

Background & Aim

Exophoric demonstrative systems: **person-oriented** vs **distance-oriented** ([Anderson & Keenan 1985](#)):

Person-oriented, e.g. Japanese		
kore this (near spk)	sore that (near hr)	are that (far/both)
Distance-oriented, e.g. Scots		
this this (proximal)	that that (medial)	yon(der) that (distal)

Proposal. Demonstratives are person-oriented across the board; distance contrasts modify person ones (encoded on top of them).

Cf. [Lander & Haegeman 2018](#), but:

- *person features*, \neq locative ones;
- *PP-like derivation* (distance contrasts as selection of vector lengths), \neq Dx *fseq*.

Person-oriented systems & person features

Person-oriented: evidence:

- degrees of distance from the hearer;
- hearer’s role in distance-oriented dems;
- interactions & inconsistencies.

Person features: superior to locative features ([Lander & Haegeman 2018](#)) for two main empirical reasons:

- derivation of **four-way deictic oppositions**
e.g. Paamese ([Crowley 1982](#): 62);
- **extra indexical information** encoded:
Siwi Berber ([Souag 2014](#)):

Near spk	Near hr M	Near hr F	Near hr PL	‘Far/both’
w-a(ya)	w-ók	w-óm	w-érwəŋ	w-ih
DEM-1	DEM-2.SG.M	DEM-2.SG.F	DEM-2.PL	DEM-3

Person system ([Harbour 2016](#)):

- person features: $[\pm\text{Author}]$, $[\pm\text{Participant}]$
- perform operations on (i.e. partition) $\pi = \{i, iu, u, o\}$

Unary system, French

$$\pi, \{i, iu, u, o\}$$
$$ce$$

Binary system, participant-based, Catalan

$(+\text{Participant}(\pi)), \{i, iu, u\}$ <i>aquest</i>	$(-\text{P}(\pi)), \{o\}$ <i>aquell</i>
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Binary system, speaker-based, English

$(+\text{A}(\pi)), \{i, iu\}$ <i>this</i>	$(-\text{Author}(\pi)), \{u, o\}$ <i>that</i>
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Ternary system, Japanese

$(+\text{P}(+\text{A}(\pi))), \{i, iu\}$ <i>kore</i>	$(+\text{P}(-\text{A}(\pi))), \{u\}$ <i>sore</i>	$(-\text{P}(\pm\text{A}(\pi))), \{o\}$ <i>are</i>
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Quaternary system, Paamese

$(+\text{A}(-\text{P}(\pi))), \{i\}$ <i>kele</i>	$(+\text{A}(+\text{P}(\pi))), \{iu\}$ <i>ekok</i>	$(-\text{A}(+\text{P}(\pi))), \{u\}$ <i>kaisom</i>	$(-\text{A}(-\text{P}(\pi))), \{o\}$ <i>akēk</i>
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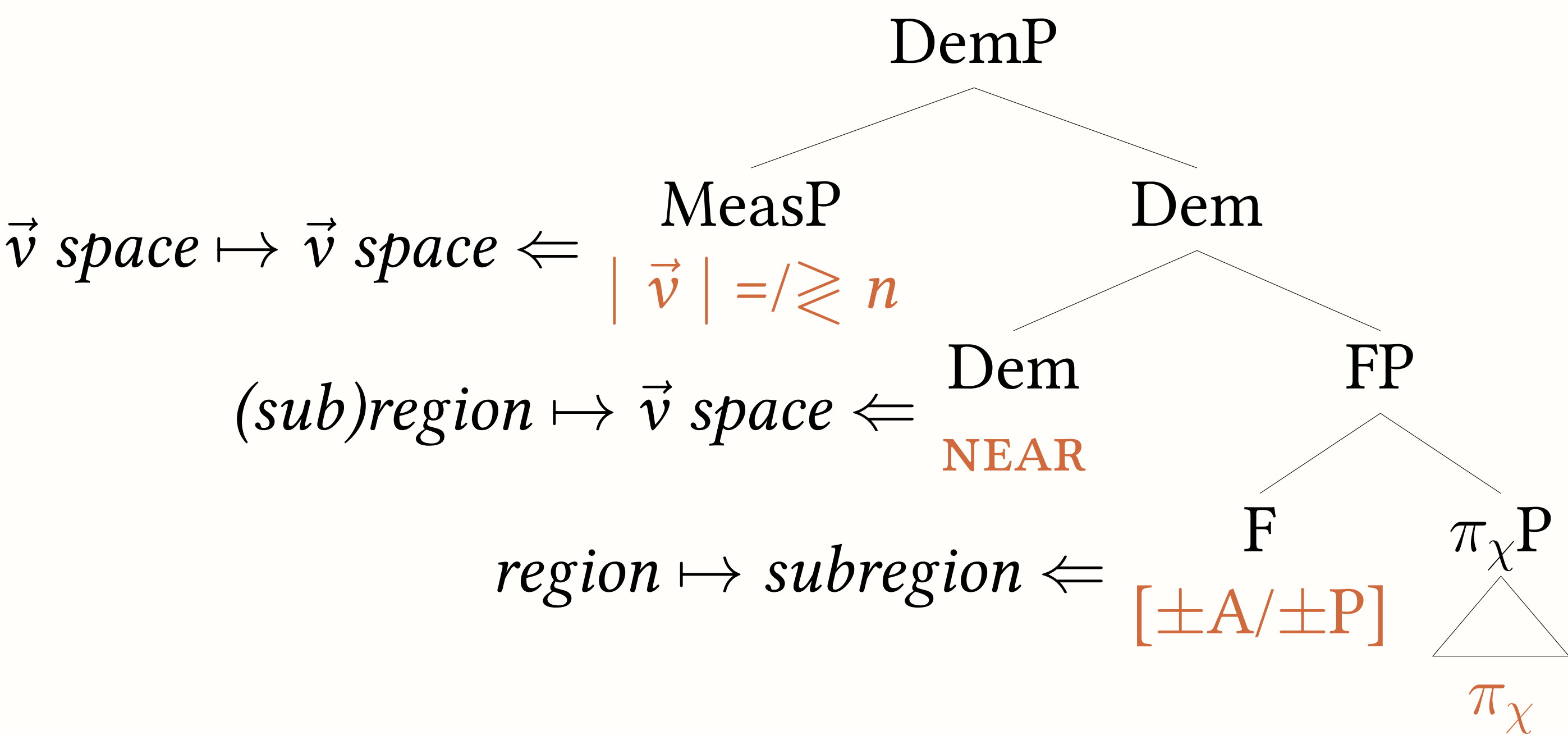
→ Pronominal paradigms \neq demonstrative paradigms;
→ derive richer systems by modifying the person core.

Derivation

Demonstrative and prepositions define **spatial relations** between two entities: ground & figure ([Talmy 1978](#))
→ Internal structure of DemP modelled on the extended **locative PPs** (see [Svenonius 2010](#)).

- Person features: contribute to the ground.
- Spatial content: compatible w/ distance modification.


$$[\text{Deg}_{\mu}P \text{ } [\text{MeasP } 1\text{m}] \text{ } \emptyset \text{ } [\text{LocP } \text{in } [\text{AxPartP } \text{front } [\text{KP } \text{of } [\text{DP } \text{the tree}]]]]]]$$
$$[\text{DemP } [\text{MeasP } (\text{VERY})] \text{ NEAR } [\text{FP } \pm\text{A}/\pm\text{P } [\text{ }_{\chi}\text{P } \text{SPACE OF } [\text{ }_{\pi}\text{P } \pi]]]]$$



Evidence

Morphological compositionality (preliminary results, mainly from Romance languages):

	$u\phi$	Meas	Dem	F ₂	F ₁	π_{χ}
French	-e		∅			c-
Catalan	-∅		∅	-st _{+P} / -ll _{-P}		aque-
Italian	-o		∅	-st _{-A} / -ll _{-A}		que-
Kabyle		-nna _{v<n} / -hin _{v>n}	∅	-a _{+A} / -i _{-A}		w-
Sicilian	-u		∅	-st _{-P+A} / -ss _{-P-A} / -ll _{-P±A}		cu-
Old Pg.		-i _{v<n} / -á _{v>n}	∅	-qui _{+P+A} / -í _{+P-A} / -l _{-P±A}		(a-)
Waray-W.			∅	-i _{+A} / -tu _{-A} in _{-P} / ad _{-P}		∅

↓
(Any) co-speech gesture?  (deictic pointing; more research)

Diachrony: loss of portions of structure and different paths of evolution/grammaticalisation:

- personal & spatial components: **definite articles**;
- [person]: **reduction** ternary > binary > unary Dems;
- spatial component (NEAR & χ): **personal pronouns** (w/o deictic oppositions);
- ? spatial component (NEAR?): **non-exophoric** Dems.

Some further issues

- Extension to **locative adverbs**.
- **DP-internal syntax** of demonstratives: high or low DemP? Introduction of the NP argument?
- **Demonstrative-reinforcer constructions:** reinforcers as ground-lacking adverbs merged as MeasPs?

Conclusions.

- ① Person- vs distance-oriented systems \neq dichotomy
- ② Basic person contrasts: π & [person] – ontology: π_{χ}
- ③ Spatial component: NEAR/ \vec{v}
- ④ Distance modification: select a subset of \vec{v}



(Slides from my google drive)

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References (for a more comprehensive list, see my [slides](#))

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