Pragmaticalization vs. grammaticalization - Evidence from the historical evolution of Chinese pragmatic markers

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Outline

- **1. Background**
- **2. Data and methodology**
- **3. Diachronic analysis**
- **4. Destruction**
- **5. Construction**
- **6. Conclusions**

Background

- **The rise of pragmatic markers**

- Group One: Gzn ---- divergence, layering, decategorization, morphologization

- Group two: NOT Gzn

  - Pragmaticalization

- NOTE: minority (the rise of PMs as lexicalization)

Background

- Through probing into how NIKAN (you see) and WOKAN (I see) evolve to emerge and function as pragmatic markers from expressions of non-pragmatic origins in the corpus of ancient Chinese, the paper attempts to address the following four issues:

- a) Is it really necessary to include the development of pragmatic markers under the concept of grammaticalization?

- b) If not, then how shall we conceptualize pragmaticalization?

- c) What kind of role does unidirectionality, "the bedrock of grammaticalization" (Norde 2010: 68), play in the historical evolution of Chinese pragmatic markers?

- d) How to solve the borderline issue between pragmaticalization and grammaticalization?

Data and methodology

- A large amount of authentic language data from the Ancient Chinese Corpus designed by the Center for Chinese Linguistics (CCL) Peking University.

Table 1. Periodization of the Chinese Language

Period	Beginning	Ending
Old Chinese	1046 BC	220 AD
Middle Chinese	220	907
Old Mandarin	907	1368
Middle Mandarin	1368	The 19th Century
Modern Mandarin	The 19th Century	Present

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- Table 2 Distribution of WOKAN and NIKAN in Each Chronological Division of the History of Chinese

		WOKAN	Total	NIKAN	Total
Middle Chinese	Six Dynasties	1	2	2	6
	Tang	1		4	
Old Mandarin	Five Dynasties	5	18	3	47
	Northern Song	4		7	
	Southern Song	5		28	
	Yuan	4		9	
Middle Mandarin	Ming	321	2370	773	2831
	Qing	2049		2058	
Total		2390		2884	

Methodology

- As to the methodology, I search the corpus for target forms and analyze and compare the discursive behaviors of these forms at different historical periods according to the periodization of the Chinese language so as to investigate the evolution of these two expressions.

- WOKAN:吾看 WUKAN, 余看 YUKAN, 予看 YUKAN, 愚看 YUKAN

- NIKAN: 汝看 RVKAN, 女看 RVKAN, 尔看 ERKAN, 若看 RUOKAN, 而看 ERKAN, 乃看 NAIKAN

Historical development of WOKAN and NIKAN into pragmatic markers in Chinese

- XKAN1: X + KAN {pronoun + predicate verb}
- *如来遣我看(WOKAN1)慈母　（《敦煌变文集》)*
- XKAN2: pragmatic markers
- 如这事*我看*(WOKAN2)得如此，与他说亦是如此，只此便是信。（《朱子语类》）
- XKAN1 > XKAN2

Historical development of WOKAN

- WOKAN1 > WOKAN1/2 > WOKAN2a > WOKAN2b

- Both WOKAN2a and WOKAN2b function as pragmatic markers

- Dissimilarities: WOKAN2a is followed by an NP which is visible to the naked eye and present at the CT while WOKAN2b by an NP which is invisible or not present at the CT.
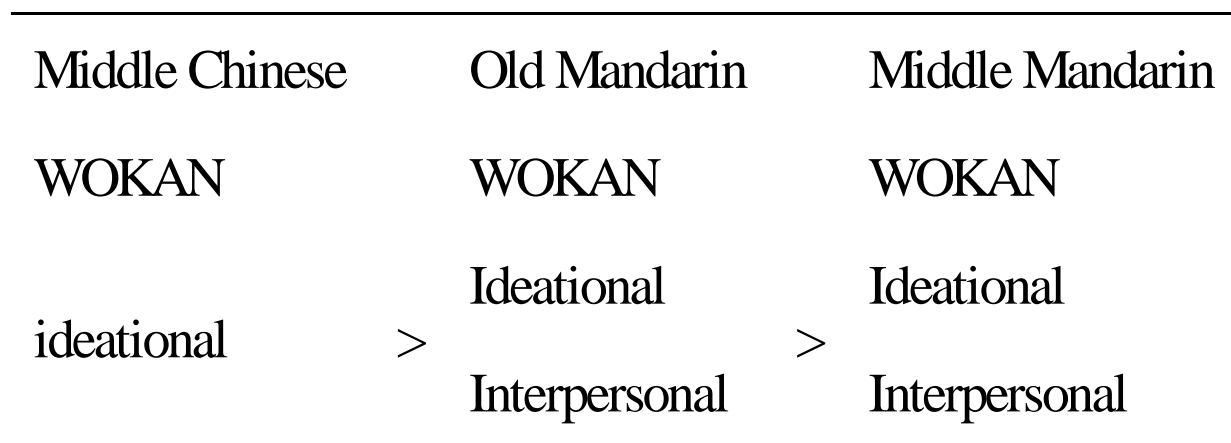
- Cases of WOKAN1/2 are exemplified in (1):
  - (1) *我看(WOKAN1/2) 见这些做官的，都不得有甚好收场。(《儒林外史》)*
  - *WOKAN1/2 those officials will come to no good end.*
- WOKAN1/2 is ambiguous between WOKAN1 and WOKAN2
- (2) *我　看见　这些做官的，都不得有甚好收场*
-    1   2
-      3   4
- (3) *我看见　这些做官的，都不得有甚好收场*
-      1   2

- The general syntactic characteristics of WOKAN1/2 can be summarized as follows:

- 1) KAN is usually followed by a NP that refers to concrete objects and can be seen with the naked eye.

- 2) WOKAN1/2 usually occurs in the sentence which contains a SVC

- The syntactic environments of these four usages of WOKAN are captured in (4)-(7):

- (4) WOKAN1 + NP (seeable and present at the CT)

- (5) WOKAN1/2 + NP (seeable and present at the CT) + VP

- (6) WOKAN2a + NP (seeable and not present at the CT) + VP

- (7) WOKAN2b + NP (unseeable or not present at the CT) + VP

Table 5 Distribution of of WOKAN in Various Stages of the Chinese Language

	WOKAN1	WOKAN1/2	WOKAN2a	WOKAN2b	Total
Middle Chinese	2 (100%)	0	0	0	2(100%)
Old Mandarin	15 (83%)	0	2 (11%)	1 (6%)	18 (100%)
Middle Mandarin	71 (61%)	2 (2%)	32 (27%)	12 (10%)	117(100%)

Middle Chinese		Old Mandarin		Middle Mandarin
WOKAN		WOKAN		WOKAN
ideational	>	Ideational / Interpersonal	>	Ideational / Interpersonal

Figure 2 Functional Change in WOKAN's Pragmaticalization

Historical development of NIKAN

- NIKAN1>NIKAN1a>NIKAN1a/2>NIKAN2

- In both NIKAN1 and NIKAN1a, KAN still functions as a main verb;

- The distinctness: in all cases of NIKAN1a, the verb KAN is used with direct illocutionary force (performativized):

- (8)宋永初三年，谢南康家婢，行逢一黑狗，语婢云：“*汝看*(NIKAN1a)我背后。”（《搜神后记》(365 AD-427AD)）

- NIKAN1a/2 can receive two interpretations between NIKAN1a and NIKAN2

(9) 您看 我家用兵　有走的么

　　　　　1　　　　　2　　　　　　　　　　《大宋宣和遗事》

　　　3　　4　

(10) 您看 我家用兵　　有走的么

　　1　　　　　2　

　　　3　　　　4

Table 9 Distribution of of NIKAN in Various Stages of the Chinese Language

	NIKAN1	NIKAN1a	NIKAN1a/2	NIKAN2	Total
Middle Chinese	4 (67%)	2 (33%)	0	0	6 (100%)
Old Mandarin	15 (32%)	3 (6%)	15 (32%)	14 (30%)	47 (100%)
Middle Mandarin	40 (23%)	16 (9%)	36 (20%)	85 (48%)	177 (100%)

Middle Chinese		Old Mandarin		Middle Mandarin
NIKAN		NIKAN		NIKAN
		Ideational		Ideational
ideational	>	textual	>	Textual
		Interpersonal		Interpersonal

Figure 4 Functional Change in NIKAN's Pragmaticalization

Destruction - Historical development of pragmatic markers as instances of pragmaticalization

- I attribute the historical evolution of pragmatic markers to the framework of pragmaticalization instead of grammaticalization by first arguing that pragmatic markers are not grammatical categories.

- I then move on to prove that neither **Lehmman's morpheme-based approach**, **Traugott's discourse-based approach** nor **the principle of unidirectionality** fit in with the evidence from the diachronic evolution of WOKAN and NIKAN into pragmatic markers.

Pragmatic markers: grammatical category or not?

- Jakobson (1959: 489) and Mel'cuk (1976: 84): the essential criterion of grammatical categories is obligatoriness: a meaning is grammatical in L if the speaker cannot choose to leave it unspecified (Lehmann 1995).

- Heine, Claudi and Hunnemeyer (1991) enumerate for us the following characteristics of grammatical elements or categories:
  - a. They are more abstract than other concepts.
  - b. They are synsematic
  - c. They belong to closed categories.
  - d. They are relational.
  - e. They tend to form a system.
  - f. They contribute to the structure, whereas non-grammatical elements contribute to the content.
  - g. They tend to be encoded linguistically as nonlexical forms such as auxiliaries, prepositions, clitics and affixes.

Direct evidence from the diachronic evolution

- Lehmman's morpheme-based Gzn

Table 10 Lehmann's Parameters of Grammaticalization

	paradigmatic	**syntagmatic**
weight	integrity	structural scope
cohesion	paradigmaticity	bondedness
variability	paradigmatic variability	syntagmatic variability

- Traugott holds a very different view of grammar:
- The view of grammar adopted here is that it structures cognitive and communicative aspects of language. It encompasses not only phonology, morphosyntax and semantics but also inferences that arise out of linguistic form, in other words, linguistic pragmatics such as topicalization, deixis. On this view, other kinds of pragmatics including encyclopedic knowledge are not part of grammar, but are important in the speaker-addressee negotiation that motivates change. (Traugott 1995b)

- However, Lehmann (2005) clearly warns that:
- It is unwise to elevate grammaticalization to the status of 'creation of grammar' per se. This necessarily renders the concept wide and heterogeneous, with the consequence that it becomes less apt to generate falsifiable empirical generalizations and to be integrated into an articulated theory of language change and language activity. (see also Noël 2007: 7)

- Ariel (2010: 247) states that grammar must at the same time be viewed as less responsible for utterance use and interpretation than was previously thought.

- Ariel (2010: 247-248) points out that Sperber and Wilson (1986), Kempson (1986) and Carston (2002) are certainly right to assume that grammar is highly underdetermined with respect to meaning.

Evidence against unidirectionality

- It is true that the evolution of *XKAN* from *XKAN*1 to *XKAN*2 shows the decrease of semantic content, i.e., its meaning becomes more abstract and procedural. Unidirectionality, however, is defied at the syntactic level.

$$\text{XKAN1} + \text{NP} \longrightarrow [\text{XKAN1/2} + \text{NP}] + \text{VP}$$

The historical process involved in the derivation of XKAN1/2 from XKAN1 clearly demonstrates the tendency of decreased syntagmatic variability, or syntactic freedom. However, the evolution of XKAN from XKAN1/2 to the PM use, i.e., XKAN2 shows an increase of syntactic freedom, because the PM use of XKAN is syntactically and semantically more separated from the following NP + VP combination

| XKAN1 | → | XKAN1/2 | → | XKAN2 |

| DECREASE of syntactic freedom | | INCREASE of syntactic freedom |
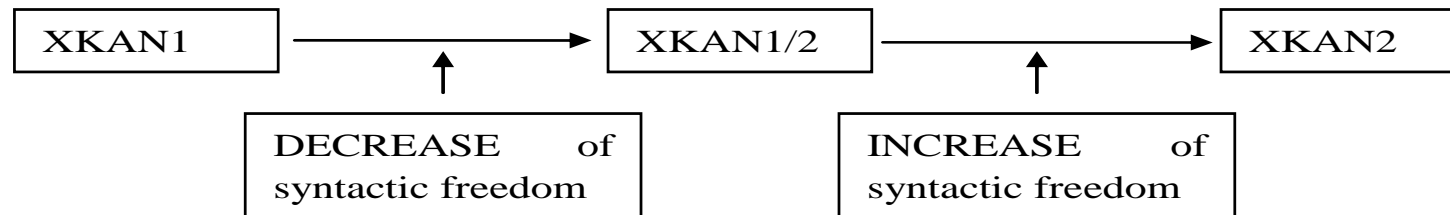
Figure 5 Pragmaticalization of XKAN and Unidirectionality

Construction: Morpheme-based approach to pragmaticalization

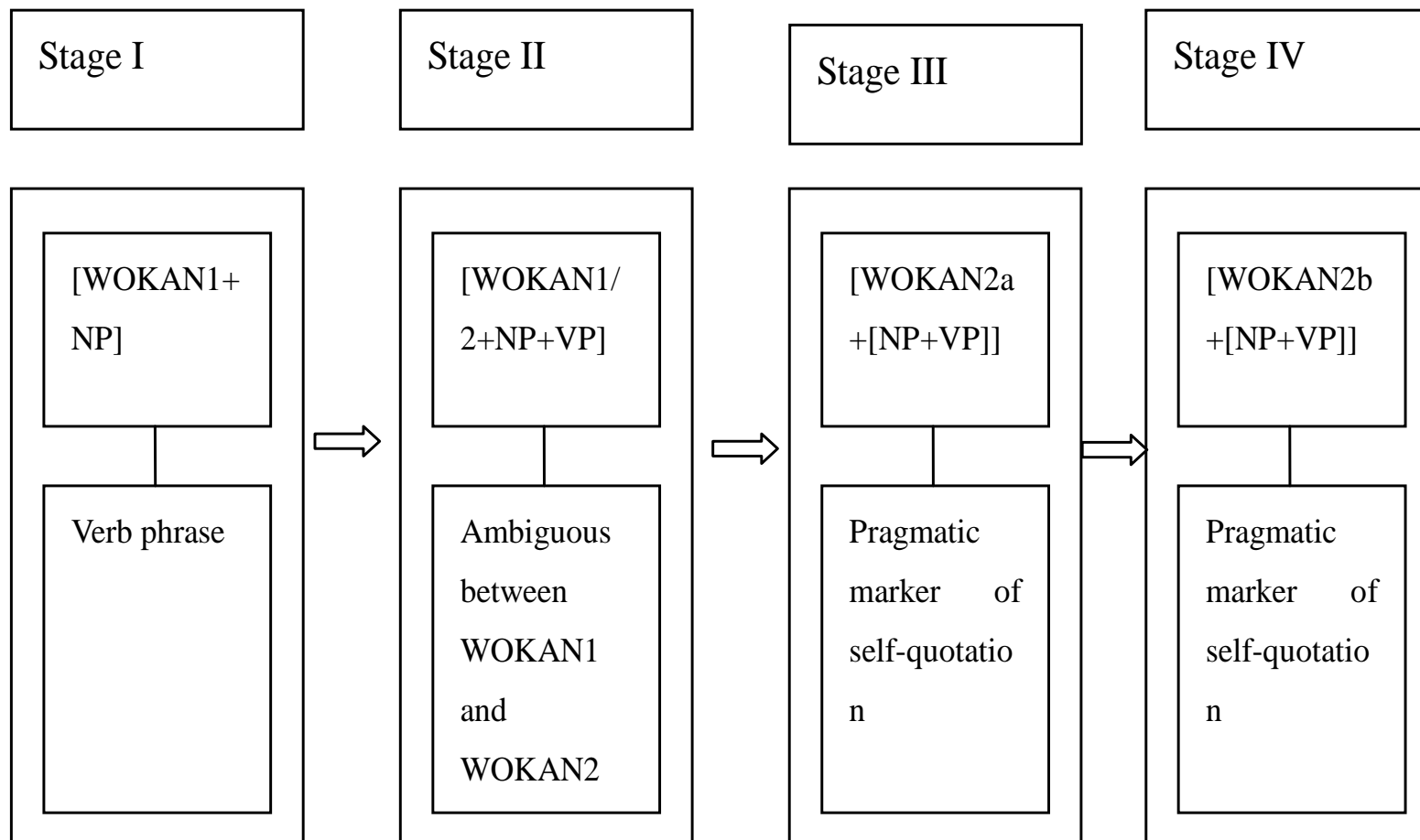**Table 11 Morpheme-based approach to pragmaticalization**

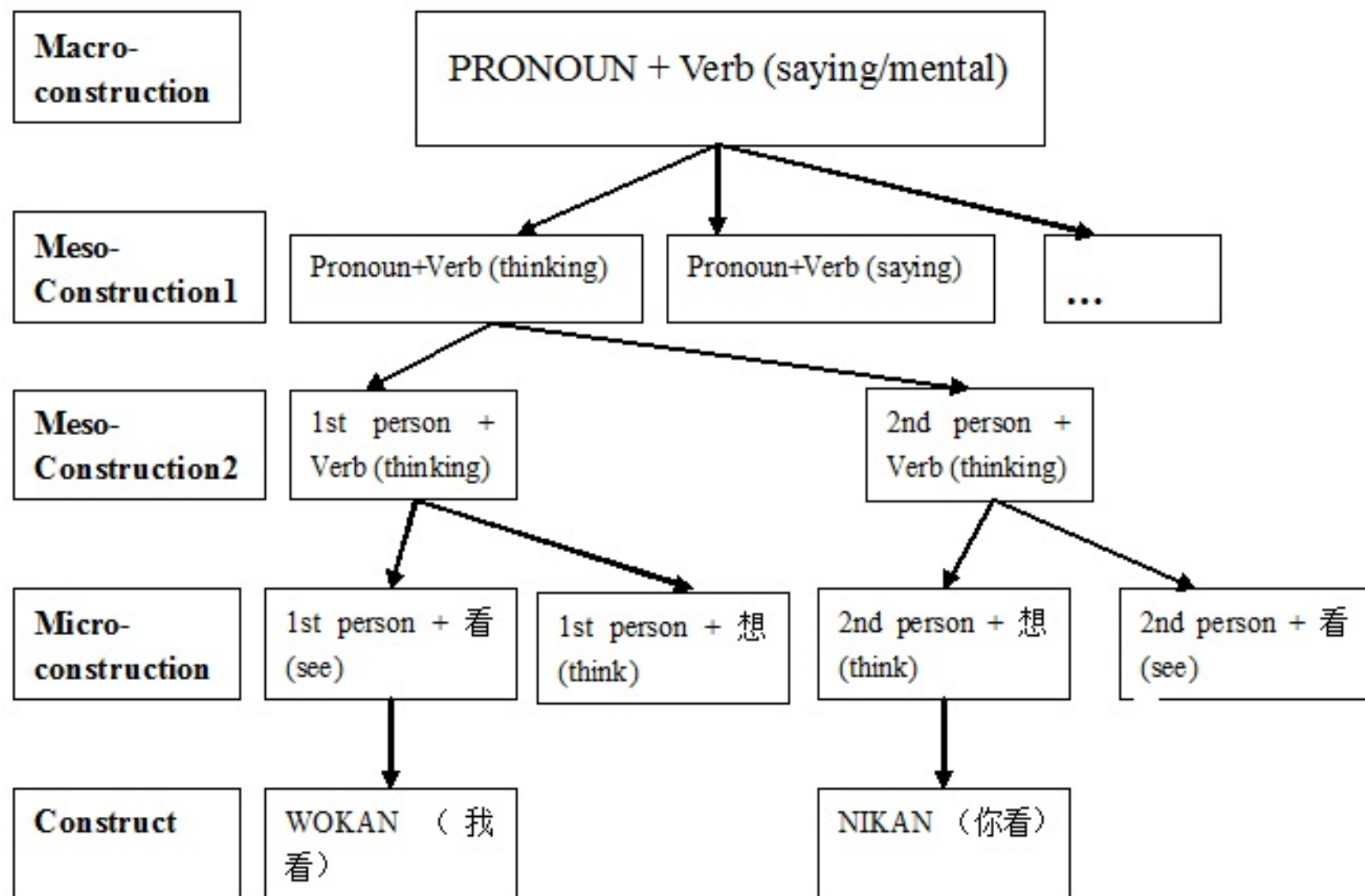| Parameters	Changes involved in XKAN's pragmaticalization
integrity	Desemanticization: loss of semantic content; pragmatic strengthening: gaining and increasing of pragmatic meanings instead of grammatical ones;
Structural scope	Scope expansion: having extended or increased syntactic and semantic scope
paradimaticity	no clear indication of increasing or decreasing of paradigmaticity
bondedness	Debonding: becoming less bonded; increasing of freedom in respect of juxtaposition with other elements
Paradigmatic variability	Deobligatorification: becoming unobligatory in discourse
Syntagmatic variability	Flexibilization: increase of syntagmatic variability; having no fixed positions in the sentence

- Two points deserve clarification here.

- Firstly, all these parameters presented in the above table are not absolute criteria.

- Secondly, as far as the evidence from the present historical inquires is concerned, pragmaticalization has more similarities with degrammaticalization (Norde, 2010; Trousdale and Norde 2013) in terms of desemanticization, scope expansion, debonding, deobligatorification, and flexibilization. This may serve as further evidence to my stance that pragmaticalization and grammaticalization are different processes of language change.

A construction grammar approach to the rise of pragmatic markers

- Firstly, in construction grammar, there is no strict division between lexicon and grammar; instead, construction is the basic building block of language.

- Secondly, by adopting construction grammar, we can focus more on the coevolution of form and meaning, instead of focusing on strings or only one side of the meaning-form pair.

- [In constructions] semantics, morphosyntax, and phonology, and, in some models, pragmatics, work together in a construction (Traugott 2007)

Stage I	Stage II	Stage III	Stage IV

[WOKAN1+ NP]	[WOKAN1/ 2+NP+VP]	[WOKAN2a +[NP+VP]]	[WOKAN2b +[NP+VP]]
Verb phrase	Ambiguous between WOKAN1 and WOKAN2	Pragmatic marker of self-quotatio n	Pragmatic marker of self-quotatio n

Figure 6: Construction grammar approach to WOKAN's pragmaticalization

Macro-construction	PRONOUN + Verb (saying/mental)
Meso-Construction1	Pronoun+Verb (thinking)　　Pronoun+Verb (saying)　　…
Meso-Construction2	1st person + Verb (thinking)　　2nd person + Verb (thinking)
Micro-construction	1st person + 看 (see)　　1st person + 想 (think)　　2nd person + 想 (think)　　2nd person + 看 (see)
Construct	WOKAN （我看）　　NIKAN （你看）

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Stage I	Stage II	Stage III	Stage IV

[PRON+[V +NP]	[PRON+V+ NP+VP]	[PRONVa+[NP+VP]]	[PRONVb+ [NP+VP]]
Verb phrase	Ambiguous in meaning	Pragmatic marker use	Pragmatic marker use

Figure 7: Construction grammar approach to PRON +Verb cconstruction' pragmaticalization

- **Conclusions**
- 1) The rise of pragmatic markers is pragmaticalization instead of grammaticalization.
- 2) Construction grammar together with the notion of constructionalization may enable us to capture generalizations about pragmaticalization and grammaticalization.
- 3) The CxG approach can not only provide us with a holistic view of language evolution, but also explains the dynamic correlation between the verbs and the (macro)construction in the historical evolution

- **Work in progress…**
- Constructionalization
- Constructionalization and unidirectionality
- Cross-linguistic evidence

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• Thank you!