

REMARKS ON GRAMMATICALIZATION, TEXT AND  
THEORIES OF CHANGE\*

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1 Introduction

These remarks concern a theory of change which has one particular change-type at its centre: grammaticalization. This concept is defined by Meillet (1912:131) as "le passage d'un mot autonome au rôle d'élément grammatical". The definition's very breadth has led to the incorporation of "grammaticalization" into various theories of syntactic change in different guises. Contrast, for instance, the catastrophic character that Lightfoot (1979) attributes to this type of change as category change, with the regulatory role assigned to it by Givón (1979:ch. 5) in his attempt to justify the hypothesis that certain types of diachronic change embody a "syntacticization" process. Note too, its functional role in Traugott's (1980) theory of grammaticalization chains as semantic-pragmatic shifts, and its specific manifestation as category change by lexical and speaker-to-speaker diffusion in Romaine's (1981) socio-historical linguistics.

This paper is an attempt to clarify and characterize the concept 'grammaticalization', and to tease out the strands common to the approaches listed above. It will also, hopefully, show how assuming the operation of grammaticalization as a mechanism of (semantic-pragmatic) change enables us to make a principled theoretical decision on the locus and nature of this change type. This will also involve an attempt to set the type of category-change involved in grammaticalization within the frame of text or discourse.

2 Some essential properties of grammaticalization

Let's begin by outlining what are conventionally viewed as the essential properties of grammaticalization. The following description is informed principally by Meillet's discussion of the emergence of the French negative pas from Latin passus "step", cited in (Vincent 1979:14). Vincent shows that the process whereby passus loses its independent semantic content and acquires its new and more general meaning from the syntactic environment ne... in which it occurs with increasing frequency, is one of progressive and gradual semantic "bleaching". The term "semantic" used here is problematic: its signification is very vague. We need to distinguish between different types of meaning, specifically, "lexical" meaning and "grammatical" meaning. The problem is compounded when we come to address "expressive" meaning. This is what Meillet (1912:141) terms "un certain caractère expressif", defining it in terms of the communicative intention of the speaker, "le sujet parlant" (Meillet 1912:140). Basically, these two facets of the general term "meaning" can be taken to refer to two (analytically different) components of the system. Grammaticalization involves the semantic change and syntactic redistribution of a lexical form so that it becomes a grammatical marker. The manner in which a word loses its (lexical) specificity is the process whereby its selectional restrictions decrease: it may co-occur with members of a wider and more disparate range of lexical classes. So pas (< passus) becomes less lexically restricted so that in its new syntactic environment it will pattern with all verb classes in an extensive range of lexical contexts. Once associated with negation, pas can function as a negative marker in a closed set of contexts requiring expression of negation:

"On sait comment pas a perdu, dans les phrases où il était un accessoire de la négation, tout son sens propre --- sens conservé parfaitement dans le mot isolé pas --- , comment dès lors, pas est devenue

à lui seul un mot négatif, servant à exprimer la négation, et comment, par suite, le pas français n'est plus expressif à son tour et appelle un nouveau renforcement par des mots accessoires; on est amené à dire pas du tout, absolument pas, où à recourir à des tours tout nouveaux, comme l'exclamation argotique actuelle tu penses s'il est venu manière fortement expressive de dire: 'il n'est pas venu'." (Meillet 1912:140)

A (crucial) concurrent process is the gradual restriction of the syntactic environments in which the lexeme may occur. In the case of passus > pas, this restriction is extensive, the subcategorization frame changing radically. It is limited to a set of grammatical contexts narrower than and contrasting with those for the (continuing) lexical item le pas. What must enter the discussion at this juncture is the process of "category-shift": the loss of the word's substantive (nominal) status in its new function as a marker of negation. So the gradual restriction of its syntactic function is intricately bound up with the process of semantic bleaching.

In summary, grammaticalization according to Meillet involves a dual process: (a) gradual replacement of lexical content by a grammatical function, and (b) the concurrent restriction of the syntactic environments in which it may occur.

Generalizing and extending Meillet's account, we can characterize several other properties. First, grammaticalization is a gradual and continuous process, the change taking place over a comparatively long time. In terms of a geological time scale this is clearly not true, but in the history of languages, aeons. It is also open-ended. In most descriptions, as indeed in Meillet's --- see those cited by Lehmann (1982) ---, the term's application is restricted to (apparently) discrete phases; for example, syntacticization, which covers the evolution of an analytic form; or morphologization, subsuming the development of a synthetic-agglutinating form from an analytic one. However, it is clear that the term describes a particular change-type or mechanism, which is manifested as a process which is not necessarily smooth and

coherent. Nor is it binary, for that matter; that is, forms are not simply lexical or grammatical. Consequently, it is possible to talk of forms as being grammaticalized to differing degrees, which can be focused by identifying them with particular phases or stages of the entire process. And finally, the process is unidirectional. That is, the set of changes included in this type involves lexemes becoming grammatical markers, and not vice versa.

The last point appears to be an obvious one, but there has been much disagreement on this issue. Kuryłowicz (1965), for instance, maintains that there is a reverse process --- lexicalization or degrammaticalization. The examples he uses to justify this hypothesis have the following structure: derivational category grammaticalizes to inflectional category, which then lexicalizes or degrammaticalizes to derivational category. One example he adduces is the development of the Italian derivational collective suffix -a in, for instance, muro "wall" - mura; uovo "egg" - uova. The path of grammaticalization and subsequent degrammaticalization is this: Proto-Indo-European (PIE) \*-a, a derivational nominal suffix with collective meaning, is grammaticalized in Latin to the plural marker of neuter nouns, e.g. ovum "egg" - ova (plural). In Italian, the Latin neuter nouns become masculine and form their plural in -i, but -a regains, so to speak, its function as a derivational suffix. Lehmann (1982:17) rejects this and Kuryłowicz' other examples as evidence of lexicalization on the grounds that lexical, unlike grammatical categories must be at least minimally productive. And in contrast with the original lexical PIE category (which must have been productive in order to yield inflectional categories), the evolved derivational suffix is non-productive. So he suggests that rather than having lexicalized, the suffix has really idiomatized. A second objection raised by Lehmann is based on the interpretation of this development. He suggests that these "lexicalized" forms do not represent a retreat from a more grammaticalized, inflectional stage, but are instead continuations of the original stage. In other

words, Italian uova should not be seen as a modern alternative to uovi, but continues Latin ova.<sup>1)</sup>

Contemporary workers in historical linguistics have revived and subsumed grammaticalization under different theories of syntactic change --- see, for instance, (Vincent 1979, 1983), (Givón 1979), (Traugott 1980, 1982), (Romaine 1981, 1982). Recent work focuses on the place and nature of grammaticalization in theories of change. Two lines in the literature should be distinguished: first, the construal of grammaticalization as one type of category-shift; and second, the question of whether the process has its origins in the domain of syntax or in that of discourse. Accordingly, there are two debates to consider, and hopefully, resolve.

### 3 Grammaticalization as a theory of linguistic change

There is a still unsettled debate about the nature of grammaticalization chains within the overall shift of items from lexical to grammatical status. The contestants whose positions have to be delineated are Traugott (1980), 1982) and Givón (1979); the referee is Fleischman (1983) who raises what turns out to be only an apparent incompatibility of the two positions. The debate concerns the nature of the source and goal of a word's grammaticalization, specifically, within the "syntacticization" phase.

#### 3.1 Grammaticalization and syntacticization: Givón

Givón (1979:ch. 5) renames Meillet's concept of grammaticalization "syntacticization" and, in so doing, predicates upon this process a theory of language (never mind a theory of change). Essentially he argues that "the existence of some *structural* level called syntax" is partly the result of a diachronic process of syntacticization, which he (1979:208) broadly characterizes as one by which "loose, paratactic,

'pragmatic' discourse structures develop --- over time --- into tight, 'grammaticalized' syntactic structures". He suggests that this can be seen as part of a cycle involving the rise and erosion of syntactic structure in time: DISCOURSE » SYNTAX » MORPHOLOGY » MORPHOPHONEMICS » ZERO.

The rise of syntax he (1979:209) couples with morphologization: "The first two steps, which are often *coupled* (i.e. occur simultaneously), are motivated by various *communicative needs*". So Givón extends considerably the scope of grammaticalization as it is dealt with by Meillet, to include among its products much of the apparatus of grammar. Their source, he suggests, is the pragmatics of discourse, which vague term describes "loose parataxis", and includes such "discourse-specific" phenomena as "topic" (1979:§5.2.1), the corresponding process "topicalization" (1979:§5.2.2) and their "syntactic" counterparts --- "tight syntax" --- which include subject, passivization, relative clauses and subordination respectively. He adduces as support for his characterization of diachronic (syntactic) themes in such terms, comparable processes in other (related) spheres: the processual relationships between early pragmatic mode » later syntactic mode in language acquisition --- see (Ochs 1979); non-grammar » grammar in pidgins/creoles; and unplanned-informal speech » planned-formal speech marking the opposite ends of a register (stylistic) continuum (or the difference between spoken and written language).

The point of outlining Givón's position (which has come to be the conventional view of grammaticalization) is that Fleischman (1983) appeals to it in her discussion of the evolution of complex (read "analytic") past and future constructions in Romance. Her focus is the contrast of *source*, viz. pragmatic (= "aspectual" = context-dependent) description of past and future situations through aspectual forms, and *goal*, viz. syntactic (= temporal = non context-dependent) reference to past and future. This contrast depends on the shift from a form's context-dependent use to its context-free

use. The term she (1983:204) employs to distinguish between the two stages is "current relevance" or PR ("present relevance").

So, for instance, she argues that a complex past (like the present perfect in English) has a discourse-functional source. It is used to refer to the relevance at the moment of utterance of something that has happened in the recent past. She contends that the function of this "aspect" gradually becomes less and less anchored to the speech act,<sup>2)</sup> referring to most past events, whether currently relevant or not. The manifestation of syntacticization described here is a functional one. She refers to a morpho-syntactic set of categories, i.e. formally complex constructions, and elucidates what is essentially an extension of the semantic-pragmatic contexts in which they can now be used, as a shift away from context-dependence. Put another way, the process she describes is the acquisition of a property of "temporal displacement", i.e. an ability to talk about events and situations which are not immediately recoverable from the situation of utterance. Fleischman apparently uses the term "pragmatic" in a highly restricted way: it refers specifically to the linguistic context of the moment of utterance.

Now even if we take her analysis as supporting Givón's position, it is important to note that the (diachronic) evidence she produces spans comparatively short periods. (Contrast this with the scope of Vincent's (1983) description of the emergence of the periphrastic uses of habere and esse in Romance.) What Fleischman's discussion yields is the notion that syntacticization involves cycles of grammaticalization, which may be formally or functionally sited. Consequently, a chain of grammaticalization may involve the development of a functional (not categorical) use of a particular construction such that it is subsumed under elements already independent of pragmatic notions. Presumably, in Fleischman's terms at least, a foreseeable development is imminent along these lines in the use of the English perfect, which is often interpreted as conveying "current relevance". In fact, a

development comparable with that shown in the use of the Romance perfect may be said to have already taken place in some American English dialects. This development, however, involves dropping the construction altogether, consequent on the loss of its ability to express current relevance at all. The simple preterit can occur in environments where the perfect would be used in other dialects. So the exchange in (a) is functionally equivalent to (b):

- (a) Y: Have you eaten yet?                    (b) Y: Did you eat yet?  
 X: Yes, I've already eaten.                X: Yes, I already ate.

Arguing for Givón's source-pragmatic position, Fleischman (1983:204) refers to an apparently opposite view, espoused by Traugott (1980, 1982): "According to the opposite view .... rather than originate in discourse, tense and aspect come to express discourse functions only *after* they have served a purely referential, non-discourse function ....". Let's contrast these two apparently opposing views. My aim here is to argue that they are not fundamentally incompatible, but are different facets of the same thing.

### 3.2 Grammaticalization as semantic-pragmatic shift: Traugott

Consider the substance of Traugott's view of grammaticalization, and specifically her model of the nature of this process. First, she treats it as a very long-term and gradual one. Within this long march, she argues, a lexeme optionally undergoes a series of "semantic-pragmatic shifts", such that it acquires discourse ("textual") and pragmatic ("expressive" or "interpersonal") functions. Her basic assumption is that the original semantic function of lexemes undergoing grammaticalization is "propositional", i.e. concrete and referential. These meaning-shifts are described against the background of

three basic functional-semantic components,<sup>3)</sup> viz. the propositional, textual and expressive.

The propositional component is the repository of "concrete" meanings, containing

"the resources of the language for making it possible to talk about something. While the propositional content is the main locus of truth-conditional relations, it also includes various categories which cannot be interpreted solely in truth-conditional terms, for example, to places (here - there (yonder)), times (now - then) and persons (I - you). These are subject to referential verification --- so only if speakers' and hearers' positions are known." (Traugott, 1982:248)<sup>4)</sup>

This propositional component consists essentially of categories that refer to defining features in the situation of utterance, such as the temporal, spatial and relative locations of the participants; as well as to what is being discussed in the situation. To the extent that the propositional component crucially involves the situation of propositions in contexts, the categories are bound to the situation in a rather concrete way. And, insofar as deictic categories are part of the component, Traugott includes tense.

The second component has to do with

"the resources of the language for creating a cohesive discourse. These include the various connectives, like but and therefore (elements are subject to referential verification, but ultimately understandable only in terms of pragmatic discourse functions). They include anaphoric and cataphoric pronouns ..., topicalizers, relativizers, complementizers, and so forth. These share the property of being directly linked to the unfolding of the speech event itself." (Traugott, 1982:248)

Traugott derives the notion of cohesion from Halliday and Hasan (1976). Cohesion is held to be a defining property of

texts, and describes the appropriate linking of propositions.<sup>5)</sup> The functions defined for constituents of the textual component are discourse-oriented. This means that the context in which they function is the text or discourse. Included in this component is discourse deixis --- see (Levinson, 1983: 85f.) --- , which has the function of linking propositions to one another.

The third component is the "expressive" or "interpersonal", which has to do with

"the resources a language has for expressing personal attitudes to what is being talked about, to the text itself, and to others in the speech situation. These include elements which show not only cohesion but also attitudes towards, even evaluation of, the propositions that cohere." (Traugott, 1982:248)

Interpreting the substance of this last component is awkward because the phrase "expressing personal attitudes" is, to say the least, vague. In a paper exploring these issues, Traugott (1980:51) provides a clearer idea of how this component ought to be viewed: it "expresses attitudes to what is discussed and creates social situations and roles". She cites as an example the epistemic meaning (the speaker's assessment of the situation) and the deontic meaning (establishing a new social situation) of the modal verb may.

The broad scope of the notion "speaker attitude" is further exemplified in her hypothesis that meaning shifts within a component take a particular direction. She (1980:54) suggests that the shift that can occur is from primarily individual (personal) to primarily social (interpersonal) meanings. By this she means that there is a shift between markers of the speaker's attitude towards what is being discussed (say, through the probability meaning of may), and the speaker's attitude towards the participants in the speech event (through the permission meaning of may --- which applies not to the situation, but to the participants in the situation). So, for

instance, the attitude expressed in the utterance I may go to the movies tonight if I finish the lecture I'm preparing, marks the speaker's assertion of the probability of an action. In contrast, may in My mother says I may use her account at Truworths to buy a winter wardrobe clearly has the permission meaning. Notice that this meaning applies, not to the intended action, but to the speaker's mother's attitude towards her. Hence the first may be construed as subjective, the latter being social. The interpersonal or expressive component then subsumes what we might call subjective functions, i.e. functions oriented to the individual, and social functions, i.e. those pertaining to the relationship between individuals.

Traugott has two main hypotheses in this model of semantic-pragmatic change. The first she (1982:253) formulates as follows:

Hypothesis A.

"If a meaning-shift in the process of grammaticalization occurs within a component, it is more likely to involve 'less personal to more personal' than the reverse."

The rather vague expression "more personal" is glossed as "more anchored in the context of the speech act, particularly the speaker's orientation to situation, text and interpersonal relations"; it does not mean "more individualized", according to Traugott (1982:253). Hypothesis A. establishes Traugott's view of intra-component semantic shift. Note that it emphasizes that the positions of meanings in these components are not inherently static. The second hypothesis, which involves the nature and direction of meaning shifts *across* components, is formulated as follows by Traugott (1982:256):

Hypothesis B.

"If there occurs a meaning-shift, which, in the process of grammaticalization, entails shifts from one functional-semantic component to another, then such a shift is more likely to be from propositional through textual to expressive than in the reverse direction."

Traugott does note that the path linking propositional, textual and expressive functions represents *tendencias* (hence the hedge "is more likely") rather than an obligatory, strict unidirectionality in the nature of specific meaning-shifts within the overall (unidirectional) process of grammaticalization. This is emphasized in her remark that successive morphologization and syntacticization stages are likely to intervene, during which a lexeme (or construction, in the case of tense and aspect in English) may retain some or even all of its meaning. Traugott adduces as evidence for her characterization of the internal directionality of grammaticalization processes, examples from the history of English.

She takes, for instance, the history of while and where. The adverb while, she notes, originally a noun meaning "period, time" (G Weile) came to be used as a temporal connective with a cohesive, i.e. textual, function in ME. Then in the course of the eighteenth century, it came to indicate a concessive relation, which combines cohesive function with the speaker's (adversative) attitude towards the nature of the relation between the facts being discussed. Another example is the evolution of what she calls the adversative, interpersonal meaning "although" of the adverb where which, from its origin as a locative-interrogative marker (propositional meaning), shifts to a locative-relative marker which has primarily cohesive force in ME.

Fleischman (1983) refers to this discussion, commenting that the grammaticalization of the adverbials where and while is not strictly parallel to the development of tense-aspect

markers, the latter being an instance where constructions, as opposed to lexemes are involved in grammaticalization. She (1983:fn. 50) notes:

"The development of while and where(as) into discourse markers exemplifies the normal 'bleaching' process through which lexical items come to function as grammatical tools. Though bleaching is similarly involved in the demotion of full verbs (have, go) to auxiliaries in the verb structures [like tense-aspect constructions], this is a separate process from that by which an entire (complex/simplex) construction evolves from a pragmatic device to a grammatical marker whose function is no longer tied to the context of utterance."

Fleischman here separates the grammatical processes involving the evolution of individual and independent lexemes as grammatical markers from those involving constructional entities (like periphrastic auxiliary constructions), because the latter consist of dependent lexemes. This does not seem to me to constitute a substantial argument for one approach rather than another or, more pertinently, for a distinction between different manifestations of what Traugott (1982:247) uniformly terms "bleaching", "deiconization" or "delexicalization". Further, this separation does not justify creating divisions within the general analytical approach to grammaticalization in question.

The point to be made here is that Traugott is emphatic in asserting that her hypotheses of semantic-pragmatic shifts reflect directional tendencies which apply to processes *internal* to the overall phenomenon of grammaticalization. That is, she does not attempt to redraw the scope and boundaries of the grammaticalization process per se, but provides a picture of the possible type of grammaticalization chains in situ as it were. Fleischman appears to interpret Traugott's

hypotheses as claims about the superstructure of grammaticalization, and not as what I think Traugott intended, viz. the characterization of the internal processes which form part of the total grammaticalization. Traugott (1982:247) comments on her aim thus:

"It is my purpose here to show that such particular shifts (particular meaning shifts exemplified by the development of tense and aspect etc) are part of a larger set of changes, motivated by the various functional-semantic components of language, and to suggest a framework within which to develop a typology of semantic-pragmatic changes in the process of grammaticalization."

So she does not claim to alter the fundamental basis of the grammaticalization process, but its internal dynamics, as it were.

### 3.3 Grammaticalization as category shift: Romaine

A third treatment of grammaticalization, with yet another bias, is a model of syntactic-semantic change with a proclaimed sociolinguistic orientation, due to Romaine (1981, 1982). The model is rooted in the broad concept of grammaticalization and can briefly be described as a theory of change as category change by reanalysis and diffusion. This is a perspective that focuses on particular grammaticalization chains within the syntacticization phase rather than the general notion of grammaticalization as "drift".

Romaine (1981:22), using evidence from the history of English, argues that a frequent mechanism of syntactic change in grammaticalization is the "gradual and variable diffusion of alterations in lexical relations and mutations of categories".

Like Traugott, she views the shift of the category status of items in functional terms: "the functional characteristics of categories are equally, if not more important than the formal syntactic properties of categories in our understanding of category change". This statement is motivated by the argument that what triggers the reanalysis of certain categories is their functional equivalence rather than formal identity. She asserts that three types of categories are needed in a theory of syntactic change: primary, secondary and functional. Primary categories subsume the traditional major "parts of speech": nouns, verbs, adverbs, adjectives. These are characteristically made up of lexically based or open class members. They also include minor parts of speech such as prepositions, conjunctions and complementizers. Secondary categories are typically "inflectional": case, number, gender, tense, aspect (these are formally marked morpho-syntactic categories, but are often also treated as notional categories). Then, finally, there are functional categories such as subject, predicate, etc., that is categories relevant to the discussion of grammatical relations. In a more open approach, the latter could be extended to include semantically oriented functions like the semantic roles agent, causee, instrument, etc.

The theory presented by Romaine is functionally based. She seems to echo Traugott when she argues that category changes which appear inexplicable within an approach based purely on structural or formal properties can be accounted for if seen as a process by which discourse equivalents become linguistic equivalents.

Adducing evidence from the history of relativization in English, she cites the marking of relative clauses in Scots as possessive NPs by the use of that's as an instance in which function influenced form. She remarks (1981:23):

"We might see that what is *used* as a relative marker *looks* like one. In other words, that has acquired the coding properties of a relative marker. It is significant that varieties of Scots which make use of that's don't use whose (and only rarely use WH pronouns as relativizers) and varieties of English without that's avoid these relatives, paraphrase them or use whose. I think it makes sense to see the two strategies, pronominalization and subordination, as discourse equivalents for marking a relative clause. This is another instance in which forms with disparate grammatical origins (and whose category membership may be evidenced by different morphological markings, e.g. that/whose) can come to be discourse equivalents and eventually linguistic equivalents in the grammar."

Romaine's focus is category shift. Notice that she assigns functional status to the properties of the categories themselves, not to the shifts that they undergo. So the "syntactic" operations of pronominalization and subordination may be viewed as discourse-functional strategies, conferring on the pronoun whose and complementizer that's, respectively, equivalent roles in the context of discourse. This functional equivalence is then merely extended as each item comes to be viewed as a variant representing relative clause formation on the syntactic level. It is their equivalence in terms of function that allows an analysis of the priority of function over form in their development as (equivalent) grammatical markers.

It is worth noting that Romaine's illustration of grammaticalization as category-function shift highlights the rather underdifferentiated nature of Givón's taxonomy of discourse-pragmatic versus syntactic characteristics. We would, in his terms, expect subordination, for instance, to be treated as a syntactic rather than a discourse property, exemplifying as it does the contrast between hypotaxis and parataxis. It is clear that viewed against the background of Givón's account of syntacticization, Romaine's theory naturally complements Traugott's characterization of the actual nature of meaning shifts rather than Givón's universalist long-range diachronic treatment.

Romaine introduces a further explanatory mechanism for the gradual rather than catastrophic progression of syntactic-semantic change via grammaticalization, viz. diffusion. She argues that category changes manifest themselves as the gradual diffusion of functions associated with an item through the lexicon or, here, through the grammar. The way in which diffusion occurs, asserts Romaine, is "social". The manner in which the term "social" is used derives from the quantitative-oriented sociolinguistic studies of (contemporary) processes of sound change undertaken from the 1960s onward by Labov and others. Not having access to living speech communities in terms of which to assess the diachronic development of grammatical markers such as relative clause markers in Scots, she constructs an historical social index which facilitates the examination of patterns of variation through time. This social dimension takes the form of a stylistically defined continuum of texts. It includes genre types like prose, verse and drama; and a parameter of communicative intent, which admits text-types like court proceedings, etc. Texts analysed in this fashion lend themselves to a socially-graded scrutiny because they manifest the variation typical of the social use of language (even though the actual medium is a written and not spoken one). What this method provides is a strategy for the examination of the diachronic distribution and eventual convergence of forms and their uses within a social dimension.

#### 4 A synthesis

To explore the possibilities of a synthetic treatment of grammaticalization, it is necessary first to discover whether the positions surveyed are substantively or merely apparently different. To this end, consider the issue of the source site of the grammaticalization process. This warrants the dissection of the "propositional" component: a repository of referential meanings which includes categories which are

"subject to referential verification --- completely so only if speakers' and hearers' positions are known", according to Traugott (1920:248). In one sense, this statement could be taken as suggesting that part of the "concrete" meanings of items subsumed by the propositional component consists of their being rooted in a context in which referential verification can take place. That is, the verification of deictic categories like adverbials of time and place, personal pronouns and the tense(-aspect) system depends on their being able to refer to objects or events located in the speech situation itself.

If a criterion for the pragmatic use of categories is that they are instrumental in defining the speech situation, then it is plausible that the propositional origins Traugott ascribes to elements undergoing semantic-pragmatic shifts in grammaticalization be understood as functionally equivalent to the discourse-pragmatic origins that Fleischman claims for the tense-aspect system in Romance, for example. The focus proposed here is on the semantic-pragmatic nature of the shifts undergone by lexical items and/or constructions. So, for instance, a particular set of shifts (or the grammaticalization channel) of one item potentially includes a functional chain from *propositional*, in face-to-face or dyadic situations --- for "propositional" read "pragmatic" for Givón, Fleischman et al. --- to *textual*, in discourse --- again, this discourse function matches facets of the pragmatic "origins" of grammatical markers suggested by Givón et al. --- to *expressive* --- again, this should be read as "pragmatic" for Givón et al.

This particular view of the nature of shifts within and between functional (pragmatic) components requires clarification. Here I return to a notion adopted by Vincent (1979), Traugott (1982) and Lehmann (1982), viz. the notion expressed by the term "grammaticalization chains or channels". Vincent (1979:21) in fact uses the term "universal patterns of syntactic drift", but he exemplifies its reference in his descrip-

tion of a case of category-shift, the gist of which concerns the unidirectional tendency of *chains of grammaticalization*. The latter characteristic is manifested in the fact that lexical categories transform into structural categories (e.g. noun or verb > preposition or auxiliary, etc.) rather than the converse. I am going to use the term "grammaticalization chain" devoid of its universalist connotations.

Consider the hypothesis that a chain of grammaticalization, e.g. (the emergence of) the progressive construction in English, may have its origins in the propositional component, the semantic-pragmatic shifts it undergoes bringing it into the expressive or interpersonal functional component. In contrast, a chain of grammaticalization that is complete (exemplified by the English preterit) may continue to undergo semantic-pragmatic shifts, such that, while the grammaticalized element is a marker on the syntactic (propositional) level, it may gain expressive or interpersonal functions. For instance, while the English preterit is conventionally used to mark an activity's past location in relation to the moment of utterance as in I thought I would go to a movie this evening, it could also be taken to indicate the speaker's distant epistemic stance with respect to the proposition "go to movies". The preterit could then be interpreted to be marking the speaker's indecision about his intention to carry out the activity. This means that a multiplicity of functions is not incompatible with the (syntactic) status of a grammatical marker. The point of course, is that by definition, a shift characterized as pragmatic is conditioned or controlled by the environment(s) in which the marker or item it affects is used. So it is not useful to talk of properties of an item independently of its context (vacuous as that term tends to be).

What I propose is a synthetic approach to grammaticalization. Taking the long view, lexemes (and constructions) that have their origins in discourse-structural roles, as envisioned by Givón, enter the grammaticalization process to emerge even-

tually as syntactic-structural markers. However, the nature of the functions of these items tends to be changed by a process of pragmatic-functional shift in a particular direction: concrete (propositional) > textual > expressive. Viewing the interaction between the super-process of grammaticalization and the detail of semantic-pragmatic shifts facilitates an account of continuous semantic-pragmatic shift or change without accompanying morpho-syntactic change; in other words, functional without formal change.

A distinction must be drawn here between a marker's formal and its functional status. The two will often not be parallel or matching. A marker may have a multiplicity of semantic-pragmatic functions which are wholly contingent on its use in discourse and situational contexts. However, the formal environments and collocations in which it occurs may be (relatively) fixed and invariable. This means that, although formally unproductive, it may be interpreted in a number of ways. The contingent nature of its semantic-pragmatic use however, suggests that it should *not* be deemed to be lexicalized, at least formally speaking. Hence, given this contrast between (fixed) form and (variable) function, it seems more sensible to adhere to the characterization of grammaticalization as a unidirectional process. Within this process then, Traugott's model represents an attempt to systematize the essentially context-dependent or contingent functional variability of the marker. So this approach facilitates the distinction between the formal changes in the system due to grammaticalization, and the functional changes which may or may not cumulate in the overall shift of an item.

The analyses discussed (those of Givón, Traugott and Romaine respectively) are therefore not fundamentally incompatible. They can be integrated into an approach that meshes the functional focus of Traugott and Romaine with the largely formal one provided by Givón.

Consider how they can be fused into a synthetic account of the grammaticalization of, for example, the English progres-

sive. This construction has as its source, a periphrastic construction formed with the verb be + a nominalized verb form in some locative dependence. Its grammaticalization involves the shift of be to an auxiliary verb. The verb starts out as a verb of existence, subsequently being used in location predications with the meaning "to be in a place". Then it appears as the copular in nominal sentences. As such, it may be employed when the predicate is a nominalized verb form, and in this way it ends up as an auxiliary. This illustrates the manifestation of grammaticalization as category shift: the phase is syntacticization; the levels involved, discourse and syntax, are linked by the shift.

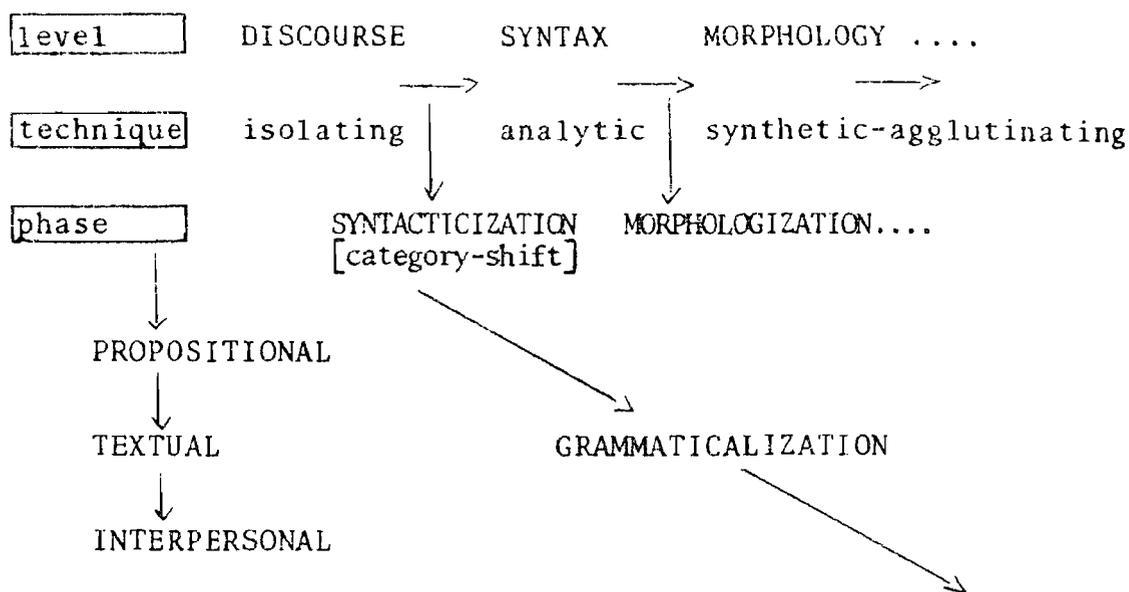
What of the semantic-pragmatic shifts involved? The association of location with the existential verb can be said to be deictic in character. As deixis is a semantic relation fundamentally based in the dyadic or face-to-face situation, the locative source of the progressive can be argued to have a propositional function: it relates the concrete positions of interlocutors and other objects to the deictic centre of utterance, and consequently, of situation. As evidenced in Old English --- see (Wright, in preparation) --- the category shift is arguably already complete, having reached the syntactic level. However, in this case (a typical instance of the grammaticalization of full to auxiliary verb), the exact status of be in the progressive is quite opaque. Lehmann (1982:34) comments that the dispute on whether auxiliaries are (syntactically) main verbs or not is basically fruitless: "Two grammatical categories connected on a grammaticalization scale are neither the same nor distinct. The difference between them is gradual, and there is no clear-cut dividing line".

What about its lexical status? In the course of category shift, the progressive is very gradually denuded of its locative sense, the full verb be losing its lexical status. As it begins to lose its verbal properties, it no longer governs the lexical verb, and as an aspect marker, comes to depend on the lexical verb which is now the main verb. The

now syntactic construction acquires a textual function in OE discourse, contrasting with "simple" verb forms to mark backgrounded information. Note that, though the status of the construction is syntactic in terms of (Givónian) level, it goes without saying that it continues to operate in discourse. Its context, moreover, assigns it a pragmatic function.

Illustrating that grammaticalization is not binary, the gradualness with which the construction loses its locative sense is marked by the occurrence of the prepositions in, on, a- with it in Early Modern English, as in he was on/a-hunting, he was in hunting. And there is also a tendency for it to be coloured, as it were, with a locative sense as a "progressive passive" in the eighteenth century, for example the house was building, the book was printing. Thus, category shift does not necessarily imply a parallel process of semantic bleaching. The latter development takes place by diffusion through the grammar/lexicon, and not uniformly in a series of catastrophic shifts/waves. Its semantic-pragmatic textual function becomes established as the construction begins to be used more and more widely, in a range of discourse types. In Late Modern English, partly as a consequence of the "genreification" of particular experiential modes of discourse --- like letters and diaries --- it acquires an interpersonal or subjective function in text. But this does not mean that it loses its textual function. Indeed, its realization of an interpersonal function in addition to a textual one is contingent on the discourse mode in which it is embedded, and the other verb forms with which it co-occurs and is contrasted. It is important to bear in mind that these semantic-pragmatic developments are all happening to the construction in the course of syntacticization, that is, while it is becoming a syntactic construction.

This fusion account can be modelled more graphically by taking Givón's representation of grammaticalization phases, and incorporating Traugott's view of semantic-pragmatic shift into the process as a whole:



This diagram, which focuses on the syntacticization phase of the grammaticalization process, indicates that semantic-pragmatic shifts should not be seen as obligatorily parallel to distinct grammaticalization phases. Indeed, it is possible for a form within one phase --- say syntacticization --- to undergo the full range of shifts.

Consequently, the phases linking the levels in which constructions undergoing grammaticalization are embedded, are not parallel with the semantic-pragmatic stages through which that construction may pass. The point of postulating a model of semantic-pragmatic shift is to show how these forms behave, operate or function within the context in which they occur, i.e. in discourse. It also provides a means of demonstrating the role that discourse/text has in shaping the functions of grammatical markers.

## FOOTNOTES

\*I am grateful to Elizabeth Traugott, Peter Matthews and Nigel Vincent, who read (very) early versions of this paper. And I thank Roger Lass most especially for his detailed comments and criticism. The errors of judgement and interpretation which remain are, of course, all my own work.

1. As a coda to this, Lehmann (1982:18) comments:
 

"Finally, although it must be admitted that the -a of mura does not go back to Latin, it is not the case that uova and mura are collectives; they are plural forms. So these examples do not establish a degrammaticalization process."
2. Fleischman uses the term "speech act" --- I prefer to use the less theory specific "situation of utterance" or "speech event".
3. This functional-semantic organization is derived from Halliday (1970) and Halliday & Hasan (1976). The latter use the terms "ideational" and "interpersonal" rather than "propositional" and "expressive".
4. Judging from the abstract and non-propositional function that time and place deictics have in styles of discourse like indirect free style, it is clear that consideration of the semantic-pragmatic function of items in different levels is necessary: there is variation that is contextually governed that has to be accounted for within this analysis.
5. Cohesion is a crucial aspect of the property of textuality. Cf. Halliday & Hasan 1976.

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