On Terminology Issues
in Grammaticalization Studies*

Seongha Rhee

(Hankuk University of Foreign Studies)

Seongha Rhee. 2011. On Terminology Issues in Grammaticalization Studies. ***Studies in Modern Grammar* 66, 167-198.** This paper addresses the diverse, and seemingly disparate, uses of the term 'grammaticalization' and the terms closely related to it, and explores the consequences of such different terminology uses. Further, it looks at the recent claims disputing the usefulness of the terms suggesting that the states described by those terms are in fact epiphenomena. It is argued that such claims intending to invalidate the grammaticalization scholarship result from different conceptualization of 'grammar'. The concept of 'gramticalization' has attracted attention of language researchers in the functional paradigms, and has proved helpful for understanding not only the synchronic states of affairs of language but also the workings of the human cognition which enables the strategic uses of language in meaning negotiation between interlocutors. However, the term has variable names and has diverse conceptualizations by the researchers depending on their different persuasions. Identifying and differentiating these diverse labels for the self-same linguistic phenomena will be helpful for grammaticalization studies. By identifying the problems surrounding the ternology, this paper will show that such misconception is in fact due to a different interpretation of the terms involved. This paper intends to explicate the varied conception of grammaticalization terminology and their consequences.

Key words: grammaticalization, lexicalization, degrammaticalization, lexis-grammar, terminology

1. Introduction

This paper addresses the diverse, and seemingly disparate, uses of the term 'grammaticalization' and the terms closely related to it (e.g. de-grammaticalization, regrammaticalization, antigrammaticalization, etc.), and explores the consequences of such different terminology uses. Further, it looks at the recent claims disputing the usefulness of the terms suggesting that the states described by those terms are in fact epiphenomena. It is argued that such claims intending to invalidate the grammaticalization scholarship are in fact largely due to different conceptualization of what grammar is. It is also proposed that we differentiate the domains of language change so that grammaticalization can be identified and not confused with other similar concomitant changes.

This paper is organized in the following way: Section 2 reviews the uses of the terminology for 'grammaticalization' in the historical research tradition and in the contemporary scholarship; Section 3 reviews the terms that are intended to designate the phenomena that are not compatible with grammaticalization, or in certain cases, run counter to grammaticalization; Section 4 discusses the diverse theoretical implications that arise from the exposition; and Section 5 summarizes and concludes the discussion.

2. Terminology for 'Grammaticalization'

This section reviews grammaticalization as was originally conceived by early proponents of the theory, and as was refined in recent studies. It also presents the diverse related terms and their definitions.

2.1 Traditional Notion of Grammaticalization

Since Antoine Meillet (1912), who coined the term 'grammaticalisation',

this concept has attracted attention of language researchers in the functional paradigms, and has proved helpful for understanding not only the synchronic states of affairs of language but also the workings of the human cognition which enables the strategic uses of language in meaning negotiation between interlocutors. Traditionally, grammaticalization was conceived of as a process by which a lexical item becomes an erstwhile autonomous grammatical item (Meillet 1912). The notion was used largely unchanged, until the beginning of the latter half of the 20th century when grammaticalization studies flourished. Some minor modifications have been made to the notion, and grammaticalization, as has been widely subscribed to, may be defined as the following, as suggested by Kurylowicz (1965: 69):

(1) Grammaticalization consists in the increase of the range of a morpheme advancing from a lexical to a grammatical or from a less grammatical to a more grammatical status, e.g. from a derivative formant to an inflectional one.

As is seen in the above, grammaticalization is applied to two major types of changes: one involving the shift of a form from lexical to grammatical categories, and one involving the shift from less grammatical to more grammatical features.

2.2 Recent Refinements of the Notion

Recent literature on grammaticalization agrees that it is not enough to define grammaticalization as merely the process by which a lexical item becomes a grammatical morpheme or a less grammatical form becomes a more grammatical form. The main reason for it has to do with the fact that this process occurs in the context of a particular construction. Therefore, it may be more accurate to say that a construction with particular lexical

items in it becomes grammaticalized, instead of saying that a lexical item becomes grammaticalized (Bybee 2001).

Through elaboration of the terminology it is widely understood that grammaticalization refers to the change whereby lexical terms and constructions come in certain linguistic contexts to serve grammatical functions (Bybee et al. 1994), and, once grammaticalized, continue to develop new grammatical functions (Hopper and Traugott 2003: xv), often accompanying phonetic reduction, syntactic rigidification, and semantic abstraction (Heine et al. 1991, Hopper and Traugott 2003[1993], Geurts 2000). It is an evolution whereby linguistic units lose semantic complexity, pragmatic significance, syntactic freedom, and phonetic substance, respectively (Heine and Reh 1984).

There are certain changes that fall outside the scope of grammaticalization as defined above which, however, may well be regarded as grammaticalization. This observation goes back as early as Meillet (1912) who noticed the grammatical value of word order and suggested that word order change be regarded as a type of grammaticalization. In the same vein, Hopper and Traugott (2003: 59-63) discussing whether word order change, which displays reanalysis, also involves grammaticalization, note:

(2) Word-order changes are not unidirectional. Therefore, they should not be identified with grammaticalization in the narrower sense. However, given a broader definition of grammaticalization as the organization of grammatical, especially morphosyntactic material, they cannot be excluded from consideration. (2003:60; emphasis mine SR)

Hopper and Traugott (2003: 60) further go on to say that "it is important to stress that word-order changes can have a profound effect on the grammatical structure and the morphological texture of the language."

Similarly, Rhee (2002: 564-565), in discussing the semantic change of

the English preposition *against*, which underwent intriguing change as a grammatical item, though it did not undergo the change in categories, i.e. decategorialization, proposes that we include in grammaticalization any significant changes in grammar, be they semantic, syntactic or otherwise, if only the linguistic forms involved belong to a grammatical category (i.e. any change of a form that is already grammatical), and unless the change violates the unidirectionality principle (i.e. as long as the change does not proceed from more grammatical to less grammatical categories).

In sum, grammaticalization is a notion used in narrower or broader senses, the former being the change by which lexical items and constructions used in certain contexts come to mark grammatical relations, and the latter being the change by which grammatical notion is attached to a form without involving unidirectionality.

2.3 Variable Terms and Notions

Notwithstanding the minor differences in terms of the scope of grammaticalization studies, what can be generally called 'grammaticalization' is rather straightforward, i.e. a process whereby a marker of grammatical relation evolves.

However, it is to be noted that the term 'grammaticalization' has variable names and has diverse conceptualizations by the researchers depending on their different persuasions. For instance, there are such terms as 'grammaticization' (Bybee and Pagliuca 1987; Haspelmath 1991) and 'grammatization' (Wilhelm 2003), in addition to the widely used 'grammaticalization'. There are reasons for this variation of nomenclature, such as the focus on the result or on the process of language change. To summarize, the following list of terms has been used in the current literature:

(3) a. *grammaticalization (grammaticalisation)*: Heine et al. (1991), Hopper

and Traugott 2003[1993]

b. *grammaticization (grammaticisation)*: Bybee (2001), Cacoullos (2000), Bybee and Pagliuca (1987), Haspelmath (1991)

c. *grammatization (grammatisation)*: Matisoff (1991), (Wilhelm 2003)

d. *grammation*: Andersen (2005)

e. *grammatizication*: Chee et al. (2006)[1]

Despite the fact that there are differing definitions as to these 'grammaticalization'-related terms, they all seem to refer to something that may conform to the definition in (1) above.

However, there are scholars who make distinctions with regards to the terminology. For instance, in a posting on the Funknet list service, Croft (1995) suggests that there is a substantive distinction to be made, i.e. 'grammaticization' as the process by which some grammatical construction becomes a conventional linguistic unit, whereas 'grammaticalization' as the process by which certain types of conventional linguistic units become certain other types of conventional linguistic units, specifically syntactic constructions with characteristic lexemes become "smaller" syntactic constructions or single words with affixes--the kinds of phonological, morphosyntactic and "functional" processes discussed by Lehmann (1982), Heine et al. (1991), and Hopper and Traugott (2003[1993]).

In this context, Croft (1995) also suggests that these are two different kinds of historical processes: 'grammaticization' is from discourse to syntax, and has to do with the interplay between how our linguistic knowledge is stored in the mind and used in social interaction, with the central concern

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[1] Atkinson (2006) presents in his tech-archive.net posting the frequencies of the terms resulting from a google search: 220,000 for 'grammaticalization', 108,000 for 'grammation', 23,000 for 'grammaticization', 74 for 'grammatization', and 3 for 'grammatizication'. In a December 2011 survey, they accounted for 788,000, 131,000, 17,700, 3,010, and 6, respectively. The frequencies represent the relative popularity of these differential terms.

being how linguistic convention is established. 'Grammaticalization,' on the other hand, has to do with the restructuring of linguistic signs, i.e. pairings of form and meaning. Change in both the signifier and the signified, of a particular type is involved in grammaticalization, and its central concern is the interrelationship between signifier and signified. From his viewpoint, grammaticalization will always involve grammaticization. The differences can be tabulated as the following:

(4) Grammaticization *vs.* Grammaticalization (*a la* Croft 1995)

Grammaticization	Grammaticalization
the process by which some grammatical construction becomes a conventional linguistic unit	the process by which certain types of conventional linguistic units become certain other types of conventional linguistic units
involves change from discourse to syntax	involves the restructuring of linguistic signs, that is, pairings of form and meaning
involves the interplay between how our linguistic knowledge is stored in the mind and used in social interaction	involves the change in both the signifier and the signified, of a particular type
the central concern: how linguistic convention is established	the central concern: the interrelationship between signifier and signified

As Katz (1995) states, there is a different type of differentiation for the term, i.e. process vs. result, and certain scholars differentiate grammatical- ization and grammaticization depending on the differing focus between these two related notions. As Traugott and Heine (1991: 1-2) point out, those who use the term 'grammaticization' tend to view it as primarily a syntactic, discourse-pragmatic phenomenon, to be studied from the point of view of fluid patterns of language use across time or at a synchronically segmented moment in time, as opposed to the view that it is primarily a diachronic phenomenon to be studied from a 'source and pathway'

perspective. Generally speaking, however, more people use the term 'grammaticalization' and these people tend to have a more comprehensive view about grammaticalization, thus using it as a cover term.

3. Terminology for Degrammaticalization

As was the case with the term 'grammaticalization', the terms for 'degrammaticalization'[2] and closely related concepts have been used in different senses and have often been the source of controversy in descriptions of particular phenomena. Therefore, identifying and differen- tiating these diverse labels for the self-same linguistic phenomena will be helpful for clarification.

The following terms are often considered to describe the states of affairs that run counter to 'grammaticalization':

(5) a. lexicalization
   b. degrammaticalization
   c. antigrammaticalization
   d. regrammaticalization

We will discuss each of the above notions in the following and further the conceptual overlap among them.

3.1 Lexicalization

Lexicalization is widely understood as a process whereby the final product is a lexical item. From a broad perspective, any process resulting in creation of a lexical item should be included in this category.

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[2] The term 'degrammaticalization' is used here as a cover term to encompass diverse processes that operate in the reverse direction of grammaticalization processes.

The most radical way of creating a lexical item should be new word coinage *ex nihilo*. However, this process is relatively uninteresting in grammaticalization research. Another way is to use multiple words in a string and regarding it as a single word-like unit. The procedure leading to the creation of such a linguistic unit is often termed as 'univerbation' (Lehmann 1982). This univerbation procedure may ultimately bring forth either lexical or grammatical forms, and therefore, lexicalization from univerbation is only a subset of the latter. The univerbation procedure from grammatical forms may result in periphrastic markers if it involves more than one word. Any lexical derivation from a lexical item or from a grammatical item may be an instance of lexicalization. When it refers to the latter, it becomes indistinguishable with degrammaticalization as illustrated below. Since other types of lexicalization are less appealing in research, the term often refers to this particular type of lexicalization and this practice of using the term from a narrow sense often causes confusion with one in a broader sense.

Lexicalization therefore may be summarized as in the following:

(6) Lexicalization: a process leading to the creation of a lexical item as the final product
   a. Narrow Definition: grammatical item > lexical item
   b. Broad Definition: (anything) > lexical item

3.2 Degrammaticalization

Degrammaticalization typically refers to a process whereby a grammatical item becomes a less grammatical item. If grammaticalization is understood as a procedure leading a form from a lexical or less grammatical status to grammatical or more grammatical status, degrammaticalization is the exact reverse procedure of grammaticalization. Therefore, the direction-

ality of the change is along the following grammaticality cline from right to left.

(7) content item > grammatical word > clitic > inflectional affix

(Hopper and Traugott 2003: 7)

Since the grammaticality continuum extends from lexical to fully grammatical polar ends, 'the less grammatical' item may include lexical items at its extreme. It is in this particular situation when certain lexicalization processes may be seen as instances of degrammaticalization.[3)]

(8) Degrammaticalization: a process whereby a grammatical item becomes a less grammatical item
  a. Narrow Definition: more grammatical > less grammatical > lexical
  b. Broad Definition: more grammatical > less grammatical

3.3 Antigrammaticalization

Antigrammaticalization, as coined by Haspelmath (2002), is a morpho-syntactic change that is the opposite of grammaticalization in that it proceeds from the endpoint to the starting point of a potential grammatic-alization and also shows the same intermediate stages (Haspelmath 2004: 27-28). In other words, antigrammaticalization is a mirror-image change of grammaticalization. Therefore, through antigrammaticalization, a gram-matical item may become a less grammatical item, and further a lexical item, along the exactly reverse path of grammaticalization. Since gram-maticalization may proceed in innumerable intermediate stages, instances

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[3] Norde (2009: 8-9) does not include the instances of the change applicable to the narrow definition in degrammaticalization, noting that 'there are no examples of degrammaticalization 'all the way up the cline' — a degrammaticalization chain from suffix all the way to lexical item has not bee attested' (p. 8).

of antigrammaticalization in a strict sense are not expected to be found. In other words, if antigrammaticalization is conceived of as 'token reversal' (Haspelmath 2004: 28), which in reality is impossible, antigrammaticalization cannot be instantiated. However, if the mirror-image is construed in a more loose sense, instances of antigrammaticalization are not hard to find, and in fact become identical with certain instances of degrammaticalization. In this sense antigrammaticalization is a special (and strong) case of degrammaticalization.[4)]

The notion of antigrammaticalization, then, can be summarized as follows:

(9) Antigrammaticalization: a mirror-image change of grammaticalization
   a. Narrow Definition: more grammatical > less grammatical > lesser grammatical .... > (lexical) (in mirror image reversal)
   b. Broad Definition: more grammatical > less grammatical > ...

3.4 Regrammaticalization

Regrammaticalization refers to a process whereby an item that previously did not have any grammatical function now becomes a grammatical item through reanalysis. Though apparently similar to grammaticalization, this process is unique in that it involves new functions attributed to a formerly empty linguistic item. Since the empty forms tend to be grammatical forms that underwent an extreme level of semantic bleaching, often attaining full grammaticalization *en route,* it is likely that the linguistic forms involved in regrammaticalization are grammatical forms whose function may not

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[4] Considering that the neologism 'antigrammaticalization' is a repair term for loosened 'degrammaticalization', broadening the definition of antigrammaticalization to include weaker cases may not be appropriate. However, Haspelmath's (2004) position appears to allow this loose version: "[m]y term antigrammaticalization is intended to cover any type of change that goes against the general direction of grammaticalization (i.e. discourse > syntax > morphology)" (p.28).

be obvious as a result of extreme bleaching. The new function may be either created or may be taken from other grammatical forms.

Among the most widely discussed instances of regrammaticalization is the English article *the,* which started out its life as a demonstrative but spread to all nouns without demonstrative function, as exemplified in *The Mississippi* (Greenberg 1991). Allen (1993), in his discussion of the Latin inchoative suffix *-ēsc-,* illustrates that it has undergone regrammaticalization because it spread to verbs that indicate stages of humans, plants, illnesses, and sensory or intellectual perceptions through reinterpretation in a new function, as shown in such changes as *iuvenis* "young man" > *iuvenēscere* "to grow up", *flōs, flôris* "flower, blossom" > *flôlēscere* "to begin to flower", etc. (Allen 1980: 54, 65, 72, 1993: 3-4; Glare 1983; see also Giacalone Ramat 1998: 109f).[5]

A concept closely resembling regrammaticalization is exaptation (Lass 1990, 1997, Vincent 1995). Originally coined by Gould and Vrba (1982) to denote the co-optation during evolution of structures originally developed for other purposes, the term 'exaptation' refers to 'a kind of conceptual renovation, as it were, of material that is already there, but either serving some other purpose, or serving no purpose at all' (Lass 1997: 316). Exaptation in this sense resembles grammaticalization in that both involves emergence of grammatical function, but are critically different in that grammaticalization typically involves unbroken gradual development of semantics and functions of a form, whereas exaptation involves sudden recruitment of a form for a previously unrelated function. An instance of exaptation is the Dutch number-gender agreement marker which was reanalyzed as a marker of a subclass of morphologically complex attributive

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[5] Narrog (2007: 5) notes that this particular instance involves two 'exaptations' (see below): the one from present tense stem formation to marking inchoative from Proto-Indo-European to Latin, and another one from inchoative marking to person marking in Italian.

adjectives (Lass 1990, 1997).

The notion of regrammaticalization may be summarized as follows:

(10) Regrammaticalization: a process whereby an item that previously did
      not have a grammatical function now becomes a grammatical item
      through reanalysis
   a. Narrow Definition: item with no grammatical function > item with
      a grammatical function[6]
   b. Broad Definition: anything > item with a new or different grammatical
      function

3.4 Terminological Overlap

Since notional confusion is often attributable to the overlap of the
domains covered by the terms as has been briefly mentioned in the
preceding discussion, a deeper look into the conceptual overlap is in order.[7]

3.4.1 Lexicalization and Degrammaticalization

The first type of overlap involves lexicalization and degrammaticaliza-
tion. It has been noted in the preceding exposition that any lexical derivation
from a lexical item or derived from a grammatical item may be an instance
of lexicalization, and that when it refers to the latter, it becomes
indistinguishable with degrammaticalization, as shown in the following:

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[6] Heine et al. (1991: 4 & 262 Note 11) show that the definition can be further narrowed;
they state that "[a] more narrow definition of regrammaticalization would confine the
term to forms that have lost a grammatical function and regain that or some other
function" (p.262).

[7] Despite the expanded application of the term 'grammaticalization' to a wider context
as discussed in Sections 2.2 and 2.3, the discussion of notional overlap issues does
not include these extended notions for the sake of clarity and ease of exposition.

(11) Overlap 1: Lexicalization & Degrammaticalization:

Narrow lexicalization & Narrow degrammaticalization: grammatical
item > lexical item

(12) a. Life has many <u>ups</u> and <u>downs</u>.
b. You can <u>off</u> anybody you don't like.
c. Her <u>ex</u> was a handsome man.
d. He ate the cheeseburger and drank an <u>ade</u>.

As shown in the above, *up, down,* and *off* that belong to the minor
category, i.e. adverb, have been converted to the major category words,
i.e. nouns and verbs. Similarly, the former derivational prefix *ex-* and the
suffix *-ade* are also used as nouns. The final product of these changes
are lexical items, thus qualifying to be lexicalization. As the directionality
of the change in terms of categorial status is the reverse of the direction
normally expected of grammaticalization, these changes may duly be
regarded as degrammaticalization.

3.4.2 Degrammaticalization and Antigrammticalization

The next category of overlap involves degrammaticalization and anti-
grammaticalization. Degrammaticalization, whether in the broad definition,
involves reversal of the grammaticalization path as does antigrammatical-
ization, though the process may not proceed all the way to the lexical
status of the item concerned. As a matter of fact, historically the term
'degrammaticalization' originally referred exclusively to 'antigrammatical-
ization' as stated in the preceding discussion. However, since the term came
to be used in extended senses to include changes that are not mirror-image
changes of grammaticalization, a new term came into existence to refer
to the state of affairs designated by the original notion of degram-
maticalization. The two notions may show the overlap in the following

way:

(13) Overlap 2: Degrammaticalization & Antigrammaticalization
Broad degrammaticalization & Broad antigrammaticalization:
more grammatical > less grammatical > lesser grammatical >....

There are instances that may fall into this category, as shown by the following taken from Haspelmath (2004: 39):

(14) a. English and Mainland Scandinavian genitive suffix -*s* > clitic =*s*
b. Irish 1st person plural subject suffix -*muid* > independent pronoun *muid* (Bybee et al. 1994: 13-4; Roma 1999)
c. Japanese adverbial subordinator -*ga* "although" > free linker *ga* "but" (Matsumoto 1988)
d. Saami abessive suffix **-ptaken* > clitic =*taga* > free postposition *taga*
e. Estonian question marker -*s* > =*es* > free particle *es* (Nevis 1986, Campbell 1991: 290-292)
f. English infinitive prefix *to-* > proclitic *to*=
g. Modern Greek prefix *re-* 'again' > Italian flexible prefix *ri-* (e.g. *ridevo fare* 'I must do again')

The cases in (14) above show the reversed direction of change from bound to free forms. The resultant 'freedom' the form acquires through this process may be of total autonomy as is the case with Irish *muid,* Japanese *ga,* Saami *taga,* Estonian *es*; or only relative as in English =*s* and *to*= and Italian *ri-*.

It is noteworthy, however, that none of these changes seems to be exact mirror image of the change that previously occurred to these forms in terms of form, meaning, and categorial status. Since they do not involve all levels of change, but only the decrease in morphological boding, Idiatov (2008:

159-160) considers these cases instances of 'antimorphologization' rather than antigrammaticalization.

3.4.3 Lexicalization & Antigrammaticalization

As was discussed in the foregoing exposition, the narrow definition of lexicalization refers to the process whereby any grammatical form becomes a lexical item. Likewise, the broad definition of antigrammaticalization refers to the process whereby any grammatical form becomes less grammatical, though it may not involve strict mirror-image reversal. The two notions converge when the antigrammaticalization process involves the creation of a lexical item, i.e. when the product at the final stage of the two processes is a lexical item.

(15) Overlap 3: Lexicalization & Antigrammaticalization:
   Narrow lexicalization & Broad antigrammaticalization: grammatical > lexical

An interesting case is reported by Burridge (1995, 1998) with respect to lexicalization as a degrammaticalization process with reference to Pennsylvania German spoken in Waterloo County, Canada. In Pennsylvania German has developed the full verb *wotte* 'to wish' from the preterite subjunctive of modal *welle* 'to want to'. Etymologically, *wotte* is the rounded vowel variant of *wette,* the preterite subjunctive form of the modal auxiliary *welle* 'to want'. However, *wotte* is rapidly developing into an autonomous verb with full lexical meaning 'to wish, desire' thus becoming synonymous with the verb *winsche* 'to wish' (Norde 2010: 139).[8]

This instance undoubtedly represents a case of lexicalization in that a former 'grammatical' item has become a 'lexical' item; and, incidentally,

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[8] Norde (2010) presents the Pennsylvania German case as an example of 'degrammation'.

of degrammaticalization in that a more grammatical item has become less grammatical. Similarly, since this case represents the development of a grammatical item into a lexical item, it may qualify as an instance of antigrammaticalization in a broad sense, i.e. if antigrammaticalization is construed as not strictly requiring a mirror-image reversal.

3.4.4 Lexicalization, Degrammaticalization & Antigrammaticalization

Since lexicalization, degrammaticalization and antigrammaticalization can be defined as separate notions (overlapping commonalities notwith-standing), it is logically possible to have an area intersected by all these three notions. This area is represented by the narrow definition of lexicalization, the narrow definition of degrammaticalization and the broad definition of antigrammaticalization. As was discussed, the narrow definit-ion of lexicalization refers to the process whereby any grammatical form becomes a lexical item. The narrow definition of degrammaticalization designates the change from a grammatical item to a lexical item. Likewise, the broad definition of antigrammaticalization refers to the process whereby any grammatical form becomes less grammatical. The three notions converge when the antigrammaticalization process involves the creation of a lexical item, i.e. when the product at the final stage of the three processes is a lexical item.

(16) Overlap 4: Lexicalization, Degrammaticalization & antigrammaticalization:
   Narrow lexicalization, Narrow degrammaticalization & Broad antigram-
   maticalization: grammatical > lexical

Any cases represented by this overlap should be indistinguishable with the previous case, i.e. the overlap of lexicalization and antigrammaticaliza-tion. This is an expected consequence because antigrammaticalization is a stronger notion than degrammaticalization and thus it is largely true that

the former is a subset of the latter.

3.4.5 Grammaticalization & Regrammaticalization

As was discussed previously, grammaticalization refers to any change whereby a linguistic form involved in the process moves from a less grammatical (including lexical) to more grammatical category. Likewise, regrammaticalization refers to a process whereby an item that previously did not have any grammatical function now becomes a grammatical item through reanalysis.

As has been pointed out in the preceding discussion, the forms involved in regrammaticalization tend to be, or need to be, grammatical forms whose function may not be synchronically apparent, unlike the forms involved in grammaticalization processes whose functions are not, or do not need to be.

(17) Overlap 5: Grammaticalization & Regrammaticalization:
Narrow grammaticalization & Narrow regrammaticalization: item with no grammatical function > item with a grammatical function

Examples of regrammaticalization often cited are the English article *the,* and a noun marker being employed as a verbal nominalizer (Greenberg 1991) and the Latin inchoative suffix *-ēsc-,* as illustrated above (see 3.4 above). More recently Wegener (2008) argues that linking elements in German are instances of regrammaticalization through reanalysis of the inflectional classes (that became afunctional 'junk' due to the decline of the original endings) either as plural markers or as linking elements.

From a practical point of view, the cases that may be regarded either as an instance of grammaticalization or as one of regrammaticalization are hard to find, largely because it is not clear to what extent the 'junks' that enter the regrammaticalization process were 'moribund', or devoid of

function. Therefore, it is not clear if there can be instances where a form entirely devoid of grammatical functions through complete semantic bleaching becomes a grammatical form.

Furthermore, in order for a form to qualify for both, any instance that involves a form associated with a weak function, however weak it may be, entering the regrammaticalization process, needs to be associated with a more grammatical function, since grammaticalization should involve an increase in grammaticality. For instance, with reference to the cases cited above, it is difficult to determine if an article is more grammatical than a demonstrative; if a verbal nominalizer is more grammatical than a noun marker; if a linker is more grammatical than an inflectional marker, etc.

Therefore, the merge of grammaticalization and regrammaticalization is theoretically possible but such instances seem to be very hard to find. If such cases are found, they need to show discontinuity between the defunct function and the novel function, and that their grammaticalization process is not that of spread but of innovation.

3.5 The Notion of 'Grammar'

The discussion of the notions 'grammaticalization' and 'degrammaticalization' leads to a even more fundamental issue of what 'grammar' is. It is due to the fact that the notion of grammaticalization implicitly posits the lexis-grammar distinction and the gradience of 'grammaticality'. Of particular importance in this context are the arguments against grammaticalization as an academic discipline. Therefore a brief discussion on this issue is in order.

There have been claims, made in Newmeyer (1998, 2001) in particular, that the alleged grammaticalization phenomena are epiphenomena and that the notion is not defensible since there are counter-examples.

As Cumming (1995) correctly points out, most of the controversies seem

to come from the different notions about what 'grammar' is. When 'grammar' is conceived of as an oppositional concept of 'lexicon', grammaticalization is understood as a movement from the lexicon to the grammar. However, many linguists today reject the hard-and-fast distinction between lexicon and grammar. This is well illustrated in the concept of 'emergent grammar' (Hopper 1987) and 'emergent lexicon' (Bybee 2007).

Furthermore, when grammaticalization is understood as semantic change, any semantic change that can be characterized as 'abstraction' is considered an instance of grammaticalization. Semantic generalization or abstraction is concomitant of grammaticalization but it constitutes only a part of the general pictures of grammaticalization, and thus it cannot be equated with grammaticalization.

In a similar vein, there are people who espouse the idea that grammaticalization is a movement from discourse to syntax, a change well captured in the famous aphorism 'Today's syntax is yesterday's discourse'. In this case there arises a difficult question when the 'tight construction' has evolved out of a 'loose construction' (Cumming 1995).

3.5.1 Contra Grammaticalization

Newmeyer (1998, 2001) states that the alleged grammaticalization phenomena are epiphenomena and the notion is not defensible since there are counter-examples. Likewise, Joseph (2001) contends that grammaticalization is not really a process. Rather, it is instead an epiphenomenon, an effect. Campbell (2001) also states that grammaticalization is derivative, i.e. it has no independent status of its own, but rather relies on other processes and mechanisms of linguistic change which are independent of grammaticalization.

Echoing the same stance against grammaticalization, Janda (2001) asserts that "there in fact is no grammaticalization — in the sense that what is

often called 'grammaticalization (theory)' is actually an epiphenomenon which results from the intersection and interaction of other, independently motivated domains relevant for the synchronic and diachronic functioning of language (and linguistics)" (p.266).

3.5.2 Pro Grammaticalization

Countering the claims against grammaticalization, Haspelmath (1996, 2004) asserts that alleged counterexamples are 'conversions' and that unidirectionality is valid. He says grammaticalization shows pervasive patterns found frequently across non-related languages. As he correctly points out, these pervasive patterns make a sharp contrast with what can be found in Chomskyan literature, since, according to the latter, "if one thinks of crosslinguistic variation in terms of different settings of innate parameters, then one expects language change to be "essentially a random "walk" through the space of possible parameter settings" (Battye and Roberts (1995: 11)" (Haspelmath 2004: 35).

Similarly, Dahl (1996) aptly points out that "[g]rammaticalization is unidirectional in about the same sense as biological processes such as growth, maturation, and aging are. As we grow up, we become taller; in old age, we may shrink a little. However, we would not expect a child to start becoming shorter and shorter and finally return to its mother's womb. Calling grammaticalization as an epiphenomenon is like saying that since love and sex can occur without each other, they are totally different phenomena. To support such a claim one has to show not only that the processes can occur independently but also that they are unrelated even in the well-documented cases when they show up together."

Clarifying the positional differences between functionalists and formalists, Hopper and Traugott (2003: 133) state that "grammaticalization is a functionalist theory — a theory about the interaction of language and

use; the questions posed in functional and formal theories are not identical (Croft 1995; van Kemenade 1999)" and that "grammaticalization is a theory with dual prongs: diachronic and synchronic." They assert that many counterexamples are covered by degrammaticalization, lexicalization, and exaptation.

3.5.3 The Grammar-Lexis Continuum

As Cumming (1995) states, the concept of 'grammar' is crucial in linguistic theorizing. In the same manner the concept of 'lexis' is also crucial. In this context, Hopper's (1987) notion of 'emergent grammar', and Bybee's (2007) notion of 'emergent lexicon' are of particular importance.

According to the notion of 'emergent grammar', grammar is not a rigid and self-contained system, but a fluid and open system. This is well illustrated by Hopper (1987) in the following statement:

(18) "The notion of Emergent Grammar is meant to suggest that structure, or regularity, comes out of discourse and is shaped by discourse as much as it shapes discourse in an on-going process. Grammar is hence not to be understood as a pre-requisite for discourse, a prior possession attributable in identical form to both speaker and hearer. Its forms are not fixed templates, but are negotiable in face-to-face interaction in ways that reflect the individual speakers' past experience of these forms, and their assessment of the present context, including especially their interlocutors, whose experiences and assessments may be quite different." (1987: 142)

This position is directly against the notion of *a priori* grammar, because the grammatical system, i.e. the regularities of language, is constantly in the making.

In the same vein, Bybee (1998, 2007) proposes the notion of 'emergent

lexicon'. According to Bybee (2007: 279), "[t]he data examined provide support for the proposals that much of linguistic knowledge is procedural knowledge, that chunks of linguistic experience much larger than the analytic units of morphemes or even words are the usual units of storage and processing, that there is no real separation of lexicon from grammar, and that phonological alternations whose domain is larger than a word can indicate the size of processing units." Essentially, Bybee (2007), in the same spirit with Hopper (1987), asserts that grammar and lexicon are not separable. Just as grammar (i.e. regularities in language) reflects individual experiences and assessments, so does the lexicon.

In a similar fashion, Rhee (2004a, 2004b), in a discussion of grammaticalization and lexicalization of rhetorical questions, states that the phenomena presented in the research suggest that grammar and lexicon do not have a distinct boundary between them. A linguistic form fully compositional on the surface may function as a single grammatical item. Since rhetorical questions are fundamentally discursive and involve large chunks of linguistic strings rather than single words, their grammaticalization phenomena are unavoidably unclear in certain aspects, but at the same time effectively show that grammar and lexicon form a continuum rather than exist as two separate entities.

The implication of this notion of grammar-lexicon continuum is that the nature of grammatical rules cannot be clearly delineated. Therefore, rules may exist according to their 'strength' (cf. Bybee 2007: 280, 'lexical strength') rather than a dichotomy of rules and non-rules. Therefore, positing rigid rules and the presence of the cases violating such rules need not be a serious problem in the state of affairs with language.

3.5.4 Dimensions of Grammaticalization

At the heart of the controversy over whether a particular case is an

instance of grammaticalization or not, and, for that matter, which label should be used, is the confusion in applying grammaticalization parameters to particular aspects of the change. It is widely recognized that grammaticalization involves many dimensions: phonological, semantic, categorial, etc. Some aspects are considered central and thus are essential criteria, while others are considered peripheral and thus are mere concomitant changes. Therefore, it is necessary to set up dimensions of grammaticalization as follows:

(19) Dimensions of Grammaticalization
    A. Central:
        a. Functions: lexical > grammatical
        b. Categories: primary > secondary

    B. Concomitant:
        a. Phonology: high phonetic substance > low phonetic substance
        b. Semantics: concrete meaning > abstract meaning
        c. Levels of Grammar: discourse > syntax > morphology

One of the benefits of setting up dimensions of grammaticalization as above is that we can differentiate changes that are *bona fide* instances of grammaticalization from those that are not. For instance, if a case of change involves mere meaning change or sound change, it may not qualify for grammaticalization *per se*. However, if a change involves a [lexical > grammatical] change, it is an instance of grammaticalization regardless of whether it involves sound or morpho-syntactic change.

4. Summary and Conclusion

This paper addressed the four major issues related to the terminology in grammaticalization studies: terminological overlap, the grammar-lexis

continuum, grammaticalization as a linguistic theory, and dimensions in grammaticalization.

4.1 Terminology

In the foregoing discussion, diverse terms associated with grammaticalization and degrammaticalization were reviewed. It has been noted that there are areas of conceptual overlap in the geography of grammaticalization- and degrammaticalization-related notions that may be diagrammatically represented as in (20), and each designated area may be as shown in (21):

(20) Terminological Overlap
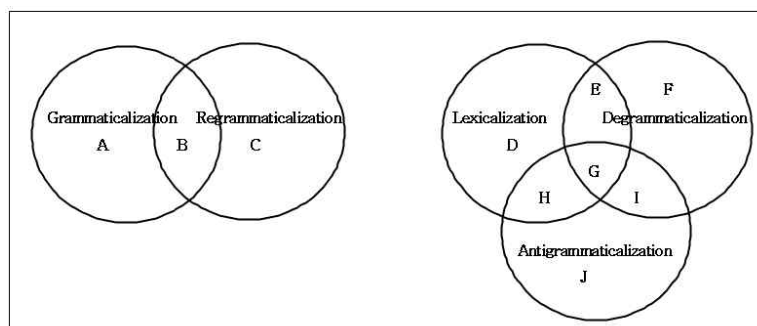
(21) A: Grammaticalization (Narrow): lexical > grammatical;
　　　less grammatical > more grammatical
　 B: Grammaticalization (Narrow) & Regrammaticalization (Narrow):
　　　no grammatical function > grammatical function
　 C: Regrammaticalization (Broad): anything > item with a new or different
　　　grammatical function
　 D: Lexicalization (Broad): anything > lexical
　 E: Lexicalization (Narrow) & Degrammaticalization (Narrow):
　　　grammatical > lexical

F: Degrammaticalization (Broad): more grammatical > less grammatical

G: Lexicalization (Narrow) & Degrammaticalization (Narrow) & Anti-grammaticalization (Broad): grammatical > lexical

H: Lexicalization (Narrow) & Antigrammaticalization (Broad): grammatical > lexical

I: Degrammaticalization (Broad) & Antigrammaticalization (Broad): more grammatical > less grammatical > lesser grammatical

J: Antigrammaticalization (Narrow): more grammatical > less grammatical

4.2 Grammar-Lexis

It has been argued in the preceding discussion that the distinction between grammar and lexis is not clear. The notion of grammar, in the sense of a set of regular patterns of language, is a result of repeated use in the course of interactive communicative negotiation, and the 'rules' are not uniformly robust but of differential strengths. Therefore, it is more apt to say that grammar is not *a priori* but emergent. The same conceptualization can be applied to the lexicon.

4.3 Grammaticalization as a Theory

This paper addressed the diverse terms related to 'grammaticalization' and the terms commonly associated with the phenomena as opposed to grammaticalization.

It has been shown that there are definitional differences depending on the different focus of the theoretical framework, and that there exist considerable overlap among similar terms. Furthermore, it is shown that the recent claims disputing the usefulness of the terms suggesting that the states described by those terms are in fact epiphenomena are in fact stemming from different conceptualization of 'grammar'. It is argued that such claims intending to invalidate the grammaticalization scholarship are

in fact not well-grounded, because they fail to consider the fundamental differences in the conceptualization of grammar.

4.4 Dimensions in Grammaticalization

Grammaticalization addresses the issues in language change from a broad view, involving multiple facets of grammar at all levels, syntactic, semantic, phonological, and otherwise. Therefore, it is proposed here that the dimension be separated so that central criteria can be differentiated from peripheral, concomitant changes. According to this dimensional viewpoint, a change involving functional and categorial shift is considered a grammaticalization process, while other changes, such as phonological, semantic, syntagmatic changes, do not qualify as grammaticalization in themselves.

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