

Grammaticalization Theory: Trends and Issues



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**2015 Summer Joint Conference
Linguistic Science Society
Korean Association of Language Sciences
Mirae English Language & Literature Society
Aug. 20, 2015**

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1. Introduction

- One of the most intriguing aspects of **language change** is that **grammatical forms constantly arise** as its result, a phenomenon addressed by grammaticalization research.
- Grammaticalization research has **strengthened its traditional focus, extended its scopes, and met criticisms** from different frameworks.

- **Objectives:**

- (i) to briefly introduce grammaticalization theory,
- (ii) to describe trends and research focus in history, and recent research scopes and issues.

2. Preliminaries

2.1 Grammaticalization Theory: An Overview

2.2 Grammaticalization: Exemplars

2.1 Grammaticalization Theory: An Overview

- Grammaticalization is often characterizable as a process involving:
 - (i) **desemantization** (semantic bleaching),
 - (ii) **decategorialization** (loss of category membership features),
 - (iii) **erosion** (loss of phonetic volume),
 - (iv) **extension** (extended use contexts)

(a la Heine & Kuteva 2002).

2.1.1 Definitions

(1) Kuryłowicz (1975[1965]: 52)

- “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.”

(2) Hopper & Traugott (2003: 18)

“Grammaticalization is the change whereby **lexical items and constructions** come in certain linguistic **contexts** to serve **grammatical functions** and, once grammaticalized, continue to develop **new grammatical** functions.”

(3) Heine & Reh (1984)

"[...] an evolution whereby linguistic units **lose** in **semantic** complexity, **pragmatic** significance, **syntactic** freedom, and **phonetic** substance [...]"

(4) a. Grammaticalization

- **Lexical > Grammatical > More Grammatical**

[lexical > grammatical]

b. *na-nun ssuleyki-lul peli-ess-ta*
 I-TOP trash-ACC **throw.away**-PST-DEC
 'I threw away the trash.'

c. *ku-nun sandwich-lul mek-e.peli-ess-ta*
 he-TOP sandwich-ACC eat-**PERF**-PST-DEC
 'He has eaten the sandwich.'

[lexical > grammatical > more grammatical]

d. *chamsay-ka* *ceki* *iss-ta*
 sparrow-NOM there **exist**-DEC
 'A sparrow is over there.'

e. *chamsay-ka* *cwuk-e.iss-ta*
 sparrow-NOM die-**RESUL**-DEC
 'A sparrow lies dead.'

f. *chamsay-ka* *cwuk-ess-ta*
 sparrow-NOM die-**PST**-DEC
 'A sparrow died.'

2.1.2 Some Major Concepts

(Heine 1992, Heine et al. 1991, Hopper & Traugott 2003[1993], Lehmann 1995[1982], Bybee et al. 1994.)

- (5) a. **Conceptual manipulation (shift)**
- b. **Unidirectionality**
- c. **Form-meaning asymmetry**
- d. **Context-induced reinterpretation**
- e. **Split**
- f. **Renewal**

(6) **Conceptual manipulation (shift)**

(Heine et al. 1991: 99-102)

Ewe *ví* 'child'

a. *ɲítsu-ví* [man-child] 'boy'

b. *anyi-ví* [cow-child] 'calf'

c. *kpé-ví* [stone-child] 'small stone'



(7) Unidirectionality

- a. Meaning: **concrete > abstract**
(metaphor, generalization, abstraction)
- b. Sound: **autonomous > dependent**
(erosion, reduction)
- c. Function: **lexical > grammatical**
(reanalysis)
- d. Category: **primary > secondary**
(deategorialization)
- e. Frequency: **low > high**
(analogy, contextual extension)

(8) Form-meaning asymmetry; Overlap

“[F]orm lives longer than its own conceptual content. Both are changing, but, on the whole, the form tends to linger on when the spirit has flown or changed its being.” (Sapir 1921: 98)



Stage	Stage 1	Stage 2	Stage 3
Form	A	A	B
Meaning	A	B	B

(9) **Context-induced reinterpretation**

e.g. <From Time to Cause>

(Traugott & König 1991)

- a. *I have done quite a bit of writing since we last met.* (T)
- b. *Since Susan left him, John has been very miserable.* (T/C)
- c. *Since you are not coming with me, I will have to go alone.* (C)

2.1.2 Some Major Concepts (cont'd)

<From space to time *'from-to'*>

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

(Heine et al. 1991: 164)

(10) **Split; Divergence**

- a. He is going to town. (L)
- b. He is going to eat. (L/G)
- c. It is going to rain. (G)

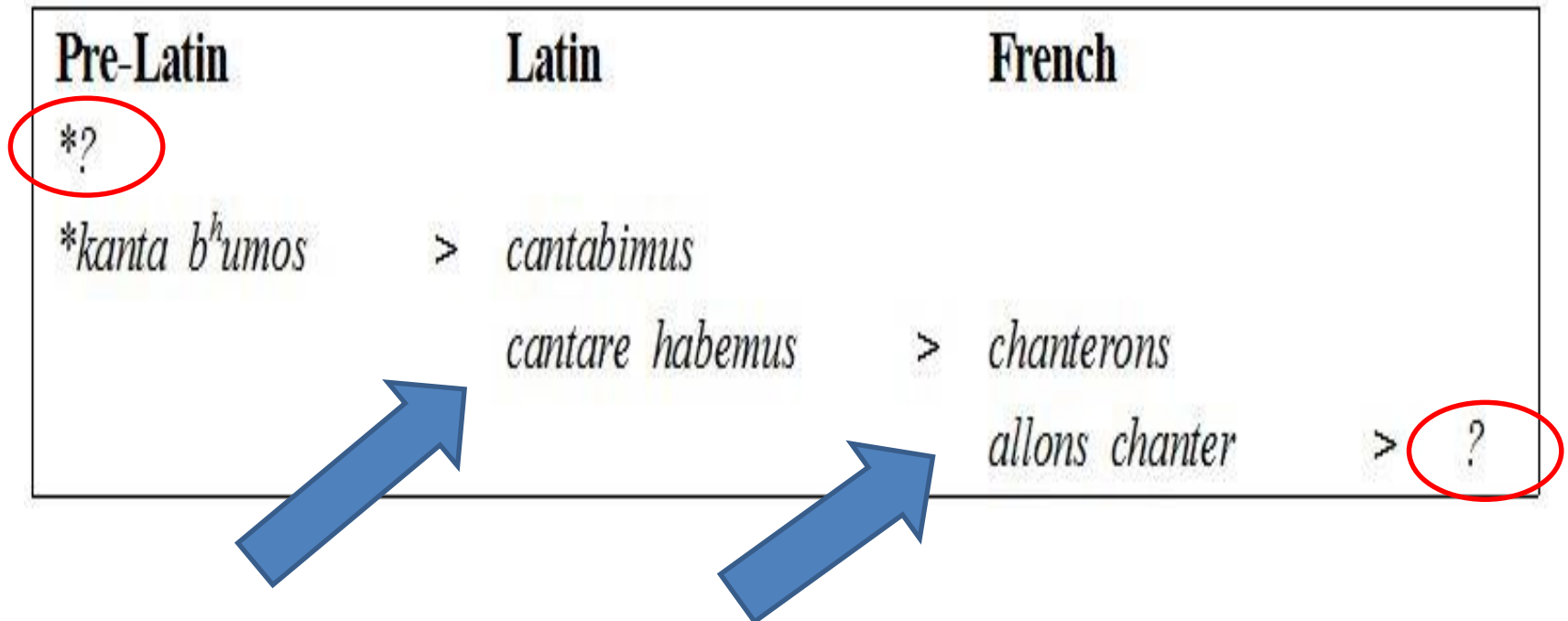
(11) Renewal

a. Intensifiers:

*awfully, frightfully, fearfully, terribly, incredibly,
really, pretty, truly, very, most, surprisingly,
extremely, highly, extraordinarily*

(Stoffel 1901, Hopper & Traugott 2003: 122)

b. French future (Hopper & Traugott 2003:9)



2.2 Grammaticalization: Exemplars

2.2.1 TAM Markers

2.2.2 Adpositions

2.2.1 TAM Markers

(12) *swutal-i* *silumhA-ya* *is-teni*
[name]-NOM worry-NF **exist**-CONN
'As Sudal was worrying..' (1449, *Sekposangcel* 6:27)

(13) *syeknyel-un* *ecey.pam-uy* *imuy* *cwuk-es-ta* *hA-oni*
[name]-TOP last.night-at already die-**PST**-COMP say-as
'As they say that Syuknyul already died last night..' (1756, *Chenuysokam* 165)

- (14) a. *-key.ha.ye.iss-* > *-kyess-* (FUT)
b. *-ko.iss-* > *-koiss-* (PROG)

(15) a. *Tostenc ðiode ða zefeht willað*

'Destroy the people who want fight.' (c. 825 Vesp. Ps. 67,31)

b. *I am aferd there wylle be somethyng amyss*

'I am afraid there will be something amiss.'

(c.1450, Coventry Myst; Assumption 349)

(16)Eng. *can* (Bybee et al. 1994)

i. **mental ability:**

Mental enabling conditions exist in an agent for the completion of the predicate situation

ii. **general ability:**

Enabling conditions exist in an agent for the completion of the predicate situation

iii. **root possibility:**

Enabling conditions exist for the completion of the predicate situation

(17) Other modals

a. ***sceal*** (*shall*):

monetary debt > obligation > future

b. ***be going to*** (*be gonna*):

physical locomotion > imminent future

c. ***be supposed to*** (*be supposta*):

supposition, belief > expectation > obligation

2.2.2 Adpositions

- Stacking (= coalescence; cumulative exponence) is common in Korean.

(18) a. *kyoswu-nim-tul-hanthey-kkaci-to*
professor-**HON-PL-DAT-ALLAT-ADD**
'even to the professors'

b. *kkuthna-y-e.peli-si-ess-keyss-ta-te-kwun-yo*

finish-**CAUS-PERF-HON-PST-FUT-COMP-RETRO-EVID-POL**

'(I) recall (they told me) that (he) must have finished (it all)
by then...'

(19) Other examples

- a. *nem-* 'go over' > ***-neme*** 'over'
- b. *ttalu-* 'follow' > ***-ttala*** 'according to'
- c. *kath-* 'be equal; be alike' > ***-kathi*** 'like'
- d. *pakk* 'outside' > ***-pakkey*** 'except, other than (NPI)'

(20)

a. English *for*

Gmc **fora* 'front' > *fore* 'previously' (c1000)

> 'forward' (a1400) > *for* PREP

b. English *after*

OE *aft* 'behind, rear' > OE *after* 'behind, afterwards'

> *after* PREP

3. Research Trends & Outstanding Issues

3.1 Trends & Focus Shifts

3.2 Scope & Issues

3.1 Trends & Focus Shifts

3.1.1 Tracing Sources

3.1.2 Borderline Cases

3.1.3 Validity, Typology and Usage

3.1.4 Genesis & Contact

3.1.5 Unidirectionality & Counterclaims

3.1.1 Tracing Sources

(21)

a. verbum substantivum: *je suis celui qui suis*

b. 'be in a place': *je suis chez moi*

c. copula: *je suis malade*

d. auxiliary: *je suis parti*

(Meillet 1912: 131)

3.1.2 Borderline Cases

(22)

- a. blurry distinction between **lexical processes**
and grammatical processes

Spn. **-nte** adj. < Latin present participle

eg. *calmante* << *calmar*

(cf. Eng. *-dom* < 'condition/state/domain';

-hood < 'kind, quality')

b. use context narrowing

Ital. ***venire/andare*** + gerundal v. (formerly productive)
(eg. *venir dicendo; andar dicendo*)

- construction shrunk from 14th century
- Mod.Italian: severely restricted (*dire, ripetere, aumentare, peggiorare, consolidare...*)

(cf. Eng. *will: the king will... > the weather will...*)

3.1.3 Validity, Typology and Usage

- Theoretical **validity** of grammaticalization theory has been evaluated through **typological** investigations and quantitative analyses of **usage** patterns in **corpora**.

(Lehmann 1986, Greenberg 1995, Horie 2002, 2003, 2007, Frajzyngier 2008, Tournadre 2010, Bybee 2007, Ahn 2015)

(23) cross-linguistically robust grammaticalizations

- a. **"want"** > FUTURE
- b. **"go"** > IRREALIS > FUTURE
- c. **"come"** > PERFECTIVE > PAST
- d. **"have"** > PERFECTIVE > PAST
- e. **"be"** > PROGRESSIVE > HABITUAL > FUTURE
- f. **"know"** > can > HABITUAL/POSSIBLE/PERMISSIBLE
- g. **"do"** > PERFECTIVE > PAST

3.1.4 Genesis & Contact

Givón (2002: 39)

“Like other biological phenomena, language cannot be fully understood without reference to its **evolution**, whether **proven or hypothesized**.”

(24) Layers of grammatical development

(Heine & Kuteva 2007: 111)

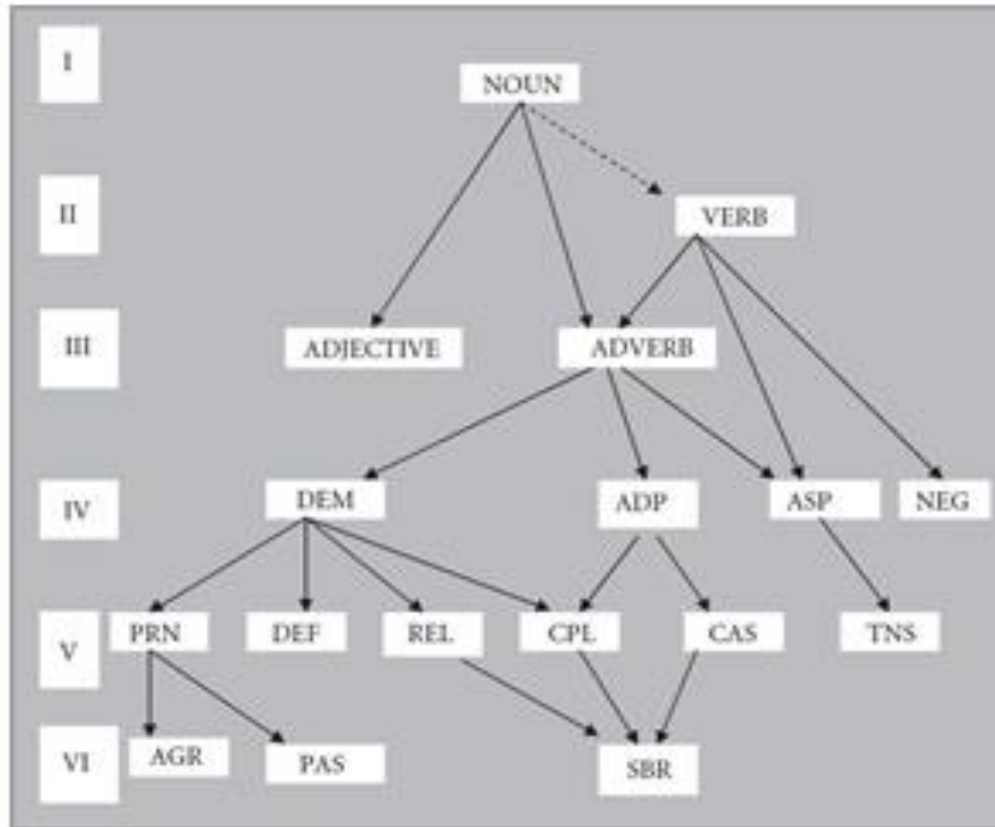


Fig. 2.1. Layers of grammatical development

Abbreviations: I, II, etc. = layers; AGR = agreement marker; ADP = adposition; ASP = (verbal) aspect; CAS = case marker; CPL = complementizer; DEF = marker of definiteness ("definite article"); DEM = demonstrative; NEG = negation marker; PASS = passive; PRN = pronoun; REL = relative clause marker; SBR = subordinating marker of adverbial clauses; TNS = tense marker.

3.1.5 Unidirectionality & Counterclaims

(25) Unidirectionality

(Re: 'scope reduction' Lehmann 1995[1982])

a. Eng. Discourse markers

VP-internal adverbial > clause-external (DMs)

eg. *indeed, in fact...*

b. Jpn. Turn-taking signal

VP-internal, clause-final > clause-external (turn-taking signal)

eg. *-te mo > demo*

(26) **Attacks**

a. Newmeyer (1998, 2001):

The alleged grammaticalization phenomena are **epiphenomena** and the notion is not defensible since there are counter-examples.

b. Joseph (2001):

Grammaticalization is not really a process. Rather, it is instead an **epiphenomenon**, an effect.

c. Campbell (2001), Janda (2001)

3.1.5 Unidirectionality & Counterclaims (cont'd)

(27) Defense

a. Dahl (1996):

Grammaticalization 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 where they show up together.

3.1.5 Unidirectionality & Counterclaims (cont'd)

b. Hopper & Traugott (2003):

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. Grammaticalization is a theory with dual prongs: diachronic and synchronic. Many counterexamples are covered by degrammaticalization, lexicalization, and exaptation.

3.2 Scope & Issues

3.2.1 Stance & (Inter-)subjectification

3.2.2 Pragmaticalization

3.2.1 Stance & (Inter-)subjectification

(28) **Subjectification** (Traugott & König 1991)

- a. **external** meaning > **internal** meaning
- b. external/internal meaning > **textual** meaning
- c. internal meaning > **more internal** meaning

(Traugott & König 1991, Horie 2007, Rhee 2012, Traugott 2010, Baik 2011, 2014, Ahn 2010, 2012, Kim 2015, Lee 2013a, 2013b)

3.2.1 Stance & (Inter-)subjectification (cont'd)

(29) meaning change of Eng. **for** (< **fora* 'front')
(Rhee 2007)

a. frontal location > temporal anteriority >
representation > cause/reason >
support/benefit > purpose > destination >
fitness > advantage/disadvantage

3.2.1 Stance & (Inter-)subjectification (cont'd)

b. (Re: *for*)

A for B

a. A is at the front of B.

b. > A represents B.

c. > B is the cause of A.

d. > A supports B.

e. > B is the purpose of A.

f. > B is the destination of A.

g. > A/B is appropriate for A/B.

h. > A is advantageous to B.

3.2.1 Stance & (Inter-)subjectification (cont'd)

(30) KOR *ppaci-* 'fall into'

a. *pakhwi-ka swuleng-ey ppaci-ess-ta*
wheel-NOM pothole-at **fall.into**-PST-DEC
'The wheels got stuck in a pothole.'

b. *kucha-nun nalk-a.ppaci-ess-ta*
the.car-TOP wear.out-**VPT**-PST-DEC
'The car is really worn out.'

3.2.1 Stance & (Inter-)subjectification (cont'd)

(31) KOR *cappaci-* 'fall back'

a. *kil-i* *mikkulew-ese* *cappaci-ess-ta*
road-NOM be.slippery-CAUS **fall.back**-PST-DEC
'The road was so slippery that (I) fell on my back.'

b. *ne-n* *congil* *chwukku-man* *ha-ko.cappaci-ess-nya*
you-TOP all.day soccer-only do-**VPT**-PST-Q
'(Why is it that) you play soccer all day long?'

3.2.1 Stance & (Inter-)subjectification (cont'd)

(32) KOR *mek-* 'eat'

a. *cemsim kathi mek-ca*

lunch together eat-HORT

'Let's have lunch together.'

b. *os-ul ccic-e.mek-ess-ta*

clothes-ACC tear-VPT-PST-DEC

'(I) got my clothes torn.'

(33) Intersubjectification

(Traugott 2003, 2010, Traugott & Dasher 2002,
Kim & Horie 2009, Narrog 2010)

- a. “the explicit expression of SP/W’s attention to the ‘self’ of AD/R in both an **epistemic sense** (paying attention to their presumed attitudes to the content of what is said), and in a more **social sense** (paying attention to their ‘face’ or ‘image needs’ associated with social stance and identity)”
(Traugott, 2003:128)

3.2.1 Stance & (Inter-)subjectification (cont'd)

b. change into **addressee-oriented meaning**

(Traugott & Dasher 2002: 263-276; Traugott 2010)

3.2.1 Stance & (Inter-)subjectification (cont'd)

(34)

- a. Eng. LME *ye* (2PL) (**non-honorific**) > **2SG.HON**
- b. Eng. *well, sort of, perhaps...* > **hedges**
- c. Jpn. OJ *saburahu* 'wait (for an occasion or order) in a specific location' (**non-HON**)
 - > LOJ 'Humble Subject be in the vicinity of Respected Referent' (**reference HON**; subjectified)
 - > EMJ *-saburau/-soorau* 'be-Polite' (**addressee-HON**, intersubjectified)

3.2.1 Stance & (Inter-)subjectification (cont'd)

(35)KOR *-ni* > *-nikka* (Rhee 2012)

a. **cause**

pi-ka *o-ni* *chwup-ta*
rain-NOM come-**CAUS** be.cold-DEC
'It is cold because it's raining.'

3.2.1 Stance & (Inter-)subjectification (cont'd)

b. reason

hanAnim-i tow-acyu-m-i-niska kekcyeng eps-ta
God-NOM help-BEN-NOMZ-COP-**RSN** worry not.exist-DEC
'[They say] because God is helping (them) there is nothing
to worry about.'

(1904 *Sinhakwelpo* 4)

3.2.1 Stance & (Inter-)subjectification (cont'd)

c. **ground** of speaker's assertion

ipen-ey chongli-ka sto khun sAep
this.time-at Premier-NOM again big business
hAna-lul hA-yes-uniska ku sAep hA-n
one-ACC do-PST-GRND the business do-ADN
thek-i-n ke-y-ci
treat-COP-ADN thing-COP-SFP

'As the Premier accomplished a new large-scale project recently, [his wife's throwing a luxurious party] must have been a treat to celebrate it.'

(1904 *Tayhanmayilsinpo*)

3.2.1 Stance & (Inter-)subjectification (cont'd)

d. **contingency**

upnAy *han keli-lul* *cina-n-o-laniska*
downtown one street-ACC pass-CONT-HUM-CNTG
han khunakhu-n *kaka-ey*
one be.very.big-ADN store-at

'While (she) was walking along the street downtown, she accidentally found that [there was a poster on the window] of a huge store...'

(1912 Sinsosel, *Maninkyey*)

3.2.1 Stance & (Inter-)subjectification (cont'd)

e. contrast

eyku acuk kyey nAypelyetwu-si-laniska

EXCM yet there leave-HON-CNTR

kuli hA-si-miska

sodo-HON-Q

'Oh, my! Are you doing so while I told you to just leave it at that?'

(c.1910 Sinsosel, *Welhakain*)

f. **adversativity**

<i>sonnim-ul</i>	<i>mos</i>	<i>po-n-tako</i>	<i>ha-laniska</i>
visitor-ACC	NEG	see-PRES-COMP	say- ADVS
<i>tulew-a</i>	<i>syengkasilep-key</i>	<i>kwuna-nya</i>	
come.in-NF	be.bothersome-ADVZ	behave-Q	

'(Why) are you here to bother me and announce a visitor despite that I told you I cannot see visitors (because I am not feeling well)?'

(1908 Sinsosel, *Hongtohwa*)

3.2.1 Stance & (Inter-)subjectification (cont'd)

g. **reassertion** (sentential-ending)

pi-ka *o-n-tanikka*

rain-nom come-**RASS**(SFP)

'It's raining, you know! (How many times should I
tell you?/Don't you trust me?/...).'

(PDK)

3.2.1 Stance & (Inter-)subjectification (cont'd)

h. **emphasis** (sentential-ending)

*ne cengmal wus-ki-n-**tanikka***

you really laugh-CAUS-PRES-**EMPH**(SFP)

'You are really funny/ridiculous.'

(PDK)

(36) **Main clause ellipsis**

(Rhee 2002, 2012, Sohn 1995, 2003, Park & Sohn 2002, Jung 2001)

- a. **'Insubordination'**: Evans 2007, 2009
- b. **'suspended clause'**: Ohori 1995
- c. **'inconsequential clauses'**: Haiman 1988
- d. **'disruption'**: Davis, n.d.
- e. **'thetical constructions'**
'insubordinated clause': Heine et al. 2011

3.2.1 Stance & (Inter-)subjectification (cont'd)

(37) Conventional & innovative functions

Marker	Connective	Sentence-Final
<i>-ketun</i>	conditional	topic presentation/reason
<i>-nikka</i>	reason/cause	addressee-confirmation/contingency
<i>-myense</i>	concurrency	addressee-confirmation/challenge/derisive
<i>-ntey</i>	adversative	surprise / reluctance / reason
<i>-key</i>	mode	exhortative

3.2.1 Stance & (Inter-)subjectification (cont'd)

Re: **main-clause ellipsis** (Rhee 2012)

The addressee actively seeks the elided information in the missing main clause.

Repeated inference patterns may be conventionalized.

(38) Strategic ellipsis and interlocutors

A. The speaker

Strategy: Elide the main clause

Effect:

- (a) Economy;
- (b) No commitment to the (elided) detail;
- (c) Enrichment by the addressee

B. The addressee

Problem:

- (a) The speaker ended his/her utterance with a connective, so I can wait for the main clause.
- (b) The intonation contour suggests utterance closure.
- (c) Now the discourse reached the TRP.

Problem solving strategy: Inferences

3.2.1 Stance & (Inter-)subjectification (cont'd)

(39) X: "Why does he look so down?"

Y: [His sweetheart left him]-*ketun* 'if'

- (a) I heard: [His sweetheart left him]-*ketun* 'if'
- (b) The speaker did not complete the sentence.
- (c) If the speaker had completed the sentence, it must have been [If his sweetheart left him, how can he not be down?]
- (d) It is impossible for him not to be sad in such a situation.
- (e) The speaker seems to have not completed the sentence because what remained unsaid is very straightforward.
- (f) Then the embedded proposition [His sweetheart left him] is a strong cause of his sadness.
- (g) The apparent conditional marker is better interpreted as 'because' rather than 'if.'
- (h) [**If his sweetheart left him**] in fact means [**Because his sweetheart left him**].

3.2.3 Pragmaticalization

[Rhetorical questions and discourse markers]

- **'rhetorical'** in the sense of **not requesting content answer**; may be responded to by a **listenership signal**

(40) RQ forms & source meanings

Marker	Function	Source Meaning
<i>eti?</i>	emphatical	'Where?'
<i>mwelalkka?</i>	pause filler	'What should (I) say?'
<i>ettehsupnikka?</i>	attention attracter	'How is (it)?'
<i>NP-inka?</i>	attention attracter	'Is (it) NP?'
<i>way NP-isscanha?</i>	topic presenter	'Why, doesn't X exist?'
<i>issci?</i>	topic presenter	'Does (it) exist?'
<i>isscanha?</i>	topic presenter	'Doesn't (it) exist?'

[RQ.TP (Rhetorical Question functioning as a Topic Presenter)]

(41) *kukey Q-nyamyen*

<< *-nyamyen*

< *-nya-hamyen*

< *-nyako ha-myen*

< <-[*nya-hako*] *ha-myen*

(42) *kukey Q-nyamyen* topic presenter (RQ.TP)

- a. *kukey nwukwu-nyamyen* 'If you ask **who** it is'
- b. *kukey encey-nyamyen* 'If you ask **when** it is'
- c. *kukey eti-nyamyen* 'If you ask **where** it is'
- d. *kukey mwe-nyamyen* 'If you ask **what** it is'
- e. *kukey ettehkey-nyamyen* 'If you ask **how** it is'
- f. *kukey way-nyamyen* 'If you ask **why** it is'

3.2.3 Pragmaticalization (cont'd)

(43) Developmental paths of RQ.TP (Rhee 2014)

Stage	Label	Form	Characteristics
Stage I	Direct Quote	"...- <i>nya?</i> " <i>ha-ko</i>	(embedded direct quote)
Stage II	Quotative conn	- <i>nya hako</i>	(indirect quote, clausal integration)
Stage III	comp	- <i>nyako</i>	(phonological erosion/fusion)
Stage IV	Biclausal rq.cond	- <i>nyako ha-myen</i>	(addition of - <i>ha</i> 'say' and - <i>myen</i> COND)
Stage V	Periphrastic rq.cond	- <i>nya-ha-myen</i>	(phonological erosion, syntactic upgrading)
Stage VI	hyp.cond	- <i>nyamyen</i>	(phonological erosion, fusion)
Stage VII	rq.tp	<i>kukey X-nyamyen</i>	(functional innovation, clausal construction)

(44) RQ.TP with *mwe* 'what'

[Around this time the nano-technology came to attract the attention of the industry.]

kukey.mwe-nyamyen wancen sinkiswul-i-ntey...

RQ.TP(what) completely new.technology-COP-CONN

'**Speaking of it**, it is a completely new technology, and ...'

(Lit.: '**If (you) ask (me) what it is, it is...**')

3.2.3 Pragmaticalization (cont'd)

- RQ.TPs are presently in **active innovation** in the grammar of Korean, beginning from around the turn of the 20th century.
- The embedded sentence in the protasis of the hypothetical conditional clause is an interrogative sentence. But as it is an embedded (and rhetorical) question, there is no illocutionary force. It is thus a **'self-directed question,'** used to direct the utterance not to a particular discourse partner but to **'the people in general out there.'** (cf. 'audience-blindness' Koo & Rhee 2013)

- RQ.TP is like a **'reading the addressee's mind' signal**, i.e. asking on behalf of the addressee, and thus a gesture of being considerate to the addressee (effectively saying, **"I know what you're wondering, so I will ask it to myself on your behalf and answer it for you."**)
- By this **strategic 'kind' act** of the speaker, the addressee is relieved of asking a question, or can avoid exposing his/her inattentiveness, i.e. being not fully caught up with the content of what is being said.

3.2.3 Pragmaticalization (cont'd)

- The **friendliness** created by the use of **hypothetical conditional** promotes the sense of **solidarity** between the interlocutors.
(cf. **attitudinal stance**).

4. Concluding Remarks

- **Panchronic** research is fruitful and promising.
- Grammaticalization scholarship is extending its **scope** from individual exemplar-based investigation to **more global** research.
- Grammaticalization scholars actively try to **incorporate the advances** made in cognitive science and neuroscience, as well as other linguistic subdisciplines.

Abbreviations:

- **ACC**: accusative; **ADD**: additive; **ADN**: adnominal; **ADVS**: adversative; **ADVZ**: adverbializer; **ALLAT**: allative; **BEN**: benefactive; **CAUS**: causative; **CONTR**: contrast; **COMP**: complementizer; **CONN**: connective; **CONT**: continuative; **COP**: copula; **DAT**: dative; **DEC**: declarative; **EMPH**: emphatic; **END**: sentential-ending; **EVID**: evidential; **FUT**: future; **HON**: honorific; **IMP**: imperative; **NEG**: negative; **NF**: non-finite; **NOM**: nominative; **NOMZ**: nominalizer; **PASS**: passive; **PERF**: perfective; **PL**: plural; **POL**: polite; **PRES**: present; **PST**: past; **PURP**: purposive; **Q**: interrogative; **RASS**: reassertion; **RETRO**: retrospective; **RQ.TP**: rhetorical-question-based topic-presenter; **RSN**: reason; **SFP**: sentence-final particle; **TOP**: topic; **VPT**: viewpoint

Acknowledgement

- This work was supported by the **2015 Research Grant of Hankuk University of Foreign Studies.**

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Thank you!