Contents

	List	of figures	<i>page</i> xii
	List	of tables	xiv
	Pre	face and acknowledgments	X
		of abbreviations	xvii
1	Son	ne preliminaries]
	1.1	Introduction	
	1.2	What is a grammaticalized form?	2
		1.2.1 A preliminary classification of grammatical forms	2
		1.2.2 Clines	(
		1.2.3 Periphrasis versus affixation	7
	1.3	Some further examples of grammaticalization	Ģ
		1.3.1 <i>Lets</i>	10
		1.3.2 A West African complementizer	13
		1.3.3 Agreement markers	15
	1.4	Grammaticalization and language structure	16
	1.5	Grammaticalization and the directionality of language change	16
	1.6	Conclusion	17
2	The	e history of grammaticalization	19
	2.1	Introduction	19
	2.2	Earlier research on grammaticalization	19
	2.3	Research on grammaticalization from the 1960s to	
		the 1990s	25
	2.4	Recent trends in research on grammaticalization	30
3	Me	chanisms: reanalysis and analogy	39
	3.1	Introduction	39
	3.2	Some background assumptions about change	40
		3.2.1 Induction, deduction, abduction	41
		3.2.2 Who is the language learner?	43
		3.2.3 The question of genetic endowment	45
		3.2.4 Innovation versus spread	46

x Contents

	3.3	Reanalysis	50
		3.3.1 The French inflectional future	52
		3.3.2 The English modal auxiliaries	55
	3.4	The independence of reanalysis and grammaticalization	58
		3.4.1 Word-order change	59
	3.5	Analogy/rule generalization	63
	3.6	The differential effects of reanalysis and analogy	68
	3.7	Conclusion	69
4	Pragmatic factors		
	4.1	Introduction	71
	4.2	Inferencing and meaning change	74
		4.2.1 Semantics and pragmatics	76
		4.2.2 Relationships between senses of a form: homonymy	
		and polysemy	77
		4.2.3 Conversational and conventional inferencing	78
	4.3	The role of pragmatic inferencing in grammaticalization	81
		4.3.1 Metaphorical processes	84
		4.3.2 Metonymic processes	87
	4.4	Metaphor and metonymy as problem solving	92
	4.5	Pragmatic enrichment versus "bleaching"	94
	4.6	Conclusion	98
5	The hypothesis of unidirectionality		99
	5.1	Introduction	99
	5.2	Generalization	100
		5.2.1 Generalization of meaning	101
		5.2.2 Generalization of grammatical function	104
	5.3	Decategorialization	106
		5.3.1 A noun-to-affix cline	110
		5.3.2 A verb-to-affix cline	111
		5.3.3 Multiple paths	114
	5.4	Some processes participating in unidirectionality	115
		5.4.1 Specialization	116
		5.4.2 Divergence	118
		5.4.3 Renewal	122
	5.5	A synchronic result of unidirectionality: layering	124
	5.6	Frequency	126
		5.6.1 Frequency effects	127
		5.6.2 Synchronic studies of frequency	128
		5.6.3 Diachronic studies of frequency	129
	5.7	Counterexamples to unidirectionality	130
	5.8	The uses of unidirectionality in reconstruction	138
	5.9	Conclusion	130

		Contents	хi
6	Cla	use-internal morphological changes	140
U	6.1	Introduction	140
	6.2	Morphologization	140
	0.2	6.2.1 Some characteristics of clitics	142
		6.2.2 Positions of clitics	143
		6.2.3 Semantic "relevance" as a factor in fusion and morpheme	
		order	151
		6.2.4 Phonological concomitants of morphologization	154
	6.3	The development of paradigms	159
	6.4	Argument-structure marking: functional-semantic hierarchies	
		and morphological generalization	165
		6.4.1 Object marking in Persian	165
		6.4.2 Ergative case marking: a statistical perspective	168
	6.5	Loss	172
	6.6	Conclusion	174
7	Gra	ummaticalization across clauses	175
•	7.1	Introduction	175
	7.2	A cline of clause-combining constructions	176
	7.2	7.2.1 Parataxis	179
		7.2.2 Hypotaxis	181
		7.2.3 Subordination	183
	7.3	The grammaticalization of clause linkers	184
	7.4	Examples of the development of complex sentence	
		constructions	190
		7.4.1 <i>That</i> -complementation in English	190
		7.4.2 Quotative say-constructions in Akkadian	194
		7.4.3 Relative clauses in English and Hittite	196
	7.5	From complex to simple clauses	204
	,	7.5.1 From clause chaining to verb inflection in Lhasa	204
		7.5.2 Two conjoined clauses reanalyzed as a single	
		clause	206
		7.5.3 From main clause construction to sentential	
		adverb in contemporary English	207
	7.6	Some counterexamples to unidirectionality in clause	
		combining	209
	7.7	Conclusion	211
•	•	4. 1. 4 in situations of outnome lenguage	
8		ammaticalization in situations of extreme language	212
		tact	
	8.1	Introduction	212
	8.2	Basic characteristics of pidgins and creoles	213
		8.2.1 Some characteristics of pidgins	214
		8.2.2 Some characteristics of creoles	216

xii Contents

	8.3	Implications of pidgins and creoles for language change	219
	0.5	8.3.1 Child versus adult language acquisition	219
		8.3.2 Simplification and elaboration	222
	8.4	Specific implications of pidgins and creoles for	
		grammaticalization	224
9	Sur	nmary and suggestions for further work	231 234
	References		237
	Index of names		265
	Inde	ex of languages	270
		neral index	272

Figures

3.1	A model of language change	page 41
3.2	Schema of the development of auxiliary be going to	69
4.1	Revised schema of the development of auxiliary	
	be going to	93
7.1	Properties relevant to the cline of clause combining	179

Tables

3.1	Grammaticalization of VO word order in English between	
	AD 1000 and AD 1500	page 67
5.1	Approximate proportion of compound verbs in Indo-Aryan	
	languages	113
5.2	Ratio of compound verbs in Marathi and Hindi-Urdu	
	according to semantic class of main verb	114
6.1	Buryat Mongolian pronouns and verb endings	141
6.2	Polish tonic and clitic forms of the copula	146
6.3	Bonding of clitic copula to verb stem in Polish, AD 1500	
	to the present	146
6.4	Differential univerbation of preterit verb and person-number	
	suffix in Polish dialects	147
6.5	Affixal aspect-tense-mood forms	154
6.6	Old Icelandic present indicative reflexive verb forms	160
6.7	Pre-Sanskrit noun inflection	162
6.8	Sanskrit and pre-Pali forms of the copula	163
6.9	Pre-Pali and Pali forms of the copula	163
6.10	and the second s	164
6.11	Differential inflection of past participles in Bulgarian	
	dialects	164
6.12	Old English strong adjective singular inflection	172
7.1	Occurrence of that with think and guess versus all other	
	verbs	209