

A Functional Discourse Grammar Theory of Grammaticalization

Volume 1: Functional Change

By

Riccardo Giomi



BRILL

LEIDEN | BOSTON

Contents

Acknowledgements	IX
List of Tables and Figures	X
Abbreviations	XII

1	Introduction	1
1.1	Theoretical Setting and Scope of the Research	1
1.2	State of the Art and Research Questions	6
2	Functional Discourse Grammar	14
2.1	General Features	14
2.2	Layered Structure	20
2.2.1	<i>Introduction</i>	20
2.2.2	<i>Types of Head</i>	24
2.3	Four Levels of Grammatical Analysis	27
2.3.1	<i>The Interpersonal Level</i>	27
2.3.1.1	Moves and Discourse Acts	28
2.3.1.2	The Illocution	31
2.3.1.3	The Participants	33
2.3.1.4	The Communicated Content	34
2.3.1.5	Subacts	35
2.3.2	<i>The Representational Level</i>	38
2.3.2.1	The Propositional Content	39
2.3.2.2	The Episode	41
2.3.2.3	The State-of-Affairs	43
2.3.2.4	The Configurational Property	44
2.3.2.5	The Lexical Property	45
2.3.2.6	Further Semantic Categories	46
2.4	Summary	47
3	Grammaticalization between Structure and Context	48
3.1	Grammaticalization: History, Basic Concepts and Matters of Controversy	48
3.2	Lehmann's Parameters and Processes	58
3.3	Paradigmatic Change	65
3.3.1	<i>Obligatorification</i>	66
3.3.2	<i>Paradigmaticization and Decategorialization: from Major vs. Minor Categories to Content vs. Function Words</i>	70
3.3.3	<i>Interim Summary</i>	84

3.4	Grammaticalization as Context-Induced Reinterpretation	86
3.4.1	<i>Heine (2002)</i>	86
3.4.2	<i>Metaphor and Metonymy</i>	90
3.4.3	<i>The Interaction of Components in an FDG Account of Grammaticalization</i>	91
3.5	Towards an FDG Theory of Grammaticalization	98
4	Previous Approaches to Functional Change	101
4.1	Meaning Generalization	101
4.2	From Concrete to Abstract Meaning	102
4.3	From "Material" to "Relational" Meaning	103
4.4	Loss of Predicativity/Referentiality	104
4.5	Subjectification, Intersubjectification and Discourse Orientation	105
4.6	Summary	108
5	Grammaticalization as Scope Increase	109
5.1	Grammar and Conceptualization in FDG and in Other Functional Models	109
5.2	Scope Increase in FDG	112
5.2.1	<i>Scope Increase across Layers and Levels</i>	112
5.2.2	<i>Scope Increase and Pragmaticalization</i>	120
5.3	Putative Counterexamples to the Scope-Increase Hypothesis	128
5.4	Refining the Scope-Increase Hypothesis	135
5.4.1	<i>Horizontal Scope Widening</i>	136
5.4.2	<i>Layer Skipping</i>	143
5.5	Conclusions and Outline of the Following Chapters	146
6	The Grammaticalization of Semantic, Pragmatic and Rhetorical Functions	148
6.1	Introduction	148
6.1.1	<i>Semantic Functions in FDG</i>	148
6.1.2	<i>Semantic and Syntactic Functions</i>	150
6.1.3	<i>Overview of Semantic Functions and Their Distribution across Layers</i>	152
6.2	The Diachronic Development of Function Markers	155
6.2.1	<i>Preliminaries</i>	155
6.2.2	<i>Scope Increase in the Field of Function Markers</i>	160
6.2.3	<i>Putative Counterexamples to the Scope-Increase Hypothesis</i>	175

- 6.2.4 *Diachronic Developments Involving Reasons, Manners and Quantities* 184
- 6.2.5 *Multiple Sources of Diachronic Development?* 197
- 6.2.6 *Core-Argument Functions* 199
- 6.3 *Conclusions* 205
- 7 **When Scope Does Not Matter** 207
 - 7.1 *Theoretical Preliminaries* 207
 - 7.1.1 *A Functional Classification of Grammatical Elements* 207
 - 7.1.2 *Possible and Impossible Portmanteau Morphemes* 213
 - 7.1.3 *Lexical and Syntactic Derivation in FDG* 215
 - 7.2 *Secondary Grammaticalization Changes Unrelated to Scope Increase* 220
 - 7.2.1 $G_2 > G_3$ 222
 - 7.2.2 $G_3 > G_2$ 237
 - 7.2.3 $G_3 > G_1$ 252
 - 7.2.4 $G_1 > G_2$ 269
 - 7.2.5 $G_2 > G_1?$ 272
 - 7.2.6 $G_1 > G_1$ 284
 - 7.2.7 $G_1 > G_3$ 286
 - 7.2.8 $G_3 > G_1$ 290
 - 7.3 *Discussion and Conclusions* 292
- 8 **Primary Grammaticalization: What Is Lexical and What Is Grammatical?** 299
 - 8.1 *Introduction* 299
 - 8.2 *The Lexical/Grammatical Dichotomy in FDG* 304
 - 8.3 *Keizer's Parameters Revisited* 309
 - 8.3.1 *No or Little Semantic Content* 310
 - 8.3.2 *Testing for Ascriptive Function* 312
 - 8.3.2.1 *Restrictions* 314
 - 8.3.3 *Operator Assignment* 316
 - 8.3.3.1 *Interpersonal Operators: The Lexical Deed* 316
 - 8.3.3.2 *Representational Operators: The Lexical Property* 326
 - 8.3.4 *Modifiability* 331
 - 8.3.5 *From Predicate Formation to Use as Predicate, Term or Modifier* 337
 - 8.3.6 *Formal Criteria: Fixed Position and Phonological Integration* 343

8.3.7	<i>Mutual Exclusivity</i>	349
8.3.8	<i>Paradigmatic Criteria</i>	354
8.3.9	<i>Interim Summary</i>	357
8.4	Lexical Roots and Derivational Affixes	358
8.5	Primary Grammaticalization without Lexemes: The Case of Non-verbal Predication	369
8.6	Summary	374
9	Conclusions	376
	References	389
	Language Index	423
	Subject Index	427