教育部人文社會學科學術強化創新計畫

【語言演變的究竟--語法化經典研讀】

□期中報告

Ⅴ年度成果總報告

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一、 計畫名稱

99 年度人文教育革新中綱計畫-人文社會學科學術強化創新計畫——「語言演變的究竟--語法化經典研讀」。

二、 計畫目標

本所教師在語言研究的專長上，有屬於漢語的閩南語、客語，亦有南島語系以及腦神經語言學專長，看似南轅北轍，卻未必沒有交集。98 學年清華大學語言所曹逢甫教授在本所的專題演講「詞序演變、重新分析和詞彙變化：以漢語雙賓、動補和動賓句為例」，引發在場師生對於雙賓、使動、結果，甚至控制結構（control）的關係進行相當熱烈的討論。隨後，申請者因發現本所幾位老師都曾在其研究專長之不同語言有相關之投入，亦發表過相關的論文，遂以「雙賓構式」為主題，向學校申請教師專業社群，透過讀書會分享相關文獻之閱讀心得以及個人對研究課題之觀察。透過社群的形成，我們聯繫了本所幾位教師的研究，建立一個分享研究心得的平台，也藉由透過從不同語言、不同研究觀點（如語言習得）切入同一主題的研究方式，擴展個人之研究視野，並深化研究的內涵。在本計劃中，我們希望延續我們在「雙賓構式研究社群」的精神，透過課外共讀經典，促進本所師與師、生與生、以及師生之間的交流，分享相關文獻之閱讀心得，並將經典內涵與本所師生研究的語言（閩、客、南島語）融合，透過參與者對不同語言現象的觀察擴展其研究視野，藉由經典的理論印證、挑戰或深化研究內涵。此外，我們也希望透過共同研讀英文原典，提升學生的英文閱讀能力，並形成討論的風氣。

三、 導讀

本計劃研讀的經典主要為 Paul J. Hopper 與 Elizabeth C. Traugott 合著的《語法化》一書（Paul J. Hopper and Elizabeth C. Traugott. 2003. *Grammaticalization.* Cambridge University Press），本書第一版於 1993 年出版，2003 年作者根據十年來的新發展重新修訂出版第二版，這本書是語法化這個領域必讀的經典，兩位作者都是這個領域極具聲望，研究頂尖的學者。本書的第一作者 Paul J. Hopper 主

要研究領域是言談與語法之介面，他曾與 UCSB 的 Sandra Thompson 教授發表以言談觀點探討名詞與動詞的文章 Lexical categories in universal grammar（1984, *Language* Vol. 60, Number 4: 703-752）以及 The iconicity of the universal categories 'noun' and 'verbs'（1985, 收錄於 John Haiman 編的 *Iconicity in Syntax,* 151-186. Amsterdam: Benjamins）。另外，他提出 emergent grammar 觀點，認為語法不是先驗存在的，而是基於使用而成型（pattern）的。第二作者 Elizabeth C. Traugott 是柏克萊大學的榮譽退休教授，專長在歷史語法、語意學、語用學、詞彙化、社會歷史語言學，最近的研究著重在探討語法化理論對於語言演變的解釋。除《語法化》一書外，他的著作包含 *A History of English Syntax*（1972）、*Linguistics for Students of Literature*（1980；與 Mary L. Pratt 合著）、*Regularity in Semantic Change*（2002；與 Richard B. Dasher 合著）及 *Lexicalization and Language Change*（2005；與 Laurel J. Brinton 合著）。《語法化》一書全面性地介紹語法化的相關概念，內容涵蓋語法化的歷史、語法化的機制、語法化中的語用因素、單向性假說、句子內部的形態變化；跨句的語法化、語言接觸下的語法化，觸及語言的結構、使用與社會面性之間的互動，對於我們更深入了解語言的本質，可以提供一個動態與全面的觀點。

除了《語法化》一書之外，有鑑於近年詞彙化的討論逐漸受到重視，在漢語領域有許多相關的討論，我們也選了 Laurel J. Brinton 與 Elizabeth Closs Traugott 合著的《詞彙化與語言演變》（Brinton, Laurel J. and Elizabeth Closs Traugott. 2005. *Lexicalization and Language Change*. Cambridge University Press.）書中有關詞彙化的章節來閱讀，希望透過閱讀這兩本經典著作，能夠更了解詞彙化的本質及其與語法化之異同。

四、 研讀成果

本活動至目前為止已經進行了四次的研讀活動，研讀內容之成果摘要如表 1 所示。本所教師研究的語言包含漢藏語系的閩南語、客語、華語以及屬南島語系的台灣原住民語，因此討論的內容多樣廣泛，透過此一經典研讀活動，對於提昇本所師生的研究視野，應可以達實質之效。

表 1 研讀內容之成果摘要

研讀日期	主讀人	研讀內容（書目章節或篇次）
2010/9/17	葉美利	Hopper, Paul J. and Elizabeth Closs Traugott. 2003. *Grammaticalization* (2nd edition). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [Ch 1. Some preliminaries, 1-18]
討論與分享	1. 作者在文章中提到從索緒爾開始，語言學出現歷時與共時這兩種觀點，作者批判的是共時的角度把文法看成是非描述的，從社會語言學的角度來研究語言變異，會發現許多語言的變異，而這對於共時的觀點來看產生了挑戰，雖然本書的語法化較偏向歷時的角度，但是誠如作者指出研究語法化會結合採用兩個觀點。 2. 作者指出 central, prototypical instances of grammaticalization 是由 content word (or an entire construction containing that word) 到 function word，而 grammatical forms 又可以依其黏著程度形成一個從因運與具法上獨立的形式到衍生形式(derivational forms)到依附詞(clitics)，再到曲折形式的連續體(continuum)。針對依附詞 clitics，因為南島語許多語言有依附詞，所以我們做了一些討論。之後我們也透過計畫助理找出依附詞詞的相關文章(如 Zwicky 1980)供大家參閱。另外者作提到 clitic 另一個判斷的準則－重音（stress），不過有學者提出 clitic 沒有重音，但賽夏語的 ila 是有重音的。像南島語的 affix 加到詞上後，重音也是會改變的，所以 clitic 及 affix 用重音來判斷似乎就較難分辨，不過從構詞的角度來看，加上 affix 後，重音幾乎都會改變，但是從句法層面來看，加上 clitic 後，重音則會依語言的重音特性而有不同，對於這個部份可能還需要更多的檢驗。 3. 針對 Clines 這一概念及其中文翻譯，我們也有所討論，將之譯成「斜坡」似乎未能說明這一個概念之特質，根據作者的說明，Clines 可以用一種聚合（cluster）的觀點來看。 4. 研讀中，葉美利老師分享處理賽夏語的未來標記'am 的經驗，在碩論中認為是自由詞素，但指導教授認為是前綴，後來從語	

	法化的動態觀點發現，兩者都對，一個 form 可以是多種功能，跨不同的範疇的。對於賽夏語未來標記'am 有興趣者，可以進一步參考 Yeh (2006)的文章。	
研讀日期	主讀人	研讀內容（書目章節或篇次）
2010/10/1	鄭縈	Hopper, Paul J. and Elizabeth Closs Traugott. 2003. *Grammaticalization* (2nd edition). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [Ch 2. The history of grammaticalization, 19-38]
討論與分享	1. 本章介紹語法化的歷史，包含早期與近期的研究以及研究趨勢。本次導讀者還介紹了語法化在漢語方面的研究。 2. 研讀中，針對書中所引的漢語句子「醉把茱萸子細看」，對於此句的斷句有爭議：究竟是「醉把/茱萸子/細看」還是「醉把/茱萸/子細看」？ 在早期文獻中，子細是使用「子」，與孩子的「子」相同，後來為了區別孩子的「子」，加上人字部，變成「仔」細。「醉把茱萸子細看」到底如何斷句，因此不易分辨。若從詩的格律 223 來判斷，有可能是「醉把/茱萸/子細看」，在分析上都有人支持，但古詩並沒有像律詩這麼嚴格，因此也無法肯定。這兩種斷句情形都有可能。唐代的「松子」可以指松樹或小松樹，「子」在唐代已經開始虛化了（如「和尚子」的「子」也是已經虛化為詞綴）。 3. 有關主題（topic）和主語（subject）的界定問題。在討論「主題」和「主語」時，一定要清楚「主題」和「主語」的定義，嚴格說來，言談語法（discourse grammar）中會使用「主題」一詞，句法（syntax）上才會使用「主語」一詞，但有些句法學者可以接受「主題」用於句法上，做為一個句法功能。 4. 作者在 2.4 節談到語法化近代的研究趨勢，提到 C. Lehmann 的著作 *Thoughts on grammaticalization*，在 Lehmann 的著作中提出 6 個評估語法化程度高低的參數，作者並沒有列出例句，對於理解這個概念不夠清楚，若對這個部份，計畫亦透過助理將 Lehmann（2002）的線上資料找出提供有興趣的老師同學參閱。	

研讀日期	主讀人	研讀內容（書目章節或篇次）
		5. 最後我們提到台灣語言研究的相關文獻，作爲補充資料，提供給大家作參考，相關的參考文章請見其他建議閱讀的相關資料。
2010/10/22	葉瑞娟	Hopper, Paul J. and Elizabeth Closs Traugott. 2003. *Grammaticalization* (2nd edition). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [Ch 3. Mechanisms: reanalysis and analogy, 39-70]

討論與分享

　　本章討論語法化的變化本質並介紹重新分析（reanalysis）與類比（analogy）兩個語法化機制，與其產生之不同影響。

1. 這個單元進入語言變化的中心議題，作者先提出以下問題：

> What motivate change, what mechanisms lead to grammaticalization, what are its possible "path" of progress through time, and what are its end result?

這些問題構成了本書剩餘的主要章節，我們把它圖表如下：

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                    mechanisms              path
motivations ──────────────────▶  ──────────────────▶  result

Chapter 4      Chapter 3            Chapter 5, 6, 7      Chapter 8
               reanalysis
               analogy
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　　透過本章之介紹，我們更清楚語法化的本質、本書之主要架構，並且澄清機制（mechanism）、動因（motivation）等概念。

2. 本單元的內容包含

　(1) 簡介

　(2) 關於變化的基本假設

　(3) 重新分析

　(4) 語法化與重新分析之獨立性

　(5) 類比/規則泛化

　(6) 重新分析類比(analogy)不同影響

我們的討論包含：

1. 歸納（induction）、演繹（deduction）與估推（deduction）三種 logical principle of reasoning。

	2.	書中以許多篇幅討論詞序變化是否應包含在語法化內，詞序變化涉及重新分析（Meillet 1912）。作者透過跨語言分析說明 "There are no constraints depending solely on word order that delimit the lexical resources that can be used in the development of grammatical items. This argues against word-order change as an example of grammaticalization in the narrower sense of reanalysis of lexical forms as grammatical forms."針對此一問題，葉美利老師也提出漢語詞序演變的相關問題。

研讀日期	主讀人	研讀內容（書目章節或篇次）
2010/10/29	柯怡姍 陳奕秀	Hopper, Paul J. and Elizabeth Closs Traugott. 2003. *Grammaticalization* (2nd edition). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [Ch 4. Pragmatic factors, 71-98]
討論與分享		本章討論的主題包含：推論（inference）與語意演變（semantic change）的關係為何？隱喻（metaphor）與轉喻（metonym）扮演的角色為何？以及語意是否漂白？在本次研讀中，除了書中概念的討論之外，參與的老師也適時以漢語的相關例子加以說明，協助同學了解其意涵以及在漢語之應用。 1. 討論到慣例化及經濟性這兩個部分，鄭縈老師以漢語的「他很高」為例說明，「很」從原來的程度副詞到現在感覺沒辦法呈現其程度，因此大家習慣使用「超級」這個新詞來表達其程度上的差異（如，「超級」高）。另外，有時後要講新的東西，不一定要用新詞。因為為了經濟性原則，加上溝通的便利性，會選擇使用大加已慣例的用法，但有可能為了加強說話者的表達性，而讓慣例的用法有新的使用方式。如：「洗臉」的例子，洗臉用的皂，我們不太習慣說「洗臉皂」，而是使用「洗『面』皂」或「洗『面』乳」，「面」這個字不是新的詞，我們在描述新的東西不一定要創新詞。 2. 討論到"概念"與"轉喻"的部份，討論中，劉秀雪老師以在餐廳點餐的情境下，服務生在送餐時說「雞腿飯坐哪裡？」的例子

	說明，讓同學更能明瞭轉喻需要利用真實環境做情境關聯，依賴語境來提供訊息。 3. 作者提到的兩個原則: economy 及 informativeness，對於這一部份有興趣者可以參閱 Traugott 與 König（1991）的文章。 4. 作者在這裡提出詞彙的語義並非完全消失，而是基本語義會殘存，作者稱為"留滯現象"，例如英語的 be going to 和 will 有些不同，尤其 be going to 表示有一個目標，這是由 going to 去帶出句有方向性（motion action）的意涵，而 will 沒有。

研讀日期	主讀人	研讀內容（書目章節或篇次）
2010/11/19	黃育正 黃雯君	Hopper, Paul J. and Elizabeth Closs Traugott. 2003. *Grammaticalization* (2nd edition). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [Ch 5. The hypothesis of unidirectionality, 99-139]
導讀		語法化的方向受限制，總是由實變虛，虛化後變得更虛。即叫語法化的單向性假設為本章所討論的問題。本章分別說明語法化的兩個單向性的 cline，一個是 none-to-affix cline (§5.3.1)，一個是 verb-to-affix cline (§5.3.2)。與單向性有關的三個過程分別是：specialization (§5.4.1)、divergence (§5.4.2)及 renewal (§5.4.3)。單向性原則不是絕對，在§5.7 中也介紹了單向性的反例。

研讀日期	主讀人	研讀內容（書目章節或篇次）
2010/12/3	湯琬君 黃天來	Hopper, Paul J. and Elizabeth Closs Traugott. 2003. *Grammaticalization* (2nd edition). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [Ch 6. Clause-internal morphological changes, 140-174]
導讀		第六次的經典研讀活動，由湯琬君及黃天來主讀，主讀的主題為「句子內部的形態變化」，以下為導讀大網。 1. 簡介。 2. 形態化(mophologization)。 3. 聚合體的發展。 4. 論元結構標記：功能-語義等級和形態泛化。

		5. 喪失。 6. 結論。
研讀日期	主讀人	研讀內容（書目章節或篇次）
2010/12/24	蘇建唐 陳姿瑾	Hopper, Paul J. and Elizabeth Closs Traugott. 2003. *Grammaticalization* (2nd edition). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [Ch 7. Grammaticalization across clauses, 175-211]
導讀		第七次的經典研讀活動，由蘇建唐及陳姿瑾主讀，主讀的主題為「跨越句限的語法化」，以下為導讀大網。 1. 簡介。 2. 從句組合結構的 cline。 3. 從句連結的語法化。 4. 複雜句結構發展的例子。 5. 從複雜句到簡單句。 6. 從句組合中的單向性反例。 7. 結論
研讀日期	主讀人	研讀內容（書目章節或篇次）
2010/1/14	劉秀雪	Hopper, Paul J. and Elizabeth Closs Traugott. 2003. *Grammaticalization* (2nd edition). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [Ch 8. Grammaticalization in situations of extreme language contact, 212-230]
導讀		第八次的經典研讀活動，由劉秀雪老師主讀，主讀的主題為「語言接觸下的語法化」，以下為導讀大網。 1. 簡介。 2. 洋涇濱語(pidgins)和克里奧爾(creoles)的基本特徵。 3. 洋涇濱語和克里奧爾對語言演變的啟示。 4. 洋涇濱語和克里奧爾對於語法化的具體啟示。
研讀日期	主讀人	研讀內容（書目章節或篇次）
2011/1/14	鄭縈	Brinton, Laurel J., and Elizabeth C. Traugott. 2005. Lexicalization and language change. Cambridge: Cambridge

		University Press. [Ch 2-4]
導讀		第九次的經典研讀活動，由鄭縈老師主讀，主讀的書籍為《詞彙化與語法化的關係》的第 2 章為「Lexicalization: definitions and viewpoints」，第 3 章為「Views on the relation of lexicalization to grammaticalization」至第 4 章為「Toward an integrated approach to lexicalization and grammaticalization」。鄭縈老師很快的從第 2 章的詞彙定義及其觀點做介紹，說明詞彙的構成方式及過程，複合、衍生、轉類、簡縮、反向構詞、略語等，做了簡單說明，接下來的第 3 章提到詞彙化與語法化的聯繫，詞彙化與語法化如歷史的過程，第 4 章進一步的整體來看詞彙化與語法化之間的比對整理，作者把詞彙化與語法化之間相對應的結果做成表格呈現其不同之處。
研讀日期	主讀人	研讀內容（書目章節或篇次）
2011/1/20	葉美利 葉瑞娟 鄭縈	Hopper, Paul J. and Elizabeth Closs Traugott. 2003. Grammaticalization (2nd edition). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [Ch 9. Summary and suggestions for further work, 231-233] Huei-Ling Lai. 2007. Morphosyntactic and Semantic Changes of Hakka si2: A Multi-level Analysis. Language and Lingustics 8.2:553-574.
導讀		第十次的經典研讀活動，由葉美利老師、葉瑞娟老師、鄭縈老師主讀，葉美利老師主讀的主題為《語法化》第九章「總結與後續研究的建議」及南島語的語法化相關研究，葉瑞娟老師主讀的文章為〈客語「死」形態句法及語意的改變：多層次的分析〉，鄭縈老師主讀的主題為「漢語語法化研究回顧」。 　　最後一次的經典研讀中葉美利老師根據《語法化》的最後一章做這本書的總結及回顧一些概念，接著介紹一些臺灣南島語語法化的相關研究。葉瑞娟老師也搜尋有關客語方面做語法化的研究，發現客語在語法化方面的研究不多，是值得研究的議題，最後鄭縈老師介紹了漢語方面的語法化研究，做了簡單的回顧，以下有一些文章我們從三位老師的報告中做了一些整理參考。

五、 議題探討結論

目前計畫進行次研讀活動，第一、二次的研讀主要內容為背景與歷史背景，至第三、四次開始進入議題。我們的討論大致聚焦在相關理論如何在臺灣的語言印證或透過語法化思維來解釋所處理的語言現象。目前的討論過議題包含：

1. 語法化的機制與動因之區別：在第二次討論中，鄭縈老師補充的語法化機制包含隱喻、推理、泛化、和諧、吸收。但這樣的說法似乎不區分機制與動因，當時我們曾就何謂動因與何謂機制有所討論，而在第三次的研讀中，我們透過研討清楚本書作者認為機制是一種變化的方式，動因是引發語言變化的 trigger，其關係如下：

	機制	路徑	
動因	→	→	結果
Chapter 4	Chapter 3 reanalysis analogy	Chapter 5, 6, 7	Chapter 8
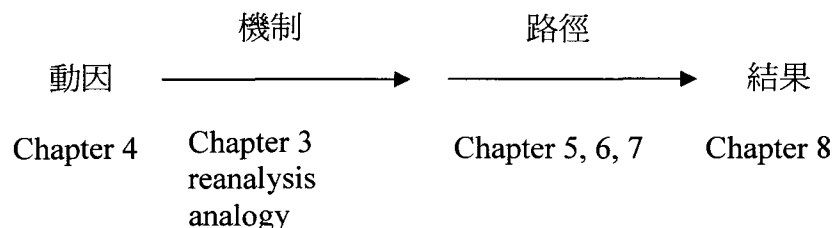
2. 詞序變化的本質為何？是一種語法化嗎？這個問題，根據梅耶（1912），詞序的變化牽涉到重新分析，是一種語法化；但是本書作者並不同意這種說法，作者還提到詞序變化違反單向性。我們也曾就漢語的詞序變化的問題討論，並沒有結論。希望到第五章有關語法化單向性的討論中，可以得到進一步的啟發。

六、 目標達成情況與自評

本活動已於計畫結束前完成規劃之研讀活動，出席狀況如表 2 所示。就成員參與而言，計畫書原本預計的參與人數是教師 5 名，學生 10 名。但是因為時間因素，有兩位預計參加的博士班同學無法參與，然計劃同時也吸引其他同學加入，所以以第三、四次的參與來看，仍然有達到原先預計的參與人數。而計畫成員參與情況良好，除因研討會等因素請假之外，多能定期出席。計畫助理在研讀日期安排，與導讀老師、同學之間的協調行政事務等方面提供相當大的協助。

表 2 研讀成員、主讀人及出席人員狀況

研讀日期	主讀人	參與人員	人數統計	
			老師	學生
2010/9/17	葉美利	鄭縈、呂菁菁、葉美利、劉秀雪、葉瑞娟、黃雯君、黃育正、湯琬君、陳振勛	5	4
2010/10/1	鄭縈	鄭縈、呂菁菁、葉美利、劉秀雪、葉瑞娟、柯怡珊、蘇建唐、黃天來、陳奕秀、陳姿瑾、黃育正、陳振勛、紀佑明、謝淑容、楊巽彰	5	10
2010/10/22	葉瑞娟	鄭縈、呂菁菁、葉美利、劉秀雪、葉瑞娟、柯怡珊、蘇建唐、黃天來、陳奕秀、陳姿瑾、黃育正、湯琬君、陳振勛、林仕勛	5	9
2010/10/29	柯怡珊 陳奕秀	鄭縈、葉美利、劉秀雪、葉瑞娟、柯怡珊、蘇建唐、黃天來、陳奕秀、陳姿瑾、蔡瑋琳、黃雯君、黃育正、湯琬君、陳振勛、林仕勛	4	11
2010/11/26	黃育正 黃雯君	鄭縈、葉美利、劉秀雪、葉瑞娟、黃育正、黃雯君、湯琬君、蘇建唐、黃天來、陳姿瑾、林仕勛、陳振勛	4	8
2010/12/3	湯琬君 黃天來	鄭縈、葉瑞娟、黃育正、湯琬君、陳奕秀、黃天來、陳姿瑾、林仕勛、陳振勛	2	7
2010/12/24	蘇建唐 陳姿瑾	鄭縈、葉美利、呂菁菁、劉秀雪、黃雯君、湯琬君、蘇建唐、黃天來、陳姿瑾、林仕勛、陳振勛、宋彩仙	4	8
2011/1/14	劉秀雪	鄭縈、葉美利、呂菁菁、劉秀雪、葉瑞娟、柯怡珊、湯琬君、黃雯君、陳奕秀、黃天來、陳姿瑾、陳振勛、陳琪曄	5	8
2011/1/14	鄭縈	鄭縈、葉美利、呂菁菁、劉秀雪、葉瑞娟、湯琬君、黃雯君、陳奕秀、黃天來、陳姿瑾、陳振勛、陳琪曄	5	7
2011/1/20	葉美利 葉瑞娟 鄭縈	鄭縈、葉美利、劉秀雪、葉瑞娟、柯怡珊、黃雯君、蘇建唐、陳奕秀、陳姿瑾、陳振勛	4	6

就研讀活動之執行而言，原本的規劃利用暑假於八月即開始，到十月底應已

執行五次研讀。然第一次研讀因所上辦理研習營而延後，加上 11 月 12-13 日本所辦理研討會，因此研讀活動比規劃中落後約 1-2 次。我們已在第一次研讀中規劃新的研讀時程如表 3，預計 100 年 1 月底以前辦理完 10 次研讀。

表 3 研讀規劃

序次	預定研讀日期	主讀人	研讀內容 （書目章節或篇次）
1	99/9/17	葉美利	《語法化》1 基礎篇
2	99/10/1	鄭縈	《語法化》2 語法化的歷史
3	99/10/22	葉瑞娟	《語法化》3 語法化的機制
4	99/10/29	呂菁菁 柯怡珊	《語法化》4 語用因素
5	99/11/26	黃育正 黃雯君	《語法化》5 單向性的假設
6	99/12/3	湯琬君 黃天來	《語法化》6 句子內部的形態變化
7	99/12/10	蘇建唐 陳姿瑾	《語法化》7 跨越句限的語法化
8	99/12/24	劉秀雪	《語法化》8 語言接觸下的語法化
9	100/1/7	鄭縈	詞彙化與語法化的關係
10	100/1/21	葉美利 葉瑞娟 鄭縈	《語法化》9 總結與後續研究的

就研讀的實質內容而言，每次活動參與的導讀者皆能清楚介紹書中的內容，參與的老師對於同學誤解的內容也都能適時提出澄清，並能透過臺灣語言的相關例子深化其理解。此外，參與的老師也都能舉出一些閩南、客語或臺灣南島語的例子進行討論，不僅豐富研讀之內容，對於達到計畫預期的將理論運用於臺灣語言的目標可起實質之效。

另外，研讀活動結束之後，助理在整理紀錄之外，會將討論中導讀人或老師提到的相關文獻找出，文章如有資料庫檔案可超連結，也會儘量提供，希望對於參與者後續的研讀提供便利的管道。

七、 執行過程遭遇之困難

本計劃已於 100 年 1 月前完成活動，一切都還順利，並無重大執行困難。本計劃得以順利推動，主要是提計畫之初，即已與所上師生協調，凝聚共識。因此所上五位老師全員參與，博士班研究生的參與也達預計人數。計畫執行中，兼任助理對於計劃的推動提供相當大的協助，透過助理定期與參與者聯絡，並與每次經典研讀主讀人事前協調與準備工作（如，以 email 的方式聯絡參與人、準備每次主讀的簡報資料及補充講義、安排每次錄音及照相、準備筆記型電腦及投影設備、及活動場地等）及每次研讀後的後續工作（包括：講座鐘點費單據核銷、記錄、研讀紀錄上網）等。

時間協調或許是計劃開始之初遭遇的困難，本所有一些在職博士班同學對本次活動非常感興趣，但因職務工作的時間無法配合，無法參與。但因計劃規劃之時即已調查過，安排在星期五早上已是最多人能夠參與的時間。

八、 改進建議

本次研讀活動多數參與為所內師生，雖開放報名，但目前僅有三位校外成員定期參與，雖然比我們預期的多一名，我們非常希望能邀請校外學者參與，但考慮到成員必須定期參與，要邀請到不在校內或新竹地區服務的老師，每次都參加研讀，我們覺得在執行上有困難的。因此計畫書只列入清大博士班蘇建唐同學，希望未來能針對校外成員之參與尋得解決之道，例如搭配主題演講，邀請從事相關研究的學者談論其研究，以深化研讀內容。

九、 統計表

以下表 4 為本活動參與人員出席情況統計表。

表 4　參與活動人員出席情況統計

參與者	99 年							100 年		
	9/17	10/1	10/22	10/29	11/26	12/3	12/24	1/14	1/14	1/20
鄭縈	v	v	v	v	v	v	v	v	v	v
葉美利	v	v	v	v	v		v	v	v	v
呂菁菁	v	v	v				v	v	v	

劉秀雪	v	v	v	v	v		v	v	v	v
葉瑞娟	v	v	v	v	v	v		v	v	v
柯怡珊		v	v	v		v		v		v
黃雯君	v			v	v		v	v	v	v
黃育正	v	v	v	v	v	v				
黃天來		v	v	v	v	v	v	v	v	
蘇建唐		v	v	v	v		v			v
湯琬君	v		v	v	v	v	v	v	v	
陳奕秀		v	v	v		v		v	v	v
陳姿瑾		v	v	v	v	v	v	v	v	v
陳振勛	v	v	v	v	v	v	v	v	v	v
林仕勛		v	v	v	v	v				
紀佑明		v								
謝淑容		v								
楊巽彰		v								
蔡瑋琳				v						
宋彩仙							v			
陳琪曄								v	v	

語言演變的究竟--語法化經典研讀

99 年 9 月 17 日 [第 1 次活動記錄]

研讀書目：Hopper, Paul J. and Elizabeth Closs Traugott. 2003. *Grammaticalization* (2nd edition). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [Ch 1. Some preliminaries, 1-18]

主 讀 人：葉美利老師

　　在活動開始前，討論了經典閱讀的規劃，原來有興趣參與的人，因時間上無法參與，所以做了一些調整，如附件一。

導讀摘要

　　第一次的經典研讀活動，由葉美利老師做第一次的主讀，以下為導讀大網內容。

1.簡介。
2.什麼是語法化（grammaticalized）形式？
3.一些語法化的例子。
4.語法化及語言結構。
5.語法化及語言結構的方向性。
6.本章結論。

活動摘錄

　　在讀這一章前，作者給了一個句子"Bill is going to go to college after all."，這一句中出現了兩個 go，作者要我們去思考這兩個 go 是同形同音異義詞（homonyms）或多義詞（polysemys）？是從歷時中主要動詞衍生出的助動詞？如果是這樣，那跨語言來看是不是也有類似的情形？這是作者在簡介時要我們去想這些問題。其實這兩個 go 是不太一樣的。作者也提出他的看法是說：going 是從動作動詞 go 的歷時衍生來的，是表示立即的未來，而且曾經是多義詞，在其他的語言中也是可以看到類似的情形，如果對這方面的議題有興趣，可以參閱 Bybee, Pagliuca 及 Perkins (1991) 所寫的文章"Back to the future"。

　　作者提到語法化兩個意義，一個是把語法化作為理論的研究架構（research framework），另一個是語言現象（phenomena）。理論架構部份主要談的課題有語言變遷及一個詞彙或結構中在某種情況中變成一種語法功能，還會關注在跨語言、跨時間、語用、語義、構詞句法或音韻變化的研究，語言裡頭有一些是受限制的（如句法規則），可是談到語義，就比較不受限制，最後是提供一個脈絡概念（conceptual context）來解釋語言中的不確定性及語言範疇中並非截然劃分。就語言現象部份談到某一個特殊詞彙項目因著時間改變成語法性質，是一種性質的改變。

　　語法化的兩種觀點：歷時（Historical）及共時（Synchronic），作者是採用兩種

觀點，主要還是偏以歷時爲主。歷時角度是探討語法形式的來源及歷經的變化；共時角度是句法、言談跟語用的使用現象是變動性的。

語法化形式分類成（a）語法詞相對獨立句法與音韻；（b）衍生的形式；（c）附著語素（clitics）；（d）屈折。

接著介紹到 Clines 這個概念，從變化的觀點來看，其形式並不是馬上改變，而是經過小幅的轉換，跨語言也是有類似的情形。以英語的 back 來說明，

body part > spatial relation > adverb > preposition > case affix

語法化與語言結構的方向性：是從較不語法化＞較語法化的一種方向。方向性這個部份的內容在第五章會再談。方向性是一種很強烈的一個假設，而這個假設是根據所語言系統來觀察到的語言改變。

語法化成爲語言學的分支，最後結論再次提到語法化不論是在特定語言或跨語言裡以歷時和共時來研究詞彙與語法間的一種研究架構；語法化是一個術語，指在一定的語言環境中詞彙改變爲語法功能，一旦虛化將持續發展新的語法功能。

討論與分享

5. 作者在文章中提到從索緒爾開始，語言學出現歷時與共時這兩種觀點，作者批判的是共時的角度把文法看成是非描述的，從社會語言學的角度來研究語言變異，會發現許多語言的變異，而這對於共時的觀點來看產生了挑戰，雖然本書的語法化較偏向歷時的角度，但是誠如作者指出研究語法化會結合採用兩個觀點。

6. 作者指出 central, prototypical instances of grammaticalization 是由 content word (or an entire construction containing that word) 到 function word，而 grammatical forms 又可以依其黏著程度形成一個從因運與具法上獨立的形式到衍生形式(derivational forms)到依附詞(clitics)，再到曲折形式的連續體(continuum)。針對依附詞 clitics，因爲南島語許多語言有依附詞，所以我們做了一些討論。之後我們也透過計畫助理找出依附詞詞的相關文章(如 Zwicky1980)供大家參閱。另外者作提到 clitic 另一個判斷的準則－重音（stress），不過有學者提出 clitic 沒有重音，但賽夏語的 ila 是有重音的。像南島語的 affix 加到詞上後，重音也是會改變的，所以 clitic 及 affix 用重音來判斷似乎就較難分辨，不過從構詞的角度來看，加上 affix 後，重音幾乎都會改變，但是從句法層面來看，加上 clitic 後，重音則會依語言的重音特性而有不同，對於這個部份可能還需要更多的檢驗。

7. 針對 Clines 這一概念及其中文翻譯，我們也有所討論，將之譯成「斜坡」似乎未能說明這一個概念之特質，根據作者的說明， Clines 可以用一種聚合（cluster）的觀點來看。

8. 研讀中，葉美利老師分享處理賽夏語的未來標記’am 的經驗，在碩論中認爲是自由詞素，但指導教授認爲是前綴，後來從語法化的動態觀點發現，兩者都對，一個 form 可以是多種功能，跨不同的範疇的。對於賽夏語未來標記’am 有興趣者，可以進一步參考 Yeh (2006)的文章。

其他建議閱讀

Bybee, Joan L., William Pagliuca and Revere Perkins. 1991. Back to the future. *Approaches to Grammaticalization*, Vol. II., ed. by Elizabeth Closs Traugott, and Bernd Heine, 17-58. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Bybee, Joan. 2003. Mechanisms of change in grammaticalization: The role of frequency. *The Handbook of Historical Linguistics*, ed. by Brian D. Joseph and Richard D. Janda, 602-634. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers.

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欲參閱Bybee相關的著作，請自行連結至http://www.unm.edu/-jbybee/index.html

❖攝影/黃育正　　記錄/陳振勛❖

活動剪影

主讀人葉美利老師導讀《語法化》第 1 章
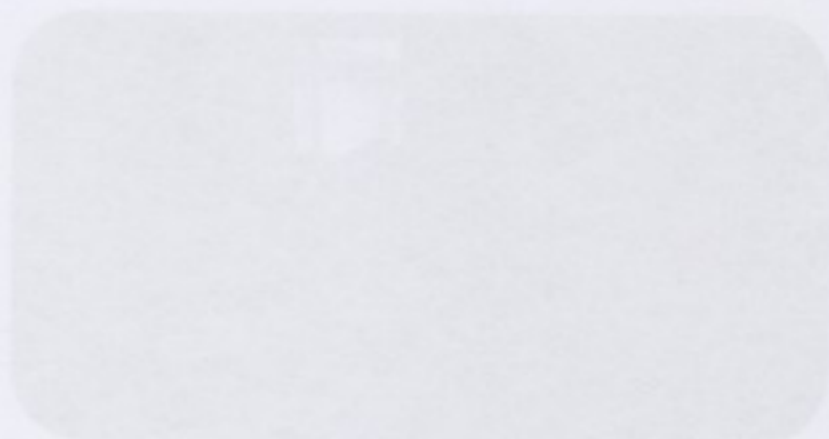
參與活動的老師及學生

讀書會討論情形

參與活動情形

教育部補助推動人文社會學科學術強化創新計畫
語言演變的究竟--語法化經典研讀

Some preliminaries

Paul J. Hopper and Elizabeth C. Traugott. 2003.
Grammaticalization. Cambridge University Press.

Contents

1. Introduction
2. What is a grammaticalized form?
3. Some further examples of grammaticalization
4. Grammaticalization and language structure
5. Grammaticalization and the directionality of language structure
6. Conclusion

Introduction

- Relationship between the two instances of *go* in (1)?
  (1) Bill is **going** to **go** to college after all.

  Aux   Verb
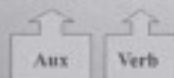
Questions

- Are they **homonyms** or **polysemys**?
- Is the auxiliary historically derived from the main verb?
- If so, is this kind of derivation **attested cross-linguistically**?

- Why (2b) OK, (3b) NOT?
  (2) a. Bill is going to go to college after all.
     b. Bill is gonna to go to college after all.
  (3) a. Bill is going to college after all.
     b. *Bill is gonna college after all.

Answers

- The auxiliary expressing **immediate future derives historically from the motion verb *go***
- The two used to be **polysemous**
- Such form-meaning correlations are **attested in a wide number of languages around the world**

2 meanings of grammaticalization

- Research framework
- Phenomena

Research framework

- Study of language change concerned with such questions as **how lexical items and constructions come in certain linguistic contexts to serve grammatical functions**
- Also concerned with characterizing the subset of **cross-linguistically recurring correlations across time among semantic-pragmatic, morphosyntactic, and (sometimes) phonological changes**

Also ...

- Highlight the tension between **the fixed and the less fixed** in language, between relatively unconstrained lexical (semantic) structure and more constrained syntactic, morph-o-syntactic and morphological structure
- Provide the **conceptual context** for a principled account of the relative **indeterminacy in language** and of the basic **non-discreteness of categories**

Phenomena

- Refer to the steps whereby particular items become grammatical through time.

2 perspectives for studying grammaticalization

- Historical
  - Investigate the **sources of grammatical forms** and the **typical steps of change** they undergo
  - Regarded as **subset of linguistic changes** whereby a lexical item or construction in certain uses take on grammatical characteristics, or through which a grammatical item becomes more grammatical
- Synchronic
  - Grammaticalization primarily as **syntactic, discourse pragmatic** phenomenon, to be studied from the point of view of **fluid patterns of language use**

Typical factors from historical perspective: the case of *be going to/be gonna*

a) Change occurs in a very local context
b) Inference of futurity from purposive makes the change possible
c) Reanalysis involved
d) Reanalysis discoverable only when the verb following *be going to* is incompatible with a purposive meaning
e) Phonological reduction
f) Various stages coexist

g) **Persistence of meaning**: original purposive meaning continues to constrain the use of the auxiliary: *be gonna* as future of intention, plan or schedule
h) The main verb *go* is relatively general in meaning: expresses any kind of motion away from the speaker, including walking, running, etc.
i) Original concrete meaning lost; more abstract, speaker-based meaning (temporal meanings based in speaker time) added

What is a grammaticalized form?

- Central, prototypical instances of grammaticalization: from a content word (or an entire construction containing that word) to a function word

Preliminary classification of grammatical forms

- Continuum of bonding (loose to tight)
  a) Independent (phonologically and syntactically)
  b) Derivational forms
  c) Clitics
  d) Inflections

Derivational forms

- Added to roots or stems
- Lexical derivational morphemes
  - Add meaning without affecting the category
  - Examples: *unhappy, duckling*
- Grammatical derivational morphemes
  - Add meaning and change the category
  - Examples: *happily, swimer*
  - Serve a role between content and grammatical forms

Clitics

- Not affixes, but are constrained to occurring next to an autonomous word (=host)
- Cliticization: diachronic process whereby a lexical form becomes a clitic
- Two varieties: proclitic and enclitic
- A form halfway between autonomous words and affixes (Jeffers & Zwicky 1980)

Clines

- From the point of view of change, forms do not shift abruptly, but go through a series of small transitions similar in type across languages, e.g. *back*
  body part > spatial relation > adverb > preposition > case affix
- "Cline" is a metaphor for the empirical observation that cross-linguistically forms tend to undergo the same kind of changes or have similar sets of relationship, in similar orders.

Historical and synchronic implications of "cline"

- Historically: conceptualized as a natural **pathway** along which forms evolve → grammaticalization channels (Heine and his colleagues, see Lehman 1995[1982])
- Synchronically: as a **"continuum"** — an arrangement of forms along an imaginary line with "lexical" at one end, and "grammatical" at the other → grammaticalization chains (Heine et al. 1991a: 222, Heine 1992)
- Cline, pathway, channel, chains = metaphors, to be understood as having certain focal points where phenomena may cluster

- Precise cluster point on the cline (i.e. the labels preposition, affix, etc.) arbitrary to some extent
- Whether a particular form is to be placed in the lexical or grammatical area of the cline controversial
- But, relative position on a cline less disputable. E.g. "cline of grammaticality"
  content item > grammatical word > clitic > inflectional affix
- Unidirectionality: from loosest ("periphrasis") to tightest ("morphology")

Periphrasis vs. affixation

- Same categories expressed by forms at different places in the clines
  (6) phrasal/ periphrastic
    a. have waited (perfect tense-aspect)
    b. the household of the queen (possessive)
    c. more interesting (comparative)
  (7) morphological/affixally
    a. wait (affixed -ed), s-ng (internal change)
    b. the receptionist smile
    c. long

2 diachronic tendencies

- Periphrastic construction coalescing over time and become morphological ones (Ch 6)
- Renewal: periphrastic replacing morphological

Periphrastic > morphological

- Definite article/demonstrative > Definite affix
  (8) gospodar-i-lor 'of the bosses'
      boss-PL-DEF:GEN
  definite genitive plural suffix -lor < illorum
  (masculine genitive plural of ille)
- Morphological tense-aspect formation <
  periphrastic
    Italian future cantaremo 'we will sing', French
    future (nous) chanterons < Latin cantare habemus
    'we have to sing'

Renewal

- The tendency for periphrastic forms to replace
  morphological ones

(11)	Pre-Latin	Latin	French
	*)		
	*Lama h' unos > cantabimus		
		cantare habemus > chanterons allons chanter > ?	

- Problems about the term "renewal":
  - Suggest function identity over time
  - Suggest gap to be filled

Some further examples of grammaticalization

- Lets
- A West African complementizer
- Agreement markers

Lets

- Second-person imperative
(12) a. Let us go. (i.e. release us)
    b. Let yourself down on the rope.
    c. Let Bill go (i.e. release Bill)
    d. We were let go. (passivized)
- Adhortative (urging or encouraging): first-person
  imperative (Quirk et al. 1985: 829) "I suggest you
  and I ...'
(13) Let's go to the circus tonight.

- Spread of let's in colloquial Eng to the singular first
  person
(14) Lets give you a hand (i.e. let me give you a hand)
- Reinforced by you and I
(15) Let's you and I take 'em on for a set.
- Extended beyond 1st person
(16) a. Lets you and him fight.
    b. Lets you go first, then if we have any money left
       I'll go.
- Convey the speaker's condescending encouragement
(17) a. Lets wash your hands.
    b. Lets eat our liver now, Betty.

Characteristics of grmmaticalization displayed by lets

- Shift in meaning (12):
  - the full verb let 'allow, permit' altered its semantic range in
    a highly specific context: the imperative let us
  - Permission/allowing > suggesting/encouraging
  - Meaning becomes less specific and more general: more
    centered in the speaker's attitude to the situation
- Range of possible subject extend from 1st person to
  other persons
  - English we/us may be interpreted as inclusive of the
    addressee ('I and you') or exclusive (I and another or
    others')
  - Meaning persists
  - Proceed by small steps (> second > third person)

- A general shift: word > affix > phoneme (cf. Givon 1979:
  208-9, Hopper 1994) is illustrated by the historical trajectory:
  (let) us > (let)'s > (let)s
- Further reduction: lets [lets] > lets [lɛs], and in colloquial
  speech cliticized and attached to the following verb: sgo, sfight
- Fixes or routinizes a meaning or discourse function which
  was formerly freer (Hopper 1987)
- Periphrastic replacing morphological: part of a typological
  change affecting English: from "O-V" (her saw) with case
  and verb inflection to "V-O" system (saw her) with
  prepositions and phrasal verb constructions (more in 3.4.1).
  Note: OE adhortative expressed by the subjunctive
  (19) Cild binnan ðritegum nihta sie gefulwod
       child within thirty nights be:SUBJUNCT baptized
       'Let a child be baptized within thirty nights'
                                    (c. 690, Law Ine 1.1)

A West African complementizer

- Verb 'say' > complementizer
  - (21) If say the deal falls through, what alternative
    do you have?
  - Verb 'say' used to reinforce a variety of verbs of
    saying in the matrix clause
    (22) vs. (23)

- (22) Me-bé me-wɔ-e.
  I-say   I-do-it
  'I said, "I did it."/I said that I did it.'
- (23) Me-gblɔ bé me-wɔ-e.
  I say   say I-do-it
  'I said that I did it.'

- Used as a complementizer after a whole range of matrix verbs (verbs of speaking, cognition, perception)

  gblɔ 'say'
  ŋlɔ 'write'
  lɔ̃ (á èdo) 'agree' (lit. 'accept reach top')
  xɔse 'believe'
  nya 'know'
  bu 'think'
  vɔ̃ 'fear, be afraid'
  kpɔ 'see'
  ŋlɔ 'forget'
  se 'hear, perceive'
  se 'make sure'

- Meaning and morphology of the "say' lost

  Me-dí   bé   má-ƒle-to   owuu dewó.
  I-want say I-SUBJUNCT-buy dress some
  'I want to buy some dresses.'

- Structural adjustment

(25) Megblɔ bé [mewɔe].
      I-say   say I-do-it
      'I said I did it.'
(26) Megblɔ [bé mewɔe].
      I-say   [say I-do-it]
      'I said that I did it.'

Agreement markers

- Already grammatical items be used with more grammatical functions
- Personal pronouns > agreement markers
  - Latin demonstrative (distal deictic) *ill-* > French
    - *il* (pronoun, fully stressed)
    - *le* (article, unstressed)
    - standard vs. non-standard French: *il* as pronouns only (27) vs. as agreement marker (29)

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(27) Le garçon est venu hier   soir.   Il est danseur.
      the boy   is come yesterday evening. he is dancer
      'The boy came yesterday evening. He is a dancer.'
(28) La jeune fille est venue hier   soir   Elle est danseuse.
      the girl   is come yesterday evening. she is dancer
      'The girl came yesterday evening. She is a dancer.'

But in non-standard French *il* has come to be an agreement marker. It does not fill a NP slot; instead it is bound to the verb and does not signal gender, as in:

(29) Ma   femme il est venu
      my-FEM wife AGR has come
      'My wife has come.'   (Lambrecht 1981: 40)

Grammaticalization and language structure

- Characteristics shared by the examples
1. earlier forms may coexist with later ones
2. earlier meanings may constrain later meaning and/or structural characteristics
> language development is an ongoing process
- Suggest more general consequences for linguistic theory and for perspective on language
  - Challenge standard descriptive and theoretical linguistic notions
    - Categories

Grammaticalization and the directionality of language structure

- directionality in grammaticalization:
  less grammatical > more grammatical
- directionality is
  - a strong hypothesis based on observations about change, in the same way that universals derived from observations about language systems
  - widely attested characteristics of change
  - Occasional counterexamples may exist, but they do not lead to the inference that both directions are of equal probability, still less to the conclusion that change is random and that the study of change is noncumulative
  - Counterexamples alerts linguists that like language system, language change is not subject to exceptionless physical laws, and that diachronic universals, like synchronic ones, are observed tendencies rather than theoretical absolutes

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Conclusion

- grammaticalization as a two-pronged branch of linguistics
  - a research framework for studying the relatinships between lexical, constructional and grammatical material in language, diachronically and synchronically, both in particular language and cross-linguistically
  - a term referring to the change whereby lexical stems and constructions come in certain linguistic contexts to serve grammatical functions and, once grammaticalized, continue to develop new grammatical functions

「語言演變的究竟--語法化經典研讀」研讀進度表

序 次	預定研讀日期	主讀人	研 讀 內 容（書目章節或篇次）	討　　論　　議　　題
1	9/17	葉美利	《語法化》1.基礎篇	● 語法化的形式 ● 語法化與語言結構 ● 語法化與語言的演變
2	10/1	鄭縈	《語法化》2.語法化的歷史	● 早期與近期的研究 ● 研究趨勢 ● 在台灣語言研究的應用
3	10/22	葉瑞娟	《語法化》3.語法化的機制	● 變化的本質為何？ ● 重新分析與類比產生的不同影響
4	10/29	呂菁菁 柯怡珊	《語法化》4.語用因素	● 推論與語意演變的關係為何？ ● 隱喻與轉喻扮演的角色為何？ ● 語意是否漂白？
5	11/26	黃育正 黃雯君	《語法化》5.單向性的假設	● 何謂語意泛化？ ● 降類 ● 層積(layering) ● 頻率 ● 單向性的反例 ● 單向性與構擬
6	12/3	湯琬君 黃天來	《語法化》6.句子內部的形態變化	● 構詞化或形態化 ● 依附成分(clitics)之特質 ● 論元結構標示方式：賓語標示與作格標示
7	12/10	蘇建唐 陳姿瑾	《語法化》7.跨越句限的語法化	● 意合（parataxis）到形合連結（hypotaxis）的轉變 ● 連接詞的語法化 ● 複句的發展 ● 從複句到簡單句 ● 句子連結中所呈現的單向性反例
8	12/24	劉秀雪	《語法化》8.語言接觸下的語法化	● 洋涇濱與克里奧爾語的特色 ● 從洋涇濱與克里奧爾語的特色到語言演變：成人與小孩的語言習得、簡化與詳盡論述 ● 洋涇濱與克里奧爾語對語法化的啟示
9	1/7	鄭縈	詞彙化與語法化的關係	● 融合：詞彙化或語法化 ● 詞彙化與語法化的異同
10	1/21	葉美利 葉瑞娟 鄭縈	《語法化》9.總結與後續研究的建議	● 南島語的語法化研究 ● 客語的語法化研究 ● 閩南語的語法化研究 ● 漢語的語法化研究

語言演變的究竟--語法化經典研讀

研讀書目：Hopper, Paul J. and Elizabeth Closs Traugott. 2003. *Grammaticalization* (2nd edition). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [Ch 2. The history of grammaticalization, 19-38]

主 讀 人：鄭縈老師

導讀摘要

　　第二次的經典研讀活動，由鄭縈老師主讀，主讀的主題爲「語法化的簡史」，以下爲導讀大網內容。

1. 語法化的歷史簡介。
2. 語法化早期的研究。
3. 1960~1990 期間的語法化研究。
4. 語法化研究的近代趨勢。
5. 臺灣語言的研究。

討論與分享

6. 本章介紹語法化的歷史，包含早期與近期的研究以及研究趨勢。本次導讀者還介紹了語法化在漢語方面的研究。

7. 研讀中，針對書中所引的漢語句子「醉把茱萸子細看」，對於此句的斷句有爭議：究竟是「醉把/茱萸子/細看」還是「醉把/茱萸/子細看」？ 在早期文獻中，子細是使用「子」，與孩子的「子」相同，後來爲了區別孩子的「子」，加上人字部，變成「仔」細。「醉把茱萸子細看」到底如何斷句，因此不易分辨。若從詩的格律 223 來判斷，有可能是「醉把/茱萸/子細看」，在分析上都有人支持，但古詩並沒有像律詩這麼嚴格，因此也無法肯定。這兩種斷句情形都有可能。唐代的「松子」可以指松樹或小松樹，「子」在唐代已經開始虛化了（如「和尚子」的「子」也是已經虛化爲詞綴）。

8. 有關主題（topic）和主語（subject）的界定問題。在討論「主題」和「主語」時，一定要清楚「主題」和「主語」的定義，嚴格說來，言談語法（discourse grammar）中會使用「主題」一詞，句法（syntax）上才會使用「主語」一詞，但有些句法學者可以接受「主題」用於句法上，做爲一個句法功能。

9. 作者在 2.4 節談到語法化近代的研究趨勢，提到 C. Lehmann 的著作 *Thoughts on grammaticalization*，在 Lehmann 的著作中提出 6 個評估語法化程度高低的參數，作者並沒有列出例句，對於理解這個概念不夠清楚，若對這個部份，計畫亦透過助理將 Lehmann（2002）的線上資料找出提供有興趣的老師同學參閱。

10. 最後我們提到台灣語言研究的相關文獻，作爲補充資料，提供給大家作參考，相關的參考文章請見其他建議閱讀的相關資料。

其他建議閱讀

客語的語法化補充資料

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Chang, Chun (張羣). 2010. *Grammatical functions and grammaticalization of the evaluative word HO^2 'good' in Southern Min: A corpus-based approach* (閩南語評價詞「好」之多重語法功能與語法化：語料庫為本之分析). Hsinchu: National Tsing Hua University Doctoral Dissertation.

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馬清華，2003，〈詞彙語法化的動因〉，《漢語學習》2:15-20。

高婉瑜，2005，〈漢文佛典後綴「頭」的語法化歷程〉，《花蓮教育大學學報》23:357-376。[DOC]

曹逢甫，2006，〈語法化輪迴的研究：以漢語鼻音尾/鼻化小稱詞為例〉，《漢語學報》2006年第2期(總第14期)：2-15。

鄭縈、陳雅雯，2009，〈閩南語「頭」字的用法及其教學〉，《臺灣語文研究》3:65-92。[PDF]

魏郁真，2006，《「子」的語法化與詞彙化研究》，靜宜大學碩士論文。[PDF]

建議進階閱讀資料

Lehmann, Christian. 2002. *Thoughts on grammaticalization* (2nd edition). Arbeitspapiere des Seminars für Sprachwissenschaft an der Universität Erfurt, Nr. 9. Erfurt: Universität Erfurt. [PDF]

高增霞，2003，《現代漢語連動式的語法化視角》，北京：中國社會科學院研究生院博士論文。

❖攝影&記錄　黃育正　陳振勛❖

主讀人鄭縈老師導讀《語法化》－語法化的簡史

參與活動的老師及學生

讀書會討論情形

參與活動情形

Slide 1:

教育部補助推動人文社會學科學術強化創新計畫
語言演變的研究—語法化經典研讀

The history of grammaticalization

Paul J. Hopper & Elizabeth C. Traugott. 2003.
Grammaticalization. Cambridge University Press

Slide 2:

Contents

- ◆ 2.1 Introduction
- ◆ 2.2 Earlier research on grammaticalization
- ◆ 2.3 Research on grammaticalization from the 1960s to the 1990s
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Slide 3:

2.2 名稱的提出

- ◆ The term "grammaticalisation" was first coined by the French linguist Antoine Meillet in his work *L'evolution des Formes Grammaticales* (1912)
- ◆ 名稱討論（參Campbell & Janda 2001 ）
- ◆ grammatisation, grammaticisation
- ◆ Matisoff（1991） **Grammatization**

Slide 4:

2.2 Humboldt

Grammar evolved through distinct stages out of the collocation of concrete ideas (Humboldt 1825)

Stage 1:pragmatic or discourse-based stage
– Only things we denoted, concrete objects whose relationships were not made explicit in utterances but had to be inferred by the listener

Stage 2:syntactic stage
– fixing of word order
– some words begin to waver between material (i.e. concrete) and formal (i.e. structural or grammatical) meanings, and some of them would become specialized for functioning in more relational ways in utterances.

Slide 5:

Stage 3:cliticization stage
– These functional words became loosely affixed to the material words
– In this way 'agglutinative' pairs arose dyads consisting of a material word and a relational word

Stage 4:morphological stage
– These agglutinative pairs became fused into synthetic, single-word complexes
– stem and (inflectional) affixes

Slide 6:

Humboldt的stages與語言類型的對應

Humboldt的stages與語言類型的對應如下：
- ◆ Stage 1 (Pre-stage)
- ◆ Stage 2 vs. Isolating language
- ◆ Stage 3 vs. Agglutinative language
- ◆ Stage 4 vs. Inflectional or Synthetic language

Slide 7:

2.2 Gabelentz

19世紀末德國新語法學派的Gabelentz(1891)對語法形式演化歷程的生動描寫：

- ◆ Linguistic forms – employees of the state
- ◆ employees of the state
  – Hired → promoted → put on half-pay → retired
  – New applicants queue for jobs
- ◆ Linguistic forms
- ◆ Fade or grow pale; bleach → die; mummified

Slide 8:

insights basic to work on grammaticalization：
1. 語法化是 ease of articulation 與 distinctness 兩種勢力競爭的結果。
2. 語法化不是一個線性的歷程，而是一個 cyclical 的歷程。
- ◆ The process of recreation of grammatical forms is recurrent
- ◆ the conditions for the cycle are always present in languages
- ◆ The awareness of geological timespans →multiple cycles of linguistic change

2.2 Meillet (1912)

- 確立了 grammaticalization 一詞
- 語法形式的形成會由類推和語法化兩種過程
  - 類推 – new paradigms come into being through formal resemblance to already established paradigms, shoes > shoes
  - 語法化 – the passage of an autonomous word to the role of grammatical element
- 語法化才是新語法形式形成的主因，各時斷語法學派分模式的研究明顯重疊盲

- 語法化研究的範圍
  - word
  - Phrase
  - Word order of sentences
- 由了具中詞序改善是 expressive/pragmatic
- 只大語的成為語詞 才才有 grammatical value
- 由了從到語態以語言語化具有語言化的結果：
  - 1) change from expressive to grammatical meaning
  - 2) create new grammatical tools for the language

- 語法為何會序生？
- a loss of expressivity in frequently used collocations
- 伴隨 a loss of expressivity 而來的是 a supposed weakening ("affaiblissement") of phonological form and of concrete meaning
  - ex: (in Greek) thelo ina (I wish that)> thelo na > thena > tha (future tense)
- Loss, weakening, attrition

2.3 Research on grammaticalization from the 1960s to the 1990s

- Benveniste(1968):auxiliation
- grammaticalization presents a challenge to approaches to language which assume discrete categories embedded in fixed, stable systems
  - Givon(1971)：「今天的詞法是昨天的句法」

2.3 iconicity

- Saussure：
  - Arbitrariness is limited by associations and relative motivations → iconicity
- Iconicity
  - the property of similarity between one item and another
- Peirce區分兩個不同的 iconicity：
1. Imagic iconicity:
  - A systematic resemblance between an item and its referent with respect to some characteristic
2. Diagrammatic icons:
  - Systematic arrangements of signs 反映順序一事件 (順序)

2.3

- 在 Language Universal 的影響下，Li and Thompson 將語法化應用到漢語句法演變
1. 把
  (a) 醉把英花子細看
  (b) I took the dogwood tree and carefully looked at it. (ba– 'take')
  (c) I carefully looked at the dogwood tree. (ba–accusative case)

2.3

2. 詞序和主題化
- 句法發展過程和構詞語法，都是一種語法化
- 主題化
  - (2) That new yacht of his, he has spent a fortune on it.
  - (3) That new yacht of his has cost him a fortune
- Li and Thompson (1976)
  - 主題和主語的分別是語法化程度的區別
  - subjects are essentially grammaticalized topics

2.3

Greenberg

- cross-linguistic study of word order → language universal
- Highlights the importance of dynamic approach to lg structure
  - Demonstrative articles (historical)
  - Numeral vs noun (synchronic)

Givon

- Syntacticization & morphologization
- Discourse > syntax > morphology > morphophonemics > zero

Givon 的影響

- Morphologization in pidgins and creoles
- Child lg acquisition

'an integration of sociolinguistic and developmental research with research on grammaticalization

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2.4 Recent trends in research on grammaticalization

C. Lehmann (1982)提出6個評估語法化程度高低的 parameters

- (一) 與paradigmatic axis 有關者
- The weight or size of an element/sign
- The degree to which an element enters into a cohesive set or paradigm
- The freedom with which an element may be selected
- (二) 與syntagmatic axis 有關者
- The scope or structural size of a construction
- The degree of bonding between elements in a construction
- The degree to which elements of a construction may be moved around

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Heine and Reh
Grammaticalization and Reanalysis in African Languages(1984)
→grammaticalization theory as a tool of descriptive linguistics

Heine, Claudi, and Hunnemeyer
Grammaticalization: A Conceptual Framework(1991a)

- →focus on pragmatic and cognitive factors

Traugott and Heine 1991 --提出各種不同的主題(p.34)

- Can diachronic and synchronic approaches to grammaticalizaiton be reconciled, or is a new approach required?
- Is grammaticalization a continuous or discontinuous process?
- To what extent is grammaticalizaiton the result of discourse pragmatics?
- What constraints are there on the choice of concepts and forms serving as the input to grammaticalizaiton?

- When can incipient grammaticalizaiton be recognized?
- Is grammaticalizaiton a unidirectional phenomenon?
- What phenomena in language are not examples of grammaticalizaiton?

- The integration of grammaticalization with the notion of usage-based structure →grammar as an emergent property of usage rather than a static autonomous entity (Hopper 1987)
- A tendency to see grammaticalization (and grammar) in terms of collocation of specific items rather than generalized changes → to identify the possible beginnings as well as the ends of grammatical constructions(如漢語詞組形式之好多詞的形成)
- 必之於研究:Corpus linguistics

- 歷時研究的重要性—歷史文獻愈趨重要
- Traugott 1995提出的a cline of grammaticalization：
- Clause-internal Adverbial > Sentence Adverbial > Discourse Particle
- 如indeed, in fact（漢語"好"）

漢語的研究

- 歷時的
  - 介詞的形成 - 張麗麗
  - 副詞的形成 - 張誼生
- 共時的
  - "好" 字結構意義 "good"，三個主要語意路徑 "好"(王瑞玲與吳大綱，張璐平2008)
    - (1) 由形容詞作為補語的分析而被重新解釋為副詞性質為"好的補語"
    - (2) 由形容詞本身在句中
    - (3) 由形容詞與某事物可作為"使用不變

方言的研究 / 歷時與共時研究（slide 1）

◆ 方言的研究
- 客家話 - 賴惠玲(另參補充一)
- 湖南話 - 連金發
◆ 歷時與共時研究的對照
- 名 (另參補充二)
  - 連金發 - 李宗江 (2004)
  - 內丘 - 張誼 - 張泰文 (2000)
- 小稱詞(如「子」)

小稱詞的語義演變途徑(共時)

－曹逢甫2006

A 兒子·女兒 → B 動物的後代 → C 植物的部株 →

D1 縮小指體
D2 親屬稱謂
D3 身體部位與器官
D4 時間

E1 空間指示語
E2 行指
E3 指
E4 名詞化標誌
E5 名詞標誌
E6 卷舌音·列·少調·語調

F 時貌

「X+子」的歷史演變途徑－魏郝真(2006)

A 人類的後代 → B 動物的後代、C 植物的部株 → D2 親屬稱謂

D1 縮小物體 → E2 特指E3 專指

E4 表示極度弱小

D3 身體部位與器官 空間（後所文）

逆稱人

D4 時間

E1 表示感情色彩

E5 名詞標誌

E4 名詞化標誌

戰國文	史記	世說	敦煌集

語法化機制 I

-Joan Bybee, R. Perkins和W. Pagliuca（1994）

◆ 隱喻：用一個具體概念來瞭解一個抽象概念的認知方式，兩個總體概念結構有相似之處，從空間到時間的投射，且在投射過程中保持不變。（隱喻將實詞詞義的轉變，尚未成為虛詞的階段）

◆ 推理：推理是指語用的推理，上下文或隱藏在推理過程中是有重要的指明，如是一種化為形式經常保證其特殊含義，最後示為本因化未成為A種形式的意義，甚至會取代原有意義。

語法化機制 I

-Joan Bybee, R. Perkins和W. Pagliuca（1994）

◆ 泛化：一個實詞的語義或者部分消失，從而造成自身的適用範圍擴大；也是屬於空間到時間的投射。（與推理相同之處在於上下文或語境起變異的作用；相反點則是推理是語境衍生的意義進入了原來的形式，泛化是詞現維持原來的形式失去了一類附加語義。）

◆ 和諧：要生句有一個比較實在的詞義，從內詞義為茶與主的和諧一，或者會變得較為弱化，和諧主是在虛化過程中的反參作用，也已經很需要成分細讀費的更誠。

◆ 吸收：起初現表達的意義或說是由來，使用範圍縮小的只表示義會生變化。（吸收也是虛詞常使的意義虛化現象，和性點別合成局內涵的上下文意義，有別於泛已擴張。）

語法化機制 II

◆ 張誼生（2000）圖示（另參補充三）

語言演變的究竟--語法化經典研讀

99 年 10 月 22 日 [第 3 次活動記錄]

研讀書目：Hopper, Paul J. and Elizabeth Closs Traugott. 2003. *Grammaticalization* (2nd edition). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [Ch 3. Mechanisms: reanalysis and analogy, 39-70]

主 讀 人：葉瑞娟老師

導讀摘要

　　第三次的經典研讀活動，由葉瑞娟老師主讀，主題為「語法化的機制：重新分析及類比」，以下為導讀大網內容。

1. 簡介。
2. 關於變化的基本假設。
3. 重新分析。
4. 重新分析及語法化的獨立性。
5. 類比/規則的泛化。
6. 重新分析和類比的不同影響。

討論與分享

　　本章討論語法化的變化本質並介紹重新分析（reanalysis）與類比（analogy）兩個語法化機制，與其產生之不同影響。

　　這個單元進入語言變化的中心議題，作者先提出以下問題：

What motivate change, what mechanisms lead to grammaticalization, what are its possible "path" of progress through time, and what are its end result?

　　這些問題構成了本書剩餘的主要章節，我們把它圖表如下：

	mechanisms		path		
motivations	———————▶		———————▶		result
Chapter 4	Chapter 3 reanalysis analogy		Chapter 5, 6, 7		Chapter 8
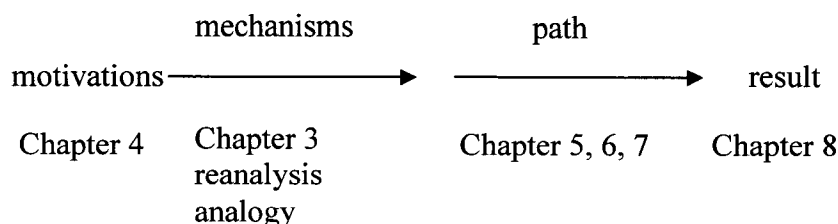
　　透過本章之介紹，我們更清楚語法化的本質、本書之主要架構，並且澄清機制（mechanism）、動因（motivation）等概念。

我們的討論包含：

1. 歸納（induction）、演繹（deduction）與估推（deduction）三種 logical principle of reasoning。

2. 書中以許多篇幅討論詞序變化是否應包含在語法化內，詞序變化涉及重新分析（Meillet 1912）。作者透過跨語言分析說明"There are no constraints depending solely on word order that delimit the lexical resources that can be

used in the development of grammatical items. This argues against word-order change as an example of grammaticalization in the narrower sense of reanalysis of lexical forms as grammatical forms."針對此一問題，葉美利老師也提出漢語詞序演變的相關問題。

其他建議閱讀

Claudi, Ulrike, and Bernd Heine. 2001. On split word order: Explaining syntactic variation. *General Linguistics* 38.1:41-74.

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Sun, Chaofen. 1996. *Word-order change and grammaticalization in the history of Chinese.* Stanford: Stanford University Press.

蔣紹愚. 2003. 〈"給"字句、"教"字句表被動的來源——兼談語法化、類推和功能擴展〉，吳福祥、洪波編《語法化與語法研究》，202-223。北京：商務印書館。

活動剪影

主讀人葉瑞娟老師導讀《語法化》—語法化的機制：重新分析及類比

參與活動的老師及學生

讀書會討論情形

參與活動情形

簡報資料

3. Mechanisms: reanalysis and analogy

3.1 Introduction

- What motivates grammaticalization in the first place?
- What mechanisms lead to it?
- What are its probable paths of progression through time?
- What are its end result?

Definitions

- Reanalysis modifies underlying representations, whether semantic, syntactic, or morphological, and brings about rules change. → most important
- Analogy modifies surface manifestations and in itself does not effect rule change, although it does effect rule spread either within the linguistic system itself or within the community.

Examples

- Reanalysis
  cild 'child' + *had* 'person' → *cildhad* 'childhood'
  biscop 'bishop' + *had* 'person' → *biscophad*
  (1) compound (2) had → derivational suffix
- Analogy
  false + hood → falsehood

3.2 Some background assumptions about change

- What is thought to be changing?
  = language change
- Change is replacement, on the understanding that "replacement" does not entail strict identity of an earlier function or category with a later one.
- In so far as language is characterized by an abstract set of rules independent of language users, the rules (or set of rules) can be said to change.

Models of rule change

- The generative model
  - It conceptualizes rule change in terms of high level global organization and of the whole set of rules rather than in terms of individual rule changes.
  - It assumes that in general major changes (called resturcturings) can occur only in the discotinuity of transmission from one generation to another, in particular during the process of child language acquisition in a homogeneous speech community.

Factors that enable the transmission

- Universal capacities for language
- Universal reasoning processes that language uses bring to the output of earlier grammar
- Figure 3.1

3.2.1 Induction, deduction, abduction

- Ideal: The principle of 'one form—one meaning' operates → nonexistent
- A small set of units and constructions must serve a much larger set of functions.
  - Indirectness, metaphor, non-literal meaning
  - *Do you mind not smoking in here?* (request/command)
    → *Please stop smoking.*
  - The form of what is said → the intent of what is said
  - The string of sounds → the structure

Syllogism

- The Law (e.g., All men are mortal.)
- The Case (e.g., Socrates is a man.)
- The Result (e.g., Socrates is mortal.)
- Deduction: law → case → result
      premises → conclusion
- Induction: case → result → law
- Abduction: result → law → case
      premises ≠> conclusion

Abduction

- Andersen: Abduction is essential to development of cultural patterns, including lg.
- Language acquisition
  (1) observing the verbal activity of elders (result)
  (2) guessing at what that grammar might be (law)
  (3) Constructing a grammar (case)
- Abduction is the mode of reasoning that leads to reanalysis.

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3.2.2 Who are language learners?

- Lg learners = children at the age of 2 to 3
- 60s: 兒童與成人之間的非連續性促成了主要演變的發生，而一個人一生中的非連續卻不行
- 80s: 人一生中一直不斷在發展語言技巧和創新
  - *send* → *sent* (past tense; past participle)
  - *sing* → *sang* → *sung*
  - *think* → thunk (past tense; past participle)
  - → 年幼兒童創新形式和型態音位演變之間的關係不存在什麼特別之處

- 雖然兒童在語言驗變中會起一定作用，但年輕的成人同樣起了重要的作用
- 年輕人的創新以及創新的擴展表示它可以發生在任何年齡階段

兒童是促使演變發生的關鍵

- 傳統認為在一個相對同質的社團中，演變是由兒童語言習得的內部演變引起的，但這種演變並沒有在語言內部或語法內部發生，而是在傳播過程中發生的
- Halle (1964)：把兒童看做口譯者，他們只是為語言系統做假設，而不是把他們看成語言的積極製造者
- 近年來，內部和外部演變之間的清楚區分已受到質疑
- 現在：把來自於接觸和影響語言多個子系統的演變看做是 '由接觸造成的'，把其他演變看成是 '自然的' 或 '演化的'

3.2.3 天賦說

- Figure 3.1: The model does crucially claim that there are universal laws of some kind, but, as a model, does not specify what kinds of laws they are.
- Anderson(1973): Human beings are born with a set of constraints on what possible lg structures can be, and ways in which they can vary.

- Chomsky (1981): All human beings are genetically endowed with UG.
- Two components of UG: (1) unchanging principles that characterize the fundamental structure of lg and restrict the class of attainable grammar, (2) parameters that defines the space of possible variation and are fixed by experience.

反對天賦說

- 語言不是孤立的和具體的神經能力，而是源自於更普遍的人類認知天賦
- Tomasello (1999): 語言結構的複雜性是通過語法化產生的，他是在現代智人時期人類社會不斷變的複雜的反應 → 本書觀點

3.2.4 創新和擴展

- Figure 3.1 → 發生演變的是規則而不是語言，須區分演變和演變擴展
- 演變擴展是從人到組織中所發生的創新的重現或擴展
- A → A/B　演變是突然的
- 跨言語表達動詞和認知的標補詞分析的擴展卻是逐步進行的 → 貫穿語言系統的擴展是「泛化」

- 個人語法的一個演變 ≠ 語言的演變
- Q: 應該如何看待經過時間推移而可以觀察到的某些重要差異？
  → 生成角度：不管演變如何突然，一旦發生它就是跨時間的漸變聚集，可以把他看作是語言中的演變
- 語法不是個人的而是言語社團的：處於語言演變發生過程中的語法是言語社團的語法

演變何時發生？

- 實務上，看到一個演變的例子，把這個例子當成是 'X演變的首例'，後來擴展到其他文本和其他結構
- 這是從個別語言使用者的語法的不同開始
- 注意：第一個證明可能不意味著第一種用法，而是某個形式的一個早期用例，其在語言社團中已得到一定的社會認可

判斷規則演變已發生的準則

- (a) 演變已經明顯從個人擴展到組群中，並得到組群的認可
- (b) 以前語言環境制約不再是強制性的
- e.g. (1)
- 語言演變：(2) A > {A/B} > B
  layering (Hopper 1991)
  e.g. *be going to*

Uniformitarian Principle

- The linguistic forces that are evidenced today are in principle the same as those that operated in the past.
- Operationally, this means that no earlier grammar or rule may be construction for a dead lg that is not attested in a living one.

3.3 Reanalysis

- 單一詞彙項中的重新分析
  - [hamberg] + [er] → [ham] + [burger]
  -            [cheese/beef] + [burger]
- 句法序列的重新分析
  - *I'll try and contact her.*
  - (i) 語調和語音黏著 [try-ən]
  - (ii) try是固定的，無trying, tired
  - (iii) 中間不可插入副詞
  - *try and*像是情態動詞，暗示施事者無法完成補足動詞所表示的動作和說話者對於能否取得成功缺乏信心

- Langacker's (1977) definition of reanalysis: "Change in the structure of an expression or class of expressions that does not involve any immediate or intrinsic modification of its surface manifestation"
- 重新分析包括構成成分、層次結構、範疇標注、語法關係、黏著性
- (3) [[back] of the barn] > [back of [the barn]]
  →構成成分、層次結構、範疇標注

- 語法關係
  - 主語從話題發展而來
  - 英語裡的從句需要有語法主語 (4a) (4b)
- 黏著性
  - *be going to > be gonna*
  - *let us > let's > lets*
- 這兩種演變都涉及重新進行括號分析
- 但並非所有的重新進行括號分析的演變都涉及融合性的演變

- Reanalysis is the result of abduction.
- 在某些語境中，兩種分析都是有可能的，至少有潛在的歧義性(= 不透明性) → 繼續早期的分析或唱新的分析 e.g. (3)
- 結構的不同提供了隨後潛在的不同發展，兩種分析繼續存在，但具有不同意義
- e.g. 3.3.1 The French inflectional future
- e.g. 3.3.2 The English modal auxiliaries

3.4 The independence of reanalysis and gramamticalization

- Meillet appears to have identified reanalysis with grammaticalization.
- However, this is not the case.
- e.g. A case of reanalysis without necessary grammticalization
  - *fishwife = fish + wife*
  - *sweetmeat = sweet + meat*
- e.g. Lexicalization (shift from grammatical to lexical structure)
  - *to up the ante* → *to ante up* (nonlexical → lexical)
  - *omnibus* → *bus* (ablative pl → nominal)

- Reanalysis resulting from sound change: e.g. Estonian: *ep*
- Many attested cases of reanalysis call into question the identification of reanalysis with grammaticalization.
- It is best to regard grammaticalization as a subset of changes involved in reanalysis.

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3.4.1 Word order change

- Meillet (1912): Word-order changes are included among instances of grammaticalization in the sense of reanalysis.
- Question: Do word-order changes exemplify grammaticalization?
  - NO, because they are not unidirectional.
  - YES, if they are defined in a broader definition of grammaticalization.
- Word-order changes can have a profound effect on the grammatical structure and the morphological texture of the language.

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Word-order types

- VO languages tend to be prepositional, while OV languages tend to be postpositional.

  e.g. (20) VO   OV
        saw him   him saw
        in house   house in

- There is no 'ideal' OV or VO order language. Instead, there are languages which have predominant OV or VO order, or which may exhibit properties of both.

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Conflicting principles

- Coding is constantly in flux.
  - e.g. topicalization: moving material to the beginning of a clause
  - e.g. routine word orders: serving as normative structures
- Haiman's (1985a: Chapter 6) three principles:
  - a. what is old information comes first, what is new information comes later in an utterance;
  - b. ideas that are closely connected tend to be placed together;
  - c. what is at the moment uppermost in the speaker's mind tends to be the first expressed.

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- OV order favors the development of inflections. When they arise, inflections tend to be derived from prior lexical items.
  - e.g. French future
- When VO order arises from OV order, the change will often be accompanied by the innovation of new phrasal ways of coding what at an earlier was coded inflectionally.
  - e.g. English modals

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- If inflections develop in OV languages, they typically do so via reanalysis of enclitics or bound forms through boundary loss, fusion, and phonological attrition of already bound forms.
- By contrast, when new periphrastic constructions arise in the shift from OV to VO, they typically develop through reanalysis of lexical items as grammatical ones.
- The resources used in the development of OV and VO orders may look very different from a relatively synchronic point of view.
  - e.g. There is no form-meaning relationship between the inflectional or clitic genetive –*s* in English and the preposition *of* that partly replaced it.

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- The relevant factors for the selection of lexical forms as grammatical ones are semantic suitability, inferences from context, and potential constructional ambiguities from such inferences.
- There are no constraints depending solely on word order that delimit the lexical resources that can be used in the development of grammatical items.

  → This argues against word-order change as an example of grammaticalization in the narrower sense of reanalysis of lexical forms as grammatical ones.

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- An example of the same lexical item giving rise to both inflection and to periphrasis:
  Late Latin verb *habere* 'to have'
- In Late Latin both the future and the perfect occur in both OV and VO orders.
  - (21) a. *cantare habeo ~ habeo cantare* (OV~VO)
- Both the future and the perfect eventually became fixed units and involved reanalysis of an inflected form of the independent verb *hab-* as dependent on the non-finite verb with which they occurred.
- Differences
  - *habere* to the future: via obligative or future-oriented sense
  - *habere* to the perfect: via locative-possessive-existential in transitive contexts of cognitive and sensory states

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- A shift from OV to VO or vice versa never occurs independently of other factors, both linguistic and historical.
  - Linguistic: e.g. Mithun (1995)
  - Historical: language contact

3.5 Analogy/rule generalization

- Analogy refers to the attraction of extant forms to already existing constructions.
- Reanalysis operates along the syntagmatic axis of linear constituent structure.
- Analogy operates along the paradigmatic axis of options at any one constituent node.
- Meillet's definition of analogy: A process whereby irregularities in grammar, particularly at the morphological level, were regularized.
  - e.g. (25) stone: stones = shoe: X → X = shoes
- Question: It gives no account of why one member of the pair is selected as the model.

Selection of the model

- Kurylowicz (1945-9): The tendency to replace a more constrained with a more general form, not vice versa.
- Kiparsky (1968): Viewing analogy as generalization or optimization of a rule from a relatively limited domain to a far broader one. Note that neither of them are required to go to completion.

Features of analogy

- Only reanalysis can create new grammatical structures.
- The importance of analogy in grammaticalization:
  - The product of analogy, since they are overt, are in many cases the prime evidence for speakers of a language that a change has taken place. exx. (26-27)

Cyclical interaction of reanalysis and analogy

- An example: The development of negation in French.
  - I. Negation was accomplished by placing the negative particle ne before the verb.
  - II. A verb of motion negated by ne could optionally be reinforced by the pseudo-object noun pas 'step' in the context of verbs of movement.
  - III. The word pas was reanalyzed as a negator particle in a structure of the type ne Vmovement (pas).
  - IV. Pas was extended analogically to new verbs having nothing to do with movement.
  - V. The particle pas was reanalyzed as an obligatory concomitant of ne for general negation: ne V pas.
  - VI. In the spoken vernacular pas came to replace ne via two stages: (ne) V pas (reanalysis of ne as optional), V pas (reanalysis by loss of ne).

Another perspective on analogy

- It can be reflected by the frequency with which tokens of these structures may occur across time. e.g. Table. 3.1

3.6 The differential effects of reanalysis and analogy

- Reanalysis essentially involves linear, syntagmatic, often local, reorganization and rule change. It is not directly observable.
- Analogy essentially involves paradigmatic organization, change in surface collocations, and in patterns of use. Analogy makes the unobservable changes of reanalysis observable.
- The interaction between them: Fig. 3.2

語言演變的究竟--語法化經典研讀

99 年 10 月 29 日 [第 4 次活動記錄]

研讀書目：Hopper, Paul J. and Elizabeth Closs Traugott. 2003. *Grammaticalization* (2nd edition). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [Ch 4. Pragmatic factors, 71-98]

主 讀 人：柯怡姍、陳奕秀

導讀摘要

　　第四次的經典研讀活動，由柯怡姍及陳奕秀主讀，主讀的主題為「語法化的語用因素」，以下為導讀大網內容。

1. 簡介。
2. 推理和意義演變。
3. 語用推理在語法化中的角色。
4. 做為解決問題的隱喻和轉喻。
5. 語用強化與"漂白"。
6. 結論

討論與分享

　　本章討論的主題包含：推論（inference）與語意演變（semantic change）的關係為何？隱喻（metaphor）與轉喻（metonym）扮演的角色為何？以及語意是否漂白？在本次研讀中，除了書中概念的討論之外，參與的老師也適時以漢語的相關例子加以說明，協助同學了解其意涵以及在漢語之應用。

5. 討論到慣例化及經濟性這兩個部分，鄭縈老師以漢語的「他很高」為例說明，「很」從原來的程度副詞到現在感覺沒辦法呈現其程度，因此大家習慣使用「超級」這個新詞來表達其程度上的差異（如，「超級」高）。另外，有時後要講新的東西，不一定要用新詞。因為為了經濟性原則，加上溝通的便利性，會選擇使用大加已慣例的用法，但有可能為了加強說話者的表達性，而讓慣例的用法有新的使用方式。如：「洗臉」的例子，洗臉用的皂，我們不太習慣說「洗臉皂」，而是使用「洗『面』皂」或「洗『面』乳」，「面」這個字不是新的詞，我們在描述新的東西不一定要創新詞。

6. 討論到"概念"與"轉喻"的部份，討論中，劉秀雪老師以在餐廳點餐的情境下，服務生在送餐時說「雞腿飯坐哪裡？」的例子說明，讓同學更能明瞭轉喻需要利用真實環境做情境關聯，依賴語境來提供訊息。

7. 作者提到的兩個原則: economy 及 informativeness，對於這一部份有興趣者可以參閱 Traugott 與 König（1991）的文章。

8. 作者在這裡提出詞彙的語義並非完全消失，而是基本語義會殘存，作者稱為"留滯現象"，例如英語的 be going to 和 will 有些不同，尤其 be going to 表示有一個目標，這是由 going to 去帶出句有方向性（motion action）的意涵，而 will 沒有。

其他建議閱讀

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❖攝影&記錄　黃育正　陳振勛❖

活動剪影

主讀人柯怡姍（左）、陳奕秀（右）導讀《語法化》－語法化的語用因素

讀書會討論情形　　　　　　　參與活動情形

簡報資料

教育部補助推動人文社會學科學術強化創新計畫
語言演變的究竟--語法化經典研讀

Pragmatics factors

報告人：柯佳㵡

4.1 introduction
4.2 inferencing and meaning change
  4.2.1 semantics and pragmatics
  4.2.2 relationships between sense of a form:
      homonymy and polysemy
  4.2.3 coversational & conventional inferencing
4.3 the role of pragmatics inferencing in
  grammaticalization
  4.3.1metaphorical processes
  4.3.2metonymic process

4.1 Introduction

› What enables the mechanisms we have outlined, most especially those involved in grammaticalization.
› Special interest to those working on grammaticalization has been the role of **speakers & hearers negotiating meaning in communicative situations**.
› Economy or simplicity:
1. **Maximization of efficiency via minimal differentiation**
2. **Maximization of informativeness**

4.1 Introduction

› **Hearers: change**
› They process input in ways that may not match the speaker's intentions.
› **Speakers: enable changing**
› They have communication as their goal in producing speech ,and therefore are always in search of ways to guide the hearer in interpretation.
› Difference is what is actually accessible in the communicative situation based on differences in age , social background, culture, attention, or the factors may over time cumulatively lead to change.

4.1 Introduction

- The **motivations of simplicity and informativeness** are inevitably in **competition** in the individual language user, and therefore the development of language involves conflict and problem solving.

4.1 Introduction

- The hearer's role :
- ➢ seek the most unambiguous interpretation
- The hearers motivate speakers' intent to be informative and clear.

4.1 Introduction

- The speaker's role : signal simplicity
- ➢ Ex: *be going to -- be gonna*
- Signal simplification typically results from the **routinization (idiomatization)** of expressions.
- ➢ Ex: *you know ,be all*
- Such routinized expressions can be stored and used as simple units.

| Idiomatization of expressions | → | reduction and simplification of signal |

4.1 Introduction

- **Compacting, obliteration of boundaries**, and **reduction of redundancy** is balanced in normal language situations by the introduction **of new and innovative ways** of saying approximately the same thing.
- These ways of saying thing are brought about by speakers seeking to enhance expressivity.
- **Deroutinizing**-it is typically done through finding **new** way to say **old** thing.
- **Principle of economy** :reusing **extant forms** for **new purpose**.

4.1 Introduction

- Studies of grammaticalization
- **Hearer's tendency-**
  1. To reanalyze abductively may correlate with work on morphosyntactic changes in grammaticalization
- **Speakers' expressive use of language-**
  1. To get a point across may correlate with work on lexical origins of grammaticalization
  2. On pragmatics enrichment of lexical items in the early stages of grammaticalization
- **Speaker's tendency-**
  1. Economizing may correlate with work on routinization.

4.1 Introduction

- The position we take is that **users may be consciously or unconsciously goal-oriented.**
- We refer to strategies used by speakers and hearers in producing and understanding the flow of speech as it is crated.
- These speakers have intentions and their intentions may lead to change over time.

4.1 introduction

4.2 inferencing and meaning change
  4.2.1 semantics and pragmatics
  4.2.2 relationships between sense of a form: homonymy and polysemy
  4.2.3 coversational & conventional inferencing
4.3 the role of pragmatics inferencing in grammaticalization
  4.3.1metaphorical processes
  4.3.2metonymic process

4.2 Inferencing and meaning change

- Pragmatics: they have to do with the relationship between language and the context in which used.
- Formal grammars excluded pragmatics.
- Lightfoot(1979) argued that syntactic changes was autonomous. —— autonomous syntax

computational system

反對

4.2 Inferencing and meaning change

- Changes: whereby a **lexical item** becomes a **grammatical one.**
- Because lexical item by definition has semantic as well as syntactic, morphological, and phonological properties.
- But the theory which regards semantic changes as independent of morphosyntactic changes provides no reasoned account for the extensive evidence that grammaticalization affects similar classes of lexical items in similar ways across a wide number of language.
- EX: verbal morphology / nominal morphology

4.2 Inferencing and meaning change

- the early 1980s:
- Meaning changed involved in grammaticalization and the cognitively motivations behind them.
- Semantics(Bybee and Pagliucaa 1985:59)
- Pragmatics(Traugott and König 1991)
- Metaphorical processes(Claudi anf Hine 1986; Sweetser 1990)
- Associative or "metonymic" as well as metaphorical processes(Traugott and König 1991: Hine, Claudi, and Hünnemeyer 1991a)
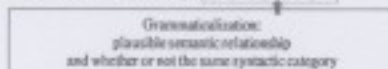
4.2 Inferencing and meaning change

- The position the author take
- **Meaning changes** and the **cognitive strategies** that motiveate them are central in the early stages of grammaticalization.
- The meaning changes are initially **pragmatic** and **associative**, arising **in the context of the flow of speech**.
- At later stages, as grammaticalization continues and forms **become routinized ,meaning loss** or "**bleaching** "typically occurs.
- But even so, **older meaning** may still continue to **constrain newer**, "emptier "ones.

4.2.1 semantics and pragmatics

Semantic	pragmatic
Can you pass the salt?	
Sentence meaning Are you able to pass the salt?	Utterance meaning Please pass the salt.
lexical, phrase, and sentence meaning.	inferences about linguistic meaning based on contextual assumptions.
Meanings are relatively **stable out of context**, typically **arbitrary**, and analyzable in terms of the logical conditions under which they would be true.	The **beliefs** and **inferences**, about the nature of the assumptions, **not learned or arbitrary**, made by **participants and the purposes** for which utterances are used in **the context of communicative** language use .

4.2.2 Relationships between sense of a form: homonymy and polysemy

- **Approach to maximize difference & homonymy**
- There is no a priori reason for grouping items in a dictionary: one could take the notion "**lexical term** "to mean the combination of all.
  ex(1): sad_1 & sad_2 (should be two separate items)
- **Approach to maximize similarity & monosemy**
  ex: only one kind of can
- **Approach to argue that certain forms share conceptually related meaning (polysemy)**
  ex(2): can

  Grammaticalization:
  plausible semantic relationship
  and whether or not the same syntactic category

4.2.3 coversational & conventional inferencing

- **Inferences**
- **(implicatures)-as conversational(Grice** 1975)
- Inferences are computable on the basis of lexical meaning together with implicatures arising from speech act maxims → Heuristic= strategic choice
  {manner /quality| quantity / relevance|
  grammaticalization
- Conversational **implicatures**
  1. Interpreted abductively
  2. Cancelable (by the speaker or the hearer)ex(3)
  3. Interpretively enriched as having some coherence.(relevance) ex(4) - (5)

4.2.3 coversational & conventional inferencing

- **Conventional implicatures**
  1. Unpredictable and arbitrary ex (6)
  2. Included among the semantic polysemies of a form ex (7)

- The question of whether there are pragmatic as well as semantic polysemies. Ex (8)
  yes!

4.3 the role of pragmatics inferencing in grammaticalization

‣ It may not be impossible for what starts life, so to speak ,as a **conversational implicature to become conventionalized** (Grice, 1975:58)
‣ In early stages of grammaticalization conventional implicatures frequently become **"semanticized"**-part of the semantic polysemies of a form.
‣ It must be **frequently occurring** .
‣ No highly contextualized. ex (9)

4.3 the role of pragmatics inferencing in grammaticalization

‣ *Since->sippan*
‣ When we can recognize conventionalization to have occurred?
‣ What types of inferences are most characteristic of these early stage?
1. **metaphorical processes**
2. **metonymic process**

4.3.1 Metaphorical processes

‣ Across **conceptual boundaries**
‣ The metaphorical process referred to in terms of "mappings", or "associative leaps" from one domain to another.
⚘ **Image schemata**: with very concrete sources that are mapped onto abstract concepts
   ex:*I see/ grasp the point of your argument*
⚘ **Force dynamics :** ex(14) 、 (15)
‣ The process have regard as **semantic>pragmatic**
‣ Metaphors often involve **propositions** that are intended to be recognized as literally false, but conversational implicatures do not.

4.3.1 metaphorical processes

‣ The early grammaticalization is strongly motivated by metaphoric processes.
⚘ Spatiotemporal terms : *behind*
⚘ Modal meaning : *may* & *must* & *have to*

‣ Can all possible types of metaphor be drawn on in grammaticalization?
   No!

4.3.2 metonymic process

‣ The overriding importance of metaphor in many discussion of grammaticalization
1. Lexical item > grammatical item
2. The term metonymy had been thought to be rather insignificant.
‣ The importance of conceptual metonymy
   ex: *go* (19)-(21) *while* (24)-(26)
1. More basic (than metaphor) to cognition
2. It points to relations in contexts that include interdependent (morpho)syntactic constituents .

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4.4 Metaphor and metonymy as problem solving

2010.10.29
陳奕秀

4.4

• Old means for novel functions

• concrete for abstract

• Heine, Claudi and Hunnemeyer suggest that:

「 grammaticalization can be interpreted as the result of a process which has **problem-solving** as its mail goal,...**conceptualization**..., main characteristic of **metaphor** in general. 」

4.4

• **Semantic change...as problem solving.**
1. ...One sematic domain in terms of another, and **metaphoric** strategies serve this purpose.
2. ...search for way to regulate **communication** and negotiate **speaker-hearer** interaction.

• This is a kind of metonymic change
• A natural part of **conversational practice**.
• This two problem-solving is toward informativeness, but different axes(correlate).

4.4

- In the context...

  Metaphorical change involves specifying one,...complex,...

  Metonymic change, involves specifying one meaning in terms of another that is present,...

- **Metaphor** is correlated primarily with solving the problem of representation.

- **Metonymy and semanticization**... are correlated with solving the problem of expressing speaker attitudes.

4.4

- Metonymic and metaphorical inferencing...
  1. Complementary, Not mutually exclusive.
  2. Dual mechanisms of reanalysis(metonymy) and analogy (metaphor).

- **Metaphorical analogizing** is one of the context within which grammaticalization operates.

- Fig. 3.2->fig. 4.1," *be going to*" to specify that syntagmatic reanalysis is accompanied by metonymic strategies, paradigmatic and analogical change by metaphorical ones.

4.4

橫向組合，換喻

Stage I | be | going | [to visit Bill]
PROG | Vdir | [Purp. clause]

Stage II | [be going to] visit Bill
TNS | Vact
(by syntactic reanalysis/metonymy)

Stage III | [be going to] like Bill
TNS | V
(by analogy/metaphor)

Syntagmatic axis
Mechanism: reanalysis

Paradigmatic axis
Mechanism: analogy
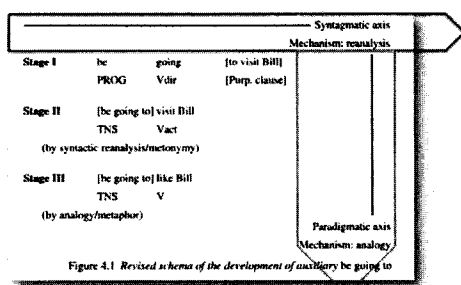
Figure 4.1 *Revised schema of the development of auxiliary be going to*

縱向聚合，隱喻

4.4

- Next chapter,
  - Competing motivation of expressivity and routinization.
  - And chapter 3, the mechanisms of reanalysis and analogy to motivate the unidirectionality typical of grammaticalization.

4.5 Pragmatic enrichment versus "bleaching"

4.5

- ...loss of semantic content.
- By the metaphor of "fading" and "bleaching".(to grow pale, or weakening)
- Heine and Reh (1984:15):
  - Linguistic units lose in semantic complexity, Pragmatic significance, Syntactic freedom, Phonetic substance.
- Pragmatic enrichment...

4.5

- Over time, meaning tend to become **weakened** during the process of grammaticalization.
- But, initially there is a **redistribution or shift, not a loss**, of meaning.

- For ex. *go*...(Sweetser, 1988:392)
  - We lose the sense of physical **motion**,
  - Gain a new meaning of future prediction or intention...

4.5

- *be going to...* (Langacker,1990:23)
  - loss of objective locational reference points that movement entails.
  - this loss is replaced by **realignment** to the speaker's temporal perspective.
  - **One meaning is demoted, another promoted.**
- Grammaticalization->

  syntacticized or morphologized->

  significant semantic and pragmatic meaning
- Separate morphemes -> **morphological detritus** (bound). To see ch.6

4.5

- Tow general working principles...
  1. The meanings will always be derivable from the original lexical meaning by either **metaphorical** or **conceptual metonymic** inferencing. Meaning changes is **Not arbitrary**.
  2. The initial, involving a shift in meaning, but not loss of meaning.
- English *"empty" do*, as an example of syntactic change, or as a counterexample.
- **Causative** *do*, as in (31), as one source...

4.5

- Dension(1985) and Stein(1990) :
  - Grammaticalization occurred not simply via loss of causative meaning , but via a perfective meaning that via **pragmatic strengthening** particularly in past tense causative contexts.
  - Example (31)...*did him gyuen up...*
  - Example (32)...*thei(thay) dede...*
- The some problems with the causative analysis,... *"do"* in middle English in the area...was **habitual meaning** (Garrett,1998).
- modem example(33) from Somerset

4.5

- Persistence (Hopper,1991):
  - bleach=sudden empty, not good.
  - a form undergoes grammaticalization from a lexical to a grammatical item,...**original lexical meaning tend to adhere to it**, ...its **lexical history** may be reflected in constraints **on its grammatical distribution.**
- For example(34): object markers(accusative cases) "KƐ", and "take" is the serialized verb.
- This sentence has become grammaticalized as an **accusative case marker.**

4.5

- Latin and **accusative case marker:**
  - It is a general marker of **direct objects.**
  - It occurs **irrespective of the semantic relationship** between the verb and its object.
  - **Any noun** has the role of an object is marked as an accusative.
  - It **is different with Gã**. Looking ex.(35a) and (35b).
- First, **object(affected) is changed through the action of the verb.**
- Second, the **object(effected)** is produced or brought about by the action of the verb.

4.5

- Why does the **Gã** retain the **accusative case marker?**
  - From the historical ...this grammatical morpheme in the lexical verb 'to take'.
- **Persistence of old meaning is a common phenomenon.**
- These future markers: **will**, shall, be going to...,can be understood as **continuations** of their original lexical meaning(Bybee and Pagiuca,1987:117).

4.5

- **Will**, 'future'...
  - Prediction (the pure future)
  - Willingness
  - Intention
- Example(37), Willingness
- Example(38), Intention
- The "Prediction" future has developed out of the intention/promise use of *will*.
- A new meaning was added to an already **polysemous form.**

4.5

- That *will* and *be going to* do not mean the same thing.
- *'be going to'* expresses present and a goal-directed plan.
- *'be going to'* had progressive and directional origins.

4.5

- The process of demotion of some lexical meanings and promotion of others is characteristic of semantic change in general.
- Garmmaticalization...
  - promotion lexical meaning→abstract (temporality, role relationships and connectivity)
- **Bleaching,** must therefore be taken to be a very **relative notion,** and one that pertains almost exclusively to late stages of garmmaticalization.

4.6 Conclusion

4.6 結論

- 語法化...
  - 說話者和聽話者在連續語意交際的協商結果。
  - 說話者因情境需要而提供訊息使語法化開始發生。
  - 在交際協商上是一種語用、語意和語法的強化。
  - 由換喻（重新分析）和隱喻（類推）引起的。
  - 開始使用後：語意漂白、形態黏著和語音削弱，因而產生單向性的演變。

語言演變的究竟--語法化經典研讀

99 年 11 月 19 日 [第 5 次活動記錄]

研讀書目：Hopper, Paul J. and Elizabeth Closs Traugott. 2003. *Grammaticalization* (2nd edition). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [Ch 5. The hypothesis of unidirectionality, 99-139]

主 讀 人：黃育正、黃雯君

導讀摘要

第五次的經典研讀活動，由黃育正、黃雯君主讀，主讀的主題為「單向性的假設」，以下為導讀大綱內容。

1. 簡介。
2. 泛化(generalization)。
3. 非范疇化(decategorialization)。
4. 參與單向性的一些過程。
5. 單向性的共時結果：layering。
6. 頻率。
7. 單向性的反例。
8. 重建單向性的使用。
9. 結論。

語法化的方向受限制，總是由實變虛，虛化後變得更虛。即叫語法化的單向性假設為本章所討論的問題。本章分別說明語法化的兩個單向性的 cline，一個是none-to-affix cline (§5.3.1)，一個是 verb-to-affix cline (§5.3.2)。與單向性有關的三個過程分別是：specialization (§5.4.1)、divergence (§5.4.2)及 renewal (§5.4.3)。單向性原則不是絕對，在§5.7 中也介紹了單向性的反例。

活動剪影

主讀人黃育正（左）、黃雯君（右）導讀《語法化》—單向性的假設

GRAMMATICALIZATION

The hypothesis of unidirectionality

報告人：黃富凱

5.1 Introduction

- Grammaticalization is hypothesized to be prototypically a unidirectional phenomenon.
- The counterexamples to unidirectionality are sporadic, whereas the evidence for unidirectionality is systematic and cross-linguistically replicated.
- Once grammaticalization has set in, there are certain likely paths along which it proceeds.
- lexical item > morphology (1)
- lexical item > syntax > morphology

used in specific linguistic contexts

5.1 Introduction

- unidirectionality vs. drift
- "Language moves down time in a current of its own making. It has a drift." (Sapir 1921)
- "a metacondition on the way in which the grammar of a language as a *whole* will change" (Lakoff 1972)

5.2 Generalization

- Grammatical meaning develops out of lexical meaning by a process of generalization or weakening of semantic content.
- Generalization is a process which can be characterized, in part as:
  - an increase in the polysemies of a form
  - an increase of the range of a morpheme advancing from a lexical to a grammatical or from a less grammatical to a more grammatical status

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5.2 Generalization
5.2.1 Generalization of meaning

- The lexical meanings subject to grammaticalization are usually quite general.
- In other words, the lexical items that grammaticalize are typically what are known as "basic words."
  - *say, move, go* vs. *whisper, assert, squirm...*
  - *dog, plant...* vs. *spaniel, Peace...*
- A formerly fairly specific term can be grammaticalized, but only after it has become more general.
  - Latin *ambulare* 'walk' > French *aller* 'go' > future AUX.

5.2 Generalization
5.2.1 Generalization of meaning

- Although many lexical changes involve broadening (generalization) of meanings, there are also well-known cases of narrowing.
  - OE *hund* "狗" > hound "獵犬" （借入 *dog*）
  - *strawberry* 中的 *berry*
  - *stink* "聞・氣味" > "臭味"
- "avoidance of homonymic clash"
  - OE *lettan* 'prevent', *lettan* 'permit' > ME *let* (*forbid, permit*)
  - PC: personal computer, police constable, politically correct
  - OE *he, heo, hie* > he, 另外借入 she, they
- Meaning changes leading to narrowing of meaning will typically not occur in grammaticalization.

5.2 Generalization
5.2.2 Generalization of grammatical function

- *be-Ving*
  - was restricted to agentive constructions
  - passives (*the house was being built*)
  - stative contexts (*There are statues standing in the park.*)
- (2) We watched Jane dancing/dance.
- (3)a. What we watched was Jane dancing/dance.
  - b. Who we watched was Jane dancing/dance.
- 芬蘭語賓語格位原則(a),(b),(c)
- (4)現代芬蘭語 非限定子句主語：GEN
- (5)古代芬蘭語 非限定子句主語：ACC, NOM, PARTIT

5.3 Decategorialization

- Another perspective on unidirectionality:
  - morphologically "heavier" > "lighter"
  - phonologically longer and more distinct > shorter and less distinct
- The more frequently a form occurs in texts, the more grammatical it is assumed to be.

- cline of categoriality:

major category (> intermediate category) > minor category
N, V   Adj, Adv   Prep, Conj, Aux...

It can be hypothesized that diachronically all minor categories have their origins in major categories.

5.3 Decategorialization

- *while*
  - OE *hwil* 'a length of time' (noun)
  - PDE *We stayed there for a while.* (noun)
  - *while we were sleeping* (conjuction)
    - 用作conjunction時，我失了名詞的屬性(a)-(e) p.117

- *Consider*
  - (6)verb-like: 被動詞得接，可帶tense，主/手句主語相同
  - (7)None of these verb-like attributes are available.

5.3 Decategorialization

- Two "grammatical clines" --
  - 名詞性路徑(5.3.1)
  - 動詞性路徑(5.3.2)
- 討論cline須注意的地方：
  - 並非連續體
  - 並非線性關係，而是 "chaining" or "layering"
  - 處於相同位置並不一定會有相同的啟義
  - 在共時層面上，一個詞可能會有同一抽被上的不同形式

5.3 Decategorialization
5.3.1 A noun-to-affix cline

- a cline whose starting point is a full noun (p.110)
  - relational noun >
    - 具有處所和方向意義，身體部位名詞容易出現
  - secondary adposition >
    - 含有重詞和處置詞，通常生源於關係名詞，*to-beside, ahead...*
  - primary adposition >
    - 有限集合，通常是單音節，表語法連繫，*to, by, of*
  - agglutinative case affix >
    - 越南刺詞 -*lon*，前身為表 'interior' 的關係名詞而所格
  - fusional case affix
    - 詞幹/詞綴的界線不明確
    - *miles* 'soldier.NOM.SG' 詞幹*milit 中的t消失
    - 再附加主格單數名詞屈變 -s

5.3 Decategorialization
5.3.2 A verb-to-affix cline

- There are a number of points on this cline:
  - full verb >
    - *have a look*   *she keeps indoor on cold days.*
  - (light verb / vector verb >)
    - Hindi 例, (5) vs. (10), (11)
    - Butt (Forthcoming)把為典喻法改兩圖，不應太糾結之中
  - auxiliary >
    - *have had a look, she keeps entering the tavern.*
  - verbal clitic >
    - *we're built a new garage.*
  - verbal affix
- Textual frequency is often considered prima facie evidence of degree of grammaticalization.
  - Table 5.1, Table 5.2

5.3 Decategorialization
5.3.3 Multiple paths

- Some cases show development along two or possibly more different clines, where a single form develops different grammatical functions in different construction. (   )
  - (23) p.90 -*bang* 名詞性貧的介詞 表 動詞性時間標記
  - 'say' complementizers generalize in different languages to causal clauses in languages such as Yoruba and Telugu, and to conditionals in Gã.
- However, not all multiple paths show split.

5.4 Some processes participating in unidirectionality

- Several processes typical of grammaticalization contribute to semantic and/or structural generalization and decategroialization.
  - specialization
    - whereby the choice of grammatical forms becomes reduced as certain ones become generalized in meaning and use.
  - divergence
    - whereby a less grammatical form may split into two, one variant maintaining its former characteristics, the other becoming more grammatical.
  - renewal
    - whereby old forms are renewed as more expressive ways are found of saying the same thing

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5.4 Some processes participating in unidirectionality
5.4.1 Specialization

- The process of reducing the variety of formal choices available as the meanings assume greater grammatical generality.
  - Indo-Aryan (i)Hindi-Urdu (ii)Marathi
    - (a) vector verb中GO為最多，(i)佔44%，(ii)佔31%
    - (b) (i)5個頻率最高的vector verb佔全形的92%
      - (ii)   82%
    - (c) (i)是10個不同的vector verb, (ii)14個
    - → 在(ii)中有少數動詞在競爭中取得優勢

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5.4 Some processes participating in unidirectionality
5.4.1 Specialization

- Modern French negative construction
  - 早期 *ne* 住於動前表示否定
  - 那起多很表示最小數量的動後放置名詞，強化否定
    - *pas, point, mie, gote, amende, crumie, beloce, eschalope*
  - 16世紀，僅有 *pas, point, mie, goute*（數量減少表頻率增加）
  - 現代法語 *pas, point*，為中性加標記的 *pas* 軸承最高
  - 現代口語常省略 *ne*，使 *pas* 成為唯一——個否定功能的標記
  - *pas* 的語法化，伴隨著語意磨變雙，但未發生語音變化或融合

    (13) vernacular English use of 'drop' and 'spot'

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5.4 Some processes participating in unidirectionality
5.4.2 Divergence

- When a lexical form undergoes grammaticalization to a clitic or affix, the original lexical form may remain as an autonomous element and undergo the same changes as ordinary lexical items. (split)
  - OE *an* -> *one*, *a/an* (14)
  - Malay classifier
    - (15) *orang* 'CL量人名詞'了'人'
    - (16) *buah* 'CL讓大的名詞'了'水果'
    - (17) *ekor* 'CL動物名詞'了'尾巴'
    - (18) *sutto/satu* 'CL單數物體名詞'了'東西'
    - (19) (20) 範例缺略
  - 分化結果，不知道 *satu / batu* 可源，現在可從 *satu batu* '一塊石頭'
- A > A/B > B → A > B/A (> B)

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5.4 Some processes participating in unidirectionality
5.4.3 Renewal

- Renewal results primarily in alternate ways of saying approximately the same thing, or alternate ways of organizing linguistic material.
- New structures keep being grammaticalized through the process that Meillet termed "renouvellement" or "renewal," and that instances of renewal consistently show evidence of unidirectionality once the renewal has set in.
  - English intensifiers: *awfully, frightfully, fearfully...*
  - English *no way* 逐漸取代 *n't* (*No way we're taking this...*)
  - French *ne va* 'doesn't go' > *ne va pas* > *va pas*

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5.4 Some processes participating in unidirectionality
5.4.3 Renewal

- Once renewal occurs, the new form may itself be subject to grammaticalization and reduction, through rapid speech and routinization, as in the case of *not* > *n't*.
- 新形式與舊形式競爭，是人們感覺它們比以前的形式更具表達性，這些競爭促使了舊形式的消亡。
- 當結構相同而僅替換不同詞彙項時，就產生交替，如 *very / awfully*

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5.4 Some processes participating in unidirectionality
5.4.3 Renewal

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報告人：黃雯君

5 The hypothesis of unidirectionality

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5.5 A synchronic result of unidirectionality：layering

- 層次(梁銀峰・孫朝奮); 並存(沈家煊)
- Within a broad functional domain, new layers are continually emerging; in the process the older layers are not necessarily discarded, but may remain to coexist with and interact with new layers(Hopper 1991：22)

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layering：case 1

- a full and a reduced form coexist, with related forms and only minimally different functions
  - Classical Armenian (Greenberg 1985：277)
    - demonstratives
      - *ays* (close to 1st person)
      - *ayd* (close to 2nd person)
      - *ayn* (close to 3rd person)
    - articles
      - -*s*, -*d*, -*n*
    - hypothesis：the reduced form is the later form

- A variety of different forms and constructions may coexist that serve similar functional purposed
  - English

· vowel changes in the verb stem:	*take, took*
· (weak) alveolar suffix:	*look/looked*
· modal auxiliaries:	*will take/shall take*
· have V-en:	*has taken*
· be V-ing:	*is taking*
· keep on V-ing:	*kept on eating*
· keep V-ing:	*kept eating*
· be going to V:	*is going to take*

  - Hypothesis : the most bonded forms have the longest histories in their present grammatical functions, and that the least bonded are the most recent

- Estonian (Comrie 1981:123-4)

  a. Vanake   silmitse-s   kaua   inimes-t   kes
  老人   觀察-PAST:3SG 長時間 人-PARTIT REL

  The more usual way

  sammu-s   üle   õue   elumaja   poole.
  走-PAST:3SG 橫過   院子:GEN   住宅的   建築物:ILL

  （那個老人長時間觀察了那個人穿過院子走進住宅樓的過程）

- b. Vanake   silmitses   kaua   üle   õue
  老人   觀察:PAST-3SG 長時間 穿過   院子:GEN

  A learned or archaic style

  elumaja   poole   sammu-vat   inimes-t.
  住宅的   建築物:IL   走-PRES:分詞   人-PARTITL

  （那個老人觀察了很長時間穿過住宅樓的院子正在走的那個人）

- Grammaticalization does not result in the filling of any obvious functional gap
  - Latin
    - *Cantare habet* (他必須唱歌＞他將要唱歌) 迂說式
    - *Cantabit*   (他將要唱歌)
  - involve a clear pragmatic difference
    - one of the competing forms predominates, and eventually extends its range of meanings to include those of the construction which it replace

- Frequency
- Frequency effects
  - reduction effect
  - conservation effect
- Synchronic studies of frequency
- Diachronic studies of frequency

- type frequency (型頻率)
  - the number of items that are available to a particular class of forms
    - English plural nouns
      - *-s, -en*
- token frequency (例頻率)
  - the number of times a particular form

- the repetition of forms
  - may lead to their "liberation," or "emancipation" (Haiman 1994)
  - increased freedom to associate with a wider variety of other forms
    - French *pas* (步) used as a negative reinforcer
      - physical movement verbs → all verbs

- Combinations of forms occur more frequently
  - be automatized
  - be stored as a block (Boyland 1996)
    - e.g. *get set to*(開始做)
  - Streamlined (Bybee and Thompson 1997)
  - the parts of combinations tend to be slurred and reduced in prominence
    - *want to→ wanna*
  - their semantic and functional content becomes vaguer, that is, they can be used in a wider variety of contexts(Heine 1993; Krug 2001; Boyland 2001)
  - Forms that often occur adjacent to one another may even become fused into a single word (Bybee 1995; 2001)
    - *we'll*

- Bybee & Thompson (1997)
  - Reduction Effect
  - Conservation Effect

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Reduction Effect

- Frequently used forms are eroded at a faster rate than less frequently used forms.
  - *I will → I'll; want to → wanna; have to → hafta*
  - in varying degrees of grammaticalization as modal auxiliaries (Krug 2001)
  - contrast
    - *We are going to [*gonna] the market.*
  - a higher frequency and the more casual register forms

Conservation Effect

- Morphology
  - frequency—retention of irregular form
    - frequency ↑ retention ↑
      - *sleep, slept*
    - frequency ↓ retention ↓
      - *creep, creeped (crept)*　　conform to paradigm
- Syntax
  - noun vs. pronoun
    - pronoun retain the case
      - *he, him*
    - preserve older positional features
      - *her uniform vs. the officers' uniforms / the uniforms of officers*

5.6.2 Synchronic studies of frequency

- Quantitative empirical
  - percentages, but not absolute numbers
  - compare
    - different but functionally similar forms
    - the same form in different identifiable contexts
    - English *though* as a grammaticalized discourse marker
      - 例 (25)
      - Barth-Weingarten and Couper-Kuhlen
        - 11% discourse-marking function
        - 14% concessive
        - 63% gray area

5.6.3 Diachronic studies of frequency

- assumption
  - increased frequency of a construction over time is prima facie evidence of grammaticalization
    - Laury (1997) Finnish demonstrative *se*
      - the number of lexical nouns that were accompanied by *se*
      - 19c, 1930s, contemporary
      - 49%, 60%, 74%→become increasingly obligatory
- texts of comparable genres over a fairly long period is needed

5.7 Counterexamples to unidirectionality

- Changes
- the hypothesis of unidirectionality
  - the strong claims
- counterexamples
  - degrammaticalization
  - lexicalization
  - exaptation (前適應)

5.7 Counterexamples to unidirectionality

- Changes
  - do not have to occur
  - do not have to go to completion
  - do not show stages that can be plotted on a grammaticalization cline does not entail that they are counterexample

5.7 Counterexamples to unidirectionality

- the hypothesis of unidirectionality: the strong claim 1　(C. Lehmann 1995; Haspelmath 1999a)
  - all grammaticalization involves shifts in specific linguistic contexts
    - from lexical item to grammatical item
    - from less to more grammatical item
  - grammaticalization clines are basically irreversible

- Problem ：
  - its logical conclusion
    - grammatical morphemes cannot arise without lexical origins
      - Indo-European demonstrative *to-*

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5.7 Counterexamples to unidirectionality

- the hypothesis of unidirectionality: the strong claim 2   (Janda 1995, 2001; Campbell 2001a)
  - there are so many counterexamples to unidirectionality that it can not be considered a defining characteristic of grammaticalization
  - Grammaticalization should not be thought of as a "theory"
    - the descriptive name of a frequently occurring epiphenomenon

- Problem :
  - several important characteristics get lost in the discussion
    - grammaticalization is a functionalist theory
      - a theory about the interaction of language and use
      - for local, gradient phenomena in language
    - grammaticalization is a theory with dual prongs
      - diachronic
        - tendency, but not rules
      - synchronic
        - relationship between structure and use, and of emergent properties of language

5.7 Counterexamples to unidirectionality: degrammaticalization

- used for many prototypical cases of end-stage grammaticalization (Heine)
  - development into an only partially or totally unanalyzable segment of a morpheme
    - h in Meillet's example of heute < OHG hiu tagu
  - complete loss (6.5)
- violate schematic clines and upgrading of erstwhile inflectional or derivational forms
  - phrases/words > non-bound grams > inflection

5.7 Counterexamples to unidirectionality: lexicalization

- Conversion (類轉) the most often cited putative counterexamples to grammaticalization
  - derivational morphemes → nouns or verbs
    - to up the ante
  - →instantaneous changes
    - one can take any element of language and use it lexically
      - T-square (iconic, use it lexically)   to calendar (N→V)
        forget-me-not (phrase → V)   laser (acronyms → V)
    - it may or may not spread to other speakers
    - nothing in common with grammaticalization

5.7 Counterexamples to unidirectionality: lexicalization

- Univerbation (單詞化) much in common with grammaticalization
  - complex lexeme → a simple lexeme
    - it loses the character of a syntagma to a greater or lesser degree
      - garlic (gar矛 + leac韭菜)   arise (on + rise)   → lexical
      - already (all + ready)   hafta (have to)   → grammatical
  - →grammaticalization and lexicalization may intersect
    - both constrain the freedom of the speaker in selecting and combining the constituents of a complex expression
    - they are not mirror images (C. Lehmann 2002:15)

5.7 Counterexamples to unidirectionality: exaptation

- Lass (1990)
  - borrowed from biology
  - the opportunistic co-optation of a feature whose origin is unrelated or only marginally related to its later use
    - Dutch
      - adjectival number—gender agreement marker → a subclass marker of morphologically complex attributive adjectives
  - → changes may be unexpected, but a detailed study of the discourse contexts for the changes in question is not cited
    - it is difficult to assess whether there was or was not semantic and functional discontinuity in the history of the change

5.7 Counterexamples to unidirectionality: exaptation

- Norde (2000)
  - inflectional genitive in English, Swedish, Danish and Bokmal
    - 例(26)OE inflectional genitive concord within the possessive NP
    - 例(27)clitic   →spread to more varied contexts
    - →clitic > affix   counterevidence

5.8 The use of unidirectionality in reconstruction

- counterexamples caution us against making uncritical inferences
  - where historical data are not available

5.9 Conclusion

- Unidirectionality _discourse use_
  - a lexical item or phrase ------->a grammatical item -------> an even more grammatical item
  - a major category -------> a minor category
    - →changes of this kind are widespread and systematic patterning
- Counterexample
  - sporadic and only rarely cross-linguistically attested

5.9 Conclusion

- Reconstructions based on an assumption of unidirectional match between cline and direction of change in a specific instance should be framed as testable hypotheses.

語言演變的究竟--語法化經典研讀

99 年 12 月 3 日 [第 6 次活動記錄]

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主 讀 人：湯琬君、黃天來

導讀摘要

　　第六次的經典研讀活動，由湯琬君及黃天來主讀，主讀的主題爲「句子-內部的形態變化」，以下爲導讀大網。

1. 簡介。
2. 形態化(mophologization)。
3. 聚合體的發展。
4. 論元結構標記：功能-語義等級和形態泛化。
5. 喪失。
6. 結論。

活動剪影

主讀人湯琬君、黃天來導讀《語法化》－句子內部的形態變化

讀書會討論情形

參與活動情形

簡報資料

Ch6 Clause-internal morphological changes

湯琬君 2010/12/03

6.1 Introduction

* examples of compacting
  - the fusing of erstwhile independent elements with each other, most especially the development of clitics into inflections (morphologization)
* examples of the development of grammatical forms in two domains
  - subject and object marking
* the end of grammaticalization : loss

6.2 Morphologization

* In French and most other Romance language adverbial formations such as the following are found :
(1) lentement "slowly"
    fermement "firmly"
    doucement "softly, sweetly"
                          (Lausberg 1962:111/1,95-98)
* For a large class of adjectives, a corresponding adverb is derived by adding the adverbial suffix -ment to the feminine form
    e.g.,
    lent "slow(masc)", lente "slow(fem.)", lente-ment "slowly"

6.2 Morphologization

* -mente "mind + ablative case" was originally word
* Its beginnings as an adverbial suffix are to be sought in such phrases as *clara mente* "with a clear mind"

6.2 Morphologization

- However, it is no longer restricted to psychological sense, but is a general adverb formative, as in:
- (2) L'eau coule doucement.
   "The water flows softly."
- In Old French (and some modern Romance language) there are still traces of the autonoomy of *mente*, in that it tends to appear with conjoined adjectives: *humble e doucement* "humbly and gently" (cf. Spanish *clara y concisamente* "clearly and concisely")

6.2 Morphologization

- The history of the French suffix *-ment* shows a new lexical formative coming into existence out of a formerly autonomous word.
- It has done so in a familiar manner, by ousting its competitors such as *modo* "manner," *guise* "way, fashion (specialization)", and by being assigned to a progressively closer lexical relationship with the adjective stem.
- Semantically, too, the Latin word *-mente* "mind + ablative case" has lost its restriction to psychological states.
- An affix such as French *-mente* which was once an independent word and has become a bound morpheme is said to be morphologized, and its historical lexical source (in this case, Latin *mente*) is said to have undergone morphologization.

6.2 Morphologization

Table 6.1 *Buryat Mongolian pronouns and verb endings*

	Pronoun	V ending
1 singular	bi	-b
2 singular	ši	-š
1 plural	bide	-bdi
2 plural	ta	-t

Source: based on Comrie (1980: 88)

6.2 Morphologization

- But not every instance of grammaticalization involves morphologization.
   - For example, modal auxiliaries in English are grammaticalized out of earlier full verbs, but they have not (yet) become affixes.
- The beginnings of morphologization must be sought in repeated use of syntactic constructions. Some linguists, among them Chafe (1970), Watkins (1964), and Hymes (1956), have suggested that units of discourse – clauses and sentences – are structured with the same kinds of rules as those by which words are internally structured, that is, that "syntax" itself is only morphology writ large.

6.2 Morphologization

- Virtually by definition, morphologization is that part of grammaticalization that primarily involves the second and third parts of the cline:

   lexical item > clitic > affix

- Such a cline is of course a gross oversimplification of the highly detailed facts of language. As the very least, we need to say:

   lexical item in a specific syntactic context > clitic > affix

6.2 Morphologization

- While there is not always evidence of a clitic pre-stage in the grammaticalization of affixes out of autonomous lexical words, the fixing or "freezing" and loss of lexical autonomy involved in the process presuppose a clitic stage.
- Clitics obviously have a central role in establishing the sorts of structures that undergo morphologization.
- It is the frequent syntactic collocation of a particalar word class, such as a noun, with a particular type of clitic, such as an adposition, that most typically leads to morphologization (e.g., as a noun with a case affix).

6.2.1 Some characteristics of clitics

- The word "clitic" is usually used to refer to a set of unaccented forms that tend to be found attached to a more heavily accented form (known as the "host").
   - The attachment may be so close that the clitic becomes affix- like , for example, English *n't* in *don't*.
   - The attachment may be quite loose and more like an autonomous word, such as French *le* in *apportez-le* "bring it in!"

6.2.1 Some characteristics of clitics

- In many language there are distinct sets of clitic and "tonic" (stressed) forms of the same word.
   - This is especially true of pronouns.
      - The example in English of such a contrast is in the third-person-plural *them* (tonic) vs.. *'em* (clitic), where the clitic and tonic forms probably have different origins. More often the two forms are simply accented (tonic) and unaccented (clitic) varieties of the same word, e.g., *you/ya*.

6.2.1 Some characteristics of clitics

- Prepositions and postpositions are often cliticized variants of adverbs.
- The differentce between and adverb and a preposition resides basically in that prepositions precede an NP and adverbs follow a V.
  - *up* a tree **vs.** she got *up* early
- Auxiliary verbs and verbs of having and being are frequently clitics, and many likewise have clitic and tonic variants.
  - *I'm* the head waiter **vs.** I *AM* the head waiter

6.2.1 Some characteristics of clitics

- The functional characteristics of clitics are consistent with their status as units that are already in part grammaticalized.
- Compared with their full forms, clitic forms are more context-dependent and more general in meaning. Often they have functions whose closest counterparts in other languages are clearly grammatical, such as aspect, modality, case, and participant reference (e.g., to person and number).

6.2.2 Positions of clitics

- Clitics are typically restricted to certain positions in the clause. One of these is next to a specific host.
  - Possessive pronouns may form an accentual group with the possessed noun
  - Auxiliaries may be constrained to occurring adjacent to the lexical verb
  - Determiners must be placed next to the noun (and so on)
- Phrasal clitics : They have a grammatical affinity for a particular type of phrase.
- Sentential clitics : Other kinds of clitics are not restricted in this way.
  - Some occupy what can broadly speaking be called the "first slot" in the clause, and are "proclitic," that is, they are attached to the following element or "host," as in French *j'arrive* 1SG-come "I am coming."
  - Other are "enclitic." that is, they are attached to a host that precedes. In Latin *-que* served to conjoin two phrases, as in *Senatus populus-que Romani* "The Roman senate and people."

6.2.2 Positions of clitics

- Many sentential clitic function as conjunctions, sentential adverbs, complementizers, and question words (Kaisse 1982).

(3)
> Hōs eipōn proeiéi,   krateròn d'epì   mũthon   étellen.
> thus saying, sent:forth:he, harsh:ACC *de*-upon word:ACC enjoined
>
> Tō   d'aékonte   bátén parà thín' halòs   strugétoio,
> they:DUAL *de*-unwilling went along shore ocean:GEN restless:GEN,
>
> Murmidónōn   d'epí   te   klisías kaì nũas hikésthēn.
> Myrmedons:GEN.PL *de*-upon both tents and ships came:3PL
>
> 'Saying this, he sent them forth, adding some harsh injunctions. So they went reluctantly along the shore of the restless ocean and came to the tents and ships of the Myrmedons.'   (Homer, *Iliad* I: 326–8)

6.2.2 Positions of clitics

- In Latin, enclitic *–que* could serve a similar function of joining main clause

(4)
> Omnibus copiis provolaverunt   impetumque   in equites nostros
> all:with   forces flew:forward:they attack:ACC-que on cavalry our
> fecerunt.
> made:they
>
> 'They hurled all their forces forward and launched an attack on our cavalry.'
>   (c. 60 BC, Caesar, *De Bello Gallico* I1:20)

6.2.2 Positions of clitics

- Examples (3) and (4) illustrate a common constraint on sentential clitics. It is often known as Wackernagel's Law, after Jacob Wackernagel, who noted that enclitics in Indo-European language usually occur in second position (Wackernagel 1892).
- Sentential enclitics meaning "and, but, so," etc., have a tendency to occur in the second position in the sentence, following the first tonic element (such as krateron in (3) and impetum in (4)).
- But other clitics may occur in that position too, for example, clitics with determine or auxiliary verb character.
- The "second position " tendency may be related to the topic-comment structure that spoken sentences typically have: in many utterances there is an initial phrase (the topic) that, as it were, sets the stage for what is to be said about it (the comment).

6.2.2 Positions of clitics

- Thus, interrogative markers may serve to focus on one item being questioned.

(5)
Menarik-kah pilem itu?
interesting-kah film that
'Was that film interesting?'

6.2.2 Positions of clitics

- At the same time it should be noted that the second position does not necessarily focus attention on the first word; often it is simply the established position for sentential particles.

(6)
> a. Don **bat** ledjet doppe   okto?
>   You *bat* were down-there alone
>   'You mean you were down there on your own?'
> b. Dus   **bat** maid kea oòa biila?
>   you-two *bat* also is new car
>   'You actually have a new car?'   (Fernandez-Vest 1994: 59)

6.2.2 Positions of clitics

- Morphologization involves the creation of a bound morpheme (i.e., an affix) out of an independent word by way of cliticization. The final stage of this process, the uniting of the affix with its stem, is referred to as "univerbation."
- although univerbation can in theory include the uniting of the two parts of a compound into a single lexical item
  - boat + swain > bo'sun
  - cup + board > cupboard
- the item is most often used in reference to a later stage of morphologization
  - Latin *clara mente* "with a clear mind" > French *clairement* "clearly" where the second element has become a derivational affix

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6.2.2 Positions of clitics

Table 6.2 *Polish tonic and clitic forms of the copula*

	Old Polish		Modern Polish
	Tonic	*Clitic*	
1 singular	jeśm	-(e)śm/-(c)m	-(e)m
2 singular	jeś	-(e)ś	-(e)ś
3 singular	jest/jeść/je	-0	-0
1 plural	jesm(y)	-(e)smy	-(e)śmy
2 plural	jeśće	-(e)śće	-(e)śće
3 plural	są	-0	-0
1 dual	jeswa	-(c)swa	
2 dual	jesta	-(e)sta	
3 dual	jesta	-(e)sta/-0	

Source: based on Andersen (1987: 24)

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6.2.2 Positions of clitics

- In (7), -m is the clitic first-person-singular form of the copula, and *ogła data* is the "verb," historically a past participle:

(7)   a. To-m   jest   ogła data.
         that-1SG EMPH saw
         'That I did see.'
      b. Bo-cie-m   sie,   caia darowaia.
         for-thee-1SG REFL entire gave
         'For I gave myself wholly to thee.'   (Andersen 1987: 28)

- The clitic –m and the verb are separated from one another, with –m in the second position in the sentence and the verb at the end.

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6.2.2 Positions of clitics

- Sentence stress on any element in the comment part of the sentence may attract the clitic. Furthermore, the clitic increasingly appears after the verb, regardless of the verb's position, especially if the verb is an l-form preterit. Here it is suffixed (encliticized) to the verb.

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6.2.2 Positions of clitics

Table 6.3 *Bonding of clitic copula to verb stem in Polish, AD 1500 to the present*

Date	Number	Percentage
1500s	130	23
1600s	649	49
1700s	994	68
1800s	1395	80
1900s	2817	84
(expository prose)	525	92

Source: based on Andersen (1987: 29). Andersen's figures are based on work in Polish by Theodora Rittel (1975) (for full reference see Andersen 1987: 50).

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6.2.2 Positions of clitics

Table 6.4 *Differential univerbation of preterit verb 'speak' and person–number suffix in Polish dialects*

	Southern	Standard	Northern
1 singular	m'ówił-em	mów'iłem	mów'iłem
2 singular	m'ówił-eś	mów'iłeś	mów'iłeś
3 singular	m'ówił	m'ówił	m'ówił
1 plural	mów'ili-śmy	mów'ili-śmy	mówil'iśmy
2 plural	mów'ili-ście	mów'ili-ście	mówil'iście
3 plural	mów'ili	mów'ili	mów'i

Source: Andersen (1987: 32)

> reflects the progress of univerbation

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6.2.2 Positions of clitics

- The verb adapts its stress to the new suffix, whereas the adverb ignores the clitic for purposes of stress.
- The clitic does not suffix itself to any random sentence element, but specifically to the verb, and it "seeks out" the verb in a way that suggests that the original, verbal nature of the clitic may still be constraning its current use.

(8)   a. Wcz'oraj-em   prz'zysed-ł.
         yesterday-1SG arrived
         'I arrived yesterday.'
      b. Wcz'oraj przysz'e dł-em.
         yesterday arrived-1SG
         'I arrived yesterday.'   (Andersen 1987: 33)

6.2.2 Positions of clitics

- The process of morphologization whereby independent words become clitics and eventually affixes results in fixed order of morphemes with respect to the stem.
- Whereas the ancestral independent word may have had a certain amount of positional freedom, univerbation removes any flexibility of position with respect to the stem.
- It has suggested (e.g., Givon 1979:239-45) that morpheme order may reflect earlier word-order tendencies of the language at the time when the morphologization in question was occurring.

(9)   Kassa borsa-w-n   la-Mulu saita-at.
      Kassa wallet-the-OBJ to-Mulu gave-IOBJ
      'Kassa gave the wallet to Mulu.'   (Givón 1979: 244)

6.2.2 Positions of clitics

- French, a modern VO language in which object lexical nouns must follow the verb, shows object pronouns preceding the verb, consistent with its origins in a strongly OV language (Latin):

(10)   a. **Lexical nouns**
Le boulanger donna le bijou à la jeune fille.
The baker   gave   the jewel to the girl
'The baker gave the jewel to the girl.'
b. **Clitic pronouns**
Il le lui donna.
He it to:her gave
'He gave it to her.'

6.2.2 Positions of clitics

- In classical Mongolian, an OV language in which one might expect that possessive adjectives would precede the noun, in fact both orders were possible:

(11)   a. minü morin
my horse
b. morin minü
horse my

Here, the (a) phrase was more usual, and differed from the (b) phrase in some such nuance as *MY horse* versus *my HORSE*. In later Mongolian dialects it is *morin minü*, the less usual order, that underlies clitics which, eventually, become morphologized as suffixes indicating possession, cf. Kalmyk:

6.2.2 Positions of clitics

- In later Mongolian dialects it is morin minu, the less usual order, that underlies clitics which, eventually, become morphologized as suffixes indicating possession, cf. Kalmyk:

(12)   a. **möre-m**
horse-1SG:POSS
'my horse'
b. **minï möre-m**
my horse-1SG
'my horse'   (Comrie 1980: 90)

6.2.2 Positions of clitics

- Comrie suggests three reasons why such a development might occur.
1. If the usual morphological process in a language is suffixation, newly emerging affixes will conform to the general pattern already available.
2. Prosodic: in Mongolian language the head of a construction is never preceded by an unstressed element. Morphologization of clitics as prefixes would provide exceptions to this otherwise quite general principle.
3. Syntactic : in language of OV type, Comrie argues, there is a general principle that the head of a construction can always be separated from one of its attributes by some other word.

6.2.2 Positions of clitics

- Bybee (1985:40), citing Burrow and Bhattacharya (1970), shows that Pango the perfect was originally formed by addition of auxiliary *na* to the past-tense form, after person-number inflections.

(13)   vät aŋ   'I came'
vät-aŋ-na   'I have come'

6.2.2 Positions of clitics

In other words, the perfect is formed by V:TNS + person/number + *na*. But the more common, and more recent, formation of the perfect is by repeating the person–number inflection after that template, as in (14a), resulting in the structure V:TNS + person/number + *na* + person/ number, or even, in more streamlined fashion, simply V:TNS + *na* + person/number, as in (14b):

(14)   a. hurtaŋnaŋ ([hurta-aŋ-na-ŋ]) 'I have seen'
b. hurtanaŋ ([hurta-na-ŋ]) 'I have seen'

Haspelmath (1993) similarly notes cases where the addition of derivational morphemes *after* the inflections has resulted in the creation of new stems, to which the same inflectional morphemes are added (see, too, the cases and discussion in Mithun 2000).

6.2.3 Semantic "relevance" as a factor in fusion and morpheme order

- It is a truism that in a language which exhibits affixal morphology, not all grammatical categories will be affixally expressed.
- in an exploratory cross-linguistic survey of fifty languages, Bybee (1985) showed that:

(a)   Meaning elements that are directly relevant to verb meaning are more likely to be fused or bound than those that are not.

(b)   The order in which they occur is partly correlated with their degree of relevance to the verb.

(c)   Among meanings relevant to the verb, the most general are likely to be expressed inflectionally.

- Bybee is using the term "relevance" to refer to the extent to which the meaning of a grammatical category (e.g., aspect or tense) affects the inherent meaning of the lexical item with which it is associated.

6.2.3 Semantic "relevance" as a factor in fusion and morpheme order

- Verbs express events or states of being. A causative situation is without question semantically relevance to the verb, since it affects the event or state of being directly.
- Causative meanings are often signaled by bound morphemes, e.g., redden "cause to be red."
- However, a causative situation is often understood rather differently from the literal combination of V + causal.
  − die vs. kill
- Bybee shows that causal relationship are often expressed by derivational forms. These are bound forms, which, although identifiable as separate morphemes, nevertheless combine with a base to add new, rather specific, meanings, or change linguistic categories, and form a stem to which other affixes, such as inflections, can be attached.
  − redden can have tense attached (e.g., reddened).

6.2.3 Semantic "relevance" as a factor in fusion and morpheme order

- Causal relations are expressed by lexically different forms, that is, totally fused forms, rather than by inflectional forms, because they are at least partially idiosyncratic.
- Tense, aspect, and mood tend to be expressed inflectionally because they are highly general and can apply to most event and state types.
  - 72% had inflectional tense, mood , and aspect.
  - 56% had inflectional person-number-subject agreement. (Bybee 1985:33)
- Although number can be expressed derivationally and even in lexically different ways, person-number agreement tends to be less frequently bound than either causal relations or tense-aspect-mood.
- This reflects the lesser relevance of person-number to be verb: its prime function is not to express aspects of the situation, but to express distinctions among arguments of the verb.

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6.2.3 Semantic "relevance" as a factor in fusion and morpheme order

- Tense, mood, and aspect themselves have different likelihoods of ordering with respect to each other.
  - Aspect refers to the way in which the internal constituency of the event is viewed, that is, according to whether it is seen as a whole from the outside and completed (perfective), or from within and incomplete (Comrie 1976).
  - Tense places the situation in time with respect to an established point in time, either the time of speech (deictic tense), or some other point in time (relational tense).
  - Mood refers to the way the speaker presents the truth of the proposition, whether as probable, possible, or certain (Bybee 1985:28)

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6.2.3 Semantic "relevance" as a factor in fusion and morpheme order

- Given the hypothesis of relevance, aspect is most relevant to the verb, tense less so, since it relates the time of the situation to some other time, and mood least so since it express the speaker's point of view on the situation.
- If that which is most relevant is that which is most likely to be close to the verb, then we would expect aspect to be the most likely of the three categories to be ordered next to the stem (or even be part of it, as a derivational form), tense next, and mood last.

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6.2.3 Semantic "relevance" as a factor in fusion and morpheme order

(15) a. Tiwi (Australia)
    ŋə-ru-untiŋ-apa.
    cook-PAST-DUR-eat
    'I was eating it.'
  b. Kewa (New Guinea)
    ira-paa-ru.
    cook-PERF-1SG:PAST
    'I finished cooking it.'   (Foley and Van Valin 1984: 210)

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6.2.3 Semantic "relevance" as a factor in fusion and morpheme order

- Bybee claims natural order is mood-tense-aspect-V, may seem counterintuitive to linguists who speak of T-M-A in that order.
  - would be going : were tense-mood-aspect-V
  - would have been going, had to be going

- The morpheme order predictions naturally do not hold when affixes are not in sequence; for example, mood affixes may be prefixed while tense-aspect affixes are postfixed.

(16) a--yakó--nyo--?
  OPTATIVE-FEM:PATIENT-kill-PUNCTUAL
  'she would get killed'   (Mithun 1991: 177)

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6.2.3 Semantic "relevance" as a factor in fusion and morpheme order

Table 6.5 *Affixal aspect–tense–mood forms*

	% bound forms in sample	% inflectional forms in sample
Aspect	74	52
Tense	50	48
Mood	68	68

Source: based on Bybee (1985: 30)

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6.2.4 Phonological concomitants of morphologization

- The fusion of a lexical item and a clitic as stem and affix that typifies morphologization is accompanied by phonological changes of various sorts.
- Most often these changes are characterizable as reductions: vowels and consonants are dropped, a stress or tone accent is lost causing an accentual readjustment over the newly formed word, and adjacent phonological segments are assimilated to one another.
- If the loss of the word boundary that once separated the two elements is included, some phonological adjustment is by definition always involved in morphologization.

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6.2.4 Phonological concomitants of morphologization

- The vocalism of English affixes that have been protected from the effect of the Great Vowel Shift, which operated on tonic vowels.
  - manly [-li]
  - like [layk]
  - because [bi-]
  - by [bay]

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6.2.4 Phonological concomitants of morphologization

- In the process of phonological attrition and selection that accompanies morphologization, we can identify two tendencies:

(a)   A quantitative ("syntagmatic") reduction: forms become shorter as the phonemes that comprise them erode.

(b)   A qualitative ("paradigmatic") reduction: the remaining phonological segments in the form are drawn from a progressively shrinking set.

- (b) reflects the universal set of unmarked segments

  They tend especially to be apical (tongue-tip) consonants such as [n], [t], and [s], the glottal consonants [ʔ] and [h], and common vowels such as [a], [u], [i], and [ə]

  The result is that from a synchronic perspective grammatical morphemes tend to be composed of "unmarked" segments.

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6.2.4 Phonological concomitants of morphologization

- One aspect of the tendency toward unmarked segments is that morphologization is usually accompanied by a reduction in prominence.
- Prominence is a function of special accentuation, length, or some sort of positional privilege such as initial syllable in the word (Trubetzkoy 1929:58).
- In an environment of lessened prominence, there is a general neutralization of segments, that is, a loss in certain of the phonological distinctions found in full lexical items.
- Haiman (1972) points out that in this loss of phonological contrasts characteristic of non-prominent syllables, there is a movement toward an unmarked set of phonemes, in the sense that we have just presented it.

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6.2.4 Phonological concomitants of morphologization

- Admittedly this neutralization belongs to non-prominent syllables in general.
- But because a reduction in prominence is characteristic of forms that are becoming morphologized, one outcome of morphologization is morphemes that typically consist of simple, unmarked, phonolgical sets.
- In Turkish, there are strategies for avoiding the vowel [o] in non-prominent syllables; this vowel is marked because it is simultaneously low and round. The only grammatical suffix that contains [o] is -*yor*, a progressive verbal form which was once an autonomous (copular) verb and "has only recently degenerated to the status of a suffix "(Haiman 1972:367); in other words, it is newly morphologized.

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6.2.4 Phonological concomitants of morphologization

- A second aspect of the appearance of unmarked segments in morphologized form is that the analogical spread of one allomorph at the expense of others is aided by the sheer textual frequency of the successful allomorph, and textual frequency is associated with unmarked segments (Greenberg 1960).

(17)

Verb	Passive form	Allomorph of passive suffix
hopu 'catch'	hopukia	-kia
aru 'follow'	arumia	-mia
tohu 'point out'	tohuŋia	-ŋia
maatu 'know'	maaturia	-ria, etc.

- Some of these allomorphs have spread to verb forms where they did not originally occur, replacing the historically "correct" allomorph, so that the present-day distribution of the allomorphs does not always reflect the historically expected one.
  - -ria vs. -kia

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6.2.4 Phonological concomitants of morphologization

- Many of the phonological changes that accompany morphologization are not peculiar to this process but are simply part of the same processes of assimilation, attrition, and other kinds of reduction that are found more generally in non-prominent syllables and across junctures.
  - For example, the loss of the final -ns in the French first-person-plural future (nous finirons "we will finish," pronounced [finir5)]), is part of the general loss of final consonants in Modern French, not a peculiarity of the morphologization of auxiliary from Latin.

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6.2.4 Phonological concomitants of morphologization

(18)   a.   ʔáayato-na   páa-ʔnaxpayk-a   ʔníit-pe.
          woman-OBJ 3SUBJ:3OBJ-bring-PAST lodge-LOC
          'He brought the woman to [his] lodge.'
       b.   ʔáayat   pà-ʔnaxpayk-óo-ya   miyóoxato-na.
          Woman 3SUBJ:3OBJ-bring-LOC-PAST chief-OBJ
          'He brought the woman to the chief.'   (Rude 1991: 188)

- By a regular Nez Perce phonological process, the resulting sequence become first -úu- and then, by vowel harmony, -óo-.

The development of Nez Perce -óo- described above involves erosion (of *w*) and morpheme boundary loss, or "fusion," of the tense marker and the copula.

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6.2.4 Phonological concomitants of morphologization

- Latin *calidum* "hot" had lost both its suffixes (-id-um) by the time of Modern French *chaud* [šo] , and even the *l* of its stem, cal- , has been absorbed.

Erosion may or may not bring about morphemic loss. An example of erosion tha has merely reduced a morpheme without eliminating it is the Latin ablative singula suffix -ō, e.g., *lupō* 'from the wolf,' from an earlier *lupōd*.

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6.2.4 Phonological concomitants of morphologization

- Extreme cases of fusion are easily identified.
  - two or more morphemes fuse as a "portmanteau" morph (Hockett 1947 [1966]:229) without there being a one-to-one semantic-functional match between any morpheme and any set of phonological segments
  - E.g. French du [dü] 'of the (masc.)'   (i.e., de + le)
  - E.g. French *aux* [o] 'to the (masc./fem. plur.)' (à + *le/la* + s)
- In many tone language, fusion may result in a portmanteau morph which has segmental material from one morpheme and a tone from another, the tone being all that remains from the second morpheme.
- Matisoff (1991) refers to this process as "Cheshirization"

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6.2.4 Phonological concomitants of morphologization

- There is a tonal change, generally from a lower to a mind or high tone, which is phonetically (albeit indirectly) linked to the voicing, such as the nasal [m] or the affricate (c) in the next example, the tonal difference is the only remaining trace of the former prefix:

(20) a. mɔ̀ 'see': mɔ 'show'
      b. cã 'eat': cã 'feed'

6.2.4 Phonological concomitants of morphologization

- Many possible examples of fusion depend crucially on unambiguously defining a "phonological unit."
- Indeed, Heine and Reh define fusion as the disappearance of the boundary separating two morphemes, "these morphemes thus being reduced to one phonological unit" (1984:25). Affixes normally form a phonological unit with their stem.

6.2.4 Phonological concomitants of morphologization

- Since morphologization necessarily involves the emergence of new morpheme boundaries and other junctural phenomena, and the juxtaposition of segmental clusters in ways not found internal to words or across "order" morpheme boundaries, and since usually there is a prosodic reduction of the new affix, any special phonological changes are to be attributed to these subtypes of phonological changes rather than to any intrinsic change from "lexical" to "grammatical."

6.2.4 Phonological concomitants of morphologization

- All the same , given that grammaticalization occurs in highly local contexts, and in later stages often involves univerbation of a new affix with a stem, unusual, even unprecedented, sequences of segments may occur, which in turn may set things up for special phonological changes.

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6. Clause-internal morphological changes

報告部份:6.3 ~ 6.6

報告人:黃天來

99.12.3

6. Clause-internal morphological changes

- 6.3 The development of paradigms
- 6.4 Argument-structure marking: functional-semantic hierarchies and morphological generalization
- 6.5 loss
- 6.6 conclusion

6.3 The development of paradigms

- 迂說法結構:詞幹+詞綴的聚合→保持相互獨立。如英語方言
  - Y'all由you + all派生而來→ 並未擴展為其他詞的普通語索(名詞或代詞)
  - 看不到一個"聚合體"的出現:

(21)   I   *I-all
       you   you-all
       he   *he-all
       she   *she-all

- 語法化較晚階段通常涉及聚合體過程，單一形式產生一套相關詞尾，此基本形式
  - 對動詞言:通常是第三人稱單數
  - 對名詞和代詞言:通常是非主格形式
- 例子:
  - 斯堪地納維亞語版(古冰島語 古挪威語)x �ₐ的語法化過程:反身代詞→詞攝 (sik 和 - sk並存)第三人稱(單 複)反身代詞受格形式→其他人稱和格。差變成獨音標記
(22) a. Hann bauþ sik,
        He offered himself
        '他供給了他自己'
      b. Hann bauzsk (:k （*psk)
         He   offered-himself
         '他供給了他自己'

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- 古冰島語和丹麥語：代詞→向後綴發展，對著化同時發生：
  - 語音同化代詞與其主語合併，t或p→zk(發音〔tsk〕)
  - "融合"：一聚合體的不同部份合併為單一形式，此出現於
    如下情況：人稱/數的融合 與 格的融合
- 第三人稱反身代詞sik擴展到其他人稱，可見於古文獻中。如(表6.6)

	單 數	複 數
第一人稱	finnomk	finnomsk
第二人稱	Finzk(z=〔-t+s-〕)	finnezk
第三人稱	finzk	finnask

- 反身代詞sik從第三人稱(單/複)→第二人稱(單/複)
- 反身代詞   )：從第一人稱(單)→第一人稱(複)
- 第一人稱(複)又採用第三人稱→產生複合後綴-msk

- 格的融合
  - -sk之自主反身代詞受格對應形式是sik
    -sk:也會出現在屬格或與格環境中
- 例子
  (23) a. Hann eignade sér ríke. (sér 自主代詞→
      He appropriated to-himself kingdom 與格)
      '他把王國竊為己有'
  b. Hann eignadesk ríke. (-sk 後附詞形式)
      he appropriated-himself kingdom
      '他把王國竊為己有 '

---

(24) a. Ér hefned yduar   á honom.
      you revenge yourselves :GEN:PL on him
      '你們自己向他復仇'
  b. Ér hefnzk yduar   á honom
      you revenge-yourselves on him
      '你們自己向他復仇'
★ (24a,b)證明兩類融合
◇ yduar: 單獨使用的第二人稱複數賓語代詞
      (屬格)，當' 復仇' 的賓語
◇ -sk:其附著形式，前身是第三人稱單數受格形式

- 反身代詞sik的附著化和形態化都伴隨語意的泛化
  (5.2.1)。此泛化涉及：
    反身代詞→互相代詞 中間語態 被動語態。
  - 丹麥語sik →-s (被動 中間 互代) 如(25)
    (26)所示
  - 古冰島語-sk的發展歷史普遍存在：
    即首先 建立聚合體→消除不規則變化者→
    統一的詞幹。
  - 前梵語中屈折成分vak(聲音)包含詞幹輔音
    的形式，如：
    主格和屬格複數中c/k的交替形式→詞幹形式
    向單一化方向發展→趨於一致。(表 6.7)

- 毛利語被動後綴-ia:
  詞幹的最後一個輔音，被重新分析→為後綴
  的一部份，提供後綴多種語素變體→泛化→
  導致其他詞幹與該詞幹的一致性。
  (27) a. hopuk-ia "被抓住"
      whaka-hopu-tia(< *whaka-hopuk-ia)
            "導致被抓住"
  b. maur-ia "被攜帶"
      maur-mau- ia(< *whaka-maur-ia)
            "導致被攜帶"

- 類推和泛化致聚合體條理化，同時也會有某種力
  量導致它的分散和瓦解。如：
  - 梵語和巴利語繫動詞as-'是 '→ 經歷一致性
    過程 (表 6.8 ,6.9)。梵語中詞幹中的a和零形
    式的元音交替用於 區別單/複數。
  - 前巴利語:as/s的交替存在部份一致性→致
    第三人稱外之所有複數形式出現元音 a。
  - 其他馬其頓語等保加利亞語方言。(表6.10,
    6.11)

- 6.4 Argument-structure marking: functional-
  semantic hierarchies and morphological
  generalization
- 6.4.1 object marking in Persian
  以波斯語為例，從賓語標記的角度分析聚合體的
  泛化。
  - 波斯語賓語標記的發展的證例:它證明
    - 詞彙詞 > 後置詞 > 後綴 → 組成單向性
      斜坡
    - 生命度等級和有定性等級等→進行的泛化

- 按生命度等級，更可能包括於語言規則中的次序，
  根據:
  - 生命度等級: 指人名詞 > 有生名詞 > 無聲名詞
          > 抽象名詞
  - 有定性等級: +有定/+指稱 > -有定/ +指稱 >
    -有定/-指稱

- 以上等級動因:
  表明:人們更可能談論人類和有所指者的東西 而非其他事物或無所指的東西
  此即:
    移情作用("empathy")和注意力流("attention flow")的因素
- 其等級包含許多語言組織現象:
  - 其範圍從名詞出現在主語位置的可能性等相對明顯的話語屬性到格與體交互作用等現象。
  (生命度等級:屬格標記泛化為無定從句主語(芬蘭語言)已在5.2.2提過)

- 賓語標記發展過程中所起的作用:
  - 以現代波斯語後綴-ra為例:

(28) ketâb-râ   mi-xân-ad.
    book-ACC CONTIN-read-3SG
    '他正在讀那本書'
    râ :動詞賓語標記
    ▽讀敔〔(r) â〕
    ▽-b-râ → 〔r〕脫落
    ▽出現於直接賓格上:'book'-râ
    ▽râ不出現在間接(與格)賓格後面

- 名詞賓格(如受格)標記後綴的發展路徑:
  - 古波斯語(600B.C):
    - 路徑始於用表' 目標 目的' 之後置詞的名詞 →râdiy ·
  - 中古波斯語:
    - râdiy縮為-raô
    與格 受益格賓語的後置詞, 僅面出現於有定受格賓語後面, 從不出現於無定賓語後面
  - 新波斯語(9th AC):
    - -râ→有定受格語素,與格 受益格賓語依然活躍
  - 古典波斯語(12th~14th):
    - -râ在各種有定賓語語法化完成:用於所有與格和類與格賓語(受益格 領屬格 或受格) 以及所有受格賓格後面

- 古典波斯語中非受格用法 如例(29)
(29) a. Hakimi-I pesar-ân -râ pand hami-dâd.
    wise-man-a son-PL-DAT advice CONTIN-gave
    '一個聰明人在給他的兒子們提出忠告'

(30) b.Ma-râ dar sahr dust-ân besyâr-and.
    I-POSS in town friend-PL many-3PL
    '我有很多朋友在城裡'

- 古典波斯語(9th ~14th)看似有三個證實的階段:

  - 階段1(中古波斯語):-râ用於與格-受益格賓語
  - 階段2(早期古典波斯語):-râ用於與格-受益格賓語和有定受格賓語
  - 階段3(古典新波斯語):-râ用於與格-受益格賓語並擴展領屬格 或受格和有定受格賓格

- -râ的變化:

  - 最易受影響的→ 高度具體的 →個別的賓語。
  (即從個別指人→個別的名詞和代詞賓語→間接受動詞表示的動作影響的指人賓語(領有者和感受者))

  - -râ沿話語話題性等級發展:從高度有生性的參與者→ 普通無生性賓語 (有指的)

- 現代波斯語時期為例:
  - -râ擴展到更廣之名詞短語範圍 另又受其為題元角色之限制,其擴展動力是與所指的前景化有關的語用策略 如下例:土耳其語處於對比焦點

(30) Arab-0 balad-i?   Tolki -râ
    Arab-ACC familiar-2SG Turkish-ACC

    balad-i?
    familiar-2SG
    '你會說阿拉伯語嗎? 土耳其語 — 你會嗎?'

- -râ 的使用範圍→擴展到無定詞: 聚焦於充當賓語之一個突顯名詞短語

(31) Dâlâne derâze trik-i-râ
    corridor long   dark-INDEF-ACC

    passed-through
    '他穿過了一條長長的漆黑的走廊'

- 6.4.2 ergative case marking :a statistical perspective
- 形態泛化:隨時間推移進行,其研究:
  - 有文獻資料者:可依形式變化頻率和話語環境研究
  - 無文獻資料者:語法化的軌跡和動因可通過對話語中語法形式共時分佈案研究
- 以格形態標記主語和賓語的語言,可能呈現出:
  - 通格(absolutive):賓語和Vi的主語範疇
  - 作格(ergative):Vt的施事主語範疇

- 巴斯克語的例子:
  後綴→零形式 作格後綴→-(e)k

(32)a. Martin ethorri da.
  Martin-ABS came AUX:3SG
  '馬丁來了'
  b. Martin-ek haurra igorri du.
  Martin-ERG child:ABS sent AUX:3SG
  '馬丁把孩子送走了'

- 問題: (對歐洲'主格/賓格語言'而言)
  - 為什麼不是所有的主語,無論是Vt 或 Vi,都屬於同一語法類別?
  - 為什麼賓語與部份主語以同樣的方式被標記?
- 尋答方向:是何功能可致Vt 的賓語和Vi的主語聯繫 →而把 通格與作格分開
- Du Bois (1987):'新信息' 即 對話語中較新的事物或人的指稱:
  - Vt 從句→通常出現於賓語的位置
  - Vi從句→通常出現於主語位置

- Sacapultec語(馬雅語族)
(33) a. š-e:-pe: e: išeb ał'?o:m,
  CMP-3PL:ABS-come PL three boy-PL
  '來了三個男孩'
  b. š-Ø-a:ki=-siky'-a?
  CMP-3ABS-MVT-3PL:ERG-pick:up-MVT
  I pe:ra
  the pear
  '(他們來了)並撿起了那個梨'
  - (33a):
    - 論元角色由動詞詞綴 e:表示
    - 因是Vi 所以主語是帶通格的'男孩',可由動詞的綴-e:反映出來
  - (33b)
  - 較斯事項→ 梨是siky'-(撿起) 的賓語,動詞前綴指形與3PL作格ki-有一致關係

- Sacapultec語(馬雅語族)格標記所經歷的語法化;在於信息流的一個更高層的動能(不在於涉及施事和受事角色的從句層面系統或作格語言生命度差異上)
  - 作格標記語法化:
    可能包括作格向其他主語的擴展(無論Vt主語是詞彙名詞/代詞),可能有些作格系統起源於新事件標記,而受格系統起源於施事標記
  - 作格形態的語法化:
    可能受到不同來源的形式致使分佈論的話語受到壓力。如(35)中oleh原為施事→作格前置詞,其意義涵蓋了'得到 暫有 當 管理 歸屬'等,有的來源被動語態加上工具格等。受語用 語意相關話構制約。

6.5 loss

- 語素:通常會長期穩定,並從可預料的方式轉變其功能,但外形不變
- 任何特定語法標記在其歷史盡頭都會走向喪失,形式喪失,形式和功能喪失
- 多競爭形式→共存→單純形式喪失,多功能形式'去多存一'獲最終選擇
- 實例
  - 法語:否定詞pas 從更廣可能中被特化。passe' simple 普通動詞過去時被迂說法完成體所取代。
  - 德語:非完成體 er las也向完成體讓步。

- 古英語:形容詞仍有格 數和性後綴(一形式曾有的形態功能喪失與形式本身喪失(或被詞幹吸收為一無意義的成分)
  - 形容詞good仍有格 數和性後綴(表6.12)
  - seldom'很少' →=seld(形 奇怪 罕見)+ -um(與格複數後綴) →非形態化
    (形態價值失去)

- 積極觀點,可視非形態化看作'語音發生' (Hopper 1990,1994)→'死亡的'語素沉積為音段→創造並修復著詞語的語音長度。
  - 愛爾蘭語:(例36)
    早期愛爾蘭語:動詞=詞幹+詞綴
    現代愛爾蘭語:動詞=詞幹+ +(詞綴 → 語音成分)
  - 英語:Friend(朋友) fiend(魔鬼) 的-nd是德語現在分詞-ende的殘餘
- 非形態化→音位組配的變化(音節外形詞語長度發生變化) →聲調 重音產生影響
- 語法化的最終產物就是字面意義上音段的語音學磨損得到補償→'語音強化'。
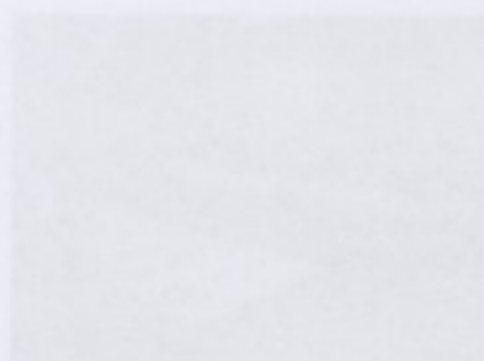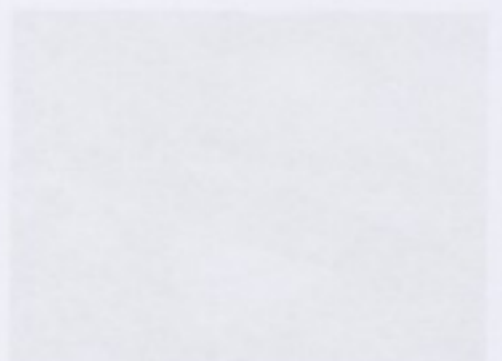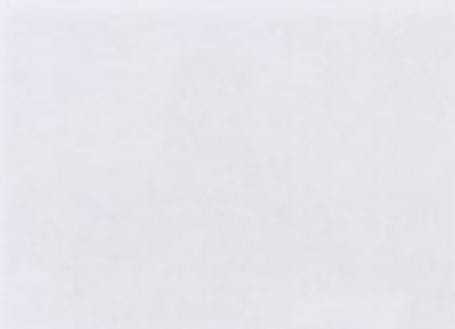
6.6 結論

- 本章所舉的例子證明了，在時間進程中各種程度的融合以及模式的重組和建構的各種演變。

謝　　謝!

語言演變的究竟--語法化經典研讀

99 年 12 月 24 日 [第 7 次活動記錄]

研讀書目：Hopper, Paul J. and Elizabeth Closs Traugott. 2003. *Grammaticalization* (2nd edition). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [Ch 7. Grammaticalization across clauses, 175-211]

主 讀 人：蘇建唐、陳姿瑾

導讀摘要

　　第七次的經典研讀活動，由蘇建唐及陳姿瑾主讀，主讀的主題爲「跨越句限的語法化」，以下爲導讀大網。

1. 簡介。
2. 從句組合結構的 cline。
3. 從句連結的語法化。
4. 複雜句結構發展的例子。
5. 從複雜句到簡單句。
6. 從句組合中的單向性反例。
7. 結論

活動剪影

主讀人陳姿瑾、蘇建唐導讀《語法化》－跨越句限的語法化

讀書會討論情形　　　　　　　　　　　參與活動情形

7. Grammaticalization across clauses

報告者：陳姿瑾

7.1 Introduction

* All languages have devices for linking clauses together into what are called complex sentences.
* These tend to be classified in grammars according to functional-semantic principles.
  * NP (complements, or "noun clauses")
  * NP modifiers (relative clauses)
  * adverbial clauses (e.g. temporal, causative, or conditional clauses)

7.1 Introduction

* Complex sentences may differ from independent juxtapositions to dependent constructions.
  * :; Within the decade there will be an earthquake. It is likely to destroy the whole town.
  * · :. That there will be an earthquake within the decade that will destroy the whole town is likely.
* Separate clauses may become obscured at the surface level.
  * .. .(It) seems that he is right. > He seems to be right

7.1 Introduction

* A path of grammaticalization ·'... .·· :'·
  discourse > syntax > morphology > morphophonemics > zero
* discourse > syntax > morphology:
  topic into subject, topic sentences into relative clauses, finite clauses in concatenated structures into non-finite complementation structures
  * ; I want I go. > I want to go.
* A unidirectional cline:
  from relatively free juxtaposition to syntactic and morphological bondedness

7.2 A cline of clause-combining constructions

* A complex sentence:
  (a) a nucleus and one or more additional nuclei, or (b) a nucleus and one or more "margins"
* Three types of margins:
  NP (complements), modifiers of nouns (relative clauses), modifiers of VP or entire propositions (adverbial clauses)
* The initial formation of a complex clause would appear to involve the combining into one integrated structure of two nuclei.

7.2 A cline of clause-combining constructions

* Parataxis > Hypotaxis > Subordination
  -dependent   +dependent   +dependent
  -embedded   -embedded   +embedded

        dependency   embedding
                 (constituent structure)
* Subordinations are accompanied with hierarchical downgrading, desententialization and decategorization :' ·: :.. .· .· .·.

7.2 A cline of clause-combining constructions

* The extent to which the cline of dependency matches up with a cline of grammatical integration.
  * finiteness on the left and non-finiteness on the right of the cline, expressed by clausal remnants such as infinitives and participles.
* "interlacing": the sharing of participants, or of tenses and moods, and also the interweaving of originally separate clauses into the surface structure of the matrix.
  * .. It seems that she is smart. > She seems to be smart.

7.2 A cline of clause-combining constructions

parataxis------------hypotaxis-------------subordination

(relative Independence) (Interdependence)   (dependence)

nucleus--margin

minimal integration-----------------maximal integration

Maximal overt linking-------------minimal overt linking

Figure 7.1 *Properties relevant to the cline of clause combining*

7.2 A cline of clause-combining constructions

- a. We realize that you have to make a profit.
- b. His wife only pretended to believe his implausible story.
- c. Portia really enjoys walking along the beach.
- d. Numerous witnesses heard the bomb explode.
- Maximal overt linking = minimal semantic-pragmatic integration
  - *that* in (3a)
- Minimal overt linking = maximal semantic-pragmatic integration
  - an inflectional affix or no marking at all

7.2.1 Parataxis

- Juxtaposed clauses are linked in some way:
  - intonation, sharing noun subject, punctuation (representing a single overarching intonation contour)

Veni, vidi, vici
'I came, I saw, I conquered.'
Ta mei nian shu, ta da qiu le. (Chinese)
You keep smoking those cigarettes, you're gonna start coughing again.
- (7) is interpreted as a conditional only if the first clause ends in a rising intonation.

7.2.1 Parataxis

- Overt clause linkage markers (and, but, or) in coordinate sentence structures in parataxis
  I came and I saw and I conquered.
  Emily is training to be a speech therapist, and Joel works for a law firm in Philadelphia.
- Unstable and tend to be renewed frequently:
  - the development of *plus* for *and*

7.2.2 Hypotaxis

- Coordinated clauses are either presented as simple paratactic clauses, as in (9) and (10), or as a margin with a nucleus, as in (11).

(11) a. Koto o   nui-de   hanga ni kaketa.
    coat OBJ take: off-*de* hanger on hung
    'I took my coat off and hung it on a hanger.'
  b. Wain o   nomisugi-te   atama   ga   itai.
    wine OBJ drink:too:much-*te* headache SUBJ have
    'I drank too much wine and have a headache.'

- Usually only one of the clauses is a nucleus containing the full range of verbal markers for tense, aspect, mood, and so on.

7.2.2 Hypotaxis

- If the language is verb-final (OV), the fully marked verb is the last in the series.
- As for verb-initial African languages, the verb is the first in the series.
  - Often the verbal inflections in the chained clauses (margins) are restricted to carrying information about the participants, not temporality.

7.2.2 Hypotaxis

(12) Minaroga rmu-gana   baie.
    down:there go:down-MED:SW stay:3SG:NON-FUT
    'I went down there and he stayed ~ After/because I went down there, he stayed.'   (Haiman 1984: 68)

- In New Guinea languages, the interior verbs are suffixed with indicators of the person and number of the subject of the following verb but not for tense, aspect or mood.

7.2.2 Hypotaxis

- Appositional relatives in English are semantically and even syntactically equivalent, and even to coordinate clauses.
  - Bill Smith, who is our president, would like to meet with you.
  - Bill Smith would like to meet with you. By the way, he is our president.
  - Our president, Bill Smith, would like to meet with you.

7.2.2 Hypotaxis

- Appositive relatives can even carry their own illocutionary force. They can function as questions or imperatives within statements, but embedded clauses cannot do.

(14) Perutiles   Xenophontis libri sunt, quos legite   quaeso,
    highly-useful Xenophon's books are, which read-IMP/PL ask-1SG,
    studiose!
    studiously
    'Highly useful are Xenophon's books; please read them thoroughly.'
    (c. 40 BC, Cic.Cat.M.59; cited in C. Lehmann 1988: 194)

7.2.2 Hypotaxis

- Adverbial clauses: temporals ('when'-clauses), causals ('because'-clauses), conditional ('if'-clauses), and concessives ('although'-clauses)
- Compare (7) & (15)
  If you keep smoking those cigarettes, you're going to start coughing again.
- Traditional grammars:
  adverbial clauses ·· subordinate or embedded
- Matthiessen and Thompson (1998):
  the relationship of dependency   embedding
  ·· adverbial clauses ≠ subordinate or embedded

7.2.2 Hypotaxis

- Adverbial clauses show a continuum of looser-to-tighter integration, a continuum that correlates with their function.
  - The Knicks are going to win, because who on earth can stop Bernard? (with illocutionary force)
  - The Knicks are going to win because do they have the best players? (without illocutionary force)

7.2.3 Subordination

- Subordinate clauses are dependent on their matrix clauses in various ways:
  1. Same illocutionary force
  2. Equivalent to the constituents they express
  3. Interlaced in some way
  · I think the guy who just walked out of the store resembles the photo in the post-office window.
  · That the Titanic sank was unexpected.
    = the sinking of the Titanic (nominalization)
    = the disaster (NP)

7.2.3 Subordination

Latin:

- Subordination: the predicative adjective phrase *patria pulsum* is equivalent to a modifier of *Aristides*. However, in hypotactic construction, there is no relationship between the absolute clause and the verb.

7.3 The grammaticalization of clause linkers

- The historical development of connectives tends to be similar to that of other lexical items.
  - Clause linkage markers have their sources in nouns, verbs, adverbs, pronouns, case morphemes, derivational affixes, and in phrasal combinations of these.
  - on the basis, in terms of

7.3 The grammaticalization of clause linkers

- The recruitment to connective function of deictics and other demonstratives:
  - Deictics may be used for textual function involving clause reference in order to achieve overt linking of clauses.

(24) ...dja mi:n bu   ŋadman   gadbere gunwo:g garibi'bi:mbun,
     ...and not in:regard:to ourselves our   language we-write,

ŋunu gari'wagan
that we-don't:know

'... but we don't know at all how to write our own language'

7.3 The grammaticalization of clause linkers

- Clause linkage markers are in their origins presumably motivated by speakers' desire to be clear and informative, particularly to give directions to hearers for interpreting clauses in terms of their linguistic environment.
  1. to signal the functional relationship
  2. to mark syntactic boundaries
- Conditional connectives derive from: forms with modally related meanings, interrogatives, durative temporals, copula, topic markers

7.3 The grammaticalization of clause linkers

- Temporals > Conditionals (and causals) (not vice versa)
  - while
- Conditionals > Concessives
  even, any (anyhow)
  - This is an interesting, if complicated, solution.
- Concessive meanings develop late in the history of specific clause linkage markers partly because it is more abstract, and more complex logically.

7.3 The grammaticalization of clause linkers

* Sources which complementizers derive from
  1. Verbs of saying
  2. Nominal forms

7.3 The grammaticalization of clause linkers

From verb of saying

* The origins of 'say' as a complementizer can perhaps be understood from its constant use in discourse.

(26) Hoi de anthrōpoi ethaumasan légontes potamos estin houtos hoti
      the then men wondered saying what kind of is this that

kai hoi anemoi kai hē thalassa hupakouousin autō.
and the winds and the sea obey him

'And people were amazed, saying: "What kind of man is this, that the winds and the sea obey him?"'   (Matthew VIII, 27)

7.3 The grammaticalization of clause linkers

From nominal forms

* Complements are essentially clauses functioning as NPs.
  * Pronominal deictic *that* (in 7.4.1)
  * Prepositions or postpositions, including
  * prefixes and suffixes attached to a VP or nominalized form of the verb

(27) ənii-m ɔɔ-ɛ́ɔɔ-n saa-rɔ si tɔnɔwɔ ɛmɔ-nɔɔ-wɔɔ-s
      mother-my NEG-PAST-3SG know-(?) you yesterday come-PART-ACC-2SG
      'My mother doesn't know that you arrived yesterday.' (Comrie 1981: 83)

7.3 The grammaticalization of clause linkers

From nominal forms
  * He left without telling the guide.
  * He left without his compass.
  * We want to ask you a few questions.
  * We handed the box to the officer.
* In (29a), to functions as the object of some complement-taking verbs, but in allative proposition, to may not seem obvious.

7.3 The grammaticalization of clause linkers

From nominal forms
* French *à* in (31) has its origins in the Latin proposition *ad* 'to', which when construed with a verb required the verb to be in the nominalized form known as the "gerund".

(31) La musique contribuait à épaissir l'atmosphère.
      the music contribute-IMPF to thicken-INF the atmosphere
      'The music contributed to thickening the atmosphere.'

7.3 The grammaticalization of clause linkers

From nominal forms
* In Latin, the infinitive *vivere* and the gerund *vivendum* could be formed; However, in late Latin, *ad* was already being construed with the infinitive.

(32) Ad beate vivendum virtute opus est.
      to blessedly live-GER courage-ABL need is
      'To live blessedly there is need of courage.'

(33) Quomodo potest hic nobis carnem dare ad
      how can this-MASC/NOM us-DAT meat-ACC give-INF to
      manducare?
      eat-INF
      'How can this man give us meat to eat?'

7.3 The grammaticalization of clause linkers

From nominal forms
* The pointing forward of the allative-dative to the goal is inevitaly linked to the "forwardness in time" of the complement of *want*.
    want to V
* Most verbs expressing commands, requests, expectations, wishes, etc. have as part of their semantics a goal.

7.3 The grammaticalization of clause linkers

From nominal forms
* Evidence from the history of English *to*
* The nominalized noun was in OE the infinitive.

(34) ne ðe nan neodþearf ne lærde to wyrcanne ðæt ðæt þu
      nor you: DAT no need not taught to perform that that you
      worhtest
      performed
      'nor did any necessity teach you to perform what you performed.'

Grammaticalization

Chian-Tang Su

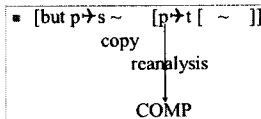## 7.4.1 That-complementation in English

- Objcets

  (36) Bill thought that John had left.

- Subject

  (37) a. It was obvious that John had left.
  b. That John had left was obvious.

OE *p @t* :1. ProN oringin
2. Hypotatic constructure

7.4.1 That-complementation in English

(38) Da   on morgenne þeliordun þæt \ þæs   cyninges þegnas
whan/then in morning heard-PL DEM DEM:GEN king's   thanes
þe him beæftan wærun/ þæt þæ cyning ofslægen wæs, þa ridon
who him behind were   COMP the king slain   was then rode
hie þider.
they thither

(39) Then in the morning the king's thanes heard this
(these thanes had been left behind earlier)
that the king had been slain.
Then they rode up there.

- 1. ProN origin
- 2. Hypotatic constructure

7.4.1 That-complementation in English

(42) And þæs   us   ne scamað na,   ac þæs   us
And DEM:GEN we:ACC not shames never, but DEM:GEN we:ACC
scamað swyþe þæt we bote   aginnan swa swa bec   tæcan
shames much COMP we atonement begin so as books teach
'And we are not at all ashamed of that, but we are ashamed of this: of beginning
atonement in the way that the books teach.'   (c. 1010, WHom 20.3 160)

- [but p→s ~ [p→t [~]]

  copy

  reanalysis

  COMP

7.4.1 That-complementation in English

(43) ...þohte [gif he hi   ealle ofsloge,   ] þæt [se an ac
...thought [if he them all slew-SUBJUNCT,] that [that one not
ætberste   þe he sohte.]]
escape-SUBJUNCT that he sought]]
'...thought that if he slew them all, the one he sought would not escape.'
(c. 1000, ÆCHom I 5 82.10)

(a) The clause introduced by þæt is dependent and not appositive, since
it is in the subjunctive, the "irrealis" mood required by the verb þohte
'thought.'

(b) The complementizer is clearly no longer a pronoun. If it were, one would
expect it to precede the if-clause that depends on þohte.

7.4.1 That-complementation in English

(41) Dyslic bið þæt hwa   woruldlice speda fothogie for manna herunge.
foolish is COMP someone worldly   goods despise for men's praise
'It is foolish to despise worldly goods in order to win the praise of men.'
(c. 1000, ÆCHom I, 4 60.32)

(46) þæt þe þre kingis camen so fer bitokeneþ Cristis lordship.
'That the three kings came so far signifies Christ's lordship.'
(c. 1400, Wycliffe, WSerE I, 341.28; cited in Warner 1982: 23)

- 1.heavy constituent constraint
- 2.The crucial evidence:
  the presence of complements in subject position

7.4.2 Quotative say-constructions in Akkadian

- "Quotatives in which someone else' s speech is reported", qrose out of simple juxtaposition of 'X say/said "quotation" .

- Akkadian: parataxis > hypotaxis

(47) qabbi atta ward-am tadām-ma.
he:says you slave-ACC you:bought-P
'He says: "you bought the slave."'   (Deutscher 2000: 68)

(48) emma Naräm-Sin dann-um šar   kibrä-im   arba'-im.
emma Naräm-Sin strong-NOM king:of corner-GEN four-GEN
'This is what Naräm-Sin the strong, king of the four corners (of the earth),
said "..."'   (Deutscher 2000: 69, citing Gelb and Kienast 1990)

- emma X-ma → umma X-ma

7.4.2 Quotative say-constructions in Akkadian

(49) umma šū-ma 4 laḫrātim ilauz iqbi.
umma he-P   4 ewes:ACC I:took he:said.
'He said: "I took four ewes" he said.'   (Deutscher 2000: 74)

(50) eql-a   ša PN₁ ...ana PN₂ ittadin, umma bēl-ka iqbi.
field-ACC of PN₁ ...to PN₂ he:gave emma lord-you said:to:me
'He gave the field of PN₁ to PN₂ saying "Your lord ordered me (to do it)."'
(Deutscher 2000: 81)

(51) gabbi iptalḫū umma ana qātē kalbāni mušsurāni.
all   they:feared umma to hands:of dogs we:are:delivered
'They all feared: "We are delivered to the dogs."'   (Deutscher 2000: 83)

- Bleaching: [[umma Quote] X-said]
- Divergence: 1引介獨立從句
  2強制性成分+speech context

7.4.3 Relative clauses in English and Hittite

- Discourse strategies
- Hypotaxis > subordination
- Srel: relative clause
  NPrel: the NP in Srel that confers to another NP
       in the matrix.
- The woman [Srel whom you met]
- The woman [you met [the woman] NPrel] Srel] just left

7.4.3 Relative clauses in English and Hittite

- [Main clause], [Adjunct clause]: parataxis
       Topicalized
- [Main [Adjunct clause] clause] : hypotaxis
       Embedded
- [Main [depended clause] clause]: subordination

7.4.3 Relative clauses in English and Hittite

- English

52) & þa men comon on East Engle (þe on þæm ahum scipe)
    und the men came to East Anglia (SUB) on that one ship
    wæron swiðe forwundode.
    were very wounded
    'and the men who were on that sole (surviving) ship came to East Anglia
    severely wounded.'   (ChronA [Plummer] 897.51; cited in O'Neil 1977: 200)

55) Ure ieldran þa þe þas stowa ær hioldon, hie lufodon
    our forebears those SUB these places previously held, they loved
    wisdom.
    wisdom
    'Our forebears who previously possessed these places, they loved wisdom.'
                    (c. 880, CP LetWærf 31; cited in O'Neil 1977: 202)

7.4.3 Relative clauses in English and Hittite

55) Ure ieldran þa þe þas stowa ær hioldon, hie lufodon
    our forebears those SUB these places previously held, they loved
    wisdom.
    wisdom
    'Our forebears who previously possessed these places, they loved wisdom.'
                    (c. 880, CP LetWærf 31; cited in O'Neil 1977: 202)

56) Thilke penance that is solempne is in two maneres.
    'The penance that is ceremonial is of two kinds.'
                    (c. 1390? Chaucer, CT, Parson's Tale, 106)

- We shouldn't assume that embedding is a necessary endpoint of relativization. Embedding of relatives, as of complements, is a language-specific phenomenon, and of variable strength in any one language.

7.4.3 Relative clauses in English and Hittite

- Hittite(Postnominal)

58) "TamnaSSun-a huiwantan ISBATU 1-an
    Tamnass-ACC alive-ACC they:seized PARTICLE-him
    "HattuSa uwater.
    city:H.:DIRECTIONAL brought:3SG
    'TamnaSSu (whom) they seized alive, he brought to HattuSa.'
                    (Justus 1976: 234)

57) nu U-NU-TUM kuit ku-e-da-ni pé-eS-ki-it na-at Ú-UL
    and utensil REL-INDEF to-someone he-gave and-it not
    Si-i-e(l)-eS-ki-it.
    he-sealed
    'and the utensil which he gave to someone, he did not properly seal it.'
                    (Held 1957: 43)

- Tamil(Prenominal)

59) Anda paaDattai paDitta paiyaNai kuppiDu.
    that lesson:ACC learn:PARTI boy:ACC call:IMP
    'Call the boy that learned that lesson.'   (Klaiman 1976: 160)

7.4.3 Relative clauses in English and Hittite

- NPrel can be marked by three types of relativizer:
1. Personal ProN: place markers
2. Relative ProN: demonstrative,
            interrogative,
            indefinite ProN
3. Uninrlected relativizers: demonstrative ProN
- Grammaticalized scale:
Zero or gapping > Uninrlected relativizers> Relative ProN
   >Personal ProN
- Keenan-Comrie Accessibility Hierachy

subject > direct object > indirect object > non-direct object > possessor

7.4.3 Relative clauses in English and Hittite

Indirectional Object
1. The woman I took the money from [the woman (NPrel)].
Directional Object
2. The woman I saw [the woman (NPel)].
Subject
3. The woman that [the woman (NPrel)] left.

- Accessibility Hierachy *directly reflects the psychological ease of comprehension.* The accessibility of highly grammticalized forms of NPrel is a function of the tendency to integrate relationships that are frequently established, and that functions on the left of the hierachy are frequently estalished because they are natrual discourse collocations.

7.5.1 From complex to simple clauses

66) Khos las=ka byas-byai zas -pa red
    he:ERG work did-NF ate PERF
    'He worked and ate/having worked, he ate.'   (DeLancey 1991: 9)

67) a. Kho 'dir gom=pa brgyab (-byas) yongs- pa red
       he here:LOC walked (NF) came PERF
       'He walked here.' (not "He walked here and came.')

- Cooccur with non-final markers
→full verb
- Delete non-final markers
→non-full verbs (serialized verbs: perfect)

7.5.1 From complex to simple clauses

(68) a. Kho phyin-byas (shar) -ba red.
he went-NF finish PERF
'He went and finished it.' (main verb)
b. Kho phyin (shar) -ba red.
he went finish PERF
'He has gone.' (serialized form, without NF marker)
c. Nga krom-la phyin-tshar.
I market-LOC went-PERF
'I've gone to the store.' (affix) (DeLancey 1991: 10–11)

- potaxis in clause chaining

the complete dependency of inflectional bonding.

- The Lhasa changes reflect two phenomena:
1. An erstwhile non-temporal main verb with a dependent verb has acuireed temporal meaning.
2. The relationship between the orignal main verb and the dependent verb has changed such that the depedent verb has became the main verb or head of the construction.

7.5.2 Two conjoined clauses reanalyzed as a single clause

- Stage I: lexical Verb> auxiliary

(69) [Han [ligger] og [kører] rundt hele natten
he lies and drives round whole night:DEF
'He has been driving all night long'
(Braunmüller 1991: 103; cited in Kuteva 2000: 46)

- Stage II: lexical Verb> auxiliary

(70) De steden staen dagelicx ende vervallen.
The cities stand daily and go:to:ruin
'The cities are falling to ruin from day to day.' (Kuteva 2000: 69)

- Stage III: the adverbial expression must appear outside the two-verb conjunct

(71) Trionka leži i rildjasva in mazeto.
saw:DEF lie and get.rusty in.cellar
'The saw is getting rusty in the cellar.' (Kuteva 2000: 70)

7.5.3 From main clause construction to sentential adverb in contemporary English

- Think

(72) a. I think that the coup was planned by the CIA.
b. Do you think that the coup was planned by the CIA?
(73) a. I think Commander Dalgleish writes poetry.
b. Commander Dalgleish writes poetry, I think.
(74) What's the point of that, do you think? (Thompson and Mulac 1991: 322)

	– that	+ that	Total
think	622 (91%)	61 (9%)	683
guess	148 (99%)	2 (1%)	150
other	342 (75%)	112 (25%)	456

7.6 Some counterexamples to unidirectionlity in clause combining

(76) Taro-wa (wakai-ga,) yoku yar-u(-yo).
Taro-TOP young-ga well do-PRES(-yo)
'Although Taro is young, he does a good job.' (Matsumoto 1988: 340)
(75) Taro-wa wakai(-yo)(Ga,) yoku yar-u(-yo).
Taro-TOP young(-yo) but well do-PRES(-yo)
'Taro is young. But he does a good job.' (Matsumoto 1988: 340)

- Dependent> Independent

7.7 Conclusion

In this chapter we have shown how complex clause structure can be modified over time. Typically the shift, as at the morphological level discussed in Chapter 6, is from less to more bonded. The final outcome of this increase in unification may be the development of simple clauses out of complex structures, with an original verbal construction coming to be downgraded into auxiliary-like status, or into adverbial status.

語言演變的究竟--語法化經典研讀

100 年 1 月 14 日 [第 8 次活動記錄]

研讀書目：Hopper, Paul J. and Elizabeth Closs Traugott. 2003. *Grammaticalization* (2nd edition). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [Ch 8. Grammaticalization in situations of extreme language contact, 212-230]

主 讀 人：劉秀雪

導讀摘要

　　第八次的經典研讀活動，由劉秀雪老師主讀，主讀的主題為「語言接觸下的語法化」，以下為導讀大網。

1. 簡介。
2. 洋涇濱語(pidgins)和克里奧爾(creoles)的基本特徵。
3. 洋涇濱語和克里奧爾對語言演變的啓示。
4. 洋涇濱語和克里奧爾對於語法化的具體啓示。

活動剪影

主讀人劉秀雪老師導讀《語法化》－語言接觸下的語法化

讀書會討論情形　　　　　　　　　　　參與活動情形

簡報資料

Ch.8 Grammaticalization
Hopper & Traugott 2003:212-230

GRAMMATICALIZATION IN SITUATIONS OF EXTREME LANGUAGE CONTACT

1

8.1 INTRODUCTION

✘ Most of the work on grammaticalization was conducted with a relatively monogenetic view of change
  + Based on comparative linguistics and generative linguistic
✘ Do studies of contact situations raise special issues regarding grammaticalization? (Heine & Kuteva 2002
  1. Ignore contact situations that entail only partial external influence on subparts of a linguistic system
    ✘ e.g. borrowing, typically only the lexicon influenced
    ✘ Mendi Aleut is an exception, which borrowed morphological paradigm of finite verb from Russian

2

8.1 INTRODUCTIONYUYD

  + English has borrowed lexical items extensively
    ✘ Scandinavian (e.g. give), French (e.g. table), Latin and many other languages
    ✘ Massive borrowing of French words → stress alternation: real—reality—realistic
    ✘ Little radical syntactic or morphological change resulted from contact
  2. Ignore language admixture across a wide area
    ✘ E.g. The Balkan and the Dravidian languages
  + A look at 'pidgins' and 'creoles'
    ✘ Languages that evidenced extensive influence of two or more language on each language

3

8.1 INTRODUCTIONYUYD

✘ Pidgins and creoles provide insights into
  + How to conceptualize the progression of grammaticalization across languages and time
✘ The study of pidgins and creoles
  + important to historical linguistics: relatively recent in origin (3-4 centuries at most)
  + Challenging many basic assumptions about homogeneity and the role of adults and children in language change

4

8.1 INTRODUCTIONYUYD

✘ 語言演變可分為內在與外在因素
  ✘ Internal changes associated with child language acquisition in a homogeneous speech community, external changes with contact
  ✘ Mind/brain and grammar vs. social interaction and use
✘ The realities of language change
  + Structure and use, cognitive and social factors continually interact
  + Speakers' mutual accommodations can draw materials from either the same linguistic system or separate ones

5

8.2 BASIC CHARACTERISTICS OF PIDGIN AND CREOLES

✘ Pidgin: non-native contact language
  + Social situation: major class distinction, numerical disparities between these classes 奴隸與地主
  + Simple grammatical structure
✘ Creole: typically a native language
  + More complex than the related pidgin
  + Basically "simpler" than other types of languages, depending on its social function and longevity
✘ The emergence of Pidgins and creoles
  + Several unintelligible languages are involved
  + One is socially and politically prestigious standard

6

8.2.1 SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF PIDGINS

✘ Lexicon of pidgins is mixed,
  + but predominantly derived from the superstrate language (= lexifier language)
  + Jargon/minimal pidgin used in limited domains > more complex pidgin used in a wide variety of linguistic contexts West African Pidgin English > extended Pidgins used as lingua franca
✘ Jargons and minimal pidgins
  + Slow speech, only minimal morphology ←speakers' unfamiliarity with the language
  + Other pidgins are spoken more rapidly, with more complex structure

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8.2.1 SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF PIDGINS

(i)   a lexicon comprised largely of the two major categories N and V
(ii) 詞庫中缺少構詞規則
(iii) periphrasis (e.g., *haus sik* 'hospital,' *gras bilong pisin* 'feather,' literally 'grass of bird')
(iv) temporal, aspectual, and modal expressions expressed by adverbs or particles (e.g., *baimbai* (< *by and by*) 'later, future,' *pinis* (<*finish*) 'finished, completed, past,' *atink* (< *I think*) 'maybe'; no consistent means of expressing tense, aspect, or modality
(v)   absence of inflection and allomorphy
(vi) absence of clefting, topicalization, etc., largely resulting from absence of fixed word order
(vii) absence of embedding
(viii) absence of stylistic variants

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8.2.1 SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF PIDGINS

When time up I go to boss and say you take old woman back now. He get verra mad, and make me pay all up. Marie, he good woman, but talk, talk all time, make me mad then pilikia again.
'When the time was up I went to my boss and said "Take the old woman back now." He got very mad, and made me pay everything up. Mary, she was a good woman, but she talked and talked and talked all the time, and made me mad. Then there was trouble again.'   (S. Roberts 1998: 16, citing Vergne 1898: 106)

19世紀 Hawaiin Pidgin English, a lighthouse keeper:

Pidgin features observable here include (i) SVO order of constituents (When time up I go to boss), (ii) aspect-marking by repetition and adverbial (talk, talk all time), (iii) absence of articles and other determiners (to boss), (iv) absence of gender distinction, (v) absence of copula (absence of a be-verb) ((iii)–(v) are illustrated by he good woman); there is also language mix, as pilikia 'trouble' is Hawaiian.

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8.2.1 SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF PIDGINS

× As pidgins stabilized and are extended to new uses, they acquire more extensive morphology
+ Predicate marker, aspectual particles, and some hypotactic structures → (2) West African Pidgin English

Hypotaxis, introduce purpose clause :

Sens-pas-king   i   bin   gow,   i   mas-fut   fo rowt, waka
Sense-pass-king PM PAST go,   PM makes-foot for road, walks
trong   fo   hil,   sowtey i   rish   fo king i   tong.
vigorously up-and-down hills, so-that PM reaches at king his palace
King i   tok sey, yu don   kom. Meyk yu klin ma het.
king PM talk say, you COMPL come. make you clean my head.
Biabia i   don   plenti tumos   fo ma het. Sens-pas-king
hair   PM COMPL grow too-much for my head. Sense-pass-king
i bin don   gri   sey,   i   go bap   king i   het.
he PAST COMPL agree say/COMP PM go barber king his head

Indirect, 3rd person quotation

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8.2.2 SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF CREOLES

× Creoles are more complex, especially syntactically.
+ They may be relatively similar to extended pidgins like West African Pidgin English

(i) Articles: a distinction is made

a. Mi bai di buk.   **3a, definite referential**
'I bought the book (that you already know about).'
b. Mi bai wan buk.   **3b, indefinite referential**
'I bought a (particular) book.'
c. Mi bai buk.   **3c, indefinite non-referential**
'I bought a book (or books).' (Even the speaker does not know/remember specifically which book[s])   (Guyanese Creole; Bickerton 1977: 58)

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8.2.2 SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF CREOLES

(ii) Tense–modality–aspect (TMA) systems: periphrastic expressions

a. Mi bu-o-tá-nján   di fisi.
   I ANTERIOR-IRREALIS-NONPUNCTUAL-eat the fish
   'I would have been eating the fish.'
b. Ineni bi   ske   xa   tabaya.
   They ANTERIOR IRREALIS NONPUNCTUAL work
   'They would have been working.'   (Thomason 2001: 174)

雖然Creoles有很多這類現象，但把這說成是Creole的典型或特性，都是過於簡化的說法。
Plag (1994) & Winford (2000) argue that TMA systems in creoles can only be fully understood if they are analyzed 1) in terms of universal cross-linguistic categories, and 2) in terms of their discourse functions in narrative and other discourse genres, rather than in terms of features

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8.2.2 SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF CREOLES

(iii) A distinction is made between realized (–irrealis) complementation

a. Il   desid   al   met posohladah
   She decided al put fish-in-it
   'she decided go put fish in-it' [inference: she did what she decided to do]   pu = pou, for
b. Li ti   pe ale aswar   pu al bril lakaz sa   al = aller, go
   he TNS M go one-evening pu al burn house that   pu al = irrealis
   garsoh-la me lorsime ban dayin fin   aike li.
   Boy-the but on path PL witch COMPL attack him
   'He would have gone that evening to burn the boy's house, but on the way he was attacked by witches.'
                              (Mauritian Creole; Bickerton 1981: 60–1, citing Baker 1972)

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8.2.2 SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF CREOLES

(iv) Multiple negation: in negative sentences

mi neva sii notn   in dat bilin.
I   never see nothing in that building
'I never saw anything in that building.'

(v) Clause dependency, especially relativization:

mi witnis da wid mi ai   wo gaad gi mi... dii kozn
I witness that with my eyes that God give me... the cousin
wo swiit   na waan fu gu.
that intoxicated not want to go
'I witnessed that with my own eyes which God gave me... the cousin who wa intoxicated did not want to go.'   (Guyanese Creole: Rickford 1987: 15

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8.2.2 SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF CREOLES

Complements also occurs. In Sranan, 3 possible complementizers with partially distribution:
Pieter taigi en pikin taki/dati/fu a sa   opo na doro.
Peter told his child that   he IRREALIS open the door
'Peter told his child to open the door.'   (Sranan Creole; Plag 1993: 101)
taki =talk, dati = that (Dutch, complementizer + pronominal function)
fu = for (preferred for unrealized events)

(vi) Focusing by leftward movement:

Enikain laengwij ai no kaen spik gud.
any-kind language I not can speak well
'There's no kind of language that I can speak well.

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8.2.2 SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF CREOLES

× Like pidgins, creoles show a range of elaboration
+ Basilects (varieties furthest from the standard) > ......> acrolects (varieties close to the standard)

× Assumption: Basilect is closest to the original
+ Unidimensional continua are not supported by evidence from creole communities
+ Basilect may not represent the original state of the language, but the outcome of symbolic practices
   × 出自和decreolization相反的動力，追求自己的identities

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8.3 IMPLICATIONS OF PIDGINS AND CREOLES FOR ~~LANGUAGE CHANGE~~

✗ Two issues related to language change and creoles
1. child versus adult language acquisition
2. Simplification and elaboration
   - ✗ DeGraff on elaboration in creoles
   - ✗ McWhorter 2001 on creoles 'simple grammars'

✗ 8.3.1 Child versus adult language acquisition
   + The generative position: language change is a change in mind/brain states (principles and parameters)
     - ✗ In this analysis, children are the only possible initiators of reanalysis

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8.3.1 CHILD V.S. ADULT LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

✗ Bickerton (1975, 1984) 's Hypothesis
   - ✗ working on Guyanese Creole and Hawaiian Creole, both developed in plantation situations
   + The pidgin speakers' disconnection from their countries and communities + fleeting access to the linguistic repertoires of superstrate language speakers
   + Their children grew up in the absence of viable native language models → rapidly developed creoles

creoles provide privileged evidence for a "bioprogram" or innate human-specific neurological disposition that permits children who have no extensive consistent language input to create a new language out of the bits and pieces of degenerate input they encounter.

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8.3.1 CHILD V.S. ADULT LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

In an early characterization of the bioprogram, Bickerton (1981: 212)

(i)	specific/non-specific	Later version:
(ii)	state/process	Syntactic characteristics of a limited
(iii)	punctual/nonpunctual	simple clause (no case marker, no
(iv)	causative/non-causative	preposition) , And Zero copula

a. Dei gon get naif pok you.
   they go   get knife poke you   serial verbs
   'They will stab you with a knife.'

b. Dee o-tei   faka tjoko unu
   they MODAL-take knife stab you:PL
   'They will stab you with a knife.'

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8.3.1 CHILD V.S. ADULT LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

✗ Bickerton's stronger hypothesis (1988:272)
   + There is a single set of universal syntactic principles, which do not undergo any form of variation, parametric or other
✗ According to this theory
   + All variation is a function of acquisition of lexical items and of processes acting on them
   + The bioprogram is hypothesized to be neurologically more restricted than UG, but has much in common
✗ Possible example of the operation of the bioprogram
   + Surinam in 18th Century: After a revolution the slaves dispersed into the bush and developed **Saramaccan Creole** independent of any access to native languages or to a local creole

Singler (1992) and McWhorter (2000a) challenged the claim that Saramaccan

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8.3.1 CHILD V.S. ADULT LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

✗ Singler (1992), McWhorter (2000a)
   + Saramaccan Creole had its origins in a Portuguese pidgin, mixed with Sranan Creole
   + If a local creole model did exist → *bioprogram
✗ Another possible example of Bioprogram
   + Hawai'i in late 19th Century,
     - ✗ where many mutually unintelligible languages were spoken, no preexisting language in common
   + 證據取自當時70-90歲的Hawaiian Creole speakers
     - ✗ 要支持Bioprogram的話，必須假設The speech of individuals does not change appreciably after adulthood is reached; 同時假設他們父母(中、日)和原生語言隔絕

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8.3.1 CHILD V.S. ADULT LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

   + 雖然以Bioprogram來說明creole的一些特質很引人，無充分證據顯示這些creoles必是經由bioprogram運作而來

✗ Bickerton proposed that the bioprogram is evidenced most especially in plantation situations
   + Work conditions were stressful, minimal access to native language use
   + 有沒有小孩子接觸到這樣的語境？→creole

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8.3.1 CHILD V.S. ADULT LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

✗ S.Roberts (1998, 2001a,b)
   + Locally born speakers $_{innovation}$ vs. foreign born speakers
   + 2nd-generation locally born child who contributed most to the development of the creole
   + No evidence in Hawai'i for catastrophic discontinuous change between pidgin and creole
✗ S.Roberts (2001a)
   + English creole innovations may have developed among older children in school settings, and among young adults.

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8.3.1 CHILD V.S. ADULT LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

✗ Tok Pisin, English-related creole in New Guinea
   + The locus of innovation was found to be adults
   + Creolization was found to be a function of second language acquisition, Tok Pisin =跨族群的lingua franca
✗ The studies revealed that
   + adults were developing a nativized, creole version of the language, and extensive grammaticalization accompanied this development,
   + e.g. the emergence of relative clause, cliticiztion, and phonological reduction
✗ language change is attributable primarily to very small children?

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8.3.2 SIMPLIFICATION AND ELABORATION

- ✗ Another generative claim;
  - + Structural simplification or "optimization" is the natural and indeed expected result of child language acquisition
  - + If so, why creoles are more complex that pidgins
- ✗ Pidgin simplification vs. creole elaboration
  - + Pidginization ≠ simplification
  - + It is still an active debate on whether pidgin were developed primarily by substrate or superstrate speakers (所以，說是簡化要比對哪種語言?)
  - + 標準語比一般口語複雜，Pidgin 形成自口語，和標準語比當然相對簡單，但和一般口語比呢？

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8.3.2 SIMPLIFICATION AND ELABORATION

(11) Ma femme〔ll〕 —est venu.
my wife AGR has come
'My wife has arrived.'

Lambrecht 1981, features of non-standard French

Agreement markers, not gender

(12) Il-attend devant la porte, le garçon.
AGR-wait before the door, the boy
'The boy is waiting in front of the door.'

Anti-topic (postposed topic)

(13) Le garçon attend devant la porte.
the boy waits before the door

Standard French Sbj –Verb

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8.4 SPECIFIC IMPLICATIONS OF P&C FOR GRAMMATICALIZATION

- ✗ The assumptions matter
  - + who innovates?
  - + How discontinuous the innovation is from structures available in the languages that contribute to the language mix?
- ✗ assumption1:
  - + creole genesis represents a radical discontinuity from the donor language → grammaticalization takes place extensively in the creoles
- ✗ Assumption2:
  - + Te lexifier is the major donor → grammaticalization is directly of the cognate form or construction in the lexifier.

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8.4 SPECIFIC IMPLICATIONS OF P&C FOR GRAMMATICALIZATION

The approach assuming that innovations start in the creole, or in the transition from the pidgin to the creole, can be illustrated by the pioneering work of Sankoff and Brown (1976) on the development of relative clauses in Tok Pisin. The authors

(14) Meri ia [em i yangpela meri, draipela meri ia], em harim istap
Girl ia [she PM young girl, big girl ia] she listen-QM was
'This girl, who was a young girl, big girl, was listening.'

A bracket of syntactic slot

(15) Em liklik barata ia [mi tok ia]
He younger brother ia [I talk ia]
'It's the younger brother I'm talking about.'

Derived from here, not used in 1910s, widely used in 1940, 50s

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8.4 SPECIFIC IMPLICATIONS OF P&C FOR GRAMMATICALIZATION

(16) a. Ol tok klostu bai wanem ren pundaun nau.
they talk close FUT which rain fall now
'They said it was about to rain now.'

b. Em tok ol masalai klostu kilim mi.
he say PL spirit nearly killed me
'He said that the spirits nearly killed him.'

(Romaine 1999: 337)

Competition between klostu & like 'almost, nearly, be about to'

(17) Machine he laik die.
'The machine is about to die.'

Source meaning determine the semantic path grams can travel.
Klostu: both later or earlier time expressions
Laik (後起): immediate future context (←want)

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8.4 SPECIFIC IMPLICATIONS OF P&C FOR GRAMMATICALIZATION

- + Stable pidgins and creoles have the grammar of the subordinate languages and the lexicon of the lexifier language
- ✗ Keesing (1988, 1991) Vanuatu and Solomons Pijin
  - + provide good insight into the relationship between pidgin and the donor languages
  - + 與superstrate & substrate語言持續接觸，和加勒比海的農場奴隸pidgin的形成不同

shows that many features of the pidgins can be attributed to the Eastern Oceanic Austronesian languages of the area calqued into a lexicon and morphology that looks like English: "from the 1840's onward, Islanders took the lexical resources of English and nautical jargon and progressively hammered them into grammatical designs common, at an abstract level, to their native languages" (Keesing 1991:

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8.4 SPECIFIC IMPLICATIONS OF P&C FOR GRAMMATICALIZATION

(18) Ori-si-a mai hither
ask-TRANS-it hither
'Ask about it.'

Kwaio 語

Eastern Oceanic languages typically use deictics meaning 'hither'

(19) Ask-em kam
ask-OBJ come
'Ask about it.'

Kwaio 人使用的 Solomons Pijin

An Eastern Oceanic Austronesian form is translated into a semantically roughly equivalent form in English, but serve the grammatical purpose of the Eastern Oceanic Austronesian form

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8.4 SPECIFIC IMPLICATIONS OF P&C FOR GRAMMATICALIZATION

- ✗ Creolization can be regarded as a special kind of contact-induced language change, occurring under very special social circumstances
- ✗ The study of these languages challenges the assumptions
  - + grammaticalization occurs in situations of relatively continuous transmission from one speaker to another, and one community to another.
- ✗ Just as 'do' underwent different developments in different dialects in English, so particular form-meaning pairs may develop in different ways and at different rates in different creole situations
- ✗ Multiple and single sources of input to grammaticalization

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語言演變的究竟--語法化經典研讀

100 年 1 月 14 日 [第 9 次活動記錄]

研讀書目：Brinton, Laurel J., and Elizabeth C. Traugott. 2005. *Lexicalization and language change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [Ch 2-4]

主　讀　人：鄭縈

導讀摘要

　　第九次的經典研讀活動，由鄭縈老師主讀，主讀的書籍為《詞彙化與語法化的關係》的第 2 章為「Lexicalization: definitions and viewpoints」，第 3 章為「Views on the relation of lexicalization to grammaticalization」至第 4 章為「Toward an integrated approach to lexicalization and grammaticalization」。鄭縈老師很快的從第 2 章的詞彙定義及其觀點做介紹，說明詞彙的構成方式及過程，複合、衍生、轉類、簡縮、反向構詞、略語等，做了簡單說明，接下來的第 3 章提到詞彙化與語法化的聯繫，詞彙化與語法化如歷史的過程，第 4 章進一步的整體來看詞彙化與語法化之間的比對整理，作者把詞彙化與語法化之間相對應的結果做成表格呈現其不同之處。

活動剪影

主讀人鄭縈老師導讀《詞彙化與語言變遷》

讀書會討論情形　　　　　　　　　　參與活動情形

Ch2. Lexicalization: definitions and viewpoints

Brinton, L. J. and E. C. Traugott
2005 Lexicalization and language change, Cambridge University Press
鄭縈2011/01/14

- 2.0 Introduction
- 2.1 Ordinary process of word formation
- 2.2 Institutionalization
- 2.3 Lexicalization as fusion
- 2.4 Lexicalization as increase in autonomy
- 2.5 Conclusion

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Introduction

- Lexicalization定義
- a. Ordinary process of word formation (構詞)
  - →dynamic process
- b. process of fusion resulting in a decrease in autonomy in compositionality(融合)
- c. process of separation resulting in an increase in autonomy
  - b,c →change

- Principle of compositionality – the meaning of ···expressions (in particular sentences) can be reconstructed from the meanings of their individual elements and their syntactic relationship to one another.
- 兩種研究方向：
- Beginning: Moving away from syntax and productive rules
- Endpoint : a process that leads from something that is not a (or one) lexeme to a lexeme, i.e. to something that 'belongs in the lexicon'

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2.1 Ordinary process of word formation

- Traditionally lexicalization refers to routine processes of word formation

- 1.複合(compounding)：ice-cream
- 2.衍生(derivation) ： purely semantic/lexical type (e.g. un-happy) and those related to grammatical meaning (V-er)
- 3.轉類(conversion)或功能轉移(Functional shift)： can(N -> V), off adv→v (degrammaticalization), during 分詞→介詞 (transcategorization or recategorization, 因為這些詞進入a restricted category, 即adposition)

- 4.簡縮(clipping and ellipsis)：exam(ination), ex, sci fi (science fiction, 詞組的簡縮為 ellipsis)
- 5.融合(Blending, the fusing of words into a single lexeme)：br+unch, blog=web+log
- 6.反向構詞(back-formation)：V+er -> N, editor -> edit+or, televise
- 7.略語(Acronym, initialism)：Laser, AIDS; TV

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- 8.借詞(loan translation, calquing): calques – which are often compounds or idioms, are literal (morpheme by morpheme) translation of terms from another language麥當勞, 熱狗
- 9.coinage or root creation–the invention of a new root, 如Kodak
- 10. metalingusitic citation – a speaker's ability to pick any piece of linguistic material and make it into a word, e.g. There are two e's in my name.

2.2 Institutionalization

- Q: How does a new form innovated on the basis of word formation rules come to be conventionalized as part of the accepted vocabulary of a community?
- A:Institutionalization
- Institutionalization refers to the spread of a usage to a community and its establishment as the norm. It is "the integration of a lexical item, with a particular form and meaning, into the existing stock of words as a generally acceptable and current lexeme.

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2.3 Lexicalization as fusion

- NONCE FORMATION > Institutionalization > lexicalization
- Institutionalization – coding of meaning有三個階段(Quirk et al. 1985)
  - a. the entity/activity/quality is unfamiliar
  - b. There is some discussion of and familiarization with the notion
  - c. widely accepted as viable
- → a. Sentence or periphrasis
- b. nominalization
- c. word

- 共時觀點
  - 把Lexicalization 視為 fusion(or conflation, coding) – 即meaning is kept constant and the expression changes, e.g. causative的表示方式：phrasally (make red), derivationally (redden), monomorphemically (brown)，後二者就是fusion 的結果
- 歷時觀點
  - tracing the development of a form from a more complex to a simpler sequence

- 2.3.1 syntagm > lexeme (fusion of phrasal, syntagmatic constructions, e.g. handicap < hand in the cap)
- 2.3.2 complex > simple lexeme (fusion that involves word formation , e.g. Hus 'house' + bondi -> husband)

- 2.3.3 demorphologization and phonogenesis
- Demorphologization – a morpheme loses (most of) its grammatical-semantic contribution to the word and becomes an indistinguishable part of the construction of the word, while retaining part of its original phonological substance.
- Phonogenesis– the process whereby new syntagmatic phonological segments are created out of old morphemes (phonological developments)
- → all + one > alone

- 2.3.4 idiomaticization and demotivation
- Idiomaticization 與routinization 有關，導致univerbation, compacting, obliteration of boundaries, and simplification.
- Idiom主要有下列三個特徵：(cf. 連2000)
- a. semantic opacity or noncompositionality
- b. grammatical deficiency
- c. lack of substitutability
- Demotivation
- some primarily semantic and pragmatic viewpoints on fusion
- semantic lexicalization, which are morphologically transparent but semantically opaque, e.g. widow's weeds(雜草) 'clothes'

2.4 Lexicalization as increase in autonomy

- Cliticization – when an independent item comes to form a phonological unit with the constituent , e.g. she'll
- Decliticization – when clitics "emerge, or re-emerge, as independent words", e.g. emphatic *ep* in Estonian
- Full syntacticization – changes in which an inflectional or a derivative morpheme attains independent status as a word with concrete meaning, e.g. ology, ism, teen (<teenager)
- V.s. demorphologization

2.5 Conclusion

Bound morpheme

↓ (increasing autonomy)

Simple lexeme

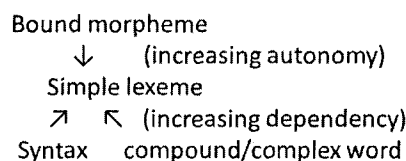↗ ↖ (increasing dependency)

Syntax   compound/complex word

Fig. 2.1

Ch3. Views on the relation of lexicalization to grammaticalization

- the linking of lexicalization and grammaticalization：fusion
  - freezing, univerbation or bonding (boundary loss)
  - free items > fixed phrases > reduction by coalescence
    - Blackbird (lexicalization)
    - Within (grammaticalization)

3.4 Status of derivation

- Derivation vis-à-vis inflection
- lexicalization 與 grammaticalization as historical process
- Phrase > compound > derivation > inflection

Ch4 Toward an integrated approach to lexicalization and grammaticalization

- 4.1 Basic assumptions

- Table 4.1

Table 4.1 Schema of correlations of categories along continua

Level	Continuum ← →	
Lexicon	Lexical	Grammatical
Category	Open/major	close/minor
Syntax	Free	Obligatory
Semantics	Contentful	Functional
Morphology	Nonproductive semiproductive productive	

Table 4.2 Synchronic clines of lexicality and grammaticality

- Nonproductive
- L3   L2   L1
- ←-------→ semiproductive ←-------→
-              G1   G2
  G3
-                                productive

- G1=periphrases, e.g. be going to
- G2=semi-bound forms like function words and clitics, e.g. must, 'll
- G3=affixes such as derivational morphology that change the grammatical class of the stem, e.g. adverbial -wise
- L1= partially fixed phrases, e.g. *lose sight of*,
- L2=complex semi-idiosyncratic forms, e.g. *unhappy*
- L3=complexes and maximally unanalyzable idiosyncratic forms, e.g. *desk, over-the-hill*

4.2 Definitions revisited

- 4.2.1 Lexicalization
- Lexicalization is the change whereby in certain linguistic contexts speakers use a syntactic construction or word formation as a new contentful form with formal and semantic properties that are not completely derivable or predictable from the constituents of the construction or the word formation pattern. Over time there may be further loss of internal constituency and the item may become more lexical erasure

Implications

- Lexicalization是一種歷史演變
- Lexicalization的input是這個inventory的任何成分
- 一旦成為lexical item就可能進入Table 4.2(clines of lexicality and grammaticality)所描述的連續體
- Lexicalization的output是lexical item(i.e. contentful)，存入這個inventory
- Lexicalization的output可以是具有複雜程度不一的形式(L1到L3)
- Lexicalization是漸變

- Lexicalization主要是fusion (erasure of phrasal or morphological boundary)
- Lexicalization常牽涉到semantic and pragmatic idiomaticization, i.e. the semantic components lose their compositionality
- Lexicalization常牽涉到decrease in pattern productivity

- 4.2.2 Grammaticalization
- Grammaticalization is the change whereby in certain linguistic contexts speakers use parts of a construction with a grammatical function. Over time the resulting grammatical item may become more grammatical by acquiring more grammatical functions and expanding its host-classes.

Implications

- Grammaticalization是一種歷史演變
- Grammaticalization的input是這個inventory的任何成分
- 一旦成為grammaticalized就可能進入Table 4.2(clines of lexicality and grammaticality)所描述的連續體
- Grammaticalization的output是grammatical item(i.e. functional)，存入這個inventory
- Grammaticalization的output可以是具有複雜程度不一的形式(G1到G3)

- Grammaticalization是漸變
- Grammaticalization主要是fusion with a host, 並伴隨coalescence/reduction 語音弱化
- Grammaticalization常牽涉到loss of concrete and literal meanings (idiomaticization, bleaching) i.e. the semantic components lose their compositionality
- Grammaticalization常牽涉到"host-expansion", 所以increase in pattern and token productivity

Table 4.4 parallels between lexicalization and grammaticalization

		lexicalization	grammaticalization
a	Gradualness	+	+
b	Unidirectionality	+	+
c	Fusion	+	+
d	Coalescence	+	+
e	Demotivation	+	+
f	Metaphorization/metonymization	+	+
g	Decategorization	-	+
h	Bleaching	-	+
i	Subjectification	-	+
j	Productivity	-	+
k	Frequency	-	+
l	Typological generality	-	+

語言演變的究竟--語法化經典研讀

100 年 1 月 20 日 ［第 10 次活動記錄］

研讀書目：Hopper, Paul J. and Elizabeth Closs Traugott. 2003. *Grammaticalization* (2nd edition). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [Ch 9. Summary and suggestions for further work, 231-233]

Huei-Ling Lai. 2007. Morphosyntactic and Semantic Changes of Hakka si2: A Multi-level Analysis. *Language and Lingustics* 8.2:553-574.

主 讀 人：葉美利老師、葉瑞娟老師、鄭縈老師

導讀摘要

　　第十次的經典研讀活動，由葉美利老師、葉瑞娟老師、鄭縈老師主讀，葉美利老師主讀的主題爲《語法化》第九章「總結與後續研究的建議」及南島語的語法化相關研究，葉瑞娟老師主讀的文章爲〈客語「死」形態句法及語意的改變：多層次的分析〉，鄭縈老師主讀的主題爲「漢語語法化研究回顧」。

　　最後一次的經典研讀中葉美利老師根據《語法化》的最後一章做這本書的總結及回顧一些概念，接著介紹一些臺灣南島語語法化的相關研究。葉瑞娟老師也搜尋有關客語方面做語法化的研究，發現客語在語法化方面的研究不多，是值得研究的議題，最後鄭縈老師介紹了漢語方面的語法化研究，做了簡單的回顧，以下有一些文章我們從三位老師的報告中做了一些整理參考。

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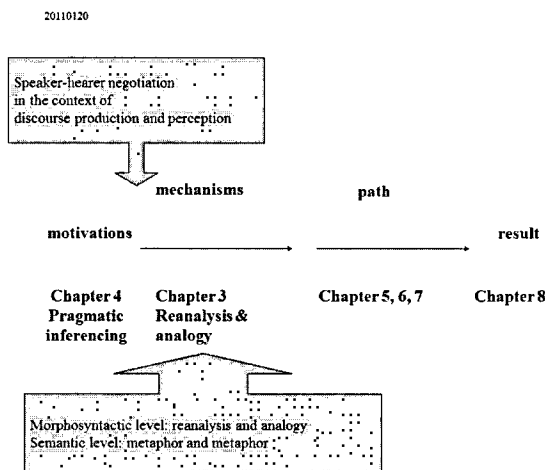
活動剪影

主讀人葉美利老師、葉瑞娟老師、鄭縈老師導讀

讀書會討論情形　　　　　　　　　　　參與活動情形

9. Summary and suggestions for further work

Paul J. Hopper and Elizabeth C. Traugott. 2003. *Grammaticalization*. Cambridge University Press.

20110120

Speaker-hearer negotiation
in the context of
discourse production and perception

mechanisms   path

motivations _____   result

Chapter 4   Chapter 3   Chapter 5, 6, 7   Chapter 8
Pragmatic   Reanalysis &
inferencing   analogy

Morphosyntactic level: reanalysis and analogy
Semantic level: metaphor and metaphor

Approach: two-pronged

- Grammaticalization as
  - A research framework
    Study the relationships between lexical, constructional, and grammatical material language, whether diachronically or synchronically of language change, both in particular language and cross-linguistically
  - Phenomena: a term referring to
    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

- Negotiating meaning may involve innovation, specifically, pragmatic, semantic and, ultimately grammatical enrichment →
- Grammaticalization conceptualized as a type of change not limited to early child language acquisition or perception, but due also to adult acquisition and to production

Question

- How far grammaticalization diachronically conceived is coextensive with language change?
- Grammaticalization: a subset of possible changes, excluding
  - Purely semantic change (e.g. OE *steorf-* 'die' > PDE *starve*)
  - Abrupt word formation (e.g. *window, partner* N > V)
  - Purely phonological change (e.g. Grimm's Law or the Great Vowel Shift)
    (though they may be precursor or the by-products!)
  - Word-order change (though they interacts extensively!)

Classic instances

- Those involving morphosyntactic change initiated by and correlated with pragmatic and semantic changes, such as the development of
  - Auxiliaries
  - Case markers
  - Connectives

Characteristics

- Unidirectional
- Gradual: over time
  - A sequence of very tiny local structural changes can be seen to emerge
  - The frequency with which the new structure is used increased gradually across linguistic types, styles and genres, and speakers
- Not obligatory
  - Linguistic change is a social phenomenon

Further study

- Patterns of grammaticalization across styles and genres
- The involvement of institutions such as education, language planning, and literacy in initiating, establishing, or deferring change
- The role of psychological factors such as short- and long-term retention
- → Coordinate historical work with sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, and corpus studies
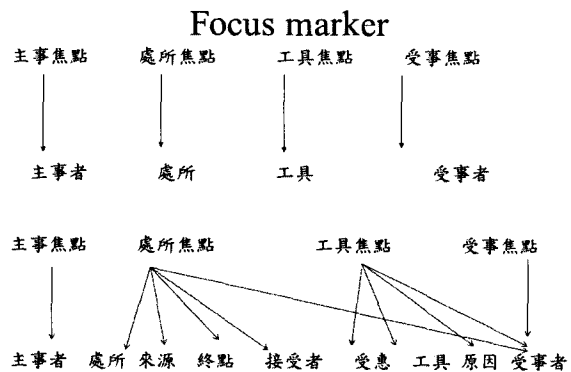
Studies on grammaticalization in Formosan Languages

Marie Meili Yeh
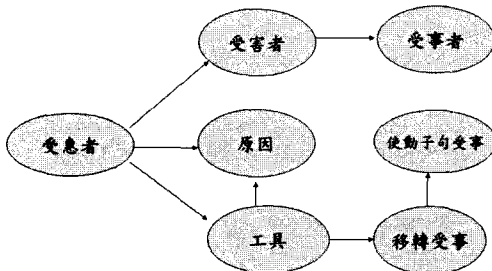2011/1/20

Issues

- Focus marker
- TAM
- Connectives

Focus marker

- 葉美利，待刊，從語法化的觀點看賽夏語工具焦點si-的多重用法，台灣語文研究系列：第五屆台灣語文教學學術研討會論文集（ISTLT），19-37，靜宜大學中文系與台灣語文學會。(2004 conference)
- → Lai (2002) Hakka LAU

Focus marker

主事焦點　處所焦點　工具焦點　受事焦點

主事者　處所　工具　受事者

主事焦點　處所焦點　工具焦點　受事焦點

主事者　處所　來源　終點　接受者　受惠　工具　原因　受事者

Instrumental Focus

TAM

- Seediq TAM (Lin 2005)
- Saisiyat 'am (AF future, Yeh 2006a)
- Saisiyat future (Yeh 2006b)
- Squliq Atayal (Huang 2008)

Squliq Atayal (Huang 2002: 7)

(4) a. m-usa' pqwasan krryax laqi' qasa
    AF-go school every.day child that
    'That child goes to school every day'
  b. m-usa'=saku' ngasal=nya' misuw
    AF-go=1S.NOM house=3S.GEN now
    'I am going to his house now'
  c. m-usa'=ku' mngka' suxan
    AF-go=1S.NOM Taipei tomorrow
    'I will go to Taipei tomorrow'

Squliq Atayal (Huang 2002: 8)

(5) a. musa' ø-hziq (suxan/*krryax/*misuw)
    IRR AF-cold tomorrow/every.day/now
    'It will be cold (tomorrow/*every day/*now)'
  b. musa' m-sbehuy
    IRR AF-blow.wind
    'It will be windy'
  c. musa' m-qwalax/ø-qwalax
    IRR AF-rain
    'It will rain'
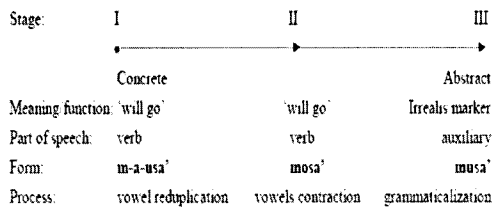
Squliq - future tense (Huang 2008: 14)

Stage:	I	II	III
	•——————►——————►		
	Concrete		Abstract
Meaning/function:	'will go'	'will go'	Irrealis marker
Part of speech:	verb	verb	auxiliary
Form:	m-a-usa'	mosa'	musa'
Process:	vowel reduplication	vowels contraction	grammaticalization

Figure 1. Path of grammaticalization of *musa'* in Squliq Atayal

Squliq - perfective aspect (Huang 2008: 18)

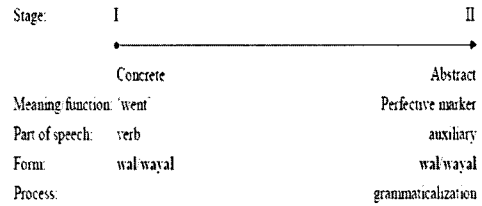| Stage:	I	II
	•————————————►	
	Concrete	Abstract
Meaning/function:	'went'	Perfective marker
Part of speech:	verb	auxiliary
Form:	wal/wayal	wal/wayal
Process:		grammaticalization

Figure 2. Path of grammaticalization of *wal/wayal* in Squliq Atayal

Squliq - imperfective aspect (Huang 2008: 18)

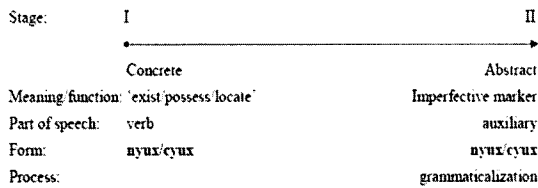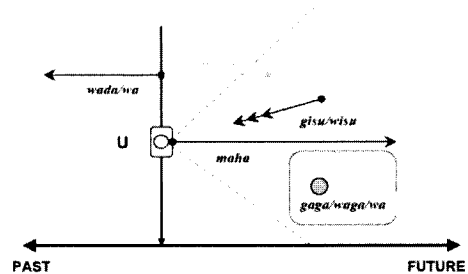| Stage:	I	II
	•————————————►	
	Concrete	Abstract
Meaning/function:	'exist/possess/locate'	Imperfective marker
Part of speech:	verb	auxiliary
Form:	nyux/cyux	nyux/cyux
Process:		grammaticalization

Figure 3. Path of grammaticalization of *nyux/cyux* in Squliq Atayal

Seediq (Lin 2005: 121)

Meanings of 'am in Saisiyat (Yeh 2006a)

FUTAGE 1	FUTAGE 2	FUTAGE 3	FUTAGE 4
obligation	intention	future	probability
desire	root possibility		possibility
ability	immediate future		imperative
			complements
			protases

Semantic ages of future (Bybee et al. 1991)

Development of future

- Case 1: English will
  - desire > intention > future
    - Beowulf is min nama, **wille** ic asecgan suna Headkfdenes ... 'Beowulf is my name, I wish to tell my errand to Headfdene's son ...'
    - Wen ic þæt he **wille** ...Geotena leoda etan unforhte 'I think that he wants to/will devour fearlessly the people of the Geats.'
    - For þer hit onez is tachched twynne **wil** hit never 'For once it is attached, it will never come off.'
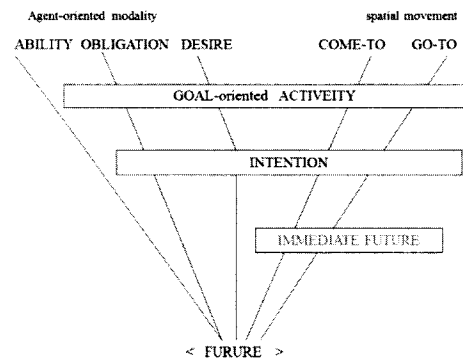
- Case 2: BEH (M.H, Chang 1996)
  - The future and proximative path
    - Volition > future > proximative
      - 人趕欲TIH貨 (desire)
      - 欲買進口車來駛 (intention)
      - 天欲落雨 (prediction)
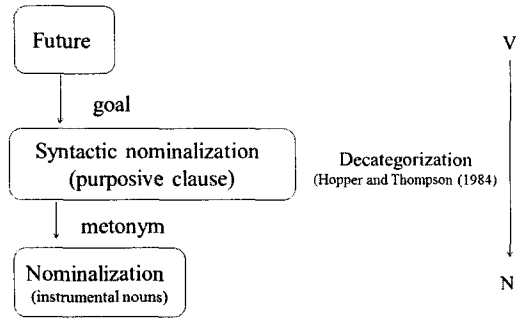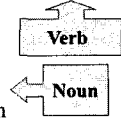   - 欲斷種e物件 (immediate future)
      - 作及欲死 (proximity)
  - The conditional path
    - Deontic > epistemic
      - 我欲講知影
      - 我欲知影
      - 欲美國彼小飛機...

Development of Ca- (Yeh 2003, 2007)

(4) a. hini' 'alaw **ta-timae'** ka pazay
this fish Ca-eat as a dish Acc rice
'This fish is what is going to serve as the dish.'

b. 'izi' kaSkar!
Neg shy
mari' nonak ka **ta-timae'**!
take self Acc Ca-eat as a dish
'Don't stand on ceremony!
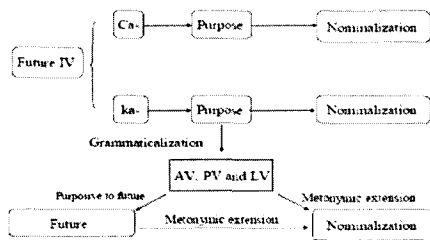Take the dishes by yourself!'

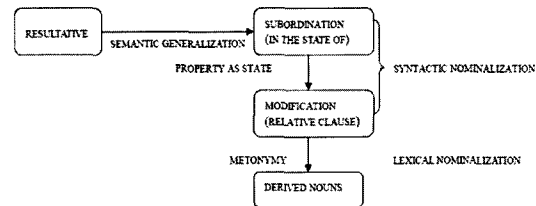## Saisiyat: nominalization (Yeh 2011)

Figure 2. Semantic extension of Ca-/ka-

Figure 4. Semantic Extension of -in-

Jiang (2011): -ay in Amis and Kavalan

b. mi-futing=**ay** (a fo'inayan) [AMI]
AF-fish=AY LIG man
'one/(man) who catches fishes'

D. miming=**ay** (a siri) [AMI]
'little=AY LIG goat'
'little one/(goat)'

b. acicim k-u-ni a talacay [AMI]
AF.sour NOM-CN-this LIG pineapple
'This pineapple is sour.'

b. acicim=**ay** k-u-ni a talacay [AMI]
sour=AY NOM-CN-this LIG pineapple
'This pineapple is sour (for sure).'
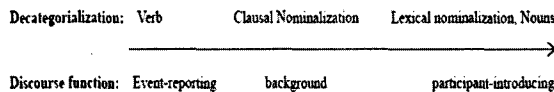
Figure 5. Relationships between Decategorialization and Discourse Function

- two major types of functions:
  - entity-denoting: actor/agent or patient/undergoer, depending on verb classes
  - non-entity-denoting: adds emphatic or anterior/perfective implications to the predication
- non-entity-denoting function is the grammaticalization of the entity-denoting function
- non-entity-denoting =ay as an epistemic modality maker conveying speaker's strong commitment to a proposition
  - emphatic reading < higher degree of speaker's commitment
  - anterior/perfective reading < pragmatic inferences (based on presuppositions that are often associated with nominalizations)

Connectives -1

- Saisiyat 'isa:a': demonstrative > connective (Yeh 2010, 2011)
  - From textual to pragmatic
  - From anaphoric use to discourse deictic use

Anaphoric use

(3) Story - (a) Two suns (b) The eagle
a. 'iyok   haw   hayza' ka   pipis,
   tangerine over there have ACC seed
   pama'-en   ka   'isa:a', ...
   carry.on.back-PF ACC that
   'Tangerines having seeds, they took tangerines with them...'
b. ...ka Siloe',   pak-Sahehae'-en risa:a' ray   toenoe',
   LIG necklace CAU-fall-PF   there LOC pond
   'isa:a' hayno hiza p<in>ak-Saehae' ka   'isa:a', ...
   then   where that Cau<ASP>-fall NOM that
   '...the necklace. (It) was thrown there in the pond, and then
   where the necklace was thrown ...'

(5) Play-Sako:o'
   ma'an k<in>ita' nasiya   kama'alep nanaw o,
   1S.GEN see<ASP> 3PL.GEN hunt   only
   'isa:a' hini 'itaySo: ila!
        this forget ASP
   'In my opinion, they are just hunting, so let's forget it
   this time.'

Connectives -2

- 賽夏語 koSa'「說」的語法化 (趙宇凾 2010)
  - 漢語及閩南語「說」的語法化 (Chang 2001)
    verb (stage 1) > verb/complementizer in serial-
    verb construction (stage 2) > complementizer
    (stage 3) > discourse marker at textual level (stage
    4) > discourse marker at expressive level (stage 5)
  - Chang, Jui-fen 2001 *Grammaticalization
    processes reflected in Chinese lexemes SHOU and
    KAN*. MA Thesis, Naitonal Kaohsiung Normal
    University.

Discourse deictic use

(4) Play-Why dogs eat bones?
   'isa:a' 'ima nakhini'an, tabin 'isa:a' hini
        'IMA like.this   till   this
   mae'iyaeh t<om>abo: ka   'aehoe'
   people   <AF>feed   ACC dog
   mo-bo:ay ka   bo'oel.
   AF-give ACC bone
   'Then, it is like this, until now, people give
   bones to feed dogs.'

詞彙化與習語化

- 畢(2007: 133)
(31) 我這次去打坐我就在那邊想，我在那邊想啊，我
希望趕快考試。
(31) Life, NTU
177.F:...(1.0)haw niya'om   l==ayanay
        那裡 1EPL.屬格   媳婦
   ma' isaa matawaw ray babi
   也 那裡 主焦.工作 處格外面
   'Our daughter-in-law also works in another place.'
   '我們媳婦在別的地方工作。'

(2) komoSa'
  a. koko' komoSa' 'am somi'ael ka   pazay
     奶奶 說-AF   要 吃-AF   主格 飯
     奶奶說要吃飯。

(7) tomoka:i' ka   Saykilapa: ki SaySipari: komoSa' 'am papaena'.
    承諾   主格 地名   和 地名   說   未來 Ca-Red.射
    向大陸和十八兒社宣戰 (語料來源：賽夏故事劇本)

(8) o: bazae'en ila   komoSa' kama-langoy ray ralom wa'ae'
    DM 聽-PF   完成 說   專門-游泳 LOC 水   啦
    聽說，會游泳的說。 (語料來源：台大台灣南島語多媒體語料庫)

(9) lasiya   ma'az'azem komoSa' takahini ila.
    3PL.主格 想-AF   說   這樣   完成
    他們心想就這樣吧！ (語料來源：台大台灣南島語多媒體語料庫)
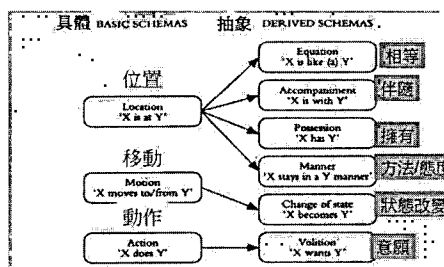
Propositional Schemas

Figure 6.1 Major propositional schemas underlying the grammatical
categories of aspect and tense (adapted from Heine's event schemas, Heine
1993: Table 2.1)

Figure 6.2 Propositional schemas and possible grammaticalizations
(adapted from Heine 1993: 47)

Morphosyntactic and Semantic Changes of Hakka *si2*: A Multi-level Analysis

Huei-Ling Lai

Language and Lingustics 8.2:553-574, 2007

Death-related expressions

- They are frequently used as intensifiers or extreme case formulations to "display [a speaker's] investment in, or stance toward, some state of affairs" (Edwards 2000:347).
  - e.g. *John is dying to see his girlfriend.*
  - e.g. *dead right*

Three issues

- 1. To investigate the mechanisms involved in the syntactic and semantic changes → structural shift and semantic extension
- 2. To discuss what motivates language innovations → cognitive approach
- 3. To uncover the hidden cognition seen in expressions related to *si2*.

2. Categorical shift and semantic extension of *si2*

- N: 生死大事
- V: (1a) 阿英死式兩條牛仔 '阿英死了兩條牛'
  (2) 驚鬼驚到會死 '怕鬼怕到會死'
  retain its verbal feature
  serves to exaggerate the speaker's fear
- Adj: lexically filled constructions with their integrated idiomatic meanings
  (4a) 死對頭: the extremity
  (4d) 死巷子: a dead body is unmovable and rigid
- Adv: Si2 not only signifies the intensity of the state but also expresses the speaker's intention to magnify the absoluteness of the situation
  (5b) 死鹹 '鹹過頭'
  (5g) 死好命/好命死 '太好命'

Decategorization

- Hopper & Traugott (2003:107)

  major category (> intermediate category) > minor cagetory
  | N, V | Adj, Adv | Prep, Conj, Aux, Pron, Demon |

- A case of heterosemy: Two or more functions that derive from the same source belong to different morphosyntactic categories (Lichtenberk 1991)

Reanalysis

- Reanalysis: An independent mechanism for syntactic change
  [[back] of the barn] > [back of [the barn]]
  (Hopper & Traugott 2003:51, 3b)

- Reanalysis involves constituency change, hierarchical structure change, and category label change.

- Reanalysis can be motivated by at least two factors: ambiguity/stylistic variety or greater expressiveness (Harris 2005:536ff)
  → Both factors are at play in the syntactic changes of *si2*

Morphosyntactic changes of *si2*

- Stylistic mode: from more objective to more subjective and more expressive
  → *Si2* is generalized to more and more morphosyntactic categories (N, V, adj, adv)
  → it relaxes its syntactic constraints by an increase in structural scope (can be placed in different positions)

Greater expressiveness through metaphor and metonymy

- There is indeed a semantic and pragmatic gain along with the morphosyntactic decategorization in grammaticalization.
- Meaning shift from one domain to another: (Heine 2005:586)
  PERSON > OBJECT > ACTIVITY > SPACE > TIME > QUALITY
  → metaphorical in nature because they involve a transfer from the concrete domains of human experience to the more abstract domains of space, time, or quality
- Conceptual metonymy involves a cognitive process whereby connections between entities within a given conceptual domain are established through contiguity and association.

The semantic development of *si2*

- It can plausibly explicated by metaphor and metonymy.
- Metaphorical extensions

  concrete domain > human experience > the domain of object > a more abstract domain of quality

  e.g. 死 > 寒死 '冷死' > 死巷仔 '死巷子' > 死好命 '太好命'

- Metonymical strengthening

  immovability or rigidness → absoluteness or extremity

  e.g. 死睡豬 '整天睡的懶豬' 死規矩 '硬性規定'

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Two questions

- How do we account for the conceptualization of death in such linguistic expressions when, on the other hand, people typically use euphemisms to replace death-related expressions when talking about death?

  → The subjectification of linguistic expressions

  → The use of a linguistic strategy for efficiency in communication

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3. Motivations for the morphosyntactic and semantic change of *si2*

- Subjectification involves speakers' employment of linguistic forms with appropriate meanings to reify their subjective perspective for a communicative purpose.

  → Often accompanied by a generalization of syntactic or morphological context in the case of grammaticalization

  → A major factor in semantic change

  e.g. *generally, strictly*

  manner adverbs > adverbs of modality to express the speakers' evaluation of a proposition

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- e.g. *pretty, awfully*

  manner adverbs > particles to denote the value judgment of the speakers in regard to the referentiality of the lexical item selected

- e.g. English modals

  deontic > epistemic

  a viewpoint based on laws external to the speech participants to one based on the participants

  (6) *They must be married.* (i.e., 'Some external force requires them to be married')

  (7) *They must be married.* (i.e., 'It is obvious that they are married, I concluded that they are married')

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The case of *si2*

- Subjectification provides a motivating factor for the morphosyntactic shift and semantic development of *si2*.

  V > adj > adv

  concrete meaning of denoting death > serve pragmatic and speaker-based functions (subjectively and negatively exaggerate the evaluation of a state of affairs)

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Expressiveness

- Subjectification implies a dynamic view of language that changes all the time in accordance with what speakers seek to manifest in their mind at a certain time.
- Expressivity and efficiency in communication are two general motivations for language change.
- Blank (1999:70ff) lists six types of motivations: emergence of new concepts, abstract or distant referents, sociocultural change, close conceptual or factual relations, complexity and irregularity in the lexicon, and emotionally marked concept.

  e.g. SEX, ANGER, DEATH > taboo > euphemisms

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Dysphemism

- Dysphemisms are considered to carry special expressive effects by speakers.

  e.g. *The princess kicked the bucket.*

- Expressive verbalization also occurs in other non-tabooed domains when speakers want to exaggerate or to say things in a drastic or hyperbolic way, so as to persuade the hearers to share their viewpoints.

  e.g. French *bordel* 'brothel' > 'disorder, brawl'

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The case of *si2*

- Evaluation of a state of affairs is a matter of personal choice—a subjective judgment.
- In terms of the human understanding of existence, nothing can be more extreme or absolute than death.

  e.g. 驚死 '怕死'

  To express how terrifying the situation can be, the speaker exploits the linguistic strategy of placing his condition of fear at the very top of the scale to justify his intense fear of the imagined ghosts so as to create sympathy on the part of the listener.

  The metonymic association with death and the overstatement of his condition not only efficiently reduce the speaker's linguistic effort but also effectively communicate the state of his emotions to the listener.

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Other exampls

- 死就毋去 '死都不去'
  absolute determination of not going
- 死睡豬 '整天睡的懶豬'
  the unreasonable laziness
- 死好食 '非常貪吃'
  the unbelievable gluttony
- 死痛 '非常痛'
  draw the listener's sympathy

Positive connotations

- 死好命/好命死 '非常好命'
  exceptionally blessed
- 死歡喜/歡喜死 '非常開心'
  extreme happiness
- Nothing can go further than the point denoted by death.
- The peculiarity due to the semantic incompatibility of *si2* and its collocation often gives rise to sarcastic or ironic functions of teasing or criticizing for communication.

4. The cognitive operation involved in the usage of *si2* expressions

- Mental space theory provides a general model for exploring the fruitful interrelation between cognitive connections and languages.
- Three key notions:
  a. Very often several spaces can be built and connected at the same time during any point in discourse.
  b. One of the possible spaces is selected based on the viewpoint of the discourse participants.
  c. Starting from the base, movement from spaces to spaces as viewpoints shift happens when such hidden cognitive processing is manifested by overt linguistic mechanisms as discourse participants maintain the discourse dynamics in order to reason and communicate.

Examples

- *John believes Mary is nice.*
  A base space for John's beliefs is built.
- *Last semester, Mary was nice.*
  A space for last semester is built.
- *John believes last semester Mary was nice.*
  A space for last semester is built, embedded in a belief space, which in turn is embedded in the base space.

The case of *si2*

- Sine the real situation is incompatible with what is expected by the speaker after his or her internal grounded assessment of the situation, to represent his or her contravention of expectations, the speaker employs a linguistic strategy to upgrade the status of the situation onto a space farther toward the end of a scale.
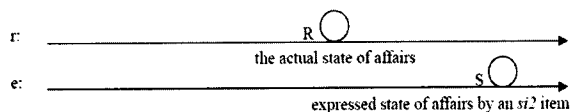
The metal network invoked by *si2*

r: ——————————— R◯ ———————→
the actual state of affairs

e: ——————————————— S◯ ———→
expressed state of affairs by an *si2* item

Figure 1: The mental network invoked by *si2*

r = real situations
e = expressed situations

漢語語法化研究回顧

鄭縈

- 舊問題新觀點-
  - 動詞vs.介詞: Li, C. N. & S. A. Thompson 197? Co-verb in Mandarin Chinese: verbs or prepositions, JCL, Vol. 2 No.3
  - 連詞: 李英哲 盧卓群1997漢語連詞發展過程中的若干特點
  - 詞綴:楊賀2003試論前綴 "老" 的語法化歷程及其意義
- 對漢語語法化研究的省思
- 方言研究-閩南語
  - 李櫻???氣甲(欲死)
  - 顏嘉瑩2005-台閩語「對」的雙重功能與語法化研究
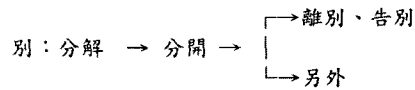 - 葉瀅儀-閩南語去的語法化
- 西方理論的引介

Li & Thompson

- (1) 我要跟他說話
- Co-verb出現的句型
- (3) ＿＿＿ NP V (NP)
- Co-verb之稱首度出現於Hockett et al.的Dictionary of Spoken Chinese
- 其功能為(1)connecting the following nominal referent to a preceding one,
- (2) indicating the relation of the following nominal referent to all the rest of the sentence

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- Liang 1971
- 將coverb分為兩類:動詞(在/用/跟/給/到)和介詞(把)
- 趙1968和DeFrancis 1963都傾向於把coverb分析為動詞，也沒有明確定義coverb
- 因介詞來自動詞且多數仍有動詞用法，故有上述紛歧
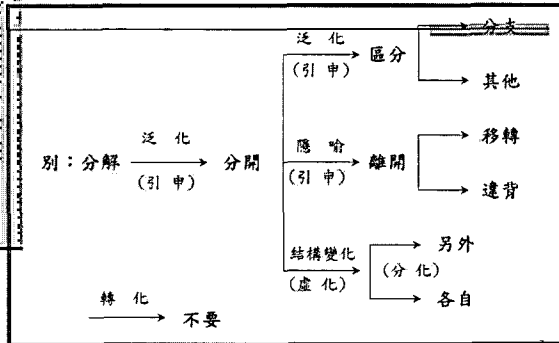- 本文主旨：1. Coverb是介詞，2.支持coverb為動詞的論點無效，3.提出區分動詞和介詞的判斷條件

表一「過+X」的結構分析(楊蕙菁2004)

年代	「過」的詞性	「過」的語義	「X」的語義屬性	句法結構
先秦時期	動詞→程度副詞	1.到達/拜訪。	1.具體/無生命/有生命（地點/人物）N。	過V+N(如例1)
		2.超越/通過。	2.具體/抽象/無生命/有生命（地點/人物/時間）N。	
		3.超過/勝過。	3. 無生命/有生命/抽象（時間/能力）N。	
		4.過多地。	4.動作行為V。	過Adv+V(如例25)
漢	動詞或程度副詞	1.超過/失之於。	1. 具體/抽象（某限度或範圍）N。	過V + N(如例29)
		2.過多地。	2. 動作行為V。	過Adv + V(如例30)
魏晉南北朝	程度副詞	太、甚	狀態形容詞	過Adv+ Adj(如例31)
唐以後	程度副詞	太、甚	狀態形容詞/動作行為V	過Adv + Adj/V(如例37)

「別」的語義演變（林盈秀2005）

別：分解 → 分開 →
- ├→ 離別、告別
- └→ 另外

周紹全、王澄惠 (1991)

演化途徑

別：分解 ──泛化(引申)──→ 分開

- 泛化(引申) → 區分 ──分支──→ 其他
- 隱喻(引申) → 離開 → 移轉 / 違背
- 結構變化(虛化) → 另外(分化) / 各自
- 轉化 → 不要

「一定」的語法化過程(趙芳玉2007)

一定 → 充當狀語 → 固定/確定 ... / 充當定語 ... / 統一 → 要

狀中結構(一矩制定：一矩確定)
並列結構(統一制定)
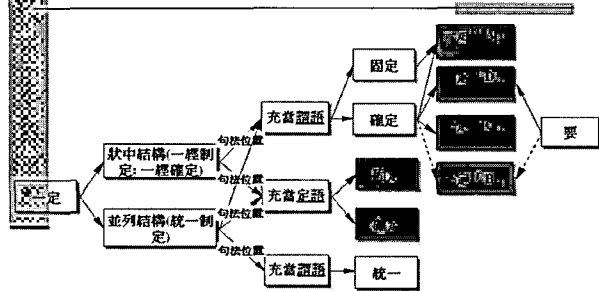
華語「一定」的語法特點

一定A」認知／斷定【−主語】（表肯定推斷）
★ 撿到鋼筆的人，看到你的啟事，一定不知道　你是誰。
一定B」義務／要求【−主語】（表意志堅決）
★ 林添盛要求工作人員一定要穿制服；
一定C」義務／保證【＋主語】（表保證）
★ 梁山伯大笑起來：那太好了！我一定去。
一定D」動力／意願【＋主語】（表意志堅決）
★ 罕亮月吞還要嫁，但她一定要找一個不再丟失她的人。
「一定」的定語用法

西方理論的引介與應用

- 沈家煊1994語法化研究綜觀
- 孫朝奮1994虛化論評介
- 文旭1998語法化簡介
- 沈家煊2001語言的主觀性和主觀化
- 石毓智、李訥2004《漢語語法化的歷程》
- 張誼生2000論與漢語副詞相關的虛化機制－兼論現代漢語副詞的性質、分類與範圍，《中國語文》1：3-15。

高增霞(2003)連動式的語法化研究

- 高增霞(2003)：將語法化的範圍做一個較廣義的定義，語法化的範圍包括句式化(小句的整合和詞序的凝固)和實詞虛化等方面。

句式化：　　　　　　　　　　(詞彙化)

複句結構 →並列結構→連動結構 → 單動結構
　　　　　　　　　　　　　(動詞虛化)

3.1句子間的關係(複句結構，連動結構，動補結構)

- 複句結構：他大概把書買來看了------他大概把書買來了，而且大概也看了。
- 連動結構：他把書全買來看了------他把書買來全看了------*他把書全買來全看了
- 動補結構：大風把窗子全刮壞了------*大風把窗子刮全壞了

- 小句整合 :平行句　　→　　　　簡單句
　　　　　平行 → 主次 → 主從
- Hopper&Traugott(1993)根據[依存][內崁]兩個特徵把小句分為三類

	平行	主次	主從
依存	－依存	＋依存	＋依存
內崁	－內崁	－內崁	＋內崁

連動式是整個整合過程連續統的中間環節，具體表現為 平行句>連動句>簡單謂語句

- 語義上的主從關係不一定就表現為主從構式，還可以通過并連、連動等手段表現
- 就漢語來說，表達偏正關係有三種情形：
(1)用連詞”而”或”以”連接的並連構式
　　小子鳴鼓而攻之可也。(論語˙先進)
(2)兩個動詞直接連用的連動式
　　兒童相見不相識，笑問客從何處來(唐詩)
(3)用”地”標誌其狀語屬性
　　她笑嘻嘻地進來了
當一種連動式被經常用來表達偏正關係的時候，就非常有可能發生語法化。

非句化--高曾霞2003

- 句法性　　　　　　　　　　　　名詞性
- 小句
- 沒有言外之力
- 　　行為效力成分受限
- 　　　情態或語氣成分受限或丟失
- 　　　　時、態成分受限或丟失
- 　　　　　主語變成隱形槽
- 　　　　　　動詞支配變成名詞支配
- 　　　　　　　可受數量詞語修飾

廖郁文2010台灣海陸客語介詞「對」和「在」的語法化研究

- 3.2.1.1「對」小句非句化的內部發展
　上述動詞的特性分成四個階段來看客語演變過程：
(1)包括沒有言外之力、行為效力成分受限、情態或語氣成分的受限或丟失的階段
例：捉蝦公愛對(對準義)佢个後背捉啊下去正捉得到。
(2)時態成分受限或丟失的階段
例：該家人个大門對等五指山。

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(3) 主語變成隱形槽
例： ○ (對佢這篇文章) [(你)(有麼个評論無)]？當想聽。
(4)動詞的支配變成名詞的支配
例：a.鄉（鎮）長雖然毋係麼个大官，毋過佢影響地方發展非常个大。
　　b.鄉（鎮）長雖然毋係麼个大官，毋過佢對地方發展个影響非常个大。

對漢語語法化研究的省思

- 馬清華2003漢語語法化問題的研究(參論文)
- 蔣紹愚 2004 漢語語法演變若干問題的思考.《「第五屆國際古漢語語法研討會」暨「第四屆海峽兩岸語法史研討會」論文集II》頁243-256