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Laurel J. Brinton and Elizabeth Closs Traugott  
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## 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.

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## 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

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
<i>HCET</i>	<i>Helsinki Corpus of English Texts</i>
Hit.	Hittite
<i>ICAME</i>	<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.