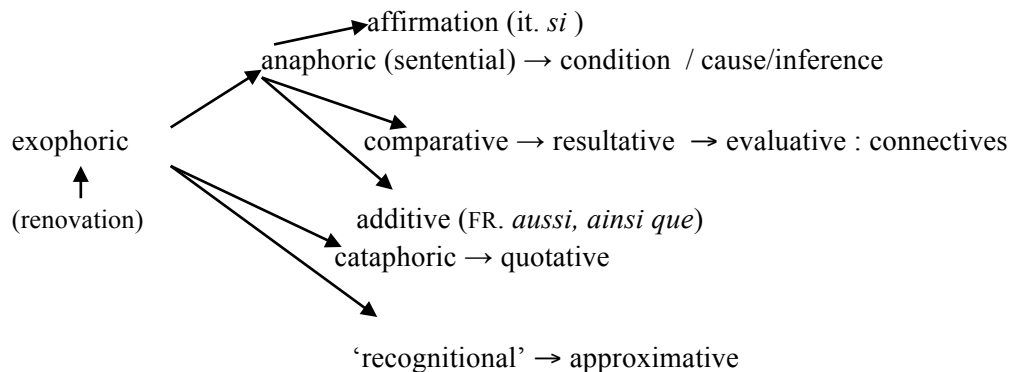


## Manner deixis as a source of grammatical markers

It is a well-known fact that deictic expressions are an important source for the development of grammatical markers: Demonstratives, for example, may develop into definite article, into relative markers, into 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronouns, into copulas, connectives, complementizers, number markers, etc. (Himmelmann, 1997; Diessel, 1999; Dixon, 2003;), thus showing that the wide-spread view that all grammatical elements ultimately derive from lexical sources needs to be abandoned or suitably modified (Diessel, to appear).

It is the goal of this paper to provide further evidence for the role of deictic expressions in the genesis and development of grammatical categories by looking at subsystems of deixis that have received very little attention so far, viz. the systems of manner deixis (Germ./Engl. *so*), of degree deixis (Span. *tan*) and of quality deixis (Fr. *tell/pareil*). Just as in the other notional domains (person, local, temporal, directional, etc.) the inventory of relevant expressions may comprise three-term distinctions (Finn. *näin, nöin, niin* ‘so’), two-term distinctions (Ainu) or simply a single expression (Germ. *so*, Fr. *ainsi*) (-----, 2011). These expressions are the starting point of a large chain of grammaticalization processes that can partly be represented by the following diagram:



The perspective taken in this paper will be a macro-analytic one. It will be shown that grammaticalization processes with manner deixis as a starting point can be observed in a wide variety of languages, even if there are sporadic and also systematic differences here and there (cf. Diessel, 1999; Dixon, 2003). In contrast to English (*She said it.* vs. *She said so.*), for example, *so* is not used as a sentential anaphor in German. More often than not, the sources of these developments, e. g. the adverbs of manner deixis, lose their endophoric deictic use (English *so*) and are renewed by a complex expression (English *like this/that*) or strengthened by another deictic expression, after extending their use in a wide variety of cognitive domains (Italian *ecco + si > così*). The following goals are pursued in my talk:

- To show how deictic expressions of manner are the sources of long chains of grammaticalization which have rarely been analyzed so far.
- To show that the relevant processes of grammaticalization can be found in a wide variety of languages.

- To demonstrate the pervasive role of deictic expressions for the development of grammatical categories in addition to those provided by lexical sources (nouns and verbs).

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