

The history of quotative predicatives: Can lexical properties arise out of a grammatical construction?

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1 Quotative indexes from a typological perspective

- Güldemann (2001): synchronic and diachronic survey of quotative indexes as parts of binary reported discourse expressions

- (1) *und dann hab' ich gesagt ich sag' das machen wir*
and then have I said I say that make:3P.PRS we
and then I said like, "Let's do it!"

- based on text corpora of a sample of 40 African languages (> see **Appendix**) as well as a wide survey of the available cross-linguistic literature

1.1 Quotative indexes as grammaticalized structures

- QIs as a whole are not mere predications about an utterance event, but very often grammaticalized structures orienting the hearer towards the presence of an alienated text in the discourse

- (a) homogeneity of predication operators and participant type (3rd-person singular perfective indicative) and possible generalization of unmarked categories
 - (b) relative sparsity of semantically explicit and/or specific predicative lexemes
 - (c) reduction of morphological and phonetic substance > non-predicative QIs
 - (d) use of construction-specific function elements and their development to grams
 - (e) existence of regular subpatterns alias QI types
 - (f) further grammaticalization into other domains
- > reflects a double function of QIs: expression of propositional meaning as well as quote orientation

1.2 Basic morphosyntactic types of quotative indexes

- (a) **Simple** predicative clause
 - with event-referring verb
 - with quotative verb
- (b) **Bisected** predicative clause with quote orienter
 - with non-clausal quote orienter
 - with clausal quote orienter
- (c) **Reduced** non-predicative structure
 - with primary quotative marker
 - with primary participant reference

- (2) Burunge (South Cushitic, Afroasiatic) **Simple with event-referring verb**
hi-gi /oo/-od^t konkiya ...
 3S-SEQ call-3F.S:PFV:DECL fowl
 Sie rief das Huhn: "... [she called the hen] (Kießling 1994: 247)
- (3) Aiki (Maban) **Simple with quotative verb**
àbólí káá t-r-è ...
 hyena thus 3S-QV:IPFV-DECL
 l'hyène dit ainsi: "... (Nougayrol 1989: 89)
- (4) Ngambay (Bongo-Bagirmi, Central Sudanic) **Bisected with non-clausal quote orienter**
jàm pà nà ...
 PROP say Q
 Jam lui répondit: "... (Vandame 1963: 152)
- (5) Supyire (Senufo, Niger-Congo) **Bisected with clausal quote orienter**
mii a li cyéè ù nà mà jwu ...
 1S PERF ATC.PRO show 3S LOC SS say
 I explained it to him and said, "... (Carlson 1994: 667)
- (6) Lamang (Central Chadic, Afroasiatic) **Reduced with quotative**
ká yághè mí mbèlò búwó ...
 Q squirrel in bag PF
 Squirrel said in the bag, "... (Wolff 1994: 336)
- (7) Donno So (Dogon) **Reduced with participant reference**
gine wo sugɔ baŋa-gɔ wo wa ...
 house 3S stay.at:REL owner-DET 3S AD.OBJ
 Le maître de maison où il est descendu lui dit: ... (Kervran and Prost 1986: 171)

- co-occurrence in individual languages

- (8) Koromfe (Gur, Niger-Congo)
- a. *kɔ jemdi mɔ̃ bole ...* **Simple**
 then hippo also say:PST
 Alors hippopotame dit aussi: "... (Rennison 1986: 44)
- b. *kɔ a jemdi bole ke ...* **Bisected with non-clausal quote orienter**
 then DET hippo say:PST Q
 Puis l'hippopotame dit: "... (Rennison 1986: 48)
- c. *m̄ba jemdi mɔ̃ ...* **Reduced**
 brother hippo also
 Maître hippopotame dit aussi: "... (Rennison 1986: 46)

1.3 Predicators in quotative indexes

- unchallenged tradition that a QI structure [Subject Predicator] is basically a propositional structure [Speaker say]

> predicator analyzed synchronically or diachronically as a canonical speech verb

> if predicator in simple QI occurs as a quote orienter in a bisected QI: 'say' > Q~COMP

- (9) Ewe (Kwa, Niger-Congo)
- a. *ya wo-be ...*
 then 3P-QV
 then they say: '... (Dawuda f.n.)
- b. *dèkpala ɔ̀pò n̄̀ na-e be ...*
 palmtapper put outside to-3S QV
 the palmtapper answered him: "... (Dawuda f.n.)

- QIs are in the majority of cases grammaticalized constructions (cf. §1.1)
- QI predicators are often not verbs and/or do not refer to utterance meaning
- > lexical meaning of an element cannot be inferred from the QI context, because the semantic reference to an utterance is inherent to the reported discourse construction as a whole
- instead independent speech verb criteria outside reported discourse:
 - meaning as predicate outside QI
 - speech nominalization
 - normal range of verb inflection and derivation
 - canonical transitivity towards addressee and/or speech nominals
 - nucleus of object relative clause, etc.
- > within the class verbal predicators of QI, necessary distinction between canonical (generic) speech verbs and quotative verbs
- if predicator is not a generic speech verb, to be treated as grammaticalized quotative verb whose history has to be discerned itself

- frequent pattern: nucleus of simple QI = quote orienter in bisected QI
- partially due to frequent verb omission in a reduced QI, whereby a non-verbal item ends up as predicator of a clause-like expression

(10) Mbóðm̀ (Ubangi, Niger-Congo)

a. à **kpàá ndé** kpòó ò̀n-à sék
 3S find COMP meat remain-PST little
 He found that little meat remained (Boyd 1997: 138)

The complementizer *ndé* may be found also when there is no overt verb in the main clause. These clauses are indirect discourse clauses where the verb is omitted and the complementizer immediately follows the main clause subject ... (Boyd 1997: 139)

b. gǝk **ndé** ò̀ò lák vò̀ó ...
 serpent COMP LOG:D leave LOG:D:REFL
 The serpent (said) that they, themselves, leave (now) ... (Boyd 1997: 140)

- not infrequent in familiar European languages

(11) German Dutch Swedish
und er so ik toen van han ba
 and he thus I then of he just
 and he like this, "... then I was like, "... he just, "...

- in languages without rich verb morphology, verbal QI predicate, non-verbal QI predicator, and quotative~complementizer hard to distinguish on the surface (difference to Germanic)
- > question of categorical status of a given element

1.5 History of elements in quotative indexes

- grammaticalization of 'say' to a complementizer (Waley and Armbruster 1934, Lord 1976, 1993 [1989], Heine et al. 1993, Heine and Kuteva 2002, + many language-specific studies)
- "extended quotative complex" (Saxena 1995 [1988], and, only parts in italics, Ebert 1991):

Figure 1: The "extended quotative complex" of grammaticalization

direct quote > *complement* > *purpose and/or reason* > *conditional* > *comparative*
 'say' > 'know' > 'believe' > 'want'

- largely based on unfounded categorization of QI predicator as a generic speech verb
- however, quotative~complementizers originate relatively rarely in speech verbs
- recurrent sources of QI elements other than generic speech verbs:
 - (a) semantically generic verbs of equation, inchoativity, action, motion
 - (b) markers of similarity and manner (particularly frequent)
 - (c) quote-referring pronominals
 - (d) markers of focus and presentation
 - (e) Speaker-referring pronominals
- > overall ratio of speech verb vs. other sources 1:5, highly grammaticalized elements like fully grown complementizers virtually never from speech verbs
- > sources other than speech verbs as general markers of "mimesis" which comprises
 - (a) enacted human verbal behavior alias direct reported discourse
 - (b) non-linguistic sound imitated by human speech organs
 - (c) ideophones and similar linguistic signs
 - (d) world-referring bodily gestures

2 Quotative -ti in Bantu philology

- Meinhof and Warmelo (1932: 224): reconstructed as generic speech verb *ti 'say'
- based on data from 5 test languages in which *ti is used as a predicative in QIs
- Guthrie (1967-71): complete entry except for his list of reflexes in individual test languages:

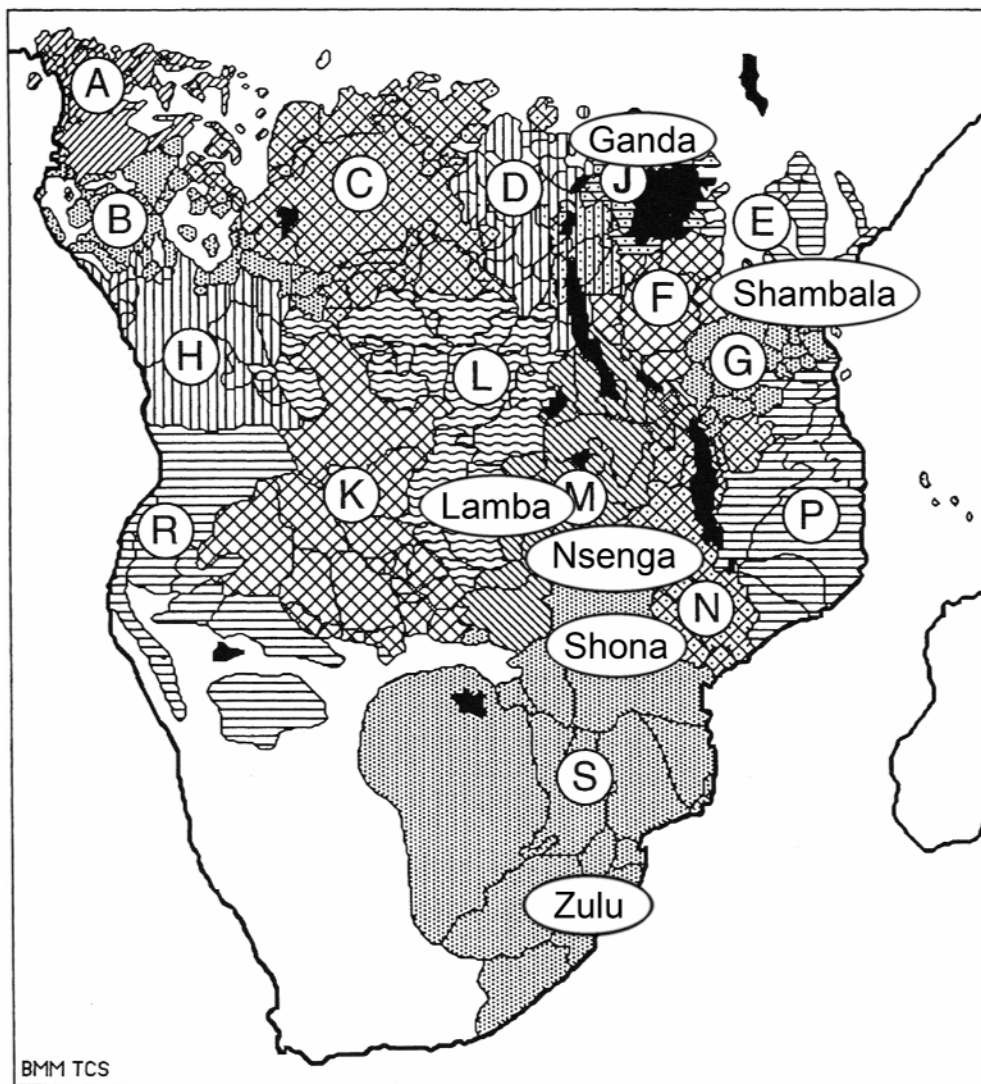
C.S.1727 *-tî that, namely; say ...

Most of these entries form verbal bases with a limited number of tenses, and from the evidence of their distribution it seems possible that *-TÈ occurred in P[roto]B[antu]-X, probably with the meaning 'that, namely'. The extension of this to provide an all purpose radical, the meaning of which can perhaps be best expressed in English as 'saying', may have taken place later.
- based on data from 20 test languages whereby 7 languages use *ti only in cataphoric demonstrative-identificational function and/or as a quote orienter/complementizer
 - > introductory+complementizer function viewed as original (numerical and geographical distribution), 'say' meaning secondary

3 The variation of *ti across Bantu

3.1 Reflexes in individual languages

- survey of *ti in more than 30 Bantu languages, mainly from the Savannah group in the east and south
- data of 6 representative languages > **Map**



Map: Test languages for Bantu *ti

3.1.a Ganda (E15)

-TI [...] expresses to act (in any way), do, think, say; -TYO and -TYA? are variations of it. These verbs take the subject prefix in concord with the noun or pronoun to which they refer, but are not inflected for tense. (Ashton et al. 1954: 247)

- (12) *ki-ri ki-ti*
7-be 7-like.this
It is like this. It is as follows ... (Ashton et al. 1954: 59)

> manner deictic without verb inflection and derivation
- two derived forms by means of "-o of reference" and interrogative -a

- (13)
- a. *ki-buuka (bwe) ki-ti* ...
7-jump:PRS MA 7-like.this
It jumps like this ... (suiting the action to the word [by means of gesture]).
- b. *ki-buuka (bwe) ki-tyo* ...
7-jump:PRS MA 7-like.that
It jumps like that (as I have already told you).
- c. *eki-kere ki-buuka ki-tya*
7-frog 7-jump:PRS 7-like.what
How does a frog jump? (Ashton et al. 1954: 35)

- utterance meaning contextually triggered

- (14) *o-tyo*
2S-like.that
That's so! You've said it! (Ashton et al. 1954: 93)

- invariable quotative/complementizer

- (15) *a-gamba nti o-ludde nnyo*
1-say:PRS Q/COMP 2-be.late very
He says you are very late. (Ashton et al. 1954: 93)

- typical situation for other languages of zones E and J

3.1.b Lamba (M54)

- residual predicate use with prefix inflection as proximative auxiliary (< internal awareness)

- (16) *nā-ti n-cite*
1S:PERF-AUX 1S-do:SUBJ
I was about to do. [< "I thought/said I would do"] (Doke 1938: 306)

- invariable "mimesis" marker, quotative/complementizer and related conjunctions

- (17) *kūmfwa ati putu*
then MIM IDEO.snap
then it snapped (Doke 1938: 353)
- (18) *wali-lawile ati tu-li apēpi*
1:REM.PST-say COMP 1P-be near
He said that we were near. (Doke 1938: 373)

- (19) *nālī-sile pakuti nāluku-mu-fwayēni*
 1S:REM.PST-come because 1S:PST.IPFV-2P-want:P.AD
 I came because I wanted you. (Doke 1938: 371)

3.1.c *Shambala (G23)*

- quotative verb with prefix inflection

- (20) *na-ku-ti*
 1S:PRS-2S-QV
 ich sage dir [I tell you] (LangHeinrich 1921: 442)

- invariable quotative/complementizer and related conjunctions

- (21) *nī-za-iva kuti a-za-kema*
 1S-PERF-hear COMP 1-PERF-call
 ich höre, daß er schreit [I hear that he calls] (LangHeinrich 1921: 190)
- (22) *wa-za-ghotoka kwa kuti ku-za-shwa*
 2-PERF-go.home because LOC-PERF-set(of.sun)
 They have gone back because it is late. (Besha 1993: 30)
- (23) *ati ne-u-dike ne-ti-ku-ambize*
 if FUT-2S-cook FUT-1P-2S-help
 If you will cook, we will assist you. (Besha 1993: 35)

3.1.d *Nsenga (N41)*

- no suffix inflection and derivation (Ranger 1928: 202, 205)
 - residual meaning of manner deixis/quality ~ 'something like this'

- (24) *kwa-ku-ti kwa-ku-ti*
 LOC:GEN-INF-such LOC:GEN-INF-such
 to such and such a (a certain) place (Ranger 1928: 205)

- predicative "mimesis" marker for ideophones and direct reported discourse

- (25) *ya-pita nkalamo ya-ti nyatu-nyatu*
 9:PERF-pass 9.lion 9:PERF-MIM IDEO.pad-pad
 A lion has just passed going pad-pad! (Ranger 1928: 204)
- (26) *a-ku-ti o-lwala*
 1-PRS-MIM 1:PRS-be.ill
 They say he is ill (Ranger 1928: 155)

- invariable quotative/complementizer and related conjunctions (e.g., *pakuti* 'because')

- (27) *o-nena kuti o-lwala*
 1:PRS-say COMP 1:PRS-be.ill
 They say he is ill (Ranger 1928: 155)

- invariable quotative/complementizer and related conjunctions: *ukuthi* 'that', *nokuthi* 'whether', *kunokuthi* 'rather than', *njengokuthi* 'just as, whereas, since', *okokuthi* 'if', etc.

- *-sho* as postposed ~ anaphoric quotative verb

- (36) *izi-nkabi zi-lahlekile se-ku-sho aba-fana*
 10-cattle 10-be.lost:STAT INIT-IP-QV:ANA 2-child
 “The cattle are lost,” now say the boys [...] **that** is what the boys say now] (Doke 1992: §819/20)

- clear speech-referring uses outside reported discourse

- (37) *u-sho-nje*
 1-say-just
 He merely talks; i.e. There is no truth in it (Doke et al. 1990,2: 743)

- (38) *sho-no phela si-zwe*
 say-IMP truly 1P-hear:SUBJ
 Say it out then and let us hear (ibid.)

- (39) a. *u-sho amazwi* b. *sho-no iqiniso*
 1-say words say-IMP truth
 He speaks words. Speak the truth! (Moolman 1984: 138, 140)

- (40) a. *ngi-ya-ku-thi* b. *ngi-ya-ku-sho*
 1S-PROG-IA.OBJ-MIM 1S-PROG-IA.OBJ-say
 I am doing thus to it. I am saying it. (Moolman 1984: 141)

- speech-referring nominalizations: *ukusho* 'say' (as in 'to have one's say'), *isisho* 'saying', *umusho* 'sentence' (Doke et al. 1990,1: 420; 2: 742-3)

- with yet richer suffix morphology: perfective *shilo*, negative past *shongo*, applicative *sholo*, neuter passive *shoko*, neuter passive negative *shoki*, causative *shwisa*, and passive *shiwo*

3.2 Morphosyntactic comparison

- morphotactic verb structure across Savannah Bantu

Figure 2: The morphological structure of finite verb forms in Bantu

SLOT	(preinitial)	initial	(postinitial) ⁿ	(preradical) ⁿ	radical	(prefinal) ⁿ	final	(postfinal)
FUNCTIONS	TAM/ negation/ clause type	subject	TAM/ negation clause type	object	verb root	TAM/ valence change	TAM	participant/ negation/ clause type

Note: (...) possibly empty; ⁿ possibly multiple occurrence

- "prefinal"+"final" combine with "radical" to form a stem
 - oldest layer of verb morphology, also in West African Bantoid outside Narrow Bantu
 - modern agglutinative verb structure developed from a clause pattern where elements before the "radical" did not yet form a prosodic word with the stem

- existence of "defective/deficient" verbs across Bantu: *di 'be there', *na '(be) with', *ti
 - largely lack "prefinal"+"final", often no "postinitial", "preradical" and infinitive
 > reconstructable as such to early stages of Bantu
 > minimal criterion for verbhood: co-occurrence of "radical" with "initial" subject prefix

- gradual increase of *ti in verb morphology across Bantu

Table 1: Morphosyntactic comparison of Bantu *ti

	Ganda E10	Lamba M50	Shamb. G20	Nsenga N40	Shona S10	Zulu S40	-ti	-sho
Participant cross-reference								
"Initial" = subject	X	(X)	X	X	X	X	X	X
"Preradical" = object			X	X	X	X	X	X
Inflection/ derivation								
"Postinitial"		(X)	X	X	X	X	X	X
"Prefinal"						X	X	X
"Final"						X	X	X
Nominalization								
Infinitive		(X)	X	X	X	X	X	X
Speech nominalization							X	X

3.3 Semantic-functional comparison

- partial loss of reference to manner deixis and quality
- possible innovative utterance meaning outside reported discourse

Table 2: Semantic-functional comparison of Bantu *ti

	Ganda E10	Lamba M50	Shamb. G20	Nsenga N40	Shona S10	Zulu S40	-ti	-sho
Predicative use								
Manner deictic/quality	X			(X)	(X)	X		
Ideophone		X	?	X	X	X		
Quotative			X	X	X	X	X	
Auxiliary		X		X	X	X		
Utterance meaning								X
Non-predicative use								
Quotative	X	X						
Complementizer			X	X	X	X		
Utterance meaning								X

4 Cross-linguistic parallels

4.1 Kambera (Central Malayo-Polynesian, Austronesian)

- canonical root of quotative verb *wà* restored by accretion of phonetic substance

- (41) *ana hau ndui wà-na*
 DIM one money QV-3S.GEN
 "Just one coin", he said (Klamer 2002: 329)

Interestingly, there are indications that *wà* with a third person singular genitive marker may become reanalyzed as a monomorphemic verbal root. The motivation for this reanalysis comes from the prosodic structure of the verbal root *wà*. Phonologically, this root does not comply with the minimal word requirements of Kambera, which state that the roots of content words must be

bimoraic feet. The sequence *wà-na*, however, is a bimoraic foot, and is therefore a good candidate to become analyzed as a verbal root. In this reanalysis, the genitive clitic loses its referential function, so that the subject must be marked otherwise. ... (ibid.: 329)

- (42) *ndia ná wà-na-madu-na-nya-ka nú*
 NEG.EMPH DEI QV-3S.GEN-MOD-3S.GEN-3S.DAT-PERF DEI
 "No way!", he said to him (ibid.: 330)

4.2 Tonga-Inhambane (Bantu S62, Benue-Congo, Niger-Congo)

- non-verbal identificational copulative used as person-inflected quotative

- | | | |
|------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| (43) | Person-inflected quotative | Copulative of pronoun/demonstrative |
| | (-) <i>kheni</i> 'I say, "...' | <i>kheni</i> 'it is I' |
| | (-) <i>khuwe</i> 'you say, "...' | <i>khuwe</i> 'it is you' |
| | (-) <i>khawo</i> 'they say, "...' | <i>khawo</i> 'it is they' |

- (44) *nyamayi adi-wujisa kh-uye* ...
 woman 3S:PST-ask Q-3S.PRO
 The woman asked saying, "... (Lanham 1955: 140)

- develops to quotative verb by innovative co-occurrence with pre-stem verb morphology

- (45) *si-rengo si-ngu-kh-iso* ...
 8-animal 8-PRS-QV-8
 the animals say, "... (Lanham 1955: 140)

4.3 Ewe (Kwa, Niger-Congo)

- quotative verb *bé* generally restricted to unmarked "aorist" and, marginally, habitual form
 - as main verb: idiolectal acceptance of other forms like future and progressive (Clements 1975: 166-FN12)

5 Conclusions

5.1 Grammaticalization in the quotative domain

- African QI survey not only contradicts the traditional "quotative complex" which claims the development 'say' > Q/COMP as a default grammaticalization
- possible increase of quotative predicators in features typical for generic speech verbs potentially obscures their real etymological origin
- > cases of traditional speech-verb scenario which look plausible on account of synchronic data become less conclusive, ultimate clarification depends on historical-comparative method
- > grammaticalization is first of all an issue of historical linguistics

5.2 Grammaticalization theory

Most notably, grammaticalization does not provide evidence of narrowing of meaning. (Hopper and Traugott 1993: 97)

- no case of grammaticalization, but morphosyntactic and semantic changes occur within a grammatical construction
- semantic-functional enrichment in a grammatical construction accepted

More interesting from our perspective, however, are the cases ... of grams whose meaning appears to change due to the linguistic context to which they are restricted by newer developing grams. ... Since these old forms have so little semantic content of their own, if they survive, they are available to absorb the ... content of their context. ... Note that such cases differ from the more usual change by inference in that the meaning they are absorbing comes from the LINGUISTIC context, the context of the clause and its function in the sentence, more than from the general pragmatic context.

Even changes of this sort are highly constrained and in principle predictable. One constraint is that such radical meaning shifts will occur only in the very late stages of grammaticalization, when the original meaning of the gram has so weakened as to be unable to resist infusion from the outside.

(Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca 1994: 296)

- some grammatical constructions are associated with concrete "world-referring" meaning
- > enrichment can also affect lexical meaning, as soon as a novel reading is transferred to contexts outside the construction

Appendix: Language sample for African survey of quotative indexes

Language	Family (subbranch)	Stock	Other
Koyra Chiini	Songhay	-	NS
Kanuri	Saharan	-	NS
Ik	Kuliak	-	NS
Aiki	Maban	-	NS
Fur	Furan	-	NS
Ngiti	Moru-Mangbetu	Central Sudanic	NS
Ngambay	Bongo-Bagirmi	Central Sudanic	NS
Kunama	Isolate	-	NS
Dongola	Nubian	East Sudanic	NS
Murle	Surmic	East Sudanic	NS
Anywa	Nilotic	East Sudanic	NS
Krongo	Kadugli	-	NS
Hadza	Isolate	-	KS
Sandawe	Isolate	-	KS
Khoekhoe	Khoe alias Central	-	KS
Ju 'hoan	Ju alias Northern	-	KS
!Xǀo	Tuu alias Southern	-	KS
Tigre	Semitic	Afroasiatic	
Tamajeq	Berber	Afroasiatic	
Bedauye	Cushitic (North)	Afroasiatic	
Burunge	Cushitic (South)	Afroasiatic	
Kera	Chadic (East)	Afroasiatic	
Lamang	Chadic (Central)	Afroasiatic	
Hausa	Chadic (West)	Afroasiatic	
Mandinka	Mande	-	NK
Izon	Ijoid	-	NK
Kisi	Atlantic	-	NK
Donno So	Dogon	-	NK
Kouya	Kru	Niger-Congo	NK
Supyire	Gur (Senufo)	Niger-Congo	NK
Koromfe	Gur (Central)	Niger-Congo	NK
Waja	Adamawa-Ubangi (Ad.)	Niger-Congo	NK
Ngbaka Ma'bo	Adamawa-Ubangi (Ub.)	Niger-Congo	NK
Ewe	Kwa	Niger-Congo	NK
Yoruba	Benue-Congo (Defoid)	Niger-Congo	NK
Igbo	Benue-Congo (Igboid)	Niger-Congo	NK
Birum	Benue-Congo (Platoid)	Niger-Congo	NK
Tikar	Benue-Congo (Bantoid)	Niger-Congo	NK
Nguni	Benue-Congo (Bantoid)	Niger-Congo	NK

Note: Greenberg's doubtful supergroups are given as a reference in the column "Other". The abbreviations are: NS Nilo-Saharan, KS Khoisan, NK Niger-Kordofanian.

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Abbreviations

AD addressee, ANA anaphoric reference, ASS associative, ATC anticipatory, AUX auxiliary, COM comitative, COMP complementizer, CONS consecutive, D dual, DAT dative, DECL declarative, DEI deictic, DEM demonstrative, DET determiner, DIM diminutive, EMPH emphasis, F feminine, FUT future, GEN genitive, HAB habitual, IA inanimate, IDEO ideophone, IMP imperative, INE inessive, INF infinitive, INIT initiative, IP impersonal, IPFV imperfective, LOC locative, LOG logophoric (pronoun), MA manner, MIM mimesis, MOD modality, NEG negation, OBJ object, ONOM onomatopoeia, P plural, PERF perfect, PF predication focus, PFV perfective, POSS possessive, PRO pronoun, PROG progressive, PROP proper name, PRS present, PST past, Q quotative, QV quotative verb, REFL reflexive, REL relative, REM remote, S singular, SS same subject, SEQ sequential taxis, STAT stative, SUBJ subjunctive, 1, 2, 3 person categories (if followed by S or P) or noun class

Conference abstract etc.

<http://www.usc.es/ia303/Gramma3/programme.html>

The history of quotative predicatives: Can lexical properties arise out of a grammatical construction?

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Quotative constructions have frequently been the object of grammaticalization research, with a particular focus on the development of speech verbs to grams marking clause linkage and other related functions. The present paper will be concerned with another type of process, namely the formal and semantic adjustment which non-verbal and semantically generic elements can undergo when they are used regularly as the nucleus of a quotative construction. Reference will first of all be made to the element *ti* of Common Bantu (Benue-Congo family, Niger-Congo stock) whose original meaning was that of a manner deictic 'thus, like this'. Synchronically, it is widely used in the family as a quotative marker in reported discourse. In some languages, it can be shown that *ti* has become similar in both morphosyntax and semantics to ordinary speech verbs. This is not bleaching, but the reverse: the element becomes lexically "fuller", acquiring properties which it did not possess in previous stages of its development. Crucially, this occurs as a result of its use in a GRAMMATICAL construction. Such cases provide further and more systematic evidence against a strict version of the unidirectionality hypothesis regarding the flow between lexical and grammatical features in language change.