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

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This paper, adopting a diachronic approach, aims to explore the intriguing "borderline" issue between pragmaticalization and grammaticalization by examining the historical development of three Chinese pragmatic markers: BUGUO (literally meaning *not to pass,* and as a pragmatic marker meaning *but*), NIKAN (*you see*) and WOKAN (*I see*). The evolution of pragmatic markers has aroused a lot of attention as well as controversies. These developments are often considered as cases of grammaticalization (cf. Traugott, 1995; Traugott and Dasher, 2002; Hopper and Traugott, 2003; Brinton and Traugott, 2005; etc) as "they exhibit some typical characteristics such as divergence, layering, decategorization, morphologization", etc. (Norde, 2010: 21). However, pragmatic markers also differ from cases of grammaticalization in several ways, and some scholars propose "pragmaticalization" for this special type of language change.

More specifically, through probing into how BUGUO, NIKAN and WOKAN 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 three issues:

a) Is it really necessary to include the development of pragmatic markers under the concept of grammaticalization?
b) If not, then what is the relationship between pragmaticalization and grammaticalization?
c) What kind of role does unidirectionality, "the bedrock of grammaticalization" (Norde 2010: 68), play in the historical evolution of Chinese pragmatic markers?

This paper shows that the historical development of pragmatic markers is not an aspect of grammaticalization, i.e., pragmaticalization and grammaticalization are two different types of language change despite the formal characteristics they share. Through conducting a diachronic investigation into real corpus, the paper argues that the rise of BUGUO, NIKAN and WOKAN complies with neither Lehmann's nor Traugott's view of grammaticalization. As regards the relationship between pragmaticalization and grammaticalization, the historical development of the three pragmatic markers in question demonstrates that the former can be a process either independent of the latter as in the rise of NIKAN and WOKAN, or including grammaticalization within its course as exemplified in the rise of BUGUO which grammaticalizes into a negative focusing adverb before acquiring pragmatic functions. Moreover, the diachronic analysis clearly indicates that unidirectionality in pragmaticalizaiton applies only at the semantic level and is defied at the syntactic level.

Finally, the paper postulates that constructionalization, defined as "a sequence of changes in the form and meaning poles of a construction, whereby new formal configurations come to serve particular functions, and to encode new meanings" (Trousdale and Norde, 2013; see also Traugott, 2008; Trousdale 2010; etc.), may enable us to capture generalizations about pragmaticalization and grammaticalization, since constructions in construction grammar are taken to be the elementary building blocks of language and nothing can be left outside, simply by definition (Östman and Fried, 2005:9).

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