

Cambridge University Press
0521540631 - Lexicalization and Language Change
Laurel J. Brinton and Elizabeth Closs Traugott
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

Lexicalization and Language Change

Lexicalization, a process of language change, has been conceptualized in a variety of ways. Broadly defined as the adoption of words into the lexicon, it has been viewed by some as the reverse process of grammaticalization, by others as a routine process of word formation, and by others as the development of concrete meanings. In this up-to-date survey, Laurel Brinton and Elizabeth Traugott examine the various conceptualizations of lexicalization that have been presented in the literature. In light of contemporary work on grammaticalization, they then propose a new, unified model of lexicalization and grammaticalization. Their approach is illustrated with a variety of case studies from the history of English, including present participles, multi-word verbs, adverbs, and discourse markers, as well as some examples from other Indo-European languages. As a first overview of the various approaches to lexicalization, this book will be invaluable to students and scholars of historical linguistics and language change.

LAUREL J. BRINTON is Professor in the Department of English, University of British Columbia. She is author of *The Structure of Modern English: A Linguistic Introduction* (2000), and *Pragmatic Markers in English: Grammaticalization and Discourse Functions* (1996).

ELIZABETH CLOSS TRAUGOTT is Emerita Professor of Linguistics and English at Stanford University. Her most recent books include *Grammaticalization* (with Paul Hopper, 2003), and *Regularity in Semantic Change* (with Richard Dasher, 2002).

Cambridge University Press
0521540631 - Lexicalization and Language Change
Laurel J. Brinton and Elizabeth Closs Traugott
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

Research Surveys in Linguistics

In large domains of theoretical and empirical linguistics, the needs of scholarly communication are directly comparable to those in analytical and natural sciences. Conspicuously lacking in the inventory of publications for linguists, compared to those in the sciences, are concise, single-authored, non-textbook reviews of rapidly evolving areas of inquiry. The series *Research Surveys in Linguistics* is intended to fill this gap. It consists of well-indexed volumes that survey topics of significant theoretical interest on which there has been a proliferation of research in the last two decades. The goal is to provide an efficient overview and entry into the primary literature for linguists – both advanced students and researchers – who wish to move into, or stay literate in, the areas covered. Series authors are recognized authorities on the subject matter as well as clear, highly organized writers. Each book offers the reader relatively tight structuring in sections and subsections and a detailed index for ease of orientation.

Previously published in this series

A Thematic Guide to Optimality Theory John J. McCarthy
ISBN 0 52179194 4 hardback
ISBN 0 52179644 X paperback

The Phonology of Tone and Intonation Carlos Gussenhoven
ISBN 0521 81265 8 hardback
ISBN 0521 01200 7 paperback

Argument Realization Beth Levin and Malka Rappaport Hovav
ISBN 0521 66331 8 hardback
ISBN 0521 66376 8 paperback

Cambridge University Press
0521540631 - Lexicalization and Language Change
Laurel J. Brinton and Elizabeth Closs Traugott
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

Lexicalization and Language Change

LAUREL J. BRINTON

University of British Columbia

ELIZABETH CLOSS TRAUGOTT

Stanford University



Cambridge University Press
 0521540631 - Lexicalization and Language Change
 Laurel J. Brinton and Elizabeth Closs Traugott
 Frontmatter
[More information](#)

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, São Paulo

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 2RU, UK

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521540636

© Laurel J. Brinton and Elizabeth C. Traugott 2005

This book is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception
 and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements,
 no reproduction of any part may take place without
 the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2005

Printed in the United Kingdom at the University Press, Cambridge

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data

Brinton, Laurel J.

Lexicalization and grammaticalization in language change/Laurel Brinton, Elizabeth
 Closs Traugott.

p. cm. – (Research surveys in linguistics)

Includes bibliographical references and indexes.

ISBN-13: 978-0-521-83310-3 (hardback)

ISBN-10: 0-521-83310-8 (hardback)

ISBN-13: 978-0-521-54063-6 (pbk.)

ISBN-10: 0-521-54063-1 (pbk.)

1. Linguistic change. 2. Lexicology. 3. Grammar, Comparative and general – Grammaticalization. 4. Grammar, Comparative and general – Syntax.
- I. Traugott, Elizabeth Closs. II. Title. III. Series.

P142.B738 2005

413'. 028 – dc22

ISBN-13 978-0-521-83310-3 hardback

ISBN-10 0-521-83310-8 hardback

ISBN-13 978-0-521-54063-6 paperback

ISBN-10 0-521-54063-1 paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for
 the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or
 third-party internet websites referred to in this book,
 and does not guarantee that any content on such
 websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Contents

<i>List of figures</i>	<i>page</i> vii
<i>List of tables</i>	viii
<i>Preface</i>	ix
<i>List of abbreviations</i>	xi
1 Theoretical contexts for the study of lexicalization and grammaticalization	1
1.0 Purpose of the present study	1
1.1 Debates concerning grammar and language change	2
1.2 Concepts of the lexicon	9
1.3 Lexicalization	18
1.4 Grammaticalization	22
1.5 Conclusion	31
2 Lexicalization: definitions and viewpoints	32
2.0 Introduction	32
2.1 Ordinary processes of word formation	33
2.2 Institutionalization	45
2.3 Lexicalization as fusion	47
2.4 Lexicalization as increase in autonomy	57
2.5 Conclusion	60
3 Views on the relation of lexicalization to grammaticalization	62
3.0 Introduction	62
3.1 Some examples of fusion and coalescence treated as either lexicalization or grammaticalization	63
3.2 Similarities between lexicalization and grammaticalization	68
3.3 Differences between lexicalization and grammaticalization	76
3.4 Status of derivation	86
3.5 Conclusion	87
4 Toward an integrated approach to lexicalization and grammaticalization	89
4.0 Introduction	89
4.1 Basic assumptions	91
4.2 Definitions revisited	95

Cambridge University Press
0521540631 - Lexicalization and Language Change
Laurel J. Brinton and Elizabeth Closs Traugott
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

vi	Contents	
	4.3 “Reversals” of lexicalization and grammaticalization	102
	4.4 Degrees of parallelism between lexicalization and grammaticalization	104
	4.5 Conclusion	109
5	Case studies	111
	5.0 Introduction	111
	5.1 Present participles	111
	5.2 Multi-word verbs	122
	5.3 Composite predicates	130
	5.4 Adverbs formed with <i>-ly</i>	132
	5.5 Discourse markers	136
6	Conclusion and research questions	141
	6.0 Introduction	141
	6.1 Summary	141
	6.2 Research questions	147
	<i>References</i>	161
	<i>Index of names</i>	185
	<i>Index of subjects</i>	189
	<i>Index of words and forms</i>	194

Figures

2.1	Changes typically encompassed in work on lexicalization	<i>page</i> 61
3.1	Continuum between grammar and lexicon (Ramat 2001:394)	81
3.2	Lexicalization and degrammaticalization as overlap categories (van der Auwera 2002:21)	82
3.3	Lexicalization (Lehmann 2002:14)	84
3.4	(De)grammaticalization (Lehmann 2002:15)	84
3.5	Grammaticalization, degrammaticalization, and lexicalization (Norde 2002:48)	85
4.1	Flowchart of antigrammaticalization and antilexicalization	104
5.1	Schematic of developments of V-ende/-ing forms	121

Cambridge University Press
0521540631 - Lexicalization and Language Change
Laurel J. Brinton and Elizabeth Closs Traugott
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

Tables

4.1	Schema of correlations of categories along continua	<i>page</i> 92
4.2	Synchronic clines of lexicality and grammaticality	94
4.3	Diachronic change along clines of lexicality and grammaticality	102
4.4	Parallels between lexicalization and grammaticalization	110

Preface

In the 1990s as historical studies of grammaticalization proliferated and questions arose about the relationship between it and lexicalization, we independently sought to understand better to what extent efforts to maximize the distinctions between the two were justified. At the International Conference on English Historical Linguistics in Santiago de Compostela, September 2000, we discovered that we had somewhat similar concerns and similar ideas, most especially that we were both embracing the realization that what we had polarized (see Hopper and Traugott 1993, 2003; Traugott 1994; Brinton 2002, and, to a lesser extent, Traugott 2005) were in fact very similar in certain respects. Having taken criticisms in Cowie (1995) to heart, Traugott was also concerned about the status of derivation in grammaticalization and lexicalization. Meanwhile, it became clear that many others were making similar efforts to account for the similarities as well as differences between the two processes (e.g., Lehmann 1989, 2002; Ramat 1992, 2001; Wischer 2000; Heine 2003b). The diversity of points of view on the two topics has been a matter of frustration to some, but we view it as an inevitable step in the development of relatively new subfields of linguistics, much as has occurred in the study of syntax or morphology.

Consistent with the aims of this series, *Cambridge Research Surveys in Linguistics*, our purpose in this book is to bring together a variety of scholarly debates concerning the relationship between lexicalization and grammaticalization in language change, with focus on the former. For this reason, the first three chapters present reviews of the literature, which in the case of lexicalization especially contains varied and often conflicting views on how this process is to be conceived. In the last three chapters, we suggest some ways in which these views may be reconciled and present one possible unified approach to lexicalization and grammaticalization. This book is addressed in the first instance to graduate students and established scholars in the field and assumes a general understanding of issues related to diachronic linguistics, and to grammaticalization studies in particular. However, we believe that it could also be used by advanced undergraduates who have a solid grounding in basic linguistics.

In a comparative work on lexicalization and grammaticalization of this nature, it has been necessary to omit a number of aspects of both phenomena

Cambridge University Press
0521540631 - Lexicalization and Language Change
Laurel J. Brinton and Elizabeth Closs Traugott
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

x

Preface

that are of potential interest. For example, we have had little space to discuss the phonological dimension of lexicalization. Moreover, although we have attempted to cover recent research on lexicalization and grammaticalization, we realize that much else may have been done that has not come to our attention. No doubt far more is currently in progress. In particular, we have, for reasons of time and resources, restricted our coverage primarily to work on and in English, with passing reference to other European languages. Therefore, a general understanding of the historical development of English is assumed in the work. Much of relevance has, no doubt, been written on other languages and in other languages. We hope that, despite these limitations of coverage, this volume will provide guidance and inspiration for those who wish to pursue the matter further, especially with reference to non-European languages.

In writing this book we have had to let go of old preconceptions and revise our thinking about lexicalization and grammaticalization; we would like to think we have encouraged others to do so too. We are grateful to Paul J. Hopper, Anette Rosenbach, Scott Schwenter, and Jacqueline Visconti for comments on an earlier draft as well as to three anonymous reviewers of our initial proposal. Isla Reynolds provided careful editorial attention to the manuscript. We would also like to thank Christina Bartels and Kate Brett at Cambridge University Press, who initially conceived of this project with us, and Helen Barton and Alison Powell, who carried the project through, as well as Jacqueline French for copy-editing.

Laurel J. Brinton, Vancouver
Elizabeth Closs Traugott, Berkeley
August 2004

List of abbreviations

ABL	ablative case
ACC	accusative case
Adj	adjective
Adv	adverb
Aux	auxiliary verb
COMP	comparative
Conj	conjunction
Dan.	Danish
DAT	dative case
Det	determiner
Du.	Dutch
EME	Early Middle English
EModE	Early Modern English
Eng.	English
F	feminine
Fr.	French
FUT	future tense
GEN	genitive case
Gk.	Greek
Gm.	German
Gmc.	Germanic
GRAM	grammatical morpheme
HCET	<i>Helsinki Corpus of English Texts</i>
Hit.	Hittite
ICAME	<i>International Computer Archives of Modern English</i>
IE	Indo-European
INF	infinitive
It.	Italian
Lat.	Latin
LModE	Late Modern English
M	masculine
ME	Middle English
MFr.	Middle French

MHG	Middle High German
ModE	Modern English
ModGm.	Modern German
N	noun
NP	noun phrase
OE	Old English
<i>OED</i>	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i>
OFr.	Old French
OHG	Old High German
ON	Old Norse
PAST	past tense
PDE	Present-day English
PGmc	Proto-Germanic
PIE	Proto-Indo-European
PL	plural
Port.	Portuguese
Prep	preposition
PrepP	prepositional phrase
PRES	present tense
PrP Adj	present participial adjective
PrP Prep	present participial preposition
Prt	particle
PTCP	participle
SG	singular
Sk.	Sanskrit
Sp.	Spanish
Sw.	Swedish
V	verb
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person

Abbreviations of OE texts follow the conventions of the *Dictionary of Old English Corpus*; abbreviations of ME texts follow the conventions of the *Middle English Dictionary*. When citing Old English and Latin we have omitted length marks. In the case of citations from other languages, we have retained them.