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Roles of *body* and related *person* terms to fuel German derivation and grammaticalization

Derivational affixation remains a central issue in the grammaticalization and lexicalization literature. German *-lich* and *-heit* (cf. English *-ly*, *-hood*) derive from Germanic **lika* 'body, form' and **haidus* 'person, rank, form' and are variously categorized as undergoing grammaticalization (e.g., Ramat 1992), lexicalization (Lehmann 1989), a complex process of mostly grammaticalization (Wischer 2011), both grammaticalization and lexicalization (Lightfoot 2011), or undergoing both in such a specialized manner that we should consider it a blend unto itself ("sui generis" according to Norde 2009). Typical factors to make these determinations are degree of grammaticality at various junctures, morphosyntactic status, semantic bleaching, and the degree of compositionality on hand. Virtually always absent in the discussion is the human focal point often giving rise to change, in this case the common role of BODY and PERSON as a source structure (Heine, Claudi, and Hünemeyer 1991) for grammaticalizing elements.

Source structures refer to original elements we may categorize along a path of cognitive domains in the following relative order: PERSON > OBJECT > ACTIVITY > SPACE > TIME > QUALITY (Heine et al 1991: 32-59). Thus Germanic **haidus* 'person' > OHG (-)*heid* 'person, appearance, position' > MHG *-heit* 'domain, position' > MSG *-heit* 'characteristic of, nature, way' yields the cognitive domains of PERSON > PERSON/OBJECT?/QUALITY > SPACE?/QUALITY > QUALITY. OHG (296 tokens) and MHG (1,569 types) data come from the Titus database and standard references.

This domain trajectory beginning with PERSON is also prolific crosslinguistically in other grammaticalization phenomena, e.g., an indefinite pronoun arising from German *Mann* (cf. French *on* < Latin *homo*, English *body* feeding various pronominal constructions, etc.). Source structure data and the tendential path of cognitive domains adds one more argument to consider derivational affixes such as *-heit* as undergoing grammaticalization, and beyond that, provides further evidence of grammaticalization as being relatively distinct in nature (contra Norde 2009).

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