

4.4.2 Correlation among the parameters

In the preceding sections, the six grammaticalization parameters were discussed, as far as possible, in mutual isolation. However, it was made clear from the start that they are theoretically interconnected and must therefore be expected to correlate. Table 4.3 summarizes the behavior of the parameters and displays their correlation.

Table 4.3: Correlation of grammaticalization parameters

PARAMETER	WEAK GRAMMATICALIZATION	PROCESS →	STRONG GRAMMATICALIZATION
INTEGRITY	bundle of semantic features; possibly polysyllabic	attrition	few semantic features; oligo- or monosegmental
PARADIGMATICITY	item participates loosely in semantic field	paradigmaticization	small, tightly integrated paradigm
PARADIGMATIC VARIABILITY	free choice of items according to communicative intentions	obligatorification	choice systematically constrained, use largely obligatory
STRUCTURAL SCOPE	item relates to constituent of arbitrary complexity	condensation	item modifies word or stem
BONDEDNESS	item is independently juxtaposed	coalescence	item is affix or even phonological feature of carrier
SYNTAGMATIC VARIABILITY	item can be shifted around freely	fixation	item occupies fixed slot

Table 4.3 can be taken as the common denominator of all grammaticalization scales. It is our contention that a normal grammaticalization process obeys the following condition: an item which is grammaticalized in a construction will occupy a point on each of the six parameters in such a way that the six points are roughly on a vertical line. I will return in the next section to the question of what is meant by a normal grammaticalization process, and discuss here some theoretical considerations and empirical evidence which make such a correlation plausible.

Correlation of the paradigmatic parameters among each other is, to some extent, a logical necessity. “Meaning, or meaningfulness implies choice” (Lyons 1977: 33); and if more meaning is to be conveyed (semanticity), either the choice must be expanded (paradigmaticity), or it must be relieved from constraints (paradigmatic variability). Conversely, if an item is opposed only to a few similar