as in (1a) and then with predicate adjectives (1b):

- (1) a. Pshaw, pshaw! This is *all but* the whining end of a modern novel. (1773 Goldsmith, *She Stoops to Conquer* [CLMETEV 1; De Smet 2012:611])
- b. as if the works of nature were not *all but* infinite, (1821 *North American Review* [COHA])

The next step is expansion to attributive use of adjectives, then adjectives formed with past participles (2a), and, with increasing frequency, verbs (2b):

- (2) a. The boat was now *all but* jammed between two vast black bulks. (1851 Melville, *Moby Dick* [COHA])
- b. He *all but* fell down and knocked his head on the table out of sheer helpless astonishment. (1948 Allen, *Toward Morning* [COHA; De Smet 2012:612])

De Smet argues that the path to collocation with verbs is one of similarity and that passive past participles represent a transition point because they are both adjectival and verbal (p.612). He finds confirmation in the fact that verb collocates that are favored in the data are past tense forms that are identical to past participles, e.g. *finished*, *thought* (p.616). So *all but* “can be seen to spread from one environment to another along a network of similarity relations that hold between those environments” (p.616). From this perspective gradualness can be assessed in terms of structural as well as quantitative expansion.

Fischer (2007) argued at length that analogy is “primary” compared to reanalysis. Again there is ambiguity here, this time between “primary” as in “precedes reanalysis” and “more important than reanalysis”. It may well be that analogical thinking precedes and enables much change, but reanalysis is primary in the sense of “more important”. It is all-encompassing since every change that is an analogization results in a structural shift, but not all reanalyses are analogizations. For example, there appears to have been no exemplar to which to match the pseudo-partitive *a dæl of* ‘a deal/part of’ when it was reanalyzed as a quantifier; however, when *a bit/lot of* and other partitives and measure nouns later came to be reanalyzed as quantifiers (Brems 2011), *a deal of* already existed as a quantifier and probably served as an exemplar (though only a partial one since as a quantifier *deal* usually collocates with an adjective of large size such as *great*).

c) Grammaticalization as expansion. Most of the literature on grammaticalization discussed in the present book conceptualizes grammaticalization in terms of reduction and loss. But as implied in the preceding section and in Chapter 5.2, semantic loss (bleaching) or phonological loss (e.g. fusion) typically leads to use of a gram in more and more contexts. Himmelmann (2004) proposed that grammaticalization involves expansion in three contexts: semantic-pragmatic, syntactic, and collocational range (“host-class expansion”), the latter two usually after grammaticalization has set in. While on first encounter a view of grammaticalization as expansion might appear to contradict the view of grammaticalization as reduction, in fact, it does not. Rather it may follow from it.

Consider just one example: Lehmann's (1995) parameter of "integrity". He cites (p.164) loss of meaning (e.g. in the case of *BE going to* lexical motion is bleached), and of form (e.g. reduction from four syllables to three as in *BE gonna* and fewer in some spoken varieties). If we focus not only on reduction but also on the consequences of that reduction, we can expect that there will be increase in host-classes: a form that is reduced semantically and phonologically and has paradigmatic functions will be used not only more token frequently but also in more type contexts (e.g. *BE going to* came to be used over time with stative verbs and others that were incompatible with motion with a purpose). It will also be available for a larger range of syntactic uses, and therefore its syntactic contexts may expand; for example, although *BE going to* was clearly used as a temporal in the seventeenth century, it was not syntactically expanded to use in raising constructions such as (3) until the eighteenth (Traugott & Trousdale forthcoming:117).

- (3) I am afraid *there is going to be such a calm among us, that ...*
(1725 Odingsells, *The Bath Unmask'd* [LION: English Prose Drama])

d) The role of discourse markers. A much debated topic with regard to expansion is whether the development of so-called pragmatic markers (also known as discourse markers and discourse particles) is a case of grammaticalization or not. Examples include *no doubt, surely, in fact, well*, which originate as clause-internal adverbs (see Chapter 5.6.2), and comment clauses like *I think, y'know* which originate in comparative clauses (e.g. *as I think*, Brinton 2008). The answer depends in large part on the view of "grammar" the researcher adopts. If a broad view of grammar is espoused, as is often the case with proponents of usage grammars, then interactional and metatextual markers may be considered to be components of grammar, and therefore their development can be regarded as an instance of grammaticalization, often involving syntactic scope expansion and also decategorization and internal reduction (e.g. Degand & Simon-Vandenberg 2011). However, if expressions that serve primarily pragmatic interactional functions are considered not to be part of grammar, then they

will clearly not be allowable as instances of grammaticalization, but rather of “pragmaticalization”, as first proposed by Erman & Kotsinas (1993). A recent and far more complex development of this argument has been put forward by Kaltenböck, Heine & Kuteva (2011). They propose that there are two levels of grammar: a “core” (traditional) Sentence-grammar, and a communicative Thetical-grammar, which includes not only discourse markers like *of course*, *instead*, and tags, but also parentheticals like phrasal appositives (4a), and insubordinated clauses like (4b) (Kaltenböck, Heine & Kuteva 2011:857).

- (4) a. Jake, *our boss*, told us to stay.
 b. *If you could open the window, please.*

Thetical elements are said to have a system of their own. Structurally they are not licensed by clausal syntax: while clausal elements are hierarchically ordered, theticals are linearly ordered. They are also set off from the clausal anchor by intonation, are variable in placement, and typically coopted instantaneously from Sentence-grammar. The Kaltenböck, Heine & Kuteva paper is synchronic. However, Heine (2012) suggests that “[p]ragmaticalization” is the result of cooptation, possibly followed by grammaticalization”. On this view, grammaticalization is reduction and conventionalization. It is a process affecting the output of some types of theticals after cooptation. To what extent the cooptation is instantaneous, and the function of discourse markers is similar to that of phrasal appositives, etc., remains to be established.

e) **Lexicalization.** Often construed as the reverse of grammaticalization in the nineteen-nineties (see Chapter 5.7) lexicalization has more recently been seen as being on a continuum of expressions from contentful/referential to grammatical (Lehmann 2002). Many similarities, including fusion, coalescence, and reduction have been noted from the perspective of lexicalization as reduction (Brinton & Traugott 2005). Lehmann (2002) proposes that in grammaticalization there is an asymmetry between two elements in a unit, such that one becomes more dependent on the other (e.g. Latin *cantare habeo* is reduced to French *chanterai* — here the grammaticalizing part becomes dependent on the stem, but the stem is

largely unchanged); by contrast, in lexicalization typically no dependency arises. Because of this alleged dichotomy Lehmann suggests that the complex Latin prepositional phrase *de ex de* ‘from out from’ first lexicalized (coalesced without creation of asymmetric dependencies) to Spanish *desde* and then regrammaticalized. This appears to privilege univerbation and coalescence of form over function, and is unparsimonious. Furthermore, the development of word-formation patterns suggests that dependencies can and do arise in lexical processes. For example, when OE *dom* ‘doom, judgment, status’ came to be compounded with an adjective (e.g. *wis* ‘wise’ + *dom* ‘status’ > *wisdom*) or nominal (e.g. *martyr* + *dom* > *martyrdom*), *-dom* came to be construed as dependent on the stem.

f) Non-lexical sources of grammaticalization. When Meillet first introduced the term grammaticalization in 1912, he gave examples not only of lexical sources of grammaticalization, but also of the syntacticization of discourse-based word order, in particular the syntacticization of SVO order in French. Some work on clause combining is referred to in Chapter 7. Recent research has focused on the development of information structuring (e.g. Lehmann 2008 on complex > simple clausal structure in a number of structural domains including verb-focus in Yucatec Mayan and Traugott 2008 on the development of ALL- and WHAT-pseudo-clefts in the history of English).

g) Some new lines of work. In the period under consideration several new lines of research have emerged. Heine & Kuteva have worked on areal characteristics of grammaticalization (Heine & Kuteva 2006) and on what grammaticalization can suggest about evolution of language (Heine & Kuteva 2007). A topic that has led to many workshops and publications, starting with Noël (2007) and Bergs & Diewald (2008), is how construction grammar, especially as developed by Goldberg (1995, 2006) and Croft (2001) can be used to inform work on grammaticalization, and how work on grammaticalization and lexicalization can inform construction grammar. A formal approach based in Head Driven Phrase Structure Grammar (HPSG) is suggested in Fried (2009). Traugott & Trousdale (forthcoming) propose that the key contribution of a constructional perspective is that since a construction is a form-meaning pairing, the theoretical architecture demands a focus on both form and meaning equally. Since “grammar” reflects

linguistic knowledge, and is construed as a network of language generally, it includes discourse markers. In the network similarity as well as difference are key, therefore the perspective of construction grammar allows for the role of analogization (similarity and paradigmatic relatedness) to be highlighted as well as that of difference (reanalysis and syntagmatic difference). Since lexical and grammatical changes are on a continuum from contentful to grammatical poles, they need to be viewed as complementary, not orthogonal. Micro-constructions and the schemas in which they participate have their own histories, constrained and influenced by the broader system in which they take part.

h) Grammaticalization in spoken language. For some linguists in the late 1990s and on, the term grammaticalization itself seemed to presuppose the existence of a grammar into which bleached historical forms merged. A contrary conception of grammar was in the air that rejected the ideas of templates and fixed forms in favor of an emergent conception of structure. In this view, the speakers of a language improvise utterances on the basis of previous utterances rather than by recourse to a common grammar. The grammar of spoken language is therefore seen as an artifact of retrospective analysis rather than a reality, and structure is always partial and unfinished. The view goes back to Hopper (1987), and was taken up recently by adherents of the Conversational Analysis school (e.g., Auer 2009, Auer & Pfänder 2011, Pekarek-Doehler 2011, Helasvuoto 2009). Emergent Grammar highlights the fact that “grammar” is being constantly updated and extended, so even if it is handed down as rules, these rules themselves are being constantly changed to accommodate new demands.

Emergent grammar differs from grammaticalization in giving priority to transcripts of spoken interactions (Fox, Thompson, Ford & Couper-Kuhlen 2013). One brief example will be given here (Hopper 2012:308). In this partial conversation a woman has told how the air was so thick during a dust storm that the car headlights were green:¹

¹ In the system of transcription used here, = means a drawled vowel, a series of dots means a hesitation pause, and a period (full stop) means falling tone, that is, utterance final intonation.

- (5) 1 ... Yeah.
 2 they just looked green.
 3 ... It was a weird.
 4 .. ugly.
 5 .. ugly day. (SBCSAE 2005)

In lines 1 and 2 the speaker is winding down her story about the unsettling weather. She then sums up her story with three comments (lines 3-5) that are marked with utterance-final intonation. A standard sentence-level analysis would edit out the intonations and the turn-completions and present the woman's utterances as something like: *It was a weird, ugly, ugly day*, that is, as a unit noun phrase consisting of an article, a head noun, and three modifying adjectives. But such an analysis misses the point, for the adjectives are not all equal. *Ugly* in line 4 is a replacement for *weird* in line 3, and the repetition of *ugly* in line 5 confirms the replacement. The two adjectives do not belong in the same NP because they do different work. They come in at different times and with different pragmatic values. Yet the indefinite article *a* in line 3 projects the noun *day* in line 5; that is to say, the interlocutor, on hearing *a*, now anticipates the delivery of a noun that will resolve the projection and fulfill the formula $a^{\wedge}MODIFIER^{\wedge}day$. Is there, then, an "NP" (a "Noun Phrase") consisting of [a weird ugly ugly day]? The answer to this question is yes, but it is an emergent NP, existing as a linguistic phrase only in retrospect after the fact of its complete utterance, and creating a new improvised formula $[a^{\wedge}MODIFIER_i^{\wedge}MODIFIER_j^{\wedge}MODIFIER_j^{\wedge}day]$ with final intonations after the first two modifiers. Observations of this kind suggest that grammaticalization theory addresses only the advanced and highly sedimented levels of structure in a language. The intrinsically unfinished nature of grammar means that there will never be a final form to constructions but only detectable movements towards form.

Emergent grammar could be said to stand at the micro-end of the study of grammaticalization, the point where speakers are actually creating oral discourse using the linguistic means handed down to them (Hopper 2004, 2011). From this perspective, written grammar is a way of stabilizing spoken interactions whose existential structure is emergent. The study of emergent grammar promises to illuminate the immediate sources of change

through a close reading of the contexts in which the process of fixing of improvised form occurs.

Corpora

- BNC The British National Corpus, version 3 (BNC XML Edition). 2007. Distributed by Oxford University Computing Services on behalf of the BNC Consortium. <http://www.natcorp.ox.ac.uk/>.
- CLMETEV *The Corpus of Late Modern English Texts (Extended Version)*. 2006. Compiled by Hendrik De Smet. Department of Linguistics, University of Leuven. <http://www.helsinki.fi/varieng/CoRD/corpora/CLMETEV/>.
- COHA *Corpus of Historical American English*. 2010-. Compiled by Mark Davies. Brigham Young University. <http://corpus.byu.edu/coha/>.
- HC Helsinki Corpus of English Texts. 1991. Compiled by Matti Rissanen (Project leader), Merja Kytö (Project secretary); Leena Kahlas-Tarkka, Matti Kilpiö (Old English); Saara Nevanlinna, Irma Taavitsainen (Middle English); Terttu Nevalainen, Helena Raumolin-Brunberg (Early Modern English). Department of English, University of Helsinki. <http://www.helsinki.fi/varieng/CoRD/corpora/HelsinkiCorpus/index.html>.
- ICE The International Corpus of English, version 2. 2006. Coordinated by Gerald Nelson (University of Hong Kong). <http://ice-corpora.net/ice/index.htm>.
- LION *Literature Online*, 1996-. <http://lion.chadwyck.com>.
- SBCSAE Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English, Part IV. 2005. Compiled by John W. Du Bois & Robert Englebretson. <http://www ldc.upenn.edu>. (Also available in ICE.)

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