WHAT DO MATURE PHENOMENA REVEAL ABOUT GRAMMATICALIZATION PROCESSES?

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1. Introduction

One major attempt of Dahl’s book is to present the genesis and growth of linguistic complexity.1 It is a well-known fact that linguistic phenomena have life cycles in the sense that they pass through a number of successive stages, during which the complexity of a language is usually added. Dahl uses the term “mature” to refer to those linguistic phenomena that have passed through these life cycles. Moreover, some factors that give rise to mature linguistic phenomena are discussed, particularly in Chapters 7 and 8. Further, not only is Dahl interested in studying the manner in which mature linguistic phenomena—and therefore complexity of a language—arise but he is also interested in investigating the manner in which these complexities are preserved. Hence, this book, as its title indicates, also aims at answering questions of how

* I gratefully acknowledge the fruitful discussions I have had with Prof. Östen Dahl on several points in his book while I was at the University of Stockholm in Sweden last summer. Thanks are also due to two anonymous reviewers of English Linguistics for their constructive discussions on various points of this review. Needless to say, all the errors and misunderstandings are attributed to this reviewer.

1 The term ‘complexity’ in this book, as Dahl warns, should not be regarded as synonymous with “difficulty,” but “as an objective property of a system—a measure of the amount of information needed to describe or reconstruct it” (p. 2).
the stability of mature phenomena and of linguistic complexity are maintained.

By suggesting the concept of life cycles, the author attempts to investigate the phenomena of grammaticalization in the traditional sense from a perspective that is much wider than that adopted by most previous works on this linguistic phenomenon, thereby hoping to offer solutions to some of the problematic issues in this field. Therefore, in order to fully comprehend this book, readers are expected to be adequately familiar with the major claims and hypotheses of previous grammaticalization works (e.g. "unidirectionality"), and also be fully aware of the criticisms of these works (e.g. Newmeyer (2000)).

As may be garnered by reading the first few pages, this book will not prove to be an easy read. In part, this is because, as mentioned above, this book demands a certain amount of knowledge on previous works on typology and grammaticalization: in addition, this book employs many illustrations from other fields such as biology, ecology, information theory, and animal behaviors. For example, Dahl uses the term "niche," a well-known concept in the field of ecology (p. 77), in order to highlight the parallelism between the lack of any absolute synonymy in language and the absence of a niche being occupied by two different species at the same time. However, an unfortunate matter is that despite the fact that the author provides some discussion on the definitions of technical terms borrowed from other disciplines before applying them to linguistic phenomena, it may appear insufficient for many readers to arrive at a true estimation of how similar or different the terms in their original usage are compared with when they are applied to linguistic phenomena. Despite this difficulty, however, this book is certainly worth reading because it is one among very few that have attempted to illuminate linguistic complexity from the perspective of language diachrony.

As Dahl reconsiders grammaticalization from the perspective of maturity and attempts to include some other phenomena that have not been discussed in the previous studies on grammaticalization, one main task of the reviewer (and readers) of this book is to clarify the aspects in which this book contributes to grammaticalization research.

2. Outlines of This Book

Before proceeding to a detailed discussion, let me briefly introduce
Following a general introduction in Chapter 1, the next chapter discusses the notion of "information," and a closely related notion, "redundancy." The term "information" is used in the sense found in the field of information theory, which differs from the sense in which the term is used in common parlance. In other words, "information theory does not care about the content of information that is conveyed, only the amount by which uncertainty is reduced" (p. 7). In order to reduce uncertainty in a receiver, an adequate amount of redundancy is necessary. Then, Dahl applies these notions to linguistic phenomena. For example, in the English sentence, "These five books are interesting," the plurality of the books is signaled grammatically no less than three times despite this fact being clear from the numeral five; this is a kind of redundancy which may be helpful for a receiver in his/her understanding of the sentence in many conversational cases. In Chapter 3, the author discusses notions of "complexity," "order," and "patterns" in a general sense and demonstrate their application to linguistic phenomena. Imposing an order on a system (e.g. regulations for directing a car's movement on a highway) reduces uncertainty, and as can be expected, to some extent, orderly states are necessary for sound communication. Further, note that the term "complexity" as used in this book contains no implication of "difficulty" and "cost." He also discusses the notion of "emergence."

Chapter 4 observes language from an evolutionary perspective. Parallels between linguistics and biology are found not only in phylogeny but also in ontogeny. The idea of "maturational processes" in grammar implies that grammatical entities pass through a series of stages similar to those that an organism undergoes during its life cycle. Dahl also points out that the notion of "life cycle" can be applied to linguistic phenomena under certain conditions. Chapter 5 argues for a notion of intention, which in many cases is irrelevant for the language use (e.g. use of grammatical marking), and that (the conditions of) the language use should not be viewed as the same. He argues that the concept of "niche" in an ecosystem is a useful concept to explain some linguistic phenomena. In a rather critical fashion, he discusses the notions suggested in previous studies such as ritualization, habituation, entrenchment, and frequency. At the end of this chapter, he discusses
the notions of on-line processing, storage, and conservatism in terms of acquisition and storage of linguistic knowledge. In addition, he argues, with semantic maps proposed by Haspelmath (1997), that language changes and language acquisition occurs at a low level and in piecemeal fashion.

Chapter 6 introduces the notion of maturity. The mature phenomena occur only at the later stages of the linguistic cycle and have specific pre-histories. The evolutionary complexity indicates how mature the linguistic phenomenon in question would be. After having considered which linguistic phenomena can be regarded as displaying maturity and how to identify less mature synchronic language states, the notion of maturity is compared to concepts such as naturalness and markedness, which are often found in linguistic literature. Chapter 7 deals with three major components in the maturation of grammatical patterns: pattern spread, pattern regulation, and pattern adaptation (which will be discussed in detail in the next chapter). Some general properties commonly associated with grammaticalization are also discussed, such as "cyclicity" and "unidirectionality." Chapter 8 discusses the third component in the maturation of grammatical patterns—that is, pattern adaptation. The term "neogrammarian sound change" that Dahl uses does not properly explain a maturation process, since it applies to all elements of language alike. On the other hand, what he refers to as "adaptive sound change" can explain those reductive changes that are specific to the maturation process. The roles of frequency and of prosody are also discussed. Chapter 9 focuses on a particular aspect of grammatical maturation, known as "featurization," and this "can be seen as a special case of the development of non-linear structures in language" (p. 181). Non-linear structures normally develop from less mature, linear structures. The non-linear character of these systems is compared to the non-linear aspects of phonology. Chapter 10 discusses incorporation patterns and is employed in this book as an umbrella term for what is traditionally called incorporation and what are commonly known as "compounds." Dahl also discusses location and directional adverbs/particles that straddle the borderline between grammaticalization and incorporation (e.g. English up). Finally, he presents some factors behind these patterns and the diachronic processes that give rise to them. Chapter 11 discusses issues about the stability of maturity in languages. In order to measure the stability of linguistic phenomena, he uses the "half-time" measure, used extensively in the natural sci-
ences: it is the time required for a sample or quantity to be reduced to half its value (e.g. the time for the radioactivity of a substance to fall by half). After discussing the manner in which the stability of linguistic phenomena is measured, Dahl argues that the later stages of maturation processes appear to be more stable than earlier ones (e.g., the perfect is unstable because it belongs to the early stage of maturity, while past tenses and perfectives, belonging to the final stage, are stable). Moreover, as the author mentions, there is some support for the idea that changes towards complexity are more probable than those towards simplicity. Chapter 12 summarizes his discussion on maturation. The notion of linguistic maturation is not reducible to a preference relation between possible language states, as proposed by Naturalness Theory. Further, unlike the cyclical theory and the concerted theory, maturation processes do not contain an element of "programmed death": once a stable state has been reached, a mature pattern can in principle exist permanently.

The author's main arguments can be found in chapters subsequent to Chapter 5. To the reviewer, Dahl's central idea behind most of his arguments is that languages, through their diachronic changes, are shaped to guarantee communication efficacy. He, therefore, discusses the reduction of uncertainty (Chap. 1) through an imposition of some order to linguistic patterns (Chap. 3). Furthermore, the author argues that this principle applies to the grammaticalization phenomena or what he refers to as the maturation of grammatical patterns: at the beginning of the grammaticalization process, a new pattern comes to be used for the function that the other pattern already performs (pattern spread); however, later, instead of these two patterns performing exactly the same function, they are regulated in such a manner as to constrain variation and increase order, leading to communicative efficacy (pattern regulation) (See Chap. 7).

3. Discussion

This section is divided into two parts. First, Section 3.1 will discuss Dahl's notion of 'mature phenomenon,' indicating its similarities with grammaticalization processes. Next, Section 3.2 and its subsections will discuss how this book will constitute contributions to research on grammaticalization.
3.1. On Mature Phenomenon

Dahl repeatedly argues that linguistic patterns in general have life cycles in the sense that they pass through a number of different stages. He employs the term “mature” for those patterns that occur at later stages of these life cycles. Mature linguistic phenomena presuppose specific earlier stages, and maturation in general adds to the complexity of a language. Dahl defines the concept of maturity as follows:

“x is a mature phenomenon if there is some identifiable and non-universal phenomenon or a restricted set of such phenomena y, such that for any language L, if x exists in L there is some ancestor L' of L such that L' has y but not x.” (p. 105)

The reason mature phenomenon is a “non-universal” one, according to Dahl, is because the phenomenon can arise from several different paths. For example, consider inflectional future tenses. They can not only arise from periphrastic constructions involving auxiliaries of differing origins but also from general non-past forms that have given way to expanding progressive constructions. However, the reviewer is of the opinion that “non-universal” appears to be too strong a term: It is indeed a well-known fact that one grammatical form of natural languages (e.g. functional words with the benefactive role) may have several origins, but the same origins across languages have been detected for the grammatical morpheme in question. In this sense, it does not seem inappropriate to argue that universal phenomena in many cases are involved in mature processes.

As the reader may have noticed, the concepts “life cycle” and “mature phenomenon” are in perfect harmony with grammaticalization processes. For example, some of the most important types of mature phenomena are also the ones often discussed in the contexts of grammaticalization, these include inflectional morphology, derivational morphology, grammatical gender, inflectional classes, case marking, and specific marking of subordinate clause among others.

Perhaps, what may distinguishes mature phenomena from traditional grammaticalization processes is that the former processes are more inclusive than the latter processes, and therefore linguistic phenomena such as incorporating constuctions, or morpheme and word level features in phonology can be regarded as mature phenomena, which have not often been discussed in grammaticalization research. Before proceeding to a discussion on how mature processes differ from the grammaticalization process, here, let us consider some parallelisms between...
mature phenomena and grammaticalization processes.

First, similar to the grammaticalization process, the maturation process allows us to be fully aware of the diachronic aspects of languages. To most linguists, languages are synchronic objects. However, the study of mature phenomena leads our attention to the principles that constrain transitions between language states rather than (or as well as) to the constraints on synchronic linguistic states. Dahl argues that mature phenomena presuppose several earlier states of life cycles, suggesting that we can evaluate the length of the derivational history of a state in question by counting the earlier state(s) through which the state(s) in question would have had to pass. To illustrate this point, let us consider the following stages, which have been assumed by many instances of previous grammaticalization research.

(1) FREE > PERIPHRASTIC > AFFIXAL > FUSIONAL

From the perspective of maturity, the above stage can be regarded as a scale of increasing maturity, wherein each stage presupposes the previous ones: fusional morphology presupposes the existence of affixal ones, and affixal morphology presupposes the existence of periphrastic forms.

Here, the term "maturity" should be used with care. If linguistic phenomena to the right in (1) are more mature than the ones to its left, then, assuming that the last three stages of (1) correspond to the traditional classification of languages in language typology (isolating, agglutinating, and flexional), we can conclude that languages with more fusional morphemes, such as Indo-European, Dravidian, and Caucasian languages, are more "mature" in common sense than those with less fusional ones, and that isolating languages are the least "mature." Certainly, this is not what Dahl intends to convey (in particular, see pp. 295–296 for his position on this issue). Therefore, to avoid this kind of misunderstanding, we must be fully cognizant of the fact that we are speaking here of the development of grammatical patterns, and not of languages as wholes.

Secondly, similar to recent studies in grammaticalization processes (for example Bybee (2001)), Dahl argues that "a lexical item cannot by itself come to serve a grammatical function; it must do so by virtue of becoming a fixed part of a larger pattern—a grammatical construction" (p.119). In traditional grammaticalization research, the focus seems to be on the fate of individual morphemes, rather than on the constructions involving them. Why, then, do we need construction in grammaticalization research? One simple answer to the question is that (most)
grammaticalization cases involve more than just one morpheme (see Dahl (2001: 99–100)). For example, the perfect auxiliary have in English appears with a perfect participle, suggesting that what has been grammaticalized as a perfect is not merely the auxiliary, but the combination of [have + perfect participle]. For a lexical item that becomes a fixed part of a grammatical construction, Dahl uses the term ‘trapped.’ The English verb go, for example, is trapped in the construction be going to; and the French noun pas “step” is trapped in the negative construction ne...pas.

Third, similar to semantic bleaching often discussed in the study of grammaticalization, or “unidirectional change from pragmatically marked to unmarked” (Haspelmath (1998: 319)), Dahl argues that an essential property of the maturation process is that “the pattern spread leads to a decrease in the rhetorical and/or information value of the pattern or its component expression—what I call rhetorical devaluation” (p. 121). To illustrate this point, consider the case of the development of the indefinite article.

(2) a. Take one apple.
   b. Take an apple.

Both sentences above can be understood as permission to take one apple: however the subtle difference between them is that the first sentence highlights the restriction of the permission specifically to one apple. In other words, “one” is used under a more restricted condition, and in the diachronic process of changing to the indefinite article, the highlight effect with the word ‘one’ is either lifted or weakened. Dahl suggests what he calls “an inflationary process” as a possible candidate for the causal mechanisms behind the change involving rhetorical devaluation. An inflationary process indicates that a speaker may obtain a short-term advantage by using a stronger expression than is warranted; this leads to the frequency in the use of such expressions, which results in their devaluation. Another example is the use of evaluative expressions like “excellent” or “good.” Teachers often want to give their students positive feedback and therefore tell them that their works are “excellent.” However, if many are told that their works are excellent, the term loses its informational value, and if teachers in fact wanted to convey to some of their students that their work is indeed excellent, then they would need to use another expression.

The same can be said of grammatical patterns. In Mandarin Chinese, according to Dahl, scalar predicates such as kuai or da are quasi-
obligatorily modified by an intensifier *hen*, whose traditional meaning is “very.”

(3) Mandarin Chinese
Zhi suo fangzi hen da.
This CLF house very big
‘This house is (very) big.’

This can be explained in the same manner as the above-mentioned example of “excellent.” Instead of describing a situation as it is, we may obtain added advantage by making the situation appear more noteworthy or informative. For this purpose, intensifiers may be used for the situation that in fact does not really require the intensifier in question. This in turn would diminish the original informational value of the intensifier, leading to a general weakening of its force.

3.2. What Does the Study of Mature Phenomena Constitute to Reveal Nature of Grammaticalization Processes?

3.2.1. Incorporation Pattern

One of Dahl’s contributions to the grammaticalization research is that he draws our attention to the similarities between what he calls “incorporating pattern” and grammaticalization phenomena.\(^2\) To begin with, consider the paradigm case of incorporating construction—that is, “noun incorporation,”—which is often defined narrowly as “the integration of a noun into a verbal complex” (p. 210). As an illustration of noun incorporation, consider the following simple example from Classical Nahuatl.

(4) Ni- naka-kwa.
1 singular-flesh-eat ‘I eat meat’ (Launey (1999: 352))

Notice that Dahl’s definition of “incorporation pattern” includes not only noun incorporation such as (4), but also other quasi-incorporations such as what Miner (1986) refers to as “noun-stripping”—a phenomenon in which some kinds of modifiers such as determiners, number affixes, etc. are “stripped away” and enter into closely-knit units with their verbs, but stop short of actually being incorporated. As an illus-

\(^2\) “I shall use the term incorporating pattern as a general term for a one-word pattern that contains more than one lexical element, including both phenomena that have been referred to as incorporation in earlier treatments and those that are commonly called ‘compounds’” (p. 210).
tration of this, consider the following Zuni example. According to Miner, definite nouns normally have obligatory number marking suffixes; however, in the following Zuni example, these suffixes are omitted, but the word stress is retained.

\begin{align*}
(5) & \text{c'á tékaľa'\textquotesingle}sna} \\
& \text{child neglect} \\
& \text{\textquoteleft neglecting your children\textquoteright}
\end{align*}

Through examples of incorporation patterns like (4), at least the following two parallel properties between this pattern and grammaticalization processes can be observed.

First is the fact that "they both create the possibility of expressing by one word what otherwise would be expressed by two or more—what is sometimes referred to as univerbation" (Dahl (2001: 105)). According to Miner, the noun stripping such as (5) may be an incipient form of incorporation patterns proper; and if this is correct, then this diachronic change, from loose units to a tighter structure, is in harmony with the grammaticalization process.\(^3\) In other words, both incorporation patterns and grammaticalization processes manifest the diachronic development of condensing more than two words into one word. Second is reduction of the forms of incorporated elements. Like grammaticalization processes, incorporating patterns also exhibit a reduced phonetic weight compared with its non-incorporated ones.

Dahl’s contribution to the study of grammaticalization is not only in showing the close relationship between incorporation patterns and grammaticalization processes but also in the fact that the linguistic phenomena called grammaticalization are not easy to define in a strict fashion, as other scholars have pointed out (for example, see Ohori (2002: Chap. 9)).

3.2.2. Extraneous Pressure

As a motivation to trigger mature phenomena, Dahl discusses what he calls "extraneous pressure," which induces the speaker to choose a certain manner of expression on the basis of societal norms such as politeness, various kinds of taboos, or what has now come to be known as

\(^3\) Miner suggests the development from stripping patterns to incorporation patterns, which can be drawn as follows (see also Dahl (2001: 109)).

\begin{align*}
\text{loose stripping} & \rightarrow \text{stripping} \rightarrow \text{loose incorporation} \rightarrow \text{incorporation}
\end{align*}
“political correctness.” In the previous grammaticalization research, it appears that due attention has not been paid to this pressure behind grammatical changes. In part, this is because most of linguistic changes triggered by this pressure stay within lexical fields and do not proceed to the grammatical field. However, there are indeed cases showing that this pressure makes lexical items possess grammatical status. In many cases, as Dahl argues, politeness plays an important role. For example, second-person pronouns often develop from polite phrases such as the Spanish usted from Vuestra Merced ‘your grace.’

3.2.3. Contact-Induced Change

In previous studies on grammaticalization, sufficient attention was not directed towards the fact that language contact induces grammaticalization, and this is partly because “grammar was considered to be immune to major restructuring” (Heine and Kuteva (2005: 1)). Dahl, on the other hand, emphasizes the necessity of contact-induced changes in the discussion of grammatical processes. As an example, Dahl indicates the fact that “the distribution of grammatical elements such as articles, case markings, tense, and aspect categories are usually highly skewed areally” (p. 127), and many of them have spread rapidly. For instance, according to Dahl, definite articles found in practically all languages in Western Europe spread from the Mediterranean northwards during the Middle Ages. Similarly, he points out that of the Germanic languages in Europe, the loss of dative is basically constrained to the coastal areas of the Baltic and the North Sea. These examples seem sufficient to demonstrate that grammaticalization processes are intimately related to language contacts.

3.2.4. On Problem-Solving and Communicative Needs

The term “problem solving” has been used in the grammaticalization literature. Heine et al. (1991), for example, argue that “grammaticalization can be interpreted as the result of a process which has problem solving as its main goal, its primary function being conceptualization by expressing one thing in terms of another” (Heine et al. (1991: 29)). In the perspective of grammaticalization as problem-solving, one possible motivation for linguistic changes can be attributed to basic communicative needs, as suggested by Givón (1982: 117): “grammatical subsystems ... arise when the specific communicative need arises, normally when the older system coding a particular function has eroded beyond a cer-
tained threshold of communicative coherence....”

This kind of explanation, however, has been criticized for reasons such as the following. First, as Bybee (1985: 203) argues, this view seems to assume that “there is a set of communicative functions for which languages must supply grammatical expression.” However, languages in fact vary greatly in their expression of semantic functions by nominal grams. Moreover, there is no indication that languages are moving towards a universal set of nominal-gram functions. Second, if this view is correct, then it can be expected that a single semantic function would be expressed by a single nominal gram, since one form would be enough to express “unfulfilled communicative needs.” However, this is not the case in many languages: more than two nominal grams with very similar semantic functions can easily be found cross linguistically.

Nevertheless, Dahl argues that “there may still be a grain of truth in this kind of explanation” (p. 125). One of his examples he provides for this view is the choice between the synthetic and the analytic comparative constructions in Swedish. The synthetic construction -(a)re, is attached to most adjectives, the major exceptions being adjectives with derivational suffixes such as -isk, -ande, and -ad. Dahl argues that this is due to the fact that “there is apparently reluctance (on whatever level) to adding a ‘heavy’ suffix to a word that already contains one” (p. 125). What this example highlights is that new constructions are often used in cases where the old one is unsatisfactory for some reason. This, however, may not be considered as a case of grammaticalization. Although there is no single definition of grammaticalization (a point every linguist would agree with), one often-discussed defining property of this process is ‘gradual’ change (for example, see Haspelmath (1998: 318)). Indeed, the “abruptness vs. gradualness of change” criterion is often used to judge the qualification of a linguistic change in question as the grammaticalization process. Returning to the Swedish speakers’ choice between two alternative comparative constructions in Swedish, we can assume that they consciously determine which constructions are appropriate, and the decision is obviously determined instantly rather than gradually.

The development from “pattern spread,” to “pattern regulation” appears to be intimately related to the issues of problem solving and communicative needs. Toward the beginning of mature phenomena, a pattern comes to be used in a context where it was not used before
(pattern spread), and the choice between two or more patterns sharing the same niche is constrained in one way or another (pattern regulation). In the pattern spread situation, we have more than two competing ways of designating one thing: that is, variation increases and order in language decreases. Then, after further development, pattern regulation appears: that is, the choice between the competing patterns is regulated in one way or another, and therefore variation is constrained and order is increased. Why does development occur in this direction? One plausible answer may be attributed to communicative needs (and therefore to problem-solving): imposing an order on a linguistic system increases the transparency of information (and therefore reduces the difficulty of guessing). Development from less orderly states to more orderly ones is in perfect harmony with our purpose of communication.

3.2.5. On Sound Change

Previous studies on grammaticalization have often indicated that a form loses its phonetic weight as it loses its semantic contents. Dahl argues that there are two types of phonetic reductions, which have been sometimes subsumed under a category such as “erosion.”

The first type of sound change is what he calls “neogrammarian sound changes”—ones that are applicable to the lexical items in a language in general. An illustrative example of this is the Great Vowel Shift in English or the consonant shift at various points in Germanic. The second type would be a sound change specific to maturation/grammaticalization processes (e.g. the Spanish phrase Vuestra Merced ‘your grace’ was reduced to Usted). And Dahl refers to this reduction as “adaptive sound change.” The two types of phonetic reductive changes should not be viewed as being the same, because the first type applies to all elements of language in the same way, and cannot explain how complex grammatical systems are built up. It would be a great contribution to distinguish sound changes unique to mature/grammaticalization processes from those appearing elsewhere. However, it is not always easy to make a clear distinction: As Dahl himself mentions, “the two kinds of reductive change need not really be different in the ways that they change the phonetic shape of words” (p. 158).

As the causal mechanisms behind adaptive sound change, Dahl argues that phonetic reduction would be triggered by a decrease in the information or rhetorical value of the expression. However, this is not a new claim. For example, Givón’s (1991) “Quantity Principle” states
that a large chunk of information or less predictable information will be given a larger chunk of code or more coding material. In addition, Dahl argues that frequency too plays a major role in triggering phonetic reduction; this is also not a new idea. Zipf (1935), for example, mentions that the length of words is inversely correlated to their frequency (see also Bybee (2001)). Perhaps, what may be noteworthy in Dahl's discussion of frequency is his indication that an item is reduced only in particular uses or particular contexts. Merely stating that reduction is dependent on the token frequency of an item is not sufficient, since it leads to the assumption that all tokens of the item would be equally reduced, which is clearly not the case. Cases of a "divergence" or "split" of an item into two, as in the development of the English indefinite article from the numeral one, support his claim.

Also important is Dahl's discussion of zero-marking, which is usually considered as the end of grammaticalization. It has been argued in grammaticalization research that both phonetic and semantic contents of a form decreases as the grammaticalization process progresses. For example, Givón (1979: 209) suggested the following development of the grammaticalization process: Discourse > Syntax > Morphology > Morphophonemics > Zero. Similarly, Lehmann (1982: 306) stated that "If grammaticalization proceeds further, the parameter of integrity assumes the value 'zero.'" For this prevailing view, Dahl argues that there are two types of zero-marking: the first one is, as assumed by previous research, the final stage of grammaticalization, and the other is the one having nothing to do with grammaticalization. The latter type of zero-marking cannot appear to be treated appropriately by the (traditional) definition of grammaticalization. In such cases, a morpheme disappears in what at least appears to be a one-step change rather than a gradual reduction to zero. One illustration for this case is the Swedish construction kommer att + Verb, used for future events. In the older stages of Swedish, as is still the case in Danish and Norwegian, it has the form [present of komma 'come' + till (preposition) 'to' + infinitive marker att + infinitive of main verb]. However, in modern Swedish, the preposition till 'to' has been deleted, and in a rather informal (usually unaccepted) way, the infinitive marker is also dropped, yielding simply kommer + Verb. Similarly, in Russian, the old Slavic perfect (copula and a particle) has developed into a past tense, and the copula was deleted in this process. The Swedish case and Russian cases above show that a total annihilation of the item cannot be attrib-
uted solely to the result of the grammaticalization process.

Another interesting point with regard to phonetic reduction is that the kind of phonetic reduction a form receives appears to some extent to depend on factors relating to the overall structure of the language. Dahl indicates that closely related languages may differ significantly in the degree to which non-prominent segments, such as vowels in unstressed syllables, are reduced phonetically. For example, such pairs of more or less closely related languages as Danish-Norwegian, Portuguese-Spanish, and Russian-Polish, where the first member exhibits a much stronger reduction of unstressed syllables in general. One interesting question concerning this is why some languages have more reduced forms than other languages. Studies of maturation and grammaticalization processes should seek an answer to this question.

3.2.6. On the Role of Prosody

Dahl claims that grammaticalization research has not paid sufficient attention to the role of prosody: it is not easy to find the term “prosody,” or related ones such as “stress” and “intonation” in materials on grammaticalization. According to Dahl, however, this is one of the categories necessary to reveal the nature of grammaticalization processes. He suggests that the prosodic properties are intimately connected with what he calls “prominence management,” in which important parts of the message should be emphasized or enhanced and less crucial parts can be reduced.

An interesting theoretical issue, he argues, is how prosodic changes are related to morphologization: are they just phonological concomitants of morphologization, as suggested by the treatment in Hopper and Traugott (1993) or is morphologization at least partly driven by prosodic change? For this issue, he is inclined toward the latter position, that is, “the ways in which we structure an expression into units such as phrases and words are highly dependent on the prosodic and rhythmic properties of the expression” (p. 163) as well as on other factors such as information structure and prominence management. However, this does not mean that Dahl excludes the other process. What is noteworthy in his discussion is his emphasis on the important role of prosody for morphologization, which has been given little attention in grammaticalization research.
3.2.7. Maturation as Stable Conditions

As mentioned above, grammaticalization research in many cases has often assumed that phonetic and semantic changes move towards a zero point. Dahl, however, argues that grammaticalization processes do not contain an element of “programmed death” (p. 291). Rather than being extinguished, once a form reaches a stable state, then a mature pattern can in principle exist for ever. Dahl suggests that the later stages of maturation process may be more stable than the earlier ones. For example, the perfect is not as stable as the perfective and the past tense, and this can be attributed to the fact that the latter grammatical functions occur at later stages than the former function. According to Lindstedt (2000), one reason why the perfect is not stable is that it often develops into grammatical functions such as general past tense, perfective, or evidentials, while past tenses and perfectives seldom develop into anything else. One interesting question is why some languages, or some grammatical patterns of a language are able to reach to the stable states of grammaticalization/maturation processes while others are not. Hopefully, future research on grammaticalization/maturation processes can discover the very reason.

4. Conclusions

There are at least two minor drawbacks pertaining to the organization of this book. First, it may not be easy to understand how each chapter is related to other chapters. In particular, it is difficult to ascertain the exact nature of the relation Chapters 4 and 5 have with the other chapters. Second, the title of the book does not reflect its content: The title focuses on the “growth” and “maintenance” of linguistic complexity; however, only a small portion of the main text is directly concerned with the aspects of ‘maintaining’ linguistic complexity. These drawbacks, however, do not hurt the value of this book; it is certainly worth reading, because it provides us with new perspectives on grammaticalization processes. Indeed, this is one of the very few books that attempts to illuminate linguistic complexity from the perspective of language diachrony.

Finally, I shall conclude this review by emphasizing the following point. In the nineteenth century, language was considered as a part of the general evolutionary processes that had led humankind towards a “sophisticated” civilization. However, this naïve evolutionary idea has
been rejected, as we do not have any “primitive languages.” It is true that mature phenomena in language presuppose a prehistory, but this does not mean that a language itself presupposes pre-histories: it is linguistic patterns that evolve through sequences of stages. There may be an evolution in language, but not in the way conceived by nineteenth century scholars. Remember that of South Africa’s eleven major languages, the only ones that have ever been suggested to be creole—the languages with the world’s simplest grammar, according to John McWhorter—are Afrikaans and English.

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