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## Frame of Focus in Grammaticalization\*

Seongha Rhee

(Hankuk University of Foreign Studies)

Rhee, Seongha. 2000. *Frame of Focus in Grammaticalization*. *Discourse and Cognition* 7.2, 79-104. There has been a large body of literature in the field of grammaticalization that attempts to identify exact nature of semantic change and to translate the findings in terms of grammaticalization models. This paper addresses an interesting phenomenon of semantic change that *prima facie* involves antonymization if the meanings of the source and the result are compared. This peculiar type of semantic change in the course of grammaticalization poses a problem for current grammaticalization models because none of them to date can accommodate such types of semantic changes. This paper attempts to provide an exposition as to the genesis of such semantic changes that can account for such rather bizarre phenomena. It is argued here that the process of antonymization is a product of the changes of the speaker's viewpoint that shifts between microscopic and telescopic frames of foci on the event schema, in the course of interlocutors' pragmatic enrichment in meaning negotiation. (Hankuk University of Foreign Studies)

### 1. Introduction

One of the most interesting phenomena in the development of grammatical items is that there are certain patterns in semantic changes. In the field of historical linguistics many researchers tried to exhaustively catalogue the types of such semantic changes. Until the advent of modern grammaticalization theories,

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however, the driving forces of semantic changes did not receive much scholastic attention. Grammaticalization theories aim at identifying such forces in human cognition as well as in discourse interactions, and thus provide a lucid explanation as to 'how's and 'why's of linguistic changes. This paper presents a typology of semantic changes; provide cases of antonymization from various languages; presents grammaticalization models and examines suitability for antonymization; and identify the mechanism behind such antonymous semantic changes.

## 2. Semantic Changes in General

Semantic changes attested in the historical procession are always subtle and gradual, so much so that language users are unaware of their ever-present fluctuations. Changes become noticeable only after aggregate changes warrant semantic domain shift. The following is an extensive list of semantic change types attested in English *a la* Room (1986).

(1)

	Type	Characteristics	Examples
a	functional transfer	meaning change due to change of thing denoted	<i>hospital, secretary...</i>
b	narrowing	meaning change from wide to narrow	<i>corpse, deer...</i>
c	pejoration	meaning change from good to bad/neutral	<i>cheat, hussy...</i>
d	expansion	meaning change from narrow to wide	<i>beach, evening...</i>
e	associated transfer	new meaning by association with prime sense & subsequent development	<i>bureau, bead...</i>
f	abstraction	meaning change from concrete to abstract	<i>polite, refund...</i>
g	amelioration	meaning change from bad to good/neutral	<i>boy, nice...</i>
h	weakening	meaning change from strong to weak/trivial	<i>awful, friend...</i>
i	scientific correction	meaning redefined/redesignated due to scientific discovery	<i>meteor, philology...</i>
j	artificial deflection	meaning change through false etymology	<i>belfry, arbour...</i>
k	strengthening	meaning change from weak/neutral to strong	<i>disgust, gale...</i>

In the typology given above no true instances of antonymization are included. With all likelihood the types that may be closest to a change into antonymous meanings are (1c) perjoration, (1g) amelioration, (1h) weakening, and (1k) strengthening, since they involve shifts between 'good' and 'bad', and between 'strong' and 'weak'. For example, *hussy* with its current meaning of 'disputable or immoral woman' simply came from 'housewife' without any such pejorative connotation, thus characterizing the change as one from 'good/neutral' to 'bad'. Similarly, or rather conversely from a semantic point of view, the word *boy* with its usual meaning of 'young male' came from 'male servant' with a 'lowly' connotation, resulting in a change of 'bad' to 'good/neutral'. For weakening and strengthening, *awful* and *disgust* illustrate the point. The word *awful* was derived from *awe*, which is still transparent in form, meaning 'full of awe', which was weakened later to a point that it simply means 'bad'. The word *gale* on the other hand underwent change from its former sense of 'gentle breeze' to its current usual sense of 'strong wind'.<sup>1)</sup>

All these instances of apparent antonymization are not cases of antonymization *per se*, because even though they show  $[A > \neg A]$  or  $[\neg A > A]$  type of semantic changes, cases arguable as antonymization from a strictly logical point of view, they rather involve gradient sense of antonymization as illustrated in, say, [poor > not poor] change, where 'not poor' not necessarily designates 'rich'. More interesting cases of antonymization should involve more strictly opposite pairs in gradience like *poor*↔*rich*, or complementary pairs like *dead*↔*alive*, or relational opposite pairs like *buy*↔*sell*. It seems, however, that there are extremely few, if any, such instances attested in language.<sup>2)</sup> With this in mind we now turn to a discussion of the cases in focus.

### 3. Cases of Antonymization in Focus

Unlike semantic changes illustrated in (1), where the words with changed

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- 1) As a matter of fact, *gale* has been consistently and regularly used with its current meaning of 'strong wind' since the 16th century. However, a sense 'gentle breeze' arose in the 18th century for an unknown reason and then its meaning changed back to its original meaning.
  - 2) An interesting case is attested in Korean. In MidK the word *sAta* (= *ssAta*, *psAta*) used to mean 'expensive', which changed into ModK *ssata* to mean 'cheap' — its strict opposite sense.

meanings did not change their grammatical categories, i.e. mostly nouns, verbs and adjectives, instantly reminding one of the so-called 'lexical categories', the cases that come into the focus of our discussion largely belong to the 'functional categories'. However, as will become clear in the course of exposition, most — or theoretically all — came from the lexical categories. We will look at some of such instances in Korean, Chinese, Old French, and English in turn.

### 3.1 Korean *pwutha*<sup>3)</sup>

Let us first consider the following examples from Korean.<sup>4)</sup>

- (2) a. *thel*      *pAsth-un*      *kacok*  
         hair      adhere-Adn      skin  
         'hide(skin with hair)'                              (Yekeyuhaypo 49, 1775)
- b. *yekuy-nAn* *enAy* *skuy* *puthu-si-li-la*      *nilA-Ap-nAn-ko*  
         here-Top    which    time    adhere-Hon-Fut-Comp    say-Hon-Pres-Q  
         'When are you saying that you will be arriving here?'  
    (Chephaysine 5:11, 1676)
- c. *kewulu-eysye* *na-∅*      *pswuk-ey*      *puth-wutAy*  
         mirror-from    exit-Conn    mugwort-at    adhere-Conn  
         '(The fire) comes out of a mirror and catches the mugwort plant,  
         but...'                              (Nungemkyeng enhay 3:75, 1462)

3) The Korean verbs are presented in the form of [root + *ta* (infinitive marker)], unless otherwise indicated. Therefore in actual data only the root forms will appear followed by various inflectional markers.

4) For ease of transliteration of Korean data from the pre-modern Korean periods, the Extended Yale System as proposed in Rhee (1996) was used. The abbreviations in the gloss are as follows: Ablat: ablative, Acc: accusative, Adn: adnominal, Classif: classifier, Comp: complementizer, Conn: connective, Dat: dative, Dec: declarative, Dim: diminutive, Fut: future, Gen: genitive, Grad: graduality, Hon: honorific, Hort: hortative, Ing: ingressive, Intsif: intensifier, ModE: Modern English, ModK: Modern Korean, Nom: nominative, OE: Old English, Pl: plural, Pres: present, Pst: past, Q: interrogative, and Top: topic.

- d. pAlAm-Ay    puth-un                    tAy-l                    kwuhA-yato  
 wind-Gen    adhere-Adn                    place-Acc                    seek-even.though  
 'Even though I try to find out where the wind originates from, ...'  
 (Nungemkyeng enhay 3:85, 1462)

As is seen in the above examples, the verb *pAsthta* (or its historical or textual variants *puthta* and *pwuthta*) denoted 'adhere' with strong reference to physical contact, which is evidenced in 'arrive' (2b) and 'catch' (2c). The sense in (2d) seems ambiguous in that *puthta* in this example can either mean 'where the wind attaches' or 'where the wind originates'. Both senses are attributable to its original meaning of the wind's being in contact with the place. From a grammaticalization point of view this ambiguity is significant in that it provides flexibility in sense negotiation, thus making both senses available and allowing interlocutors to select one deemed optimal in the context. This type of dual meaning availability is well demonstrated by Heine *et al.* (1991:164) as in the following.

- (3) a. From Cologne to Vienna it is 600 miles.  
 b. From Cologne to Vienna it is 10 hours by train.  
 c. He was asleep all the way/all the time from Cologne to Vienna.  
 d. To get to Vienna, you travel from morning to evening.

Heine *et al.* argue that the prepositions *from* and *to* in (3a) have a locative meaning, and in (3d) a temporal one — a clear instance of the SPACE to TIME metaphor. In (3b) and (3c) the situation can be understood either spatially or temporally, or else as being neither clearly spatial nor temporal (Heine *et al.* 1991b:165). Heine *et al.* further argue that the SPACE to TIME metaphor in the changes from (3a) to (3d) was made possible by the conceptual continuity manifested in (3c) and (3d). As shall be clear in the subsequent discussion a similar state-of-affairs seems to be operative in the semantic development of the verb *pwuthta* under discussion now.

Now let us consider a different usage of the verb *pwuthta* and its variants as shown in the following.

- (4) a. *sesayng-i po-zAv-a tongci-lAl puthe o-ni*  
 scholar-Nom see-Hon-Conn same.aspiration-Acc Ablat come-as  
 'When the scholar saw (King Taejong's great calibre), he joined him  
 out of/with the kindred aspirations,...' (Yongpiechenka 97, 1447)
- b. *cennyen-puthe hanAlh-i kAmAl-a*  
 last.year-Ablat heaven-Nom dry-Conn  
 'As there has been drought since last year, ...' (Nokeltay 1517)
- c. *pap-pwuthe mek-ko swul-ul mek-ca*  
 meal-Ablat eat-Conn liquor-Acc eat-Hort  
 'Let's eat first and then drink.' (ModK)

In the above examples *puthta* or its variants are used with a non-finite marker *-e*, thus in the forms of *puthe* or *pwuthe*. Their function is invariably that of ablative marker, with (4a) having semantic ambiguity with the associative meaning, i.e. 'having the aspirations'. One of the morpho-syntactic characteristics of this verb with ablative marking function is that the noun phrase this verb attaches to appears predominantly with an accusative case marker, a significant change from its previous predominant use of allative, thus suggesting that the later use of 'source' is closely related to the verb's semantic change of [motion toward > association with]. In more recent data it appears in a bare noun phrase form. Since Korean allows dropping of many case markers from NP this may not look significant, but its increase in textual frequency is indicative of that it is infringing on a syntactic slot largely reserved for case markers, and thus gaining ground as a case marker itself.

The semantic change of the verb *pwuthta* can be largely schematized as follows:

- (5) *pwuthta* 'adhere': [motion toward x > with x > from x]

### 3.2 Chinese *gen*

Now we turn our discussion to a similar phenomenon attested in Chinese. Let us consider some examples of the word *gen*, which has various meanings with different parts of speech.<sup>5)</sup>

(6) a. heel:

wo de jiao hou gen  
I Gen foot rear heel 'my heel'

b. follow:

gen wo lai  
follow I come 'Follow me.'

c. allative:

gen qunzhong xuanbu  
to public inform 'to inform the public'

d. comitative:

wo gen ta zai yiqi gongzuo  
I with he exist together work 'He works with me.'

e. existential:

ta zheng gen gia li ne  
he just exist house inside End

f. conjunction:

wo gen ta shi xuesheng  
I andhe be student 'He and I are students.'

g. ablative:

zhe ben shu ni gen shei jie de?  
this Classif book you from who borrow Gen  
'From whom did you borrow this book?'

The semantic changes of *gen* can be largely schematized as follows:

(7) *gen* 'heel/follow': [heel > follow > to > with > from]

- 5) These Chinese examples are given without tone marking. Most of these examples are due to H. Park, Y. Kim, and W. Du, p.c. I am grateful for their assistance and comments. Example (6e) is from *Hyentay Chinese-Korean Dictionary* (Han-ul Publishing) and (6g) is from *Chinese-Korean Dictionary* (Chin-myung Publishing).

### 3.3 Old French *à*

Kilroe (1994) presents an interesting phenomenon associated with the development of *à* in French. In its earlier history, i.e. in Latin, the preposition *ad* could mark the following (Kilroe, 1994:52).

- (8) a. motion, direction  
 b. spatial/temporal/abstract limit  
 c. position, situation  
 d. addition, increment, application  
 e. response, opposition, dealing with  
 f. accordance, comparison, standard  
 g. function, purpose, result

In its later stage, i.e. Old French, its descendant *à* had the following functions.

- (9) a. allative: direction toward  
 b. locative: in (spatial/temporal)  
 c. comitative: with  
 d. ablative: source/agent

From the illustration given above, the semantic change of Latin *ad* to Old French *à* can be largely schematized as follows:

- (10) *à* [motion toward > association > motion from]

### 3.4 English *out of*

Now let us turn our discussion to an English complex preposition *out of*. In Modern English *out of* has a large range of meanings, the major usages of which can be shown as follows:

- (11) a. It was out of my intention. (with intention; intentionally)  
 b. I asked out of curiosity. (with curiosity)  
 c. His behavior was out of decorum. (without decorum; rudely)



- d. Fish cannot live out of water.      (without water; outside the water)  
 e. We are out of milk.                      (without milk)
- (Rhee 1996:314-315)

In the above examples, it is interesting to note that examples (11a) and (11b) have *out of* with the meaning of 'association', i.e. 'with', which places focus on the origin of and co-existence with something from which the following NP originates. On the other hand in examples (11c), (11d), and (11e), *out of* means 'dissociation', i.e. 'without', which places focus on the gap or displacement from the NP being predicated of.

The semantic change of the preposition *out of* can be largely schematized as follows:

- (12) *out of* [with > without]

#### 4. Models of Semantic Changes in Grammaticalization

Thus far in the preceding sections we have looked through cross-linguistic instances of antonymization in the course of grammaticalization. Now we will examine if this particular type of semantic changes can be accommodated in the major grammaticalization models in current theories.

Various models for semantic changes have been proposed by numerous grammaticalization scholars. Here we will begin our cursory examination of the five major models as proposed in Heine *et al.* (1991a).

##### 4.1 Bleaching Model

This model, perhaps due to its intuitive simplicity, was largely subscribed by early grammaticalization scholars, such as Gabelenz (1891, cf. Verbleichung) and Meillet (1912, affaiblissement/dégradation). The essence of the change model can be presented as [AB > A], where the former semantic components are gradually lost in the course of change, as its name straightforwardly suggests. Exemplary cases lending support to this model are as follows:

(13) a. Latin *de* > French *de*

x is on top of y, then x moves down and away from y

> x moves from y

> x from/of y

(Lehmann 1982:127)

b. OE *sceal* > ModE *shall*

x has to do something, and it is to pay/return money/thing to y

> x has to do something

> x will do something

(Lehmann 1982:127)

In examples above we can see that semantic components of Latin *de* is gradually lost en route to French *de*, which can be recapitulated as losing DELATIVE and MOTION in turn. Likewise, we can also see the loss of semantic components from the development of OE *sceal* into ModE *shall*, where RECIPROCITY and OBLIGATION components are lost in turn.

This model captures some of the important semantic loss phenomena excellently. However, it is not a feasible model for the antonymization phenomena.

#### 4.2 Loss-and-Gain Model

Another model frequently subscribed to by many grammaticalization scholars, notably Traugott & König (1991) *inter alia*, is the Loss-and-Gain Model, where the semantic changes are thought to be characterizable as [AB > BC]. Let us consider the following examples.

(14) a. I have done quite a bit of writing since we last met.

b. Since Susan left him, John has been very miserable.

c. Since you are not coming with me, I will have to go alone.

d. Since you are so angry, there is no point in talking with you.

(Traugott & König 1991:194-195)

In the above examples the connective marker *since* is shown to carry the 'temporal' and/or 'causal' meanings. For instance, in (14a) *since* primarily carries 'temporal' meaning. In (14c) and (14d) the usage is clearly 'causal'. In (14b), on the other hand, it is ambiguous between 'temporal' and 'causal'. Traugott &

König (1991) argue that in the progression of grammaticalization the original 'temporal' meaning is gradually lost, but on the other hand it acquires a new meaning of causality, as in [temporal > temporal/causal > causal].

Even though it is true that most grammatical items acquire new semantic functions while losing some of the original ones, it is rather hard for the model to account for the acquisition of 'antonymous' meanings in the process.

### 4.3 Overlapping Model

Another model for semantic changes in grammaticalization is the Overlapping Model, where changes are characterized as [A > AB > B]. It can be illustrated by the following examples in English.

- (15) a. I can only type very slowly as I am quite a beginner.  
 b. Well I think there is a place where I can get a cheap kettle.  
 c. Can I pour you your tea? (permission)

(Coates 1983:87-95)

In (15a) *can* is used for its 'ability' sense; in (15b) for 'possibility'; and in (15c) for 'permission'. All these senses are not used singly at any time period excluding other senses. Instead, newly created senses join the stock of senses already in use, thus creating multiple layers of semantics of a single word. This is the major cause of semantic ambiguity associated with grammaticalizing items.

This model clearly captures an important aspect of grammaticalization, i.e. synchronic semantic layering as a result of diachronic meaning creation. However, there is no place in the model where the antonymization under our current focus might fit in.

### 4.4 Prototype Extension Model

Still another model to characterize the semantic changes in grammaticalization is the Prototype Extension Model. This model is built upon the idea brought forth by Givón (1989) who argues that prototypical extension is the most general principle in the operations of human perception, cognition and language. The following is an example of *will* in English proposed in Aijmer (1985:11-20).

- (16) a. Tonstenc ðiode ða Ʒefeht willað 'Destroy the people who want fight.'  
(Vesp.) (Volition)
- b. I wol gladly yelden hire my place (Chaucer 1386) (Volition~ + Futurity+)
- c. Tell them you had an automobile accident and your car won't operate.  
(Capacity)
- d. he þonne wile deman ... anra gehwilcum 'he then will judge each'  
(Dream of the Rood 103) (Volition + Futurity)
- e. You will light my fire at 7 o'clock. (1905 Onions) (Obligation)
- f. I am aferd there wylle be somethyng amyss (c.1450, Coventry Myst)  
(Epistemic)
- g. yn drunkenes men wyl rage (1303, Rob of Brynne) (Disposition)
- h. Hwærne wylle Ʒe synƷan æfen oþþe nihtsanƷc? 'When "will" you  
sing the evening or night song?' (Ælfric, Colloq 276) (Habit)

From the above example, we can see various senses of *will* that were created in the course of grammaticalization. A defining characteristic of this model is that the changes are viewed as non-linear extension, but as an outward extension from the prototype to non-prototypical, i.e. peripheral senses, which in due course shall become prototypes. This model can capture the fact that most senses seemingly created as novel meanings are in fact peripherally available from the beginning.

This model, however, finds it very difficult intuitively to accommodate the antonymization phenomena because the future antonyms are by no means available as the peripheral senses of the prototypical meaning of a grammaticalizing item.

#### 4.5 Metonymic-Metaphorical Model

A more comprehensive model that incorporates the merits and eliminates the weaknesses of other models is the Metonymic-Metaphorical Model. In this model the semantic changes can be represented as [X > xa > A > ab > B > bc > C ...], where the driving force of the changes is the context-induced reinterpretation. When context-induced interpretations in the microstructure are accumulated it may warrant metaphorical transfer in the macrostructure. The following is an example of the semantic progression of the English verb *go*.



When event schemas are utilized the language user uses his or her frame of focus on the event schema. This is natural in the sense that constructing event schemas itself is a focusing activity whereby details are ignored and basic structures are retained. The only difference is that event schema is holistic and framing of focus is selectively partial over the schema. However, unfocused parts of the event schema may remain inactive yet still available for other focusing activities. I argue that with varying degrees of extent all semantic change phenomena are in fact a product of the interaction between the event (or image) schemas and the focusing activities. To illustrate the point of the interaction let us consider the following examples of various grammaticalized usages of the Korean verb *tulta* taken from Rhee (1996, 1998).

(18) a. *tulta* 'enter' (main verb)

## b. ingressive

sonnim-tul-i      tule-takchi-ess-ta  
 visitor-Pl-Nom    Ing-arrive-Pst-Dec  
 'Visitors arrived (without notice).'

## c. diminutive graduality

nampi-uy    mwul-i      col-a tul-ess-ta  
 pan-Gen    water-Nom    boil.down-DimGrad-Pst-Dec  
 'The water in the pan got boiled away.'

## d. intensifier

ku-nun      elun-eykey    tuli-tempi-n-ta  
 he-Top      senior-Dat    Intsif-challenge-Pres-Dec  
 'He challenges a senior person (recklessly).'

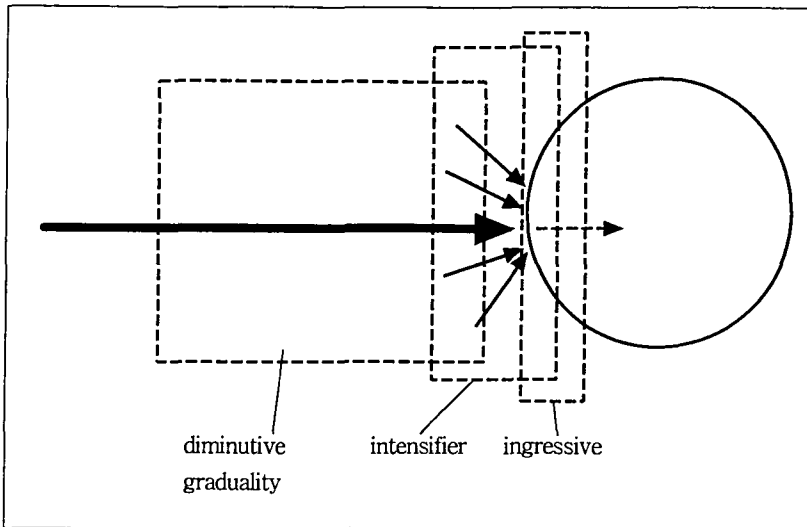
## e. viewpoint (imprudence)

ku-nun      cakkwu    ttaci-lye      tul-ess-ta  
 he-Top      repeatedly argue-in.order.to    enter-Pst-Dec  
 'He dared to argue again and again.'

In the above examples, grammaticalized forms of *tulta* carry various meanings such as ingressive, diminutive graduality, intensifier, and speaker's

viewpoint of imprudence. All these senses as a whole are derived from a schema of 'entering' event. Individual senses are generated as a result of differing frames of focus. Figure 1 below illustrates such varying frames over the event schema and the resultant grammaticalized meanings.

Figure 1  
'Entering' Schema with Frames of Focus



In Figure 1, the circle and the arrows represent our schematic conception of 'entering' event. The dotted squares represent the frames of focus the language users utilize in viewing the event. The circle is a conceptual enclosed space into which entering movement is effected. The arrows represent motions of a mover. The smaller multiple arrows around the area of the boundary at the circle represent our understanding of entropic processes, i.e., we tend to view that the spaces associated with the act of entering is from 'large' to 'small' whereas those of exiting is from 'small' to 'large', and thus view the border-crossing motion as creating certain conflicts and some force is required to achieve the entering or exiting event. The creation of the speaker's viewpoint of imprudence from the schema is a direct development of a train of ideas from the schema as the following:

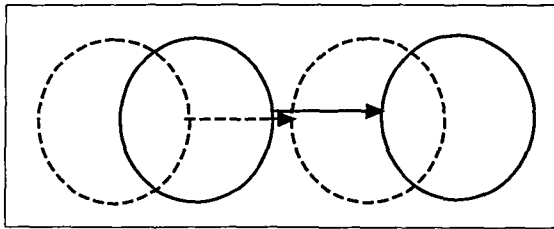
(19) constant > repeated > unsuccessful > ill-planning & tactlessness >>  
imprudence

## 5.2 Antonymization and Framing of Focus

From the view of focus framing, antonymization is an interesting phenomenon. It tends to always occur in dynamic event schemas contra static image schemas. For this reason, the *Location* schema (*a la* Heine 1993), though it is the most commonly used schema in the development of auxiliaries, seldom gives rise to antonymization for its lack of dynamicity. From a brief survey it is obvious that most antonymization processes seem to result from the use of the *Motion* schema, the *Action* schema, and less commonly, the *Accompaniment* schema. This is in consonance with the characteristic of most observed cases of antonymization, i.e. the reversion of the motional directions.

To illustrate the point let us first consider the semantic change of 'attaching' or 'following' into 'detaching' or 'leading' senses. As was seen in the preceding discussion, Korean *pwutha*, Chinese *gen* and Old French *à* all underwent a semantic change of reversed directions including such components as 'following', 'accompaniment', and 'from'. Figure 2 is a schema of a 'following' event.

Figure 2  
'Following' Event Schema

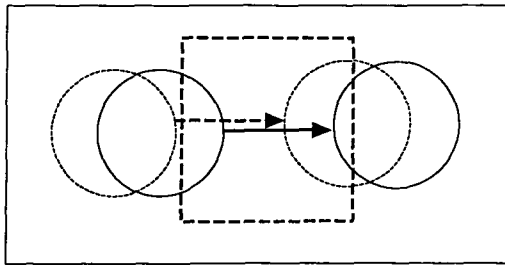


In the above schema the most common, or rather the closest to the original, meaning utilizes the focus with a microscopic view. From a grammaticalization viewpoint, this focus is typical in the stage when the word is not yet grammaticalized, thus in its lexical stage, or if it is en route to grammaticalization it belongs to the earlier stages of grammaticalization where



lexical characteristics may be still preserved. This is not surprising when we consider that grammaticalization in a sense is a meaning-generalization process in many cases, and in early stages of grammaticalization words tend to have higher specificity, and the semantic focus being placed on the detail is a logically natural consequence. Therefore, we can view this less grammaticalized stage as utilizing microscopic frame of focus as the following Figure 3.

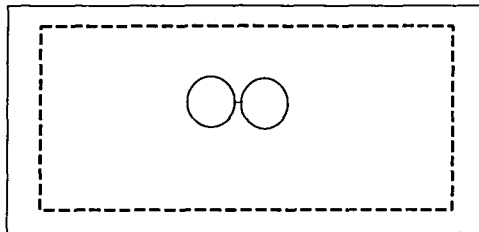
Figure 3  
'Approximation' focus on 'Following' Schema



When the approximating act comes under focus as illustrated in the above Figure 3, such senses as 'arriving (at a place)', 'catching (fire)', 'motion toward', etc. are primary.

When the 'following' event schema receives a different frame of focus the grammaticalizing word can acquire still different meaning. For example, the focus may be placed on both 'the follower' and 'the followed' from a much wider angle in a telescopic view with the focus frame as shown in the following Figure 4.

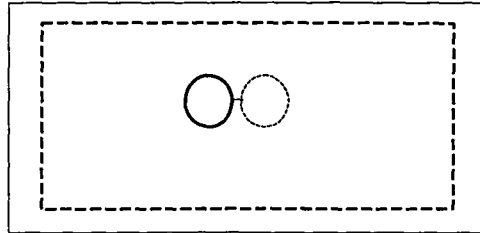
Figure 4  
'Accompaniment' Focus on 'Following' Schema



In the above schema, as a result of widening the frame of the focus, the details of the event, e.g. specifying the follower and the followed, the direction of the following event, etc. are crucially demoted. In this focus frame, therefore, the two involved entities are viewed as 'being together', hence giving rise to the new meaning of 'associative'. This framing of focus largely results in the meaning of 'with'.

Still another option in framing of focus is maintaining the same telescopic viewing of the event with specified focus on 'the follower' as in the following Figure 5.<sup>6)</sup>

Figure 5  
'Follower' Focus on 'Following' Schema



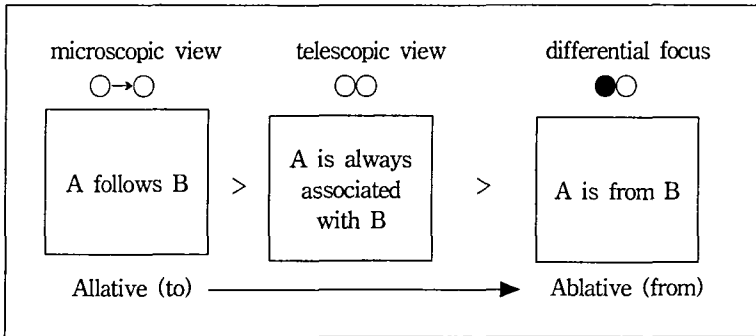
In the above schematic representation 'the follower' comes into focus. This type of focus framing seems to appear in a later stage of grammaticalization when the lexical meaning of the original grammaticalizing item is less transparent as a result of meaning generalization process.

With reference to the specified focus, a little more discussion is in order. In principle, the specified focus can be applied either to 'the follower' as well as to 'the followed'. However, in case of this type of focus framing the focus is almost invariably placed on the 'follower'. This has an interesting bearing with our routine discourse strategy. When a following event is described 'the followed' is usually the reference point and 'the follower' is the agent carrying out the approximative action. In this schematic arrangement, the agent, the follower, is conceptually more salient. When the following event schema is preserved and therefore 'the followed' is still available though not with any

6) The idea of differential focusing is reminiscent of Langacker's (1991) concept of 'active zone', which refers to that a part of a schema becomes activated or focused by the language user.

focus, the role of 'the followed' is to serve the 'the follower' as being its background. From this focus shift the meaning is drastically changed. In other words, the direction denoted by the verb of a deictic directional movement is reversed by the focus attributed to 'the follower' of the event. This kind of change can be schematically represented as the following:

Figure 6  
Phases of Semantic Reversal from Allative to Ablative



From the above schematization we can see the development of seemingly antonymous meanings in the course of grammaticalization following the path of [to > with > from].

### 5.3 Universality of Focus Framing

The preceding discussion put forward an argument exemplifying the genesis of antonymous meanings as a result of varying ways of framing the focus on event schemas with special reference to 'following' schema in Korean, Chinese, and Old French. The case of English *out of* should be straightforwardly understandable analogically from the 'following' schema cases. It seems to be in order that such cases are more than just chance developments. Therefore, we will look into more of developments resulting from focus framing activities.

The first example we choose to consider is the development of instrumentals from the comitative verbs such as 'join', 'meet', 'hold', 'take', etc., which is commonly attested in the languages of the world (Heine *et al.* 1993). It is interesting to note that instrumental cases and comitative cases often go hand

in hand, as is evidenced in the case of English *with*. Let us consider the examples first.

- (20) a. The pantomimist give a show with the clown.  
 b. The engineer built the machine with an assistant.  
 c. The blind man crossed the street with his dog.  
 d. The officer caught the smuggler with a police dog.  
 e. The sportsman hunted deer with a rifle.  
 f. The hoodlum broke the window with a stone.

(Schlesinger 1979:308-310)<sup>7)</sup>

Development of 'instrumental' from 'comitative' is a result of shifting of focus. In other words, the focus on the 'togetherness' of the original schema becomes shifted to the entity associated with the referenced entity, thus relegating the referenced entity to the background, i.e. the instrument. Therefore, in this change [A being with B] is replaced with [A using B], where 'togetherness' is highlighted in the former and A's primacy is highlighted in the latter. A similar type of development is also cross-linguistically attested. For example, Nichols & Timberlake (1991) bring forth a case in Old Russian, where instrumental often signaled 'status', as in [archbishop-Inst] ('as archbishop') and [leader-Inst] ('as the leader') (p. 133). Likewise, Korean instrumental *-(u)lo* can also be used to signal status as in *isa-lo* ([executive-Inst] 'as an executive'), *kamsa-lo* ([auditor-Inst] 'as an auditor') (Rhee 1996:237ff).

An observation that has bearings on this variable framing of focus was presented in Lakoff's (1987) Image-Schema Transformation. Let us consider the following examples.

- (21) Path schema transformation
- |                                  |               |
|----------------------------------|---------------|
| a. Sam walked over the hill.     | (path)        |
| b. Sam lives over the hill.      | (end of path) |
| c. Sam walked around the corner. | (path)        |

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7) Schlesinger (1979) used these and some more sentences containing 'with' in an experiment and came to conclusion that 'comitative' and 'instrumental' form a continuum. In this example (a) is closest to 'comitative', and (f) closest to 'instrumental', with all others in-between are in the continuum with varying degrees of proximity to either end of the continuum.

- d. Sam lives around the corner. (end of path)  
 e. Harriet walked across the street. (path)  
 f. Harriet lives across the street. (end of path)

The examples above show different conceptualization of a path schema where the two different foci, i.e. path and end-point, are contrasted. This can be construed as a case of variable framing of focus, despite the terminological differences.

#### 5.4 Motivations of Framing of Focus

Now that we have seen that framing of focus, and thus generation of new meanings resulting from it, is cross-linguistically widely attested, we will briefly touch on the causes of such focus framing phenomena. An attempt to pinpoint the motivation of any linguistic change is not an easy enterprise. However, in current theories of grammaticalization, this task of identifying motivations for change has been greatly advanced by the researchers of discourse and pragmatics.

It has been widely accepted that speakers of language enjoy novel expressions and attempt to create them to entertain such desires. However, this endeavor has to be performed within the bounds of situationally available meanings between the interlocutors, because the communicative interaction may fail otherwise. For this reason, meanings of words are fluctuating and are always subject to negotiation. Speakers choose a linguistic form that meet both requirements—satisfying the desire for novelty, and conveying the idea to the addressee. The addressee will always decide on the meaning that gives optimal interpretation in view of the situation. Since speakers implicate more than what they say, and addressees infer more than what they hear, the meanings of a word are inevitably variable.

Humans have instinctive desire to enrich an available interpretation. This tendency often goes too far and leads to logical fallacies such as hasty generalization as in *post hoc ergo propter hoc* ('after this therefore because of this'). A well-known example of pragmatic inferencing comes from the development of English *be going to* (Hopper & Traugott 1993; Bybee *et al.* 1994). This main verbal phrase was originally used for its physical movement

sense only, and it was accompanied only by a purposive-marking *to*-infinitive phrase, as in *He was going to marry her*, in the sense that 'he was physically moving with the purpose of marrying her'. When pragmatic inferencing came into play, the marrying event is considered realizable and it received the main focus, thus promoting the verb *marry* to the main verb status. Since 'he' was on the move, the marrying event was yet to come, which gave rise to the futurity sense. This pragmatic inferencing is the scenario involved in the development of the English auxiliary *be going to*.

Since pragmatic enrichment through inferencing is ubiquitous, we can examine the 'adhere' or 'follow' case. If A follows B, or more appropriately in discourse, if a mention is made that 'A follows B', it gives rise to an inference that this 'following' event is realizable, unless mentioned otherwise, thus A's being together with B or at least A's being in proximity with B becomes an assumed reality. When 'A and B are together' becomes established, A's being together with B is deemed purposeful, as are all human activities thought to be. Then, A's intention to make use of proximal B becomes assumed, whereby B is thought to be an intended instrument or a background for A's actions. Where this is established, overpowering focus on A in the interlocutors' mind consider the background as a source for A.

This type of pragmatic inferencing is also evident in the development of the various senses of *out of* as follows (taken from OED):

(22) a. motion/ direction from within

Hie aforan ut of þære byri5. 893 Ælfred Oros.

þe king ovt of Noremandie cam In-to Enguelonde. (1290 Beket)

b. deprivation

Sum is put owt of his possessioun. (1500-20 Dunbar)

They were taken all and striped out of their armure. (1560 Daus)

c. cause/motive

But wee ... do binde our selues wyth certaine new lawes out of purpose. (1561 Hoby)

d. material

Nothing can be made out of nothing. (1605 Shakespeare)

e. outside the limits of

out of the Church, out of the Christian faith, out of confession, out of

- marriage, out of wedlock, out of apprenticeship... (ModE)  
 f. not in  
 out of office, out of employment, out of service... (ModE)

As we can see in the above, the earlier senses of *out of* were largely associated with motional component, i.e. 'moving out of some enclosed space', as shown in examples (22a) and (22b). The senses in (22c) and (22d) are concerned with association component, i.e. 'A in connection with B' or 'A with the background of B'. The senses in (22e) and (22f) are largely in dissociation sense, i.e. 'A separate from B' or 'A not with B'. It is interesting to note that these listed senses are of roughly chronological order of their popular uses. When morpho-syntactic compacting occurred recently in the history of the English language, the uses of the last senses, i.e. (22e) and (22f) were subject the process, thus yielding *out-of-date*, *out-of-employment*, *out-of-control*, etc., all appearing at the latter half of the 20th century for the first time.

The changes of the semantics in the above can be easily accounted for by means of framing of focus. This framing of focus is in consonance with pragmatic inferencing, in that A's coming out of B is first seen as a movement with direct relationship with the original meaning; that A's coming out B is viewed as A and B being in conceptual proximity, with A having the primacy and B having more secondary role of contingent existence as a background cause or material; and that 'A's coming out of B' is then viewed as A's purposive action intending disconnection from B. Therefore, semantic changes can be accounted for by means of pragmatic enrichment, resulting from the language users' tendency to view events in an enriched, dynamic way, i.e. in future relevance (Rhee 1996, 1998). Such pragmatic forces are so powerful that the language users don't seem to be bothered by the reversal of the directions in the word meaning that gives rise to antonymization.<sup>8)</sup>

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8) In fact, it seems that language users' tolerance for antonymous ambiguity is greater than might be popularly assumed. In English *Caesar's murder* is a classic example as to who is killed — an ambiguity caused by the grammatical morpheme *-s*. Similar types of antonymous ambiguity are often attested cross-linguistically. A more interesting example is from Korean where *hanthey* yields two oppositional senses of 'to' and 'from'.

(1) kim-sensayngnim, chinkwu-hanthey cenhwa o-ass-eyo  
 kim-teacher, freind-Allat/Ablat telephone come-Pst-Dec  
 'Mr. Kim, there is a telephone call for you from your friend.'

## 6. Conclusion

We have seen an interesting phenomenon of antonymization that occurs in the course of grammaticalization, which seemingly occurs at later stages of grammaticalization.

The peculiarity of this phenomenon does not allow it to fit in any of the current models of semantic changes. As for now devising a new model for semantic change shall constitute another separate study, but it seems that since the major force of this change is pragmatic inferencing the Metonymic-Metaphoric Model should be the closest candidate, though it is not clear how to incorporate any component that will allow antonymous changes in the model. It needs to be equipped with such a component because even though in the Metonymic-Metaphoric Model, the microstructure of metonymic changes driven by context-induced reinterpretation, a process similar to pragmatic inferencing, is well represented, the macrostructure of metaphoric change does not go well with this particular type of semantic change. It is hard to view this type of semantic change, i.e. antonymization, as a domain change phenomenon, a characteristic phenomenon for metaphorization. In fact, there is no domain change involved in antonymization.

In antonymization we see ubiquitous nature of pragmatic inferencing in discourse and its overpowering force which is strong enough to overshadow the possible discomfort of the language users in seeing the reversal of semantics of the grammaticalizing words. This phenomenon again manifests the fluidity of semantic structure, or of grammatical structures in general, and lends support for discourse-functional analyses of linguistic systems.

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Seongha Rhee  
School of English  
Hankuk University of Foreign Studies  
#270 Imun-dong, Tongdaemun-ku,  
Seoul 130-791, Korea  
Phone: +82-2-961-4797  
Fax: +82-2-959-4581  
E-mail: srhee@hufs.ac.kr