

Grammaticalization of demonstratives

Principles of language change

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The grammaticalization cline

All grammatical morphemes have developed out of lexical morphemes, principally nouns and verbs...

[Bybee 2003]



The grammaticalization of DEM

Definite articles

the

der/die/das

Third person pronouns

he / it

er / sie / es

The grammaticalization of DEM

Relative pronouns

that

der/die/das

Complementizers

that

dass

The grammaticalization of DEM

Sentence connectives/conjunctions

thus / therefore

deshalb / dadurch

Directional preverbs

hin-gehen

her-kommen

The grammaticalization of DEM

Copulas

NP, [DEM NP]

>

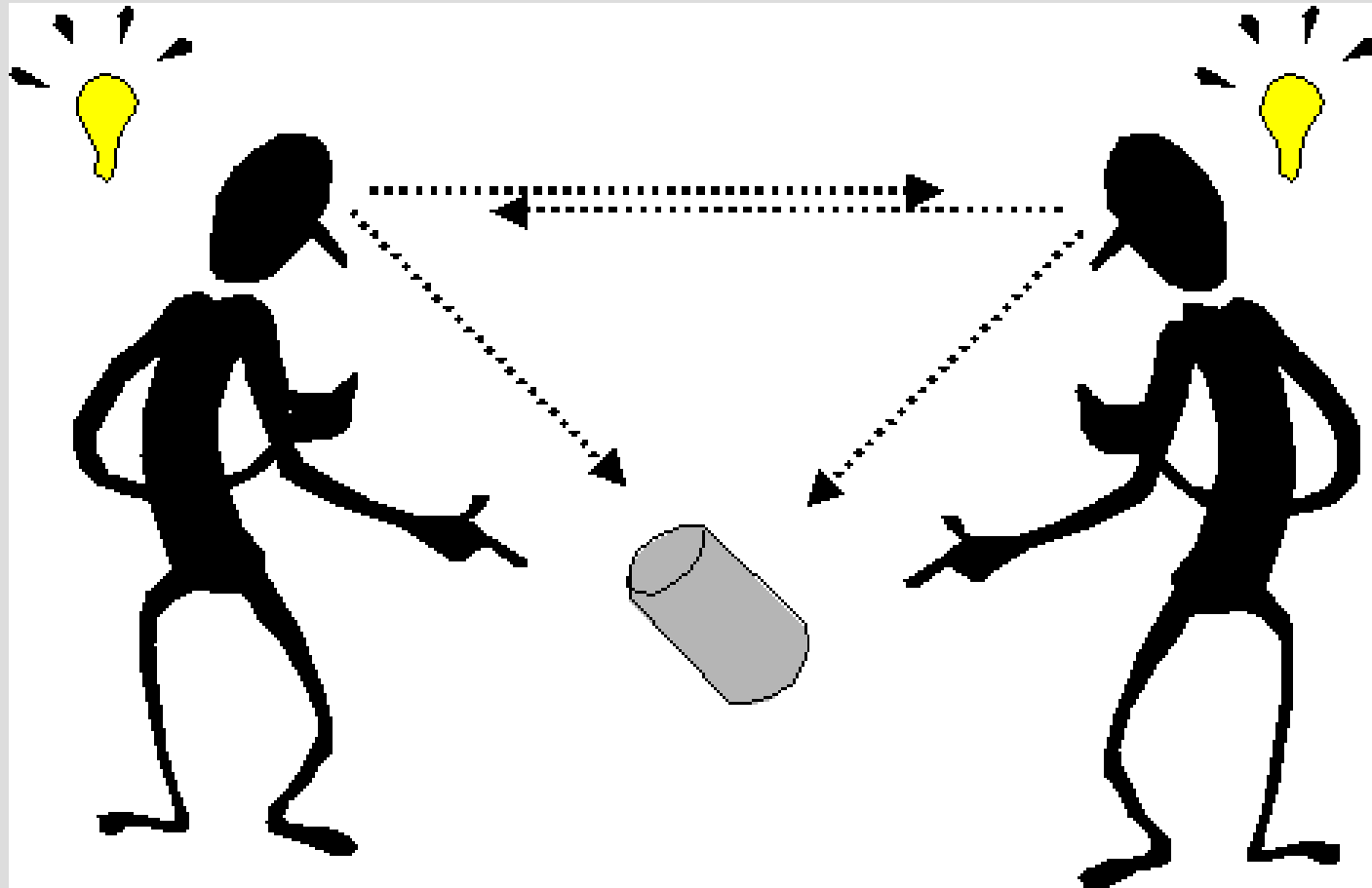
NP be NP

Der Mann, der (ist) ein Polizist.

>

Der Mann ist ein Polizist.

Joint attention



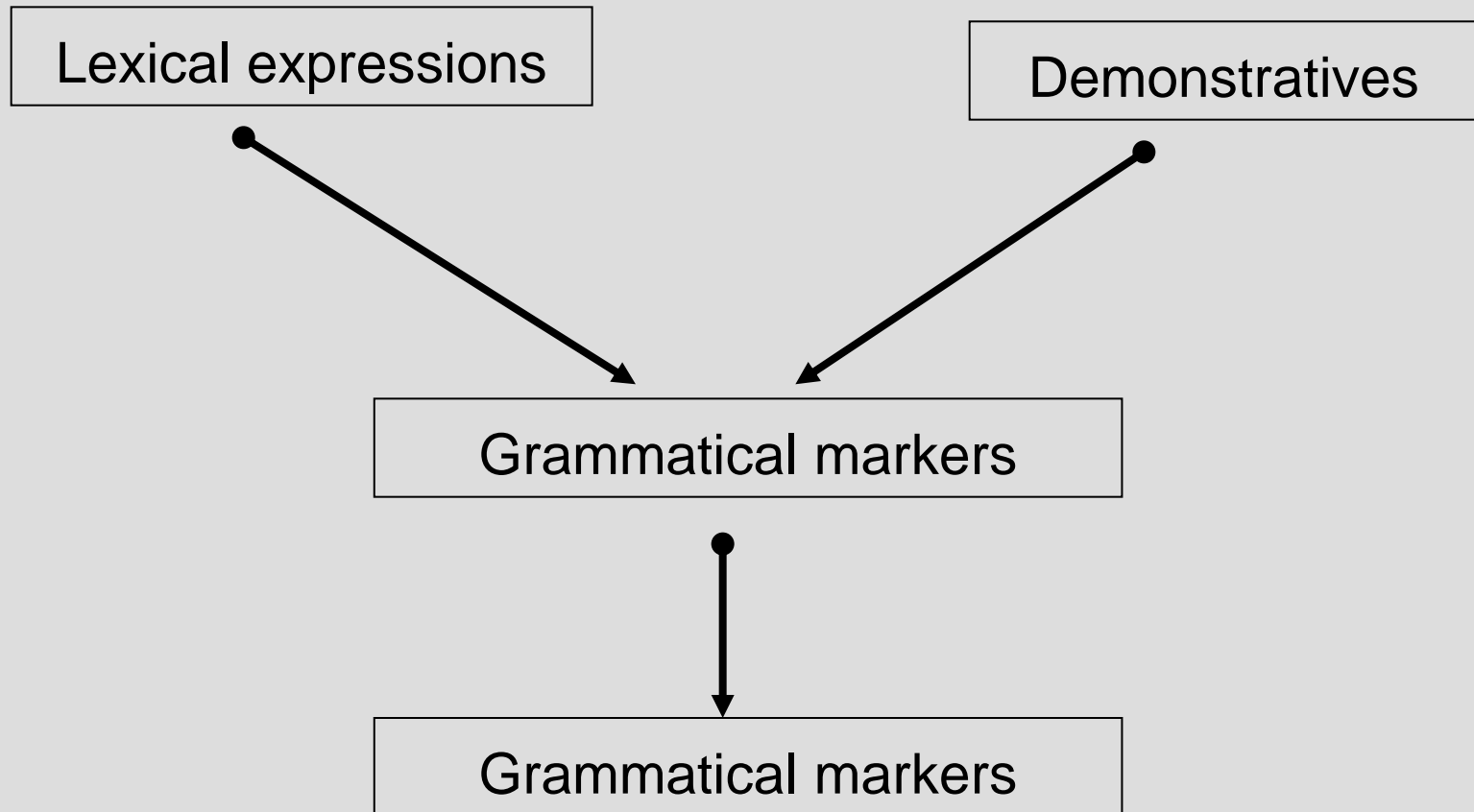
Joint attention



Demonstratives

- Demonstratives are closely tied to the gestural communicative system.
- Demonstratives emerge very early in language acquisition.
- Demonstratives are universal.
- Demonstratives are generally so old that their roots cannot be traced back to other lexemes.

An alternative model of grammaticalization



The role of frequency

Historical Linguistics

The reduction effect

High 'string frequency' leads to reduction of (i) form and (ii) meaning. → automatization

to	[from directional preposition to INF marker]
gonna	[from motion verb to future tense marker]
-ly	[from noun meaning 'body' to ADV marker]

The conserving effect

Linguistic expressions with very high token frequency are often resistant to analogical language change.

Frequency

1. Irregular verb forms

Base	Old Form	New Form
climb	clomb	climbed
creep	crope	crept
laugh	low	laughed
yield	yold	yielded
step	stope	stepped

Frequency

2. Suppletion

go – went

be – am – are – is

good – better

Frequency

3. Case marking

SUBJ

he

she

OBJ

him

her

SUBJ

car

tree

OBJ

car

tree

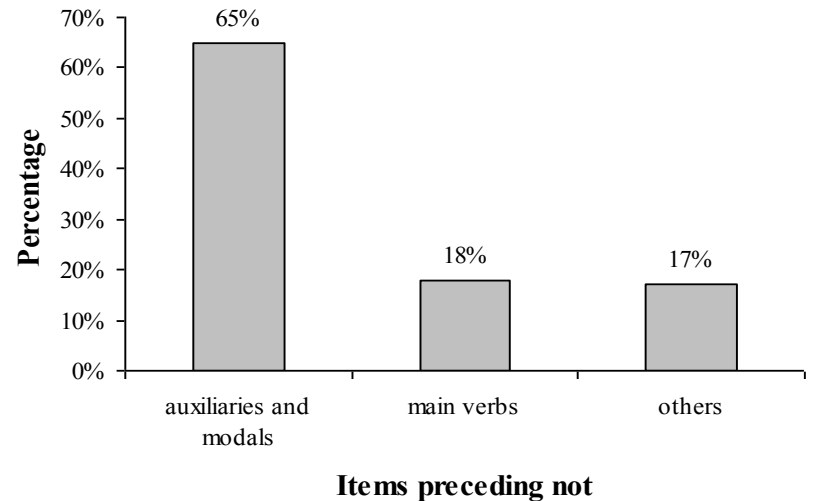
Frequency

Development of a new negative pattern in Early Modern English:

(1) I see **not** it. (Old Engl.) → I **don't** see it. (PDE)

The development did not affect the present day auxiliaries.

(2) I can **not** do it. (Old Engl.)
→ I **can not** do it. (PDE)
→ *I **don't** can do it.



Frequency

	Reduction Effect	Conserving effect
Psychological mechanism	Ritualization (processing effect)	Entrenchment (storage effect)

Implications for linguistic theory

- Grammaticalization challenges the division between lexicon and grammar: Grammar evolves from lexical expressions.
- Grammaticalization challenges the assumption that linguistic categories have rigid category boundaries: Is 'in front of' a PP or a preposition? Indirect support for a prototype approach to linguistic categorization.
- Grammaticalization challenges the static view of grammar: Linguistic structures and linguistic categories appear to be fluid.

Cognitive mechanisms of grammaticalization

Metaphor

stomache	>	in
head	>	in front of
back	>	in back of
buttock	>	behind / under

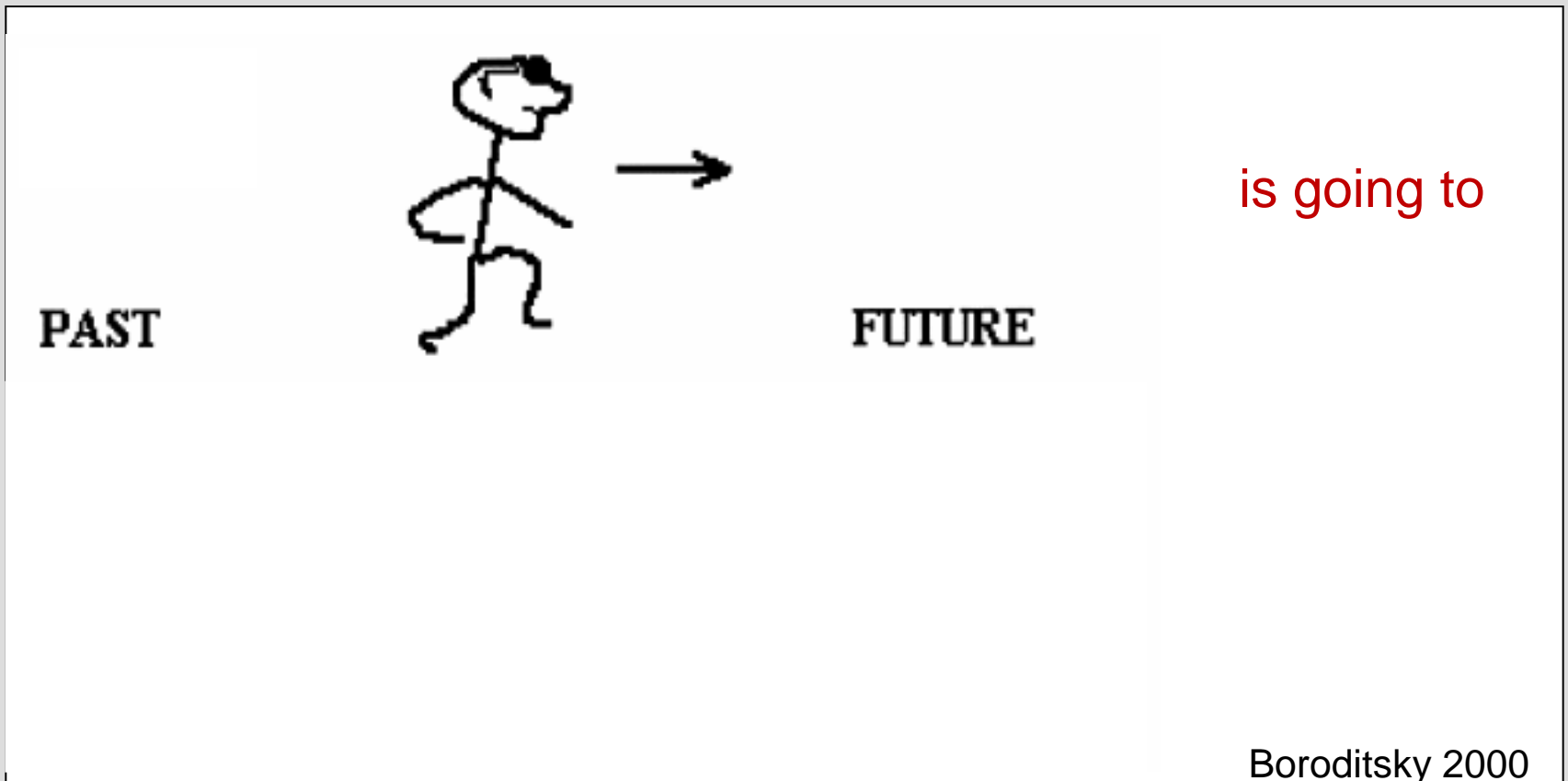
Metaphor

- (1) a. The priest stood **before** the altar.
b. St. Michael's day is **before** Christmas.
- (2) a. Bill is **in** Leipzig.
b. He will come **in** the spring.
- (3) a. The balloon flew **over** the hill.
b. The game is **over**.
- (4) a. He **followed** him.
b. World War II was **followed** by the Cold War.
- (5) a. That's a pretty **long** log.
b. It has been a pretty **long** day.
- (6) a. They were driving **along** the river.
b. He new it **all along**.
- (7) a. At the **end** of the queue.
b. At the **end** of the day.

From space to time

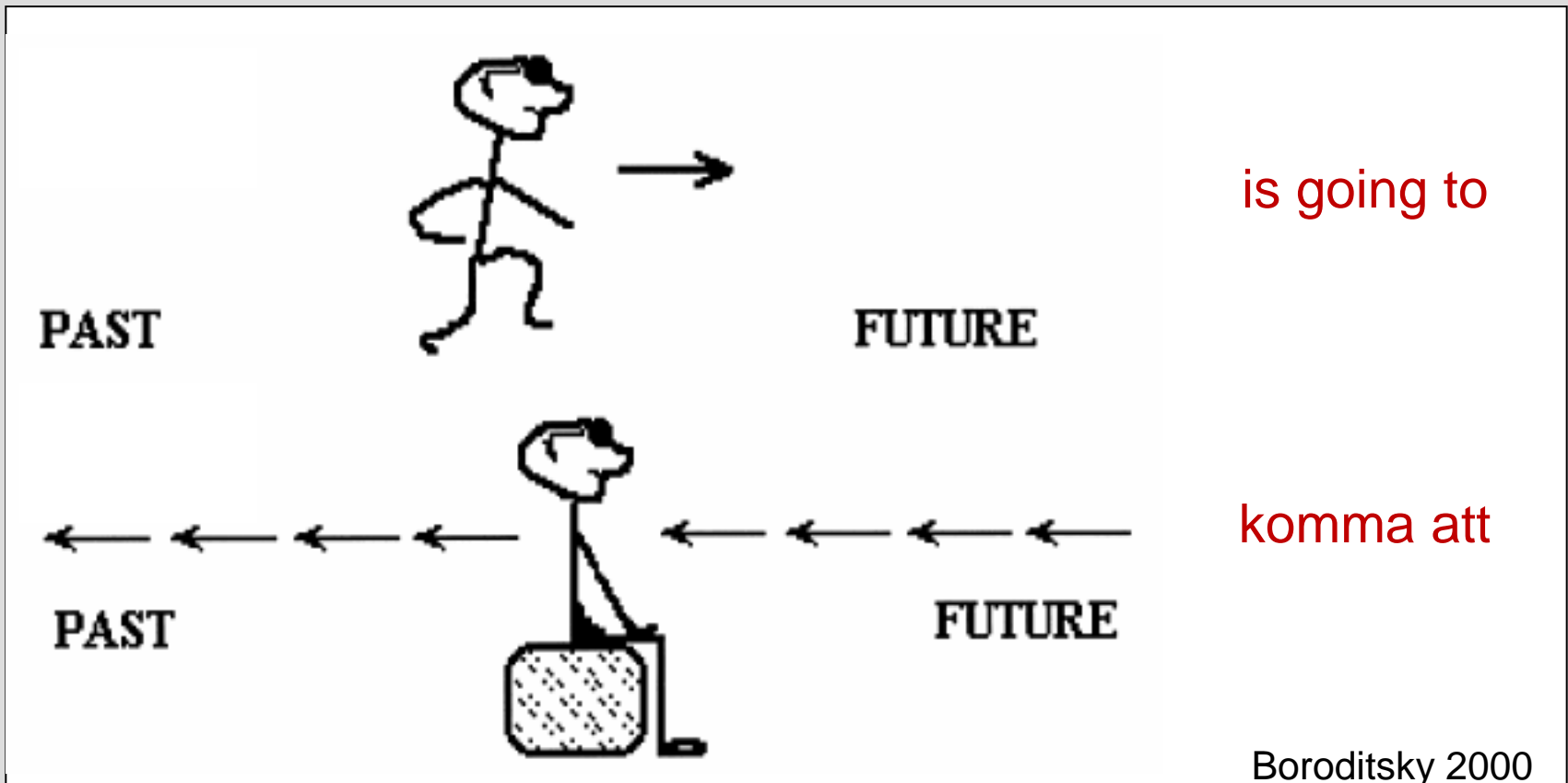


Metaphor



Boroditsky 2000

Metaphor



Christmas is coming up soon.

Metaphor

- (1) a. I have been waiting for you **since** the train left this morning.
b. **Since** I have a final exam tomorrow, I won't be able to go out tonight.
- (2) a. **Wenn** wir angekommen sind, rufen wir dich an.
b. **Wenn** er dort angekommen ist, hätte er angerufen.
- (3) a. all die Weile > weil
b. in a while > while

Metaphor

object / body > space > time > cause / condition

Deictic projection

- (1) Gimme **that**!
- (2) Peter missed the train. **That**'s why we are late.