Chapter 21

Rethinking microvariation in Romance demonstrative systems

Adam Ledgeway

University of Cambridge

This article explores the formal and functional organization of Romance demonstrative systems, providing a detailed empirical overview of the vast microvariation attested in standard and non-standard Romance varieties. Despite highlighting a considerable number of distinct demonstrative systems based on different superficial person contrasts, it is argued that the underlying number of systems can effectively be reduced to a much smaller number of systems based on a finite number of options. In particular, it is argued that the feature geometric analysis of person developed by Harley & Ritter (2002) makes some specific predictions about the range and types of person combinations, and hence by implication also the types and natural classes of demonstrative systems, that are cross-linguistically available. Adopting these assumptions, it is argued that these differing person feature specifications can be profitably modelled in terms of a set of hierarchically-organized interrelated parametric options in accordance with much recent work developed within the ReCoS group.

1 Introduction and general remarks

Traditional descriptions of Romance demonstrative systems highlight a major distinction between binary (cf. 1a below) and ternary (cf. 1b below) person-based systems (cf. Meyer-Lübke 1895: 645–647; Meyer-Lübke 1900: 95–99; Lausberg 1976: 135–140; Lyons 1999: 109–111; Stavinschi 2009: 37–46; Alkire & Rosen 2010: 301f):

(1) a. Romanian (personal knowledge)
        acest / acel copil
        this   that child
        'This / That child'

    b. Asturian (Academia de la Llingua Asturiana 2001)
        esti / esi   / aquel neñu
        this   that.2   that.3 child
        'This / That (near you) / That child'

However, a more detailed examination of microvariation in this area reveals a more complex and varied picture (Ledgeway 2004; 2015; Ledgeway & Smith 2016), including both binary and ternary systems in the southern and northern Romània, respectively, and a variety of analytic formations. In what follows I shall review (cf. §§2–5) the various functional and formal organizations of a number of Romance demonstrative systems which, to varying degrees, correspond to different diachronic and diatopic groupings. Despite the identification of some quite considerable microvariation in the formal and functional structure of different Romance demonstrative systems, I shall show how the vast microvariation revealed by this overview of the Romance evidence can be effectively interpreted and reduced to a finite number of options. Following ideas proposed by Roberts & Holmberg (2010) and Roberts (2012), and further developed by the *Rethinking comparative syntax* (ReCoS) research group led by Ian Roberts,[1] I shall explore (§6.2) how a scalar interpretation of microvariation modelled in terms of parametric hierarchies can make immediate sense of the Romance data and, at the same time, make some strong predictions about the possible combinations and the markedness relations of different person features and, ultimately, how these formally map onto different demonstrative systems.

2 Binary systems

2.1 Type B1 systems

Many predominantly northern Romance varieties display a person-based binary demonstrative system (Table 21.1), in which referents which fall within the spatial, temporal or psychological domain of the speaker (the deictic centre) are

---

[1]For information about the ReCoS project, including recent publications, see http://recos-dtal. mml.cam.ac.uk/.

marked by a reflex of (ECCE/ECCU/*akke/*akkʊ-)ISTUM '(behold!) this' > (AQU)E-STO and those associated with the non-discourse participants are picked out by a reflex of (ECCE/ECCU/*akke/*akkʊ-)ILLUM > '(behold!) that' > (AQU)ELLO.[2]

Table 21.1: B1 systems

	Speaker[a]	Non-discourse partic.[b]
Occitan	*aqueste*	*aquel/aquéu*
Gascon (Testerin)	*aquis*	*aquits*
Ladin	*chësc*	*chël*
Northern Italian dialects	*(cu)st*	*cul*
Italian	*questo*	*quello*
Vegliot	*kost*	*kol*
Romanian	*acesta*	*acela*
Southern Daco-Romance/Moldovan	*aista*	*ăla*
Megleno-Romance	*tsista*	*tsela*

[a](ECCE/ECCU/*akke/*akkʊ-) ISTUM
[b](ECCE/ECCU/*akke/*akkʊ-) ILLUM

In these varieties the role of the addressee is not formally encoded, inasmuch as referents associated with the addressee can a priori be marked either by AQUESTO (cf. 2a) or AQUELLO (cf. 2b) in accordance with whether they are subjectively perceived to fall within the deictic centre or not (Irsara 2009: 71–77).

(2) Veronese

    a. Tira   via ste man!
       pull.IMP.2SG away these hands
       'Take these hands (of yours) away!'

    b. No vardarme   co quei oci
       not look.INF=me with those eyes
       'Don't look at me with those eyes (of yours)!'

[2]For extensive bibliography of the relevant varieties, see Ledgeway & Smith (2016: 879). When individual language forms are not of immediate interest, reflexes of (ECCE/ECCU/*akke/*akkʊ-)ISTE, (ECCU-)TI(BI)-ISTE, (ECCE/ECCU/*akke/*akkʊ-)IPSE and (ECCE/ECCU/*akke/*akkʊ-)ILLE are indicated with the following broadly neutral Romance forms in small caps (AQU)ESTO, (CO)TESTO, (AQU)ESSO, and (AQU)ELLO.

These broad developments can be understood in terms of the analysis proposed in Vincent (1999) who, inspired by the conception of the deictic space (cf. Figure 21.1) proposed by Benveniste (1946), argues that with the loss of the Classical Latin speaker-oriented demonstrative HIC 'this' – in large part due to the erosive effects of phonetic change – the territory HIC covered immediately fell within the domain of the addressee-oriented term ISTE.

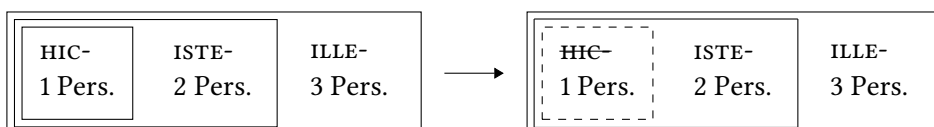| HIC-
1 Pers. | ISTE-
2 Pers. | ILLE-
3 Pers. | → | ~~HIC-~~
1 Pers. | ISTE-
2 Pers. | ILLE-
3 Pers. |

Figure 21.1: Effects of loss of HIC

This explains why in Romance ISTE comes to mark the role of the speaker, giving rise to B1 systems. However, this development necessarily presupposes that, before reflexes of ISTE grammaticalized as markers of first-person deixis, there was an earlier stage in which such reflexes marked the shared deictic spheres of both discourse participants, a stage directly attested in Old French where *(i)cist/(i)cil* mark, respectively, "proximity (to both the speaker and the addressee) […] and distance (in relation to those not present, the third person)" (CNRTL 2012: s.v. ce2; cf. also Nyrop 1925a: 293f), and which survives today in many Raeto-Romance varieties such as Surselvan and Vallader (Sornicola 2011: §2.2.1.1). We can therefore further distinguish between type B1$_A$ (Old French, Raeto-Romance) and type B1$_B$ (the rest) systems.

Formally, Italo-Romance type B1 systems typically mark a distinction between pronominal and adnominal uses of the speaker-oriented term, deploying predominantly or obligatorily ECCU-reinforced forms in pronominal uses and non-reinforced forms in adnominal functions (Rohlfs 1968: 206; Irsara 2009: 13f): Lombard *chest* vs *st*. Outside Italo-Romance, by contrast, the simple and reinforced forms appear to be in free variation (Sornicola 2011: §2.2.1.1), as in the case of Old French (cf. 3; Nyrop 1925b: 416), Old Occitan (*est* vs *(ai)cest/aquest*; Grandgent 1909: 109), and modern Romanian (*acesta/ăsta* vs *acel/ăla*), albeit subject to register variation with concomitant positional differences in the latter case where the distribution of simple vs reinforced forms is subject to considerable diachronic, diatopic, and diamesic variation (Sandfeld & Olgen 2019: 157, 161f; Caragiu Marioţeanu 1989: 418; Manea 2012: 503–505).

(3) Old French (*Strasbourg oaths*)
d'   ist di   /   cist meon fradre
from this day   this my   brother
'From this day on' vs. 'This brother of mine'

Also frequent in type B1 systems (cf. Arnaud & Morin 1920: 282f; Vanelli 1997: 112; Marcato & Ursini 1998: 84, 182; Salvat 1998: 65; Bernstein 1997; Irsara 2009: 34–48, 107f; Cordin 2016) are analytic formations with the spatio-personal adverbs 'here' (*qua, (ei)ça(i), aicí chì, sì*) and 'there' (*(ei)là(i), alà, lì, le*) which, although originally emphatic in nature, are today generally unmarked and often preferred. In most varieties the adverb follows the demonstrative pronoun (cf. 4a,b) or the NP in a discontinuous structure (cf. 4c).

(4) a. Vegliot (Bartoli 1906)
kost ká̦uk fero un músč
this here is   a moss
'This one is a moss.'

b. Valéian, southeastern Occitan (Arnaud & Morin 1920)
aquéstou d eiçài   /   aqueous d' eilài
this.one   of here   that.one of there
'This one' vs. 'That one'

c. Genoese (Forner 1997)
quella scinfonìa   lì
that   symphony there
'That symphony'

In Emilia-Romagna (cf. 5a), the locative is frequently preceded by the relative/complementizer *che/ca* 'that', a relic of an erstwhile copular structure "… that [is] here/there" (cf. Rohlfs 1968: 206; Foresti 1988: 581), a structure also found in some Tuscan varieties (Rohlfs 1968: 203). Notable is the positional freedom of the locative in Reggiano and Ferrarese where it is also frequently preposed (cf. 5b). Some Occitan (especially Provençal) varieties use such adverbs to introduce subtle distinctions which are not canonically marked by the type B1 system (Koschwitz 1894: 88f; Ronjat 1913: 33; Salvat 1998: 65); thus alongside the *aquest(e)*/*aquéu* opposition, one can further distinguish within the conversational dyad between the speaker *aquéu-d'aqui* (lit. 'that.one-from here') and the addressee *aquéu-d'eila* ('that.one-of there').

(5) a. Emilia-Romagna (Foresti 1988)
ʃta dona   ka kwe, kla dona   ka le
this woman that here that woman that there
'This woman, that woman'

b. Ferrarese (Foresti 1988)
ʃti   oman ki   / ki ʃti   oman
these men   here   here these men
'These men'

2.2 Type B1$_C$ systems

Northern Italian dialects also present another binary demonstrative system, henceforth type B1$_C$, the deictic organization of which is identical to that of type B1$_B$ in that it involves a simple [±1person] opposition,[3] but which formally differs quite markedly from type B1$_B$ systems. In the latter systems the demonstrative was shown to be very frequently reinforced by a spatio-personal adverb, a usage which seems to have become so entrenched over time in type B1$_C$ varieties that all deictic force has been transferred to the adverb, reducing the demonstrative to a mere marker of definiteness. This is evidenced by the fact that we find a mismatch between the original person value of the former demonstrative and that of the accompanying locative (Berruto 1974: 21; Azaretti 1982: 171; Parry 1997: 241; Vanelli 1997: 112f; Irsara 2009: 107–110), leading to the generalization either of (AQU)ESTO (cf. 6a) or AQUELLO (cf. 6b).

(6) a. Ligurian (Azaretti 1982)
stu ki   invece de stu là
this here instead of this there
'This one instead of that one'

b. Friulian (Vanelli 1997)
kel libri ka   / la
that book here   there
'This/That book'

Interesting in this respect are some Francoprovençal dialects, such as in the Val Terbi (Jura) where the adverbs *-si* 'here' and *-li* 'there' are (optionally) employed with a suppletive paradigm (Kjellman 1928; Butz 1981: 85) that marries

---

[3]Here and throughout the empirical presentation, I occasionally use for informal descriptive purposes unbundled person features such as [±1], [±2] and [±3], although I shall argue in §6.2 that from a formal perspective such characterizations are ultimately flawed.

together reflexes of ɪsᴛᴇ 'this' in the singular (*stu(-si/-li)*) with reflexes of ᴇᴄᴄᴇ-ɪʟʟᴇ 'that' in the plural (*sé(-si/-li)*). Some varieties show a transitional behaviour with respect to the diachronic shift from type $B1_B$ to $B1_C$. For instance, the demonstrative system of modern Milanese is essentially of type $B1_B$ (Ledgeway 2015: 79), but also shows a progressive neutralization of adnominal *quel* 'that' which may be used with *chì* 'here' to reference the deictic sphere of the speaker (Irsara 2009: 108f).

Historically, French also belongs here inasmuch as, following the loss of the earlier *cist/cil* opposition with the refunctionalization of the latter term as the pronominal variant, the relevant binary distinction was initially maintained in conjunction with the ambiguous adnominal *ce* 'this/that' through its combination with the postnominal locatives *-(i)ci* 'here' and *-là* 'there' (Brunot 1899: 325; Nyrop 1925b: 424f; Nyrop 1925a: 292f; Price 1971: 123, 126), which became obligatory with the unmodified pronominal forms *celui-ci/-là* 'this/that one'. In the modern language, however, *-là* has encroached upon much of the territory of *-ci* (cf. 7a; Price 1971: 127; Smith 1995: §2), such that the modern French one-term system has neutralized distance distinctions (cf. 7b; Da Milano 2007: §3.4; Rowlett 2007: 67f). Where necessary, remoteness can be marked through adverbs such as *là-bas* 'over there' (cf. 7c; Brault 2004), though not actually integrated into the deictic system in that *là-bas* does not contrast with, say, *ce plat-là*, nor does it form an immediate constituent with *plat* in (7c) but, rather, modifies *ce plat* (for thorough discussion, see Smith 1995: n.5).

(7) Modern French (Smith 1995)

    a. Je suis là
       I   am there
       'I am here.'

    b. ce   plat-là
       this dish-there
       "This/That dish"

    c. ce   plat là-bas
       this dish over.there
       "That dish over there"

3 Ternary systems

3.1 Type T1 systems

In Figure 21.1 we saw how, following Vincent (1999), with the loss of ʜɪᴄ the deictic sphere of the speaker naturally fell within the domain of the original addressee-oriented term ɪsᴛᴇ. Implicit in this analysis is the further implication that, initially at least, ɪsᴛᴇ did not come to mark solely the role of the speaker as eventually happened in type B1$_{B/C}$ systems, but by inheriting the deictic territory of ʜɪᴄ, it saw an expansion in its original range of reference beyond the addressee to now also include the speaker (Ledgeway 2004: 91–96), producing a parallel expansion of the deictic centre, originally anchored exclusively to the speaker, to now also include the addressee (cf. type B1$_A$). The result in many Ibero-Romance and central-southern Italo-Romance varieties is an inclusive first-person term ((ᴀ)ǫᴜ)ᴇsᴛᴏ (Ledgeway 2004: 78–91), as preserved in Old Neapolitan *(chi)sto* (Ledgeway 2009: 200–205) which readily marks inalienable referents pertaining uniquely to the addressee (cf. 8a), though second-person deixis could be marked separately where required (e.g. ambiguity, contrast) by innovative (ᴇᴄᴄᴜ)ɪᴘsᴜ > (ǫᴜ)ᴇssᴏ forms, witness the contrasting deictic spheres of the speaker and addressee marked respectively by Old Neapolitan *sto* and *sso* in (8b).

(8)   Old Neapolitan (Ledgeway 2009)

    a. Se tu   vuoi fare   a muodo de 'sta capo pazza
        if you want do.ɪɴꜰ to way   of this head mad
        'If you want to act according to this mad mind (of yours).'

    b. iettame   cinco ventose a 'ste   lavra co   'ssa bella
        throw.ɪᴍᴘ.2sɢ=me five   kisses   to these lips   with this beautiful
        vocca!
        mouth
        'place five kisses on these lips (of mine) with that beautiful mouth (of yours)!'

Jungbluth (2003; to appear) identifies an identical distribution for the first two terms *este* and *ese* of the European Spanish ternary system where,[4] contrary to traditional studies which treat the system as simply person-oriented (*Diccionario de la lengua española* 1970: 109, 581, 585; Eguren 1999: 940; Eguren 2012: 557) or

---

[4]Cf. also Gutiérrez-Rexach (2002; 2005), Langacker (1990: 52), Gómez Sánchez & Jungbluth (2015: 245–247).

distance-oriented (Hottenroth 1982; Diessel 1999: 39), she highlights how in default face-to-face encounters the deictic spheres of both discourse participants (the *inside* space) are indiscriminately marked by *este* (cf. 9), with referents situated outside the conversational dyad (the outside space) marked by the third term *aquel*.

(9)   European Spanish (Jungbluth 2003)
      ¡AH! Pues este reloj   es BUENO
      ah   then this watch is good
      'Ah! Well that watch [that you're wearing] is shipshape!'

That the deictic domain marked by ISTE must have come to include both the speaker and addressee in late Latin/early Romance is reflected formally in the development of the Tuscan and Umbrian addressee-oriented forms *codesto/cotesto* and *tisto*. Significantly, both these second-person forms are forged from a form of ISTE, reinforced in turn by an explicit second-person marker, namely (ECCU)TI(BI) '(behold) for you'. If in early Romance ISTE only marked speaker-oriented deixis, its presence in the term used to mark the addressee in Tuscan and Umbrian would remain inexplicable. Instead, ISTE in Tuscany and Umbria, as in many Romance dialects (Ledgeway 2004), must have generalized as a demonstrative marking the deictic domains of both discourse participants. However, in certain cases (e.g., ambiguity, contrast) speakers would have felt it necessary to clearly distinguish between the deictic domains of the addressee and speaker, a distinction which could have been marked by simply adding a second-person marker such as (ECCU)TI(BI) to ISTE. This mechanism in time then would have become conventionalized, giving rise to the modern lexicalized forms *codesto/cotesto* and *tisto*.

As illustrated in detail in Ledgeway (2004), in type T1 systems the fundamental deictic contrast therefore involves a binary opposition between AQUESTO [−3person] and AQUELLO [+3person], inasmuch as the unmarked addressee-oriented demonstrative is AQUESTO, the competing AQUESSO/(CO)TESTO forms constituting marked variants restricted to contexts where particular attention has to be drawn to the addressee. This explains why the textual distribution of the latter forms is systematically very low in all statistical studies to date: 4.8% for 15th-c. Neapolitan (Vincent 1999), 6.4% for 13th–18th-c. Neapolitan (Ledgeway 2004: 89), and 4.3% for 19th-c. Sicilian (Ledgeway 2004: 92). Indeed, it has not gone unnoticed in descriptions of southern Italian dialects and Tuscan-Italian (Ledgeway 2004: 68–70), Peninsular Spanish (Eguren 1999: fn. 31; Eguren 2012: 558f; Gutiérrez-Rexach 2002; 2005) and European Portuguese (Teyssier 1980; Salvi

2011: 325) how in many apparently ternary systems the use of the addressee-oriented term proves somewhat restricted, ultimately pointing to the essential binary organization of the systems. Indeed, Jungbluth (to appear: §3.1) and Gómez Sánchez & Jungbluth (2015: 245f) observe how in face-to-face encounters in European Spanish addressee-oriented deixis is only exceptionally marked by *ese*, rather than the more usual *este*, thereby subdividing the *inside* space of the conversational dyad, when: (i) the speaker focuses on referents in contact with the addressee's body; (ii) strong emotions are aroused in relation to divisive disputes or refusals; and (iii) quarrels about possessions are at stake.

As already noted, type T1 demonstrative systems are principally found in Ibero-Romance, large areas of southern Italy, and more limitedly in some Occitan varieties. Representative of the former group is European Portuguese where, in contrast to traditional person-based treatments (Cunha & Cintra 1984); Tláskal 1994: 166; Topa Valentim 2015), Jungbluth (2000: 93–95; 2003: 31; to appear: §3.2.3.2) characterizes the demonstrative system in terms of a fundamental binary opposition on a par with that analysed above for European Spanish which contrasts the *inside* space of the conversational dyad (*este*) with the *outside* space of non-discourse participants (*aquele*), with *esse* reserved for marked addressee-oriented uses (cf. Carvalho 1976: 247–251). A similar picture arises for Asturian which, although standardly described as displaying a person-based system (García de Diego 1946: 166; Frías Conde 1999: 8; Academia de la Llingua Asturiana 2001: 103), employs the first term *esti* to mark referents that fall within the deictic spheres of both the speaker and the hearer (Academia de la Llingua Asturiana 2001: 105). Similar observations apply to Galician *(aqu)iste* (/*(aqu)este*) / *(aqu)ise* /*(aqu)ese* / *aquil* (/*aquel*) (García de Diego 1946: 94), Leonese *este/ese/aquel* (Zamora Vicente 1967: 176) and Aragonese *este/eše(/iše)/aquel* (García de Diego 1946: 260).

Almost without exception type T1 systems in southern Italy, at least in the modern dialects, formally mark the pronominal/adnominal paradigmatic opposition through the use of ECCU-reinforced and non-reinforced forms of (AQU)ESTO and (AQU)ESSO (Ledgeway 2004: 71–74), e.g. Anzese *kwéstə*/*stú*, *kwéssə/ssú*. Within Ibero-Romance the distribution of simple and reinforced forms in the first two terms (*(aqu)este*, *(aqu)e(s)se*) is generally subject to diachronic and diatopic variation (cf. use of *aqueste/aquesse* alongside of *este/e(s)se* in Old Portuguese and Spanish; Kjellman 1928: 5; Teyssier 1980: 39; Penny 2000: 211; Sornicola 2011: §2.2.1.1), with reinforced forms in the first two terms today surviving only in rural dialects.

Spatio-personal adverbial reinforcement is much less frequent in type T1 systems, generally assuming, in contrast to B1 systems, an emphatic interpretation and more frequently found with the pronominal demonstratives: Sicilian *chistu*

cà, chissu dd(u)ocu, chiddu ddà (Pitré & Wentrup 1995: 72). In Ibero-Romance, alongside the canonical, unmarked prenominal position the demonstrative may also occur in postnominal position in the modern languages in conjunction with a prenominal definite article (Butt & Benjamin 1994: 84; Brugè 1996; Brugè 2002; Eguren 2012: 559–561; Ledgeway 2012: 113f), witness the Asturian alternations in (10a; Academia de la Llingua Asturiana 2001: 104f). Unlike in Romanian where postnominal demonstratives are immediately postnominal (cf. 10b), in Ibero-Romance postnominal demonstratives can either precede or follow postnominal direct modifiers (cf. 10c). A further difference is that whereas in Romanian the postnominal position is very frequent in neutral registers where it may also license contrastive focus, in Ibero-Romance the postnominal position is marked, typically associated with topical interpretations and pejorative readings, hence its incompatibility with contrastive focus (cf. 10d; Roca 2009).

(10) a. Asturian (Academia de la Llingua Asturiana 2001)
          esti homi / l' homi esti
          this man   the man this
          'This man'

  b. Romanian (personal knowledge)
          cartea   aceasta veche (*aceasta)
          book.the this   old   this
          'This old book'

  c. Spanish (personal knowledge)
          el libro (este) viejo (este)
          the book this old   this
          'This old book'

  d. Spanish (personal knowledge)
          este libro / ??el libro este, no aquel
          this book   the book this not that.one
          'This book, not that one'

3.2 Type T2 systems

Alongside type T1 systems we also find, especially throughout most of central Italy (Vignuzzi 1988: 616; Vignuzzi 1997: 315; Loporcaro 2009: 129) and in Abruzzo and Molise (Marinucci 1988: 647; Stavinschi 2009: 161f), a genuinely ternary demonstrative system (viz. type T2), in which reference to the deictic sphere of the addressee is no longer canonically marked by (AQU)ESTO as in type T1 systems,

but has now come to be systematically marked by (AQU)ESSO. Representative examples among the many central dialects reported in this respect include Maceratese (*kwiʃtu/kissu/kwillu*; Regnicoli 1995: 232), the southern Umbrian dialect of Cascia (*vistu* (*kuistu*)/*vissu* (*kuissu*)/*villu* (*kuillu*); Moretti 1987: 123), and the central Laziale dialect of Sant'Oreste (*kweʃtu/kwessu/kwellu*; Cimarra 1998: 74). For Abruzzo and Molise, Finamore (1893: 22) reports contrasts such as those in (11a) below for Abruzzese (cf. also Verratti 1968: 47), and Vincelli (1995: 75) notes for the Molisan dialect of Casacalenda that in the ternary opposition (11b) each of the three demonstratives refers exclusively to the spatio-personal domains of the speaker, addressee, and the non-discourse participants, respectively.

(11)   a.   Abruzzese (Finamore 1893)
            šta case   /   ssa mane   /   cla case
            this house   that hand   that house
            'This house' vs. 'That hand (of yours)' vs. 'That house'
       b.   Molisan (Vincelli 1995)
            cuisc_t' uóve   /   cuiss' albere   /   cuill'u maleditte
            this   egg   this   tree   that   damned.one
            'This egg' vs. 'That tree' vs. 'That damned man'

Outside central Italy and Abruzzo and Molise, type T2 systems are distributed somewhat less densely across Basilicata (Lüdtke 1979: 29), northern Puglia (Valente & Mancarella 1975: 27, 60), central-southern Calabria (Ledgeway 2004: 92 n.41, 107) and Sicily (Leone 1995: 29, 41). Outside Italo-Romance, T2 systems are even less frequent, but are reported for: (i) Old Catalan (e.g. *(aqu)est, (aqu)eix, aquell*, and still occasionally found in the modern literary language) and some conservative (eastern and southern) Catalan varieties (Badia i Margarit 1995: 500f; Duarte i Montserrat & Alsina i Keith 1986: 81; Veny 1991: 256; Wheeler et al. 1999: 107; Moll 2006: 179; Nogué-Serrano 2015: 208f); and (ii) some Sardinian dialects (Blasco Ferrer 1988: 839; Jones 1993: 34, 203; Corda 1994: 44; Da Milano 2007: §3.6; Putzu 2015: 48).

Formally, most Italo-Romance type T2 demonstrative systems display a paradigmatic distinction, though less frequently in the distal term, between adnominal and pronominal demonstratives through the use of simple and ECCU-reinforced forms, respectively. In some varieties the distinction is systematic, for example western Abruzzese/Molisan *štu/ssu/quillu libbre* 'this/that/that book' vs *quiste/quisse/quille* 'this/that/that one' (Finamore 1893: 22; Marinucci 1988: 647), while in others the reinforced forms can also be used in adnominal functions, for

example Teramano *(cu)štu/(que)ssú/(que)llu* vs *cuštə/quessə/quellə* 'this/that/that (one)' (Savini 1881: 62; Mantenuto 2016).

Outside Italo-Romance, however, the distribution of simple and reinforced forms is not correlated with the adnominal/pronominal opposition, but tends to involve diachronic and diatopic variation (Sornicola 2011: §§2.1.1–4). For instance, in the history of Catalan simple (*est, eix*) and reinforced (*aquest, aqueix*) forms alternated up until the Middle Ages (Badia i Margarit 1991: 141; Duarte i Montserrat & Alsina i Keith 1986: 79f; Moll 2006: 179), but are today distributed according to areal tendencies, with the simple forms preferred in north-western dialects and Valencian.

Typologically noteworthy within Romance is the emphatic pattern of demonstrative doubling found in Abruzzese (Savini 1881: 62; Finamore 1893: 22; Rohlfs 1968: 209; Verratti 1968: 48f) where the NP is sandwiched between a non-reinforced demonstrative to its left and a corresponding reinforced form to its right:

(12)   Eastern Abruzzese (Verratti 1968)

   a. štu=cavalla quéšte
       this=horse this
       'This horse'

   b. ssu=cane quésse
       that=dog that
       'That dog (near you)'

   c. chelu=vóve quélle
       that=ox   that
       'That ox'

3.2.1 Type T2$_A$ systems

Within type T2 systems, we must also recognize at least two formal subtypes, henceforth types T2$_A$ and T2$_B$, in which the deictic space continues to display a strict ternary organization, but the markers of each of the three deictic divisions belong to a distinct system of formal exponence.

Type T2$_A$ demonstrative systems are reported to occur widely in Piedmont and Liguria. For example, Parry (1997: 241) notes that most Piedmontese dialects present as many as three demonstratives continuing reflexes of (ECCU-)ISTE, IPSE and ECCU-ILLE. Fundamentally, the system of most dialects operates in terms of a simple type B1$_B$ opposition (cf. §2.1), namely *cust/stu* 'this' vs *cul* 'that'. However, this basic binary system can be expanded into a strict ternary system through its

combination with one of the three spatio-personal adverbs *sì* 'here', *lì* 'there' (addressee-oriented), and *là* 'there' (cf. Lombardi Vallauri 1995: 219): *cust sì* 'this' [+1person], *cul lì* 'that' [+2person], *cul là* 'that' [−1/−2person]. As for the third term *(ë)s(ë)* (< IPSE; cf. Ascoli 1901), Parry describes it as spatially unmarked, coming close in some respects to the functions of a definite article (cf. Lombardi Vallauri 1995: 214). Indeed, the weakened deictic force of *(ë)s(ë)* is reflected by its frequent use in conjunction with the three spatio-personal adverbs above to produce an alternative ternary adnominal demonstrative system, viz. *(ë)s(ë) sì/lì/là* (cf. discussion of type B1$_C$ systems in §2.2).

This latter formal development is widely found in dialects on the Piedmontese-Ligurian border (Forner 1997: 251; Irsara 2009: 98f). For instance, Parry (1991; 2005: 150–153) reports for Cairese the presence of a single demonstrative, namely IPSE > *es*, with reflexes of ISTE today limited to a handful of lexicalized temporal expressions (e.g. *sc-tamatin* 'this morning') and reflexes of ECCU-ILLE employed solely as adjectival/pronominal cataphors (e.g. *chi u l'è cul óm ch'u vénn?* 'who's the/that man who is coming?'). Just like *(ë)s(ë)* above, Cairese *es* is spatially unmarked, freely referring to the deictic space of any of the three grammatical persons (cf. 13a–c; see also discussion of modern French *ce* in §2.2).

(13) Cairese (Parry 1991; 2005)

    a. sa   sc-pala   a=   'm= fa   mò
       this shoulder SBJ.CL.3= me= does bad
       'I've got this painful shoulder.'

    b. do=me   sa bursa
       give.IMP.2SG=me this bag
       'Give me that bag (of yours)!'

    c. cum i='s=ciamu   sci   brichi?
       how them=self=call these mountains
       'What's the name of those mountains?'

In its pronominal uses, and also very frequently in its adnominal functions, however, *es* is combined with one of the three spatio-personal adverbs *chì* 'here', *lì* 'there' (addressee-oriented), and *là* 'there' yielding once again an analytic ternary system: *es chì/lì/là* 'this one/that one (addressee-oriented)/that one'.

Identical T$_{2A}$ systems are found in many (neighbouring) Occitan dialects (Collègi d'Occitania 2010: 21) which, alongside a simple type B$_{1B}$ opposition *aqueste* 'this' [+1person] vs *aquel* [−1person], may optionally operate a ternary system through the undifferentiated use of *aquel* in conjunction with *d'aicí* 'here', *d'aquí* 'there' (addressee-oriented), and *d'alai* 'there'.

3.2.2 Type T2$_B$ systems

The second formal variant of the type T2 system is found in various parts of Salento, Gascony and south-western Romania (Oltenia) and involves a remarkable functional reanalysis of the dual formal outcomes of the reflex of AQUELLO (Mancarella 1998: 159f; Sornicola 2011: §2.2.1.1). In the Salentino dialects affected, the original long lateral of ECCU-ILLE is subject to various changes, including both a more conservative plosive stage [-ll-] > [-dd-] / > [-ḍḍ-] (e.g. *kwiddu/kwiddə, kuddu/kuddə, kwíḍḍu*) and a more advanced rhotic stage [-ll-] (> [-dd-] > [-ḍḍ-]) > [-r] (e.g. *kwiru/kwirə, kuru/kurə*). Although originally the plosive and rhotic outcomes in reflexes of ECCU-ILLE were presumably variant realizations of the long lateral (cf. dialect of Andrano described by Mancarella 1998: 157), in the relevant dialects the two outcomes have today specialized as distinct formal markers, with the plosive and rhotic outcomes coming to mark the deictic spheres of the addressee and non-discourse participants, respectively.

A not too dissimilar development characterizes many Gascon dialects where, alongside reflexes of *akkʊ-ISTE > *aquest(e)* 'this', reinforced reflexes of ILLE combine both with ECCU (> *akkʊ) and ECCE (> *akke) to produce velar and palatal outcomes, respectively aligned with the second and third persons (Rohlfs 1970: 188; Sornicola 2011: §2.2.1.1), namely (M/F) *aquéste/aquésto* vs *aquét(ch)/aquéro* vs *acét(ch)/acéro* (cf. 14a). Gascon too frequently employs spatio-personal adverbs in conjunction with the pronominal series (cf. 14b; Daugé 2000: 34). Exceptionally, in Aranés the roles of the palatal and velar variants are reversed, with the former (*acetch*) referencing the addressee and the latter (*aquet*) the non-discourse participants (Rohlfs 1970: 188, n. 323).

(14) a. Armagnac (Rohlfs 1970)
          aquést' / aquét / acét òmi
          this   that   that man
          'This/That (by you)/that man'

      b. Aire-sur-l'Adour, Landes (Daugé 2000)
          aqueste ací,   aqueth aquí, aceth aciu
          this   here that   there that   over.there
          'This one, that one (by you), that one over there'

Finally, some Oltenian varieties of Daco-Romanian contrast *ăsta*, *ala*, *ăla* (Ionaşcu 1960). Once again, although it is a ternary system which continues Latin terms, namely ISTE > *ăsta* 'this' and two reflexes of ILLE > *ala* 'this/that (addressee-oriented)' and *ăla* 'that (over there)', it does not continue the Latin ternary system, and may in fact, according to Ionaşcu, be a calque on Slavonic.

Among type T2$_B$ dialects we can formally distinguish between type T2$_{B1}$ and type T2$_{B2}$ systems which contrast AQUESTO and AQUESSO, respectively, with the dual outcomes of AQUELLO: (i) type T2$_{B1}$, e.g. province of Lecce *kwíštu* vs *kwíddu* vs *kiru* (Miggiano, Surano, Presicce, Montesano); Gascon dialects, e.g. Béarnais *aqueste/aquesta* vs *aqueth/aquera* vs *aceth/acera* (Rohlfs 1970: 188); and Oltenian dialects, e.g. *ăsta, ala, ăla*; (ii) type T2$_{B2}$, e.g. province of Brindisi *kussə* vs *kuddə* vs *kurə* (Ostuni, Villa Castelli) and province of Taranto (Ginosa, Martina Franca, Laterza, Palagianello). Both T2$_{B1}$ and T2$_{B2}$ variants of this system would appear then to represent developments from earlier B2$_A$ and B2$_B$ systems (§§4.1–4.2) in which formal marking of the addressee role has been reintroduced into the system through the exaptive reanalysis of erstwhile free phonetic variants of the distal term. This development can apparently be observed in progress in the northern Salentino dialect of Mottola for which Mancarella (1998: 157, 160) reports a four-way system, namely *kustə* vs *kussə* vs *kuddə* vs *kurə*, characterizing the distribution of *kustə* as sporadic. Consequently, speaker-oriented deixis in this dialect now shows advanced on-going competition between AQUESTO and AQUESSO to the advantage of the latter, the predominant outcome in this area (Mancarella 1998: 157), such that the specialization of AQUESSO in this role left a potential gap in the system. In response to this development, the plosive variant (*kuddə*) of the distal term has been pressed into service and deployed to mark addressee-oriented deixis, perhaps still alongside residual uses of *kussə*.

4 Type B2 systems

4.1 Type B2$_A$ systems

I noted in §3 how in a number of central-southern Italian type T1 systems AQUESSO is not integrated into the core demonstrative system, but is largely restricted to the periphery of speakers' grammars as a marked term. In particular, reference to the deictic domain of the addressee is in most cases already marked by AQUESTO in its inclusive functions, so that the role of AQUESSO proves in any case largely redundant. In view of its marginal status, it is not therefore surprising to observe that AQUESSO may frequently fall entirely from usage leaving a new binary system, type B2$_A$, in which reference to the shared deictic domain of both discourse participants in the conversational dyad continues to be marked by the inclusive term AQUESTO, with AQUELLO marking all referents falling outside this domain. This is the situation reported for some varieties of modern Sardinian (Blasco Ferrer 1988: 839), Judaeo-Spanish, and modern Catalan (cf. Badia i Margarit 1951: 281; Badia i Margarit 1995: 501; Duarte i Montserrat & Alsina

i Keith 1986: 81; Hualde 1992: 120f; Wheeler et al. 1999: 106; Da Milano 2007: §3.3; Nogué-Serrano 2015: 208f) where, following the loss of *cussu/ese/aqueix*, the deictic sphere of both discourse participants is now marked by *custu/este/aquest*, contrasting with *cuddu/akel/aquell* which marks referents that fall outside the conversational dyad (cf. 15a,b).

(15)   Catalan (Wheeler et al. 1999)

   a.   Aquest abric   que porto   / portes
        this   overcoat that wear.1SG   wear.2SG
        'This overcoat that I am/you are wearing.'

   b.   Aquell abric   que porta
        that   overcoat that wear.3SG
        'That overcoat which s/he's wearing.'

An identical system is documented and analysed in detail in Ledgeway (2004: 96–104) for modern Neapolitan (cf. also Ledgeway 2009: 195–212) and, more briefly, for some other southern dialects where there obtains a binary opposition *chisto* [−3person] vs *chillo* [+3person]. Thus despite their formal similarity with the Italian dyad *questo* vs *quello*, the modern Neapolitan pair entail a quite different reading, since the Italian opposition makes reference only to the speaker, drawing a contrast between *questo* [+1person] and *quello* [−1person] (Maiden 1995: 125; Vanelli 1995: 324; Maiden & Robustelli 2000: 82f).

Revealing in respect to the diachronic development sketched above are some dialects from the province of Reggio Calabria which typically display a type T2 system, but which in more recent times are reported (Loporcaro 2009: 129) to have all but lost the original addressee-oriented term *ssu*, namely *stu*/[†]*ssu*/*ḍḍu mulu* 'this/this/that mule', playing out changes which have long been completed in other varieties. Analogously, in the dialect of Anzi the original addressee-oriented term *kwéssə* is today nothing more than an occasional relic of a former type T1 system with the deictic domain of the addressee all but systematically marked, together with that of the speaker, by the inclusive term *kwéstə* (Ruggieri & Batinti 1992: 50), exemplifying the final stages of a transitional phase from a type T1 to a type B2$_A$ system. In addition to these varieties, type B2$_A$ systems are reported to occur in: (i) most of northern Lazio (Stavinschi 2009: 140); (ii) large areas of Campania (Parascandola 1976: 74; Castagna 1982: 79, 81f); (iii) most dialects south of Taranto-Brindisi (Mancarella 1975: 16, 36; Mancarella 1998: 159; Loporcaro 2009: 129f); (iv) small parts of Calabria (Tassone 2000: 33); and (v) much of Sicily (Varvaro 1988: 722; Ledgeway 2004: 92).

Quite exceptional among the northern Italian dialects, which as we have seen in §§2.1–2.2 predominantly operate a binary [±1person] opposition in which reference to the addressee is neutralized and freely marked by either of the two available terms, is the Romagnol dialect. According to Masotti (1999: 64f), here *stè/quèst* 'this' and *chè/quèl* 'that' are organized in terms of a type B2$_A$ system with the latter indicating "distance from both the speaker and the addressee":

(16) Romagnol (Masotti 1999)

    a. [−3pers.]

       quest l'=è   mi zej; i   vòstar dirèt j'   è quist

       this SBJ.CL.3SG=is my uncle the your rights SBJ.CL.3PL is these

       'This is my uncle; your rights are these.'

    b. [+3pers.]

       quell l'   è mi nòn

       that SBJ.CL.3SG is my grandfather

       'That is my grandfather.'

As with the other southern Italian dialects, pronominal forms in type B2$_A$ systems are typically reinforced by ECCU, whereas in their adnominal functions the demonstratives typically favour unsupported ESTO and, especially in the extreme south (e.g. central-southern Salento, Sicilian), ELLO (Parascandola 1976: 74; Mancarella 1998: 156, 158f; Abbate 1995: 69). In some Salentino varieties where the reinforced forms are also employed with adnominal functions, the paradigmatic distinction between the pronominal/adnominal series continues to be marked by the realization of the post-verbal labial as a glide or in nuclear position (Mancarella 1998: 158):

(17) Cellinese (Mancarella 1998)

    a. kwíḍḍu tisse

       that.one said

       'That one said.'

    b. kuḍḍu paíse

       that   village

       'That village'

Locative reinforced forms are also occasionally encountered in type B2$_A$ systems but are typically employed with, though not restricted to, the pronominal demonstratives: Viterbo *quésto qqui(ne)* lit. 'this one here' (Petroselli 2009: 484f),

Neapolitan *chisti ccà* 'these here', *chilli llà* 'those there' (Iandolo 1994: 168; Iandolo 2001: 208, 212). On a par with Emilian-Romagnol varieties characterized by type B1$_B$ systems, Romagnol also displays a reduced copular structure (Masotti 1999: 65): *stucaquè* < *stu ch'è acquè* 'this one that is here', *clucalè* < *clu ch'è lè* 'that one that is there'.

Observe, finally, how the availability of the discontinuous periphrasis AQUE-STO (NP) + 'there (near you)' allows type B2$_A$ systems to single out reference to the addressee on those rare occasions when particular emphasis is required and simple AQUESTO is not suitable (Parascandola 1976: 74; Vann 1995: 258; Ledgeway 2004: 102f; Ledgeway 2009: 211; Jungbluth to appear: §5). In particular, despite having entirely lost AQUESSO, the organization of the type B2$_A$ demonstrative system functionally replicates the T1 system through the ternary opposition instantiated by the use of spatio-personal adverbs, e.g., southern Italo-Romance ECCU-HAC (> *(a)ccà*) 'here' [+1/±2person], *ʼllɔko (> *ll(u)oco, ddh(r)(u)ocu*) 'there' [−1/+2person], and ILLAC (> *llà, ddh(r)à*) 'there' [−1/−2person]. For example, in Messinese *chistu (…) ccà* lit. 'this (…) here' constitutes an inclusive expression marking referents "close to both the speaker and the addressee", while *chistu (…) ddhocu* lit. 'this (…) there (near you)' only picks out referents "far from the speaker but close to the addressee", and *chillu ddhà* lit. 'that (over) there' marks referents 'distant from both the speaker and addressee' (Quartarone 1998: 30). Effectively, then, type B2$_A$ dialects like Messinese operate a binary distinction between discourse and non-discourse participants (viz. *chistu (ccà)* vs. *chillu (ddhà)*), with *chistu ddhocu* representing a marked expression of addressee-oriented deixis (cf. also Stavinschi 2009: 76f). It is significant to note that the addressee-oriented spatio-personal adverb *lloco* (and local variants) is only compatible with AQUESTO, and not AQUELLO, an observation entirely in line with my claim that AQUESTO alone may (inclusively) mark the deictic sphere of the addressee.

4.2 Type B2$_B$ systems

In type T$_1$ systems such as Old Neapolitan there is considerable overlap in the use of the first two terms as a result of their inclusive values,[5] which we have just

---

[5]As for the inclusive value of AQUESSO, one could assume that it acquired this value by analogy with AQUESTO, with which it enjoyed, as we have seen, a certain degree of distributional overlap. But in any case the inclusive value of AQUESSO was probably already present in the deictic ECCU-IPSU > AQUESSO from the beginning, in that the presentative ECCU (and variants: ECCE, *akke, *akkʊ), besides calling attention to the addressee, also serves to identify a referent in relation to the speaker, as noted by Anderson & Keenan (1985: 279); for further detailed discussion, see Ledgeway (2004: 78–87).

seen in the case of modern Neapolitan and other varieties to have led to the generalization of AQUESTO at the expense of the marked and more restricted member of the system AQUESSO ($\Rightarrow$ type B2$_A$ system). Equally, however, the overlap in the use of AQUESTO and AQUESSO, which guarantees their frequent near equivalence, might just as easily have given rise to an increased use of AQUESSO at the expense of AQUESTO, a state of affairs which could ultimately, though not necessarily, lead to the total loss of AQUESTO. This in fact must be what happened in a large number of southern dialects, including many northern Calabrian (Rohlfs 1977: 167; Ledgeway 2004: 104–107) and most Pugliese dialects (Rohlfs 1968: 207; Valente & Mancarella 1975: 27; Loporcaro 1988: 248; Loporcaro 1997: 344; Loporcaro 2009: 129f; Ledgeway 2004: 107f), which now present a type B2$_B$ system opposing AQUESSO [−3person] vs AQUELLO [+3person], witness (18) below:

(18)   Cosentino (personal knowledge)
   Ssu vrazzu mi= / ti=fa   male   /   Chiru vrazzu cci=fa
   this arm   me=   you.SG=makes bad   that   arm   him=makes
   male
   bad
   'This arm (of mine/of yours) hurts.' vs. 'That arm (of his) hurts.'

Other Italo-Romance varieties reported to display a type B2$_B$ system include: (i) dialects around Spoleto where *tistu/testo* is reported to include reference to the speaker (Moretti 1987: 98; Stavinschi 2009: 171); (ii) the central Laziale dialect of Palombara (Stavinschi 2009: 140); and (iii) several dialects of northern Salento (Mancarella 1998: 157, 159).

Outside Italo-Romance, type B2$_B$ systems are found in south-eastern Catalan dialects in and around Tarragona (Badia i Margarit 1991: 141; Badia i Margarit 1995: 501), some Latin-American varieties of Spanish (Kany 1945: 170; Zamora Vicente 1967: 434; Stavinschi 2009: 42, 44), and Brazilian Portuguese (Câmara 1971; Teyssier 1976: 114f; Jungbluth 2000; Jungbluth to appear: §5; Jungbluth & Vallentin 2015: 317–319). Although the basic Brazilian Portuguese system is of type B2$_B$ in which *esse* marks the shared deictic sphere of both discourse participants, the so-called *inside* space of the conversational dyad, Jungbluth (2000) has shown that, when necessary, the deictic spheres of the speaker and addressee can still be formally marked off through the use of the postnominal speaker- and addressee-oriented spatio-personal adverbs *aqui* and *aí*, respectively (cf. Carvalho 1976: 27–51; Jungbluth & Vallentin 2015: 317), effectively restoring a type T1 system *esse (aqui)* vs. *esse aí* vs *aquele (lá)*.

It is also possible to identify transitional type B2$_B$ varieties including, for instance, the northern Pugliese variety described by Imperio (1990: 201) which,

although canonically contrasting *cussə* 'this/that' (speaker-/addressee-oriented) with *cuddə* 'that', is reported as still displaying occasional residual uses of *custə* 'this'. Also revealing in this respect is the description of the northern Salentino dialect of Crispiano in Mancarella (1998: 155) where, alongside the standard formal opposition *kussə* [−3person] vs *kuddə* [+3person], *kuštə* is also reported to occur sporadically in place of *kussə* as part of the final stage in the transition from a type T1/2 to a type B2$_B$ system. A similar picture is reported for several northern-western and eastern Catalan dialects (cf. Duarte i Montserrat & Alsina i Keith 1986: 81; Veny 1991: 250) where, following the loss of the original type T1 system, non-discourse participant deixis is invariably marked by *aquell*, but the shared deictic domain of both discourse participants is variously marked, without any distinction of meaning, either by *aquest* (type B2$_A$) or *aquei(x)* (type B2$_B$).

Significantly, the loss of AQUESTO from the demonstrative system of type B2$_B$ varieties faithfully reproduces what must have happened in late Latin following the loss of HIC hypothesized above in §2.1. In this respect, these varieties serve as important models in verifying the reconstruction of the developments in the demonstrative system proposed for late Latin. Above I claimed that with the loss of HIC, the deictic territory it covered and therefore the deictic centre, were inherited by ISTE, whose domain of deictic reference was extended to include the role of the speaker in addition to that of the addressee. This development is accurately reflected in type B2$_B$ dialects where AQUESSO, having replaced AQUESTO, now functions as the term marking referents in the deictic domains of both discourse participants, whereas AQUELLO, in contrast to its reflexes in type B1$_B$ systems (cf. Italian *quello*), picks out referents that fall outside the deictic domain of both discourse participants. Thus, although differing formally from one another with respect to the choice of term employed to mark both discourse participants (AQUESSO vs AQUESTO), functionally type B2$_B$ demonstrative systems are identical to type B2$_A$ systems.

4.3 Type B2$_C$ systems

A number of southern Italian dialects present an interesting development of the type B2 demonstrative system which marries together formal developments of type B2$_A$ and B2$_B$ systems. For instance, several northern Salentino varieties operate a binary opposition in which the distal [+3person] term is standardly represented by AQUELLO, but the deictic space associated with the discourse participants is marked in part by AQUESTO and in part by AQUESSO (Mancarella 1998:

157). For instance, in Castellaneta the pronominal form associated with the discourse participants is AQUESSO (viz. *kussə*), occasionally also found in adnominal functions (e.g., *kussə vagnonə* 'this/that boy'), whereas the usual adnominal form is represented by non-reinforced ESTO (e.g. *štu libbrə* 'this book'). A similar (partially) suppletive paradigmatic distinction is also reported for Massafra and Ginosa, e.g. *kussə (figghiə)* 'this one (son)' vs *štu fratə tuə* 'this brother of yours', as well as for the Pugliese dialect of Mola (Cox Mildare 2001: 62f) where, alongside the core adnominal/pronominal opposition *kɔss* 'this' vs *kɔd* 'that', we also find a restricted use of ESTO (viz. *stu*) in adnominal functions alone.

More robust suppletive paradigmatic oppositions of this kind are found in Calabria. For example, Ledgeway (2004: 107) observes that, alongside the traditional Cosentino type B2$_B$ system (*(chi)ssu* vs *chiru*), younger speakers, under the influence of regional Italian, have innovated a compromise suppletive system which for the first term makes recourse to ESTO in adnominal functions (*stu cane* 'this dog'), but which draws on the conservative AQUESSO forms for pronominal uses (*chissu* 'this one'), yielding a mixed system *stu/chissu* vs *chiru.*

4.4 Type B3 systems

Finally I consider one additional binary system, henceforth B3. This system proves relatively rare in Romance and is limited to a number of Latin-American Spanish varieties, e.g. Chile, Venezuela, Ecuador and Cuba (Zamora Vicente 1967: 434; de Bruyne & Pountain 1995: 171). Already we have seen in §4.1 how, from an original T1 system in which AQUESSO was not integrated into the core system, a number of Romance varieties have developed a B2$_B$ type demonstrative system in which the latter term has now fallen from usage such that reference to the deictic sphere of both discourse participants is now marked compositionally by AQUESTO. In the relevant Latin-American Spanish varieties a similar development from an original T1 system has occurred, but with the difference that reference to the deictic sphere of the addressee, previously marked by *ese*, has not been usurped by the erstwhile speaker-oriented term *este* but, rather, by the original non-discourse participant term *aquel*. The result then is a novel binary system in which AQUESTO (viz. *este*) is limited to marking referents that fall exclusively within the deictic sphere of the speaker, whereas AQUELLO functions as an inclusive category marking both addressee and non-discourse participants. Consequently, in these Latin-American varieties *este* is marked [+1person] excluding reference to the addressee, whereas *aquel* is marked [−1person] thereby including reference also to the deictic sphere of the addressee.

5 Type U(nary) systems

I noted above the existence of what are effectively one-term demonstrative systems, typified by French (§2.2), where the single form *ce* (F *cette*, PL *ces*) functions as a demonstrative without specification of place or person; it can be combined with a postnominal locative, but can also occur independently, without a locative element. Cairese (§3.2.1) behaves similarly, as do the other Piedmontese, Ligurian, Francoprovençal and langue d'Oïl varieties reviewed in §2.2. The fact that in these varieties there is only a single demonstrative, which is often not combined with a postnominal locative, implies that the systems in question are best analysed as underlyingly U(nary), with the addition of the locative element yielding derived B(inary) or T(ernary) systems.

6 Rethinking demonstratives

6.1 Summary of findings

In Table 21.2 (page 474) I summarize the various formal and functional characteristics of the thirteen demonstrative systems reviewed above.

6.2 Romance demonstrative systems: A parametric hierarchy approach

Since the conception in early government and binding theory of Universal Grammar in terms of a small set of abstract parameterized options, much work over recent decades has radically departed from this view with a focus on predominantly surface-oriented variation (Borer 1984). This has led to the proliferation of a remarkable number of local, low-level parameters interpreted as the (PF-)lexicalization of specific formal feature values of individual functional heads in accordance with the so-called Borer–Chomsky conjecture (Baker 2008a: 353). While this approach may prove descriptively adequate in that it predicts what precisely may vary (cf. Kayne 2000; 2005a,b; Manzini & Savoia 2005), it suffers considerably from explanatory inadequacy. Among other things, it necessarily assumes such microparameters to be highly local and independent of one another. This assumption seriously increments the acquisitional task of the child who has to set each value in isolation of the next on the basis of the primary linguistic data alone, and at the same time exponentially multiplies the number of parametric systems and, in turn, the number of possible grammars predicted by UG (cf. Kayne 2005b: 11–15; Roberts 2014).

Table 21.2: Overview of Romance demonstrative systems

| Type | Discourse participants | | Non-discourse participants | Geographic distribution |
	Speaker	Addressee		
B1$_A$	(AQU)ESTO		AQUELLO	OFr., RaeR. (Srs., Vld.)
B1$_B$	(AQU)ESTO		AQUELLO	NWGaR., Occ., Gsc., Lad., NIDs, It., Dal., DRo.
B1$_C$	(AQU)ESTO / AQUELLO QUA/QUI		(AQU)ESTO / AQUELLO LÀ/Lì	Lig., Pie., Frl., (Mil), Frp., ((O)Fr.)
T1	(AQU)ESTO	((AQU)ESSO / (CO)TESTO)	(AQU)ELLO	CIDS, Tsc., Umb., SIDS, EuSp., EuPt., Ast., Occ.,
T2	(AQU)ESTO	(AQU)ESSO	(AQU)ELLO	CIDS, SIDS (esp. Abr., Mol.), OCat., E/SCat., Vlc., Gsc., Srd.
T2$_A$	ESSO QUI	ESSO Lì	ESSO LÀ	Lig., Pie., Occ.
T2$_{B1}$	(AQU)ESTO	AQUELLO (-dd-,-qu-)	AQUELLO (-r-, -c-)	Sal., Gsc.; Oltenian Ro.
T2$_{B2}$	(AQU)ESSO	AQUELLO (-dd-)	AQUELLO (-r-)	NSal.
B2$_A$	(AQU)ESTO		(AQU)ELLO	Srd., JuSp., Cat., Rmg., NLaz., Cmp., Sal., Sic.
B2$_B$	(AQU)ESSO		(AQU)ELLO	NCal., NPug., SUmb., CLaz., NSal., SECat., LAmSp., BrPt., Alg.
B2$_C$	AQUESSO/ESTO		(AQU)ELLO	Cal., Pug., NSal.
B3	ESTO	AQUELLO		LAmSp.
U	←——————CE——————→			Fr., Pie-Lig.

One way to avoid the proliferation of grammatical systems that such a microparametric approach predicts is to assume a theory that combines some notion of macroparameters alongside microparameters (Baker 1996; 2008a,b). Following ideas first proposed by Kayne (2005b: 10) and further developed by Roberts & Holmberg (2010) and Roberts (2012), considerable progress in this direction has recently been made by the ReCoS research group; their central idea is that macroparameters should be construed as the surface effect of aggregates of microparameters acting in unison, ultimately as some sort of composite single parameter (cf. Biberauer & Roberts 2017). On this view, macroparametric effects obtain whenever all individual functional heads behave in concert, namely are set identically for the same feature value, whereas microparametric variation arises when different subsets of functional heads present distinct featural specifications.

Conceived in this way, parametric variation can be interpreted in a scalar fashion and modelled in terms of parametric hierarchies. Macroparameters, the simplest and least marked options that uniformly apply to all functional heads, are placed at the very top of the hierarchy, but, as we move downwards, variation becomes progressively less "macro" and, at the same time, more restricted with choices becoming progressively limited to smaller and smaller proper subsets of features, namely, no F(p) > all F(p) > some F(p), for F a feature and p some grammatical behaviour. More specifically, functional heads increasingly display a disparate behaviour in relation to particular feature values which may, for example, characterize: (1) a naturally definable class of functional heads (e.g. [+N], [+finite]), a case of mesoparametric variation; (2) a small, lexically definable subclass of functional heads (e.g. pronominals, auxiliaries), a case of microparametric variation proper; and (3) one or more individual lexical items, a case of nanoparametric variation.

These assumptions then open the way for us to reinterpret the forms and functions of Romance demonstrative systems in terms of a set of hierarchically-organized interrelated parametric options based on differing person feature specifications. In particular, I adopt here the feature geometric analysis of person and number developed by Harley & Ritter (2002), represented schematically in Figure 21.2, which makes specific predictions about the range and types of person combinations, and hence by implication also the types and natural classes of demonstrative systems, that are cross-linguistically available.

For my purposes I focus here on person, namely the PARTICIPANT node and its possible dependents, from which we can derive the four person specifications in Figure 21.3 where projection of the PART(icipant) node indicates the presence of

RE = Pronoun

PARTICIPANT   INDIVIDUATION

Speaker   Addressee   Group   <u>Minimal</u>   CLASS

augmented   Animate   <u>Inanimate</u> / <u>Neuter</u>
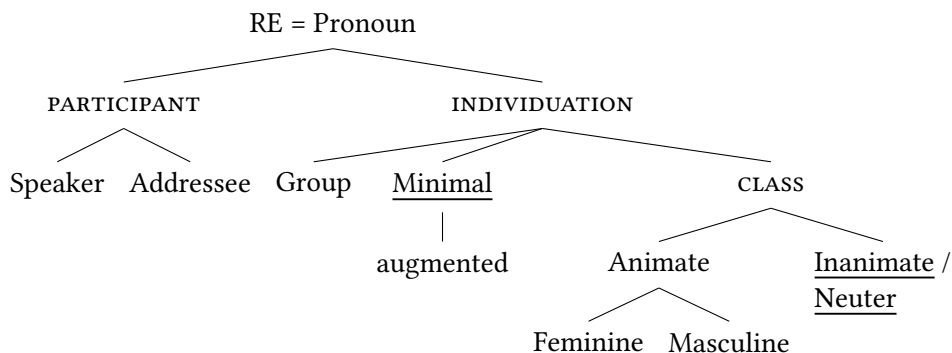
Feminine   Masculine

Figure 21.2: Feature geometric analysis of person and number (Harley & Ritter 2002)

person (first and second persons), whereas its absence indicates the lack of person which, following the seminal intuition in Benveniste (1956), corresponds to the so-called third person, the non-person (cf. Harley & Ritter 2002: 488). When projected, in the unmarked case the underspecified value (indicated by underlying) is Sp(eaker) expressing the default first person value as indicated in (a). On the other hand, second person forms are represented by projection of the dependent Ad(dressee) node without the Sp node, as illustrated in (b). When, however, the node for the default Sp value is explicitly filled in without specification of the Ad node (cf. c), we then derive a contrastive first person reading, albeit a marked exclusive interpretation. Finally, the most marked option obtains whenever the PART node is maximally specified as in (d), projecting both Sp and Ad nodes to license an inclusive first person interpretation uniting the deictic spheres connected to the speaker and addressee features.

(a) PART   (b) PART   (c) PART   (d) PART

Ad   Sp   Sp   Ad

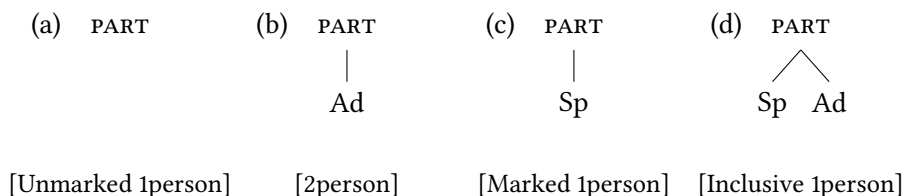[Unmarked 1person]   [2person]   [Marked 1person]   [Inclusive 1person]

Figure 21.3: Possible person specifications

With these fundamental person specifications in place, I now turn to consider the formal representation of Romance demonstrative systems sketched in the parameter hierarchy in Figure 21.4.
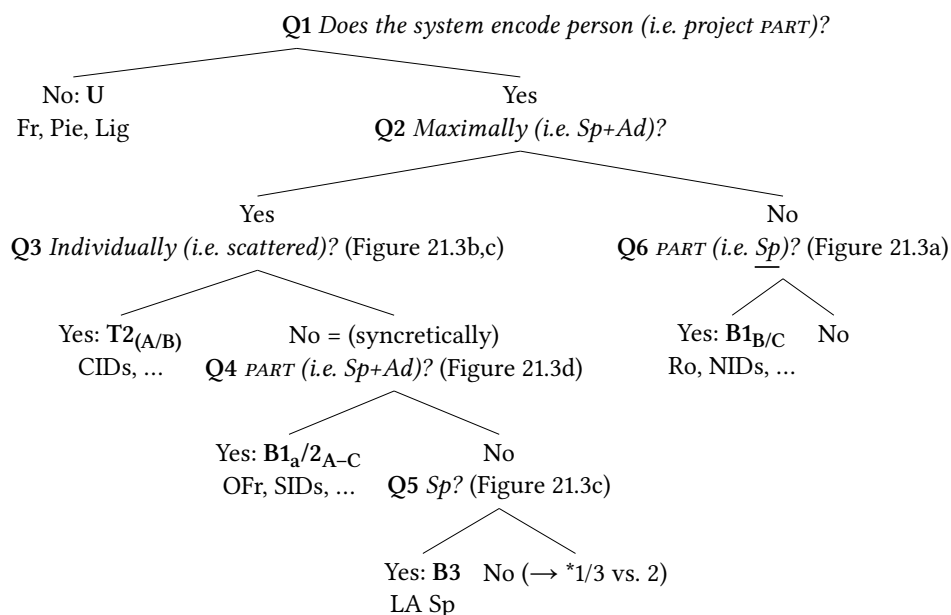
Q1 *Does the system encode person (i.e. project* PART*)?*

No: **U**
Fr, Pie, Lig

Yes
Q2 *Maximally (i.e. Sp+Ad)?*

Yes
Q3 *Individually (i.e. scattered)?* (Figure 21.3b,c)

No
Q6 PART *(i.e. Sp)?* (Figure 21.3a)

Yes: **T2**$_{(A/B)}$
CIDs, …

No = (syncretically)
Q4 PART *(i.e. Sp+Ad)?* (Figure 21.3d)

Yes: **B1**$_{B/C}$
Ro, NIDs, …   No

Yes: **B1**$_a$/**2**$_{A-C}$
OFr, SIDs, …   **Q5** *Sp?* (Figure 21.3c)

No

Yes: **B3**   No ($\rightarrow$ *1/3 vs. 2)
LA Sp

Figure 21.4: Parametric hierarchy for Romance demonstrative systems

In line with our markedness expectations (no F(p) > all F(p) > some F(p)), the first question in Figure 21.4 simply asks whether a given demonstrative system encodes person, albeit projects the PART node. The least marked option is represented by varieties such as modern French and many Piedmontese and Ligurian varieties (cf. §5) whose demonstrative systems I have characterized as unary, in that they fail to encode any person distinctions (cf. languages lacking pronouns such as Japanese; Harley & Ritter 2002: 512). However, as we have seen, most Romance varieties do in fact encode person, such that the next question (viz. Q2) in Figure 21.4 asks whether person is maximally encoded such that all possible person features (viz. Sp and Ad) are grammaticalized within the system. If the answer to this question is positive, then this immediately triggers the follow-up question whether the maximal representation of person features within the system is realized in a scattered fashion (Q3). In the case of a positive answer to this question, we correctly identify T2$_{(A/B)}$ systems (cf. §§3.2.1–3.2.2) including, among others, many central Italian dialects which reserve a distinct term for each of the three person specifications variously projecting fully specified PART nodes (cf. options b,c in Figure 21.3) or no PART node at all in the case of the so-called third person. If, however, the answer to Q3 is negative, this necessarily

implies that the maximal representation of person features must be realized syncretically, giving rise to inclusive forms which are typologically rarer (Harley & Ritter 2002: 496) and hence more marked, as reflected by their concomitant placement towards the end of the hierarchy in Figure 21.4.

Here there arise two possibilities. The first and least marked, as formalized in Q4, is to ask whether the syncretic realization of maximal person features involves projection of the PART node, giving rise to the Sp and Ad inclusive forms (cf. option d in Figure 21.3) found in $B1_A/2_{(A-C)}$ systems which operate a [±discourse participant] opposition through the formal binary distinction between AQUESTO (or AQUESSO) and AQUELLO. The second and more marked option is formalized through Q5 which asks whether maximal representation of person features when realized syncretically involves a different type of split which privileges the Sp as an exclusive first person category. This marked option perfectly describes B3 systems which we have seen are quite rare in Romance, only occurring in a limited number of Latin-American Spanish varieties where an exclusively speaker-oriented form *este* contrasts with *aquel* which syncretically marks referents that fall within the deictic sphere of the addressee and non-discourse participants. As predicted by its position towards the bottom of hierarchy in Figure 21.4, this latter possibility admittedly represents a marked option from a cross-linguistic perspective and is even argued by Harley & Ritter to be unattested in their sample of 110 languages. In particular, they maintain:

> "[w]hat we predict NOT to exist are languages that use the same pronoun (or in a language with cases, the same set of pronouns) for both 1st and 3rd or both 2nd and 3rd persons. In fact, none of the languages we looked at has such a pronoun or set of pronouns in its inventory." (Harley & Ritter 2002: 513)

Admittedly, the highly marked option of a single demonstrative term that syncretically marks first and third persons in opposition to a term uniquely restricted to referencing the second person is not attested in my Romance sample, witness the position of this unattested option at the very bottom of the hierarchy in Figure 21.4 which no doubt represents a no choice parameter. However, we have seen that the less marked option of a formal opposition between a marked Sp category and all other persons is not only attested in Romance, but, is also predicted by Harley & Ritter's system which readily allows for a marked first person category (cf. option c in Figure 21.3) that formally excludes reference to the Ad.

Finally, I turn to Q6, a possibility that arises whenever person is not encoded maximally in a given language (cf. Q1). In particular, if person is not encoded

maximally, then in accordance with Harley & Ritter's claims about markedness and person features I ask whether at the very least encoding of person features includes the projection of the PART node, represented in the unmarked case by the underspecified value of Sp instantiating the default first person value (cf. option a in Figure 21.3). In reality, this question involves a no choice parameter, inasmuch as a negative response, which would produce a hypothetical system that only references the deictic sphere of the Ad, is not an option since deictic systems must at the very least make reference to the Sp, the deictic centre to which all deictic relations are anchored. Consequently, the positive answer to Q6 allows us to identify $B1_{B/C}$ demonstrative systems such as Romanian and northern Italian dialects (§§2.1–2.2), where projection of PART yielding the underspecified Sp value does not necessarily exclude the Ad, which we have seen may be encoded by either of the two terms of the system, but correctly places by default the Sp at the centre of the opposition.

7 Concluding remarks

To conclude, I briefly look at a number of other significant implications of the parametric representation in Figure 21.4. First, despite my identification of 13 formal systems in Table 21.2, the hierarchy in Figure 21.4 reduces this superficial variation in demonstrative systems to just five featural parametric options. This is clearly a welcome result since it underlines how cross-linguistic variation should not necessarily be taken at face value as instantiating distinct parametric choices, but can often be reduced to a finite set of natural classes and options.

Second, although I have identified a number of binary formal systems, this does not a priori presuppose a binary featural opposition. Rather, we have seen that, despite operating on the surface in terms of a binary formal opposition, $B1_A/2_{A-C}$ demonstrative systems nonetheless involve a syncretic ternary featural opposition in that they refer to three person values.

Third, the representation in Figure 21.4 reveals how a formal analysis in terms of unbundled feature specifications such as $[\pm1]$, $[\pm2]$, and $[\pm3]$ proves entirely inadequate at all relevant levels (cf. footnote 4). For example, if we were to characterize $B1_{B/C}$ systems in terms of a simple $[\pm1]$ feature, then it would incorrectly predict that the first term of the system exclusively marks reference to the speaker, with reference to the addressee marked solely through the second term of the system together with the so-called third person. By contrast, we have observed how in these systems reference to the addressee may ambiguously fall between both terms of the system, a fact which is immediately captured by our

analysis in terms of Sp which, while not formally excluding reference to the Ad, nonetheless places the speaker at the centre of the opposition. In a similar fashion, a simple [±1] feature would equally make incorrect predictions about B3 systems: if in such Latin-American Spanish varieties we were to characterize the superficial binary opposition in terms of a [+1] (= *este*) vs [−1] (= *aquel*) contrast, then we would fail to capture the fact that only the second term also explicitly includes reference to the deictic sphere of the addressee, since under this simple representation reference to the addressee could a priori also be marked by the first term, contrary to fact.

Analogous arguments carry over to B1$_A$ and B2 systems where we might a priori be tempted to analyse the relevant contrasts in terms of a simple [±3] opposition. In principle, it would be possible to analyse the first and second terms of such binary systems in terms of the feature specifications [−3] and [+3], respectively, while still maintaining the correct empirical generalization that the first term of the opposition is an inclusive category marking reference to both discourse participants. However, to do so would force us to lose the significant generalization (cf. Harley & Ritter 2002: 504f) that the relevant inclusive forms are built on the saliency of the Sp (AQUESTO = B2$_A$) or the Ad (AQUESSO = B2$_B$). Equally unsatisfactory would be any attempt to analyse B1$_{B/C}$ systems by way of a simple [±3] opposition, since this would incorrectly entail that in such systems reference to the addressee can only be marked through the first term of the system, but never by the second term of the system (viz. AQUELLO).

Finally, another important consequence of the hierarchical representation in Figure 21.4 is the conclusion that the T1 systems observed above in §3 do not constitute under the analysis developed here independent person systems, but, rather, represent a transitional phase in the passage from an original T2 system to a B2$_A$ system.

Abbreviations

1	first person	PF	phonetic form
2	second person	PL	plural
3	third person	SBJ	subject
CL	clitic		
IMP	imperative	SG	singular
INF	infinitive	UG	Universal Grammar

Acknowledgements

References

Abbate, Lucia. 1995. *Contributo allo studio del dialetto di Frazzanò.* Messina: Armando Siciliano Editore.

Academia de la Llingua Asturiana. 2001. *Gramática de la llingua asturiana.* Oviedo: Academia Llingua Asturiana.

Alkire, Ti & Carol Rosen. 2010. *Romance languages: A historical introduction.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Anderson, Stephen R. & Edward L. Keenan. 1985. Deixis. In Timothy Shopen (ed.), *Language typology and syntactic description*, vol. III, 259–308. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Arnaud, François & Gabriel Morin. 1920. *Le langage de la Vallée de Barcelonnette.* Paris: Champion.

Ascoli, Graziadio. 1901. Intorno ai continuatori neolatini del latino "ipsu". *Archivio glottologico italiano* 15. 303–316.

Azaretti, Emilio. 1982. *L'evoluzione dei dialetti liguri.* Sanremo: Casabianca.

Badia i Margarit, Antoni M. 1951. *Gramática histórica catalana.* Barcelona: Noguer.

Badia i Margarit, Antoni M. 1991. Evolución lingüística interna i. gramática. In Günter Holtus, Michael Metzeltin & Christian Schmitt (eds.), *Lexikon der romanistischen Linguistik*, vol. V, 2. Okzitanisch, Katalanisch, 127–152. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Badia i Margarit, Antoni M. 1995. *Gramàtica de la llengua catalana: Descriptiva, normativa, diatòpica, diastràtica.* Barcelona: Biblioteca universitària Edicions Proa.

Baker, Mark C. 1996. *The polysynthesis parameter.* Oxford University Press: Oxford.

Baker, Mark C. 2008a. The macroparameter in a microparametric world. In Theresa Biberauer (ed.), *The limits of syntactic variation*, 351–373. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. DOI: 10.1075/la.132.16bak.

Baker, Mark C. 2008b. *The syntax of agreement and concord.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bartoli, Mario. 1906. *Das Dalmatische: Altromanische Sprachreste von Veglia bis Ragusa und ihre Stellung in der Apennino-balkanische Romània. I, II.* Vienna: Hölder.

Benveniste, Émile. 1946. Structure des relations de personne dans le verbe. *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris* 43. 1–12.

Benveniste, Émile. 1956. La nature de pronoms: Essays on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday, 11 October 1956. In Morris Halle (ed.), *For Roman Jakobson*, 34–37. The Hague: Mouton.

Bernstein, Judy B. 1997. Demonstratives and reinforcers in Romance and Germanic languages. *Lingua* 102(2–3). 87–13. DOI: 10.1016/S0024-3841(96)00046-0.

Berruto, Gaetano. 1974. *Piemonte e Valle d'Aosta* (Centro di studio per la dialettologia italiana 1). Pisa: Pacini.

Biberauer, Theresa & Ian Roberts. 2017. Parameter setting. In Adam Ledgeway & Ian Roberts (eds.), *The Cambridge handbook of historical syntax*, 134–161. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Blasco Ferrer, Eduardo. 1988. Sardisch, interne Sprachgeschichte i. gramamtik. In Günter Holtus, Michael Metzeltin & Christian Schmitt (eds.), *Lexikon der romanistischen Linguistik*, vol. Band IV Italienisch, Korsisch, Sardisch, 836–853. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Borer, Hagit. 1984. *Parametric syntax: Case studies in Semitic and Romance languages.* Dordrecht: Foris.

Brault, Grégoire. 2004. Pour une typologie des emplois de *là-bas. Linguisticae Investigationes* 27(1). 25–45.

Brugè, Laura. 1996. Demonstratives in Spanish: A comparative approach. *University of Venice Working Papers in Linguistics* 16. 1–53.

Brugè, Laura. 2002. The position of demonstratives in the extended nominal projection. In Guglielmo Cinque (ed.), *Functional structure in DP and IP* (The cartography of syntactic structures 1), 15–53. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Brunot, Ferdinand. 1899. *Précis de grammaire historique française.* Quatrième édition. Paris: Masson et Cie.

Butt, John & Carmen Benjamin. 1994. *A new reference grammar of modern Spanish.* 2nd ed. London: Edward Arnold.

Butz, Beat. 1981. *Morphosyntax der Mundart von Vesmes (Val Terbi).* Bern: Francke.

Câmara, Jnr, Joaquim Mattoso. 1971. Uma evolução em marcha: A relação entre êste e êsse. In Eugenio Coseriu & Wolf-Dieter Stempel (eds.), *Sprache und Geschichte: Festschrift für Harri Meier*, 327–331. München: Fink.

Caragiu Marioţeanu, Matilda. 1989. Rumänisch. Areallinguistik I. Dako-
  rumänisch / Les aires linguistiques I. Dacoroumain. In Günter Holtus, Michael
  Metzeltin & Christian Schmitt (eds.), *Lexikon der romanistischen Linguistik*,
  vol. III, Die einzelnen romanischen Sprachen und Sprachgebiete von der Re-
  naissance bis zur Gegenwart: Rumänisch, Dalmatisch / Istroromanisch, Fri-
  aulisch, Ladinisch, Bündnerromanisch, 405–423. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Carvalho, José G. Herculano de. 1976. Systems of deictics in Portuguese. In Jür-
  gen Schmidt-Radefeldt (ed.), *Readings in Portuguese linguistics*, 245–266. Ams-
  terdam: John Benjamins.

Castagna, Giovanni. 1982. *Guida grammaticale del dialetto foriano letterario*. Forio
  d'Ischia: Epomeo.

Cimarra, Luigi. 1998. *Il dialetto di Sant'Oreste*. Sant'Oreste: Apeiron.

CNRTL. 2012. *Centre National de Ressources Textuelles et Lexicales*. http://www.
  cnrtl.fr.

Collègi d'Occitania. 2010. *Cahier de grammaire: Cours de 1ère année*. Toulouse:
  Collègi d'Occitania.

Corda, Francesco. 1994. *Grammatica moderna del sardo logudorese con una pro-
  posta ortografica, elementi di metrica e un glossario*. Cagliari: Edizioni della
  Torre.

Cordin, Patrizia. 2016. *On lexical marking Romance dialects: Person and space
  deixis*. 11th Cambridge Italian Dialect Syntax–Morphology Meeting, Univer-
  sity of Vienna, 4-6 July 2016.

Cox Mildare, Terry Brian. 2001. *Aspetti della fonologia e della morfologia del
  molese, un dialetto pugliese dell'Italia sud-orientale*. Bari: Levante.

Cunha, Celso Ferreira da & Luís F. Lindley Cintra Cintra. 1984. *Nova gramática
  do português contemporâneo*. Lisboa: Edições J. Sá da Costa.

Da Milano, Federica. 2007. Demonstratives in parallel texts: A case study.
  Sprachtypologie und Universalienforschung 60(2). 135–147.

Daugé, Césaire. 2000. *Grammaire élémentaire de la langue Gasconne (dialecte
  d'Aire)*. Monein: Princi Réguer.

de Bruyne, Jacques & Christopher J. Pountain. 1995. *A comprehensive Spanish
  grammar*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers.

Diccionario de la lengua española. 1970. Madrid: Real Academia Española.

Diessel, Holger. 1999. *Demonstratives: Form, function and grammaticalization*.
  Amsterdam: John Benjamins. DOI: 10.1075/tsl.42.

Duarte i Montserrat, Carles & Alex Alsina i Keith. 1986. *Gramàtica històrica del
  català*. Vol. 7, 11 (Manuals curial). Barcelona: Curial.

Eguren, Luis. 1999. Pronombres y adverbios demostrativos: Las relaciones deícticas. In Ignacio Bosque & Violeta Demonte (eds.), *Gramática descriptiva de la lengua española*, vol. I, 929–973. Madrid: Espasa.

Eguren, Luis. 2012. Binding: Deixis, anaphors, pronominals. In José Ignacio Hualde, Antxon Olarrea & Erin O'Rourke (eds.), *The handbook of hispanic linguistics*, 557–577. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Finamore, Gennaro. 1893. *Vocabolario dell'uso abruzzese*. 2. ed. Città di Castello: Tip. dello stabilimento S. Lapi.

Foresti, Fabio. 1988. Aree linguistiche v. emilia e Romagna. In Günter Holtus, Michael Metzeltin & Christian Schmitt (eds.), *Lexikon der romanistischen linguistik*, vol. Band IV. Italienisch, Korsisch, Sardisch, 569–593. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Forner, Werner. 1997. Liguria. In Martin Maiden & M. Mair Parry (eds.), *The dialects of Italy*, 245–252. London: Routledge.

Frías Conde, Xavier. 1999. *An approach to the Asturian language*. Romania Minor, www.romaniaminor.net.

García de Diego, Vicente. 1946. *Manual de dialectología española*. Madrid: Cultura hispánica.

Gómez Sánchez, Elena & Konstanze Jungbluth. 2015. European Spanish. In Konstanze Jungbluth & Federica Da Milano (eds.), *Manual of deixis in Romance languages*, 240–257. Berlin: De Gruyter. DOI: 10.1515/9783110317732-013.

Grandgent, Charles. 1909. *An outline of the phonology and morphology of old Provençal*. 2nd. Boston: Heath.

Gutiérrez-Rexach, Javier. 2002. Demonstratives in context: Trends in Spanish semantics and pragmatics. In Javier Gutiérrez-Rexach (ed.), *From words to discourse*, 195–238. Amsterdam: Elsevier.

Gutiérrez-Rexach, Javier. 2005. Setting up perspectives for demonstratives in discourse. *Traitement Automatique des Langues* 46. 141–162.

Harley, Heidi & Elizabeth Ritter. 2002. Person and number in pronouns: A feature-geometric analysis. *Language* 78(3). 482–526. DOI: 10.1353/lan.2002.0158.

Hottenroth, Priska-Monika. 1982. The system of local deixis in Spanish: Crosslinguistic studies on deixis and demonstration. In Jürgen Weissenborn & Wolfgang Klein (eds.), *Here and there*, 133–153. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. DOI: 10.1075/pb.iii.2-3.07hot.

Hualde, José. 1992. *Catalan*. London: Routledge.

Iandolo, Antonio. 2001. *Parlare e scrivere in dialetto napoletano*. Naples: Tempolungo Edizioni.

Iandolo, Carlo. 1994. *'A lengua 'e pulecenella: Grammatica napoletana*. Castellammare di Stabia: Franco Di Mauro.

Imperio, Stefano Leonardo. 1990. *Alle origini del dialetto pugliese.* Fasano di Puglia (Italia): Schena.

Ionaşcu, Al. 1960. O paralelă gramaticală slavo-romînă (sistemul cuvintelor deictice în graiurile olteneşti). *Romanoslavica* 4. 73–86.

Irsara, Martina. 2009. *Demonstratives and adverbs of place in early and modern texts of northern Italy.* Padua: Monografie LabRoman 3/II-2009.

Jones, Michael Allan. 1993. *Sardinian syntax.* London: Routledge.

Jungbluth, Konstanze. 2000. Os pronomes demonstrativos do português brasileiro na fala e na escrita. *Caderno de linguagem e sociedade* 7. 83–105.

Jungbluth, Konstanze. 2003. Deictics in the conversational dyad: Findings in Spanish and some cross-linguistic outlines. In Friedrich Lenz (ed.), *Deictic conceptualisation of space, time and person*, 13–40. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Jungbluth, Konstanze. To appear. Positions – constellations – practices: Referring to the space in front of the hearer. In Federica Da Milano & Paolo Zublena (eds.), *Space and language: On deixis.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Jungbluth, Konstanze & Rita Vallentin. 2015. Brazilian Portuguese. In Konstanze Jungbluth & Federica Da Milano (eds.), *Manual of deixis in Romance languages*, 315–331. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Kany, Charles E. 1945. *American-Spanish syntax.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Kayne, Richard S. 2000. *Parameters and universals.* Oxford University Press.

Kayne, Richard S. 2005a. On the left edge in UG: A reply to McCloskey. In *Movement and silence*, 50–56. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kayne, Richard S. 2005b. Some notes on comparative syntax, with special reference to English and French. In Guglielmo Cinque & Richard S. Kayne (eds.), *Handbook of comparative syntax*, 3–69. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kjellman, Hilding. 1928. *Étude sur les termes démonstratifs en provençal.* Göteborg: Elanders boktryckeri aktiebolag.

Koschwitz, Eduard. 1894. *Grammaire historique de la langue des Félibres.* Greifswald: J. Abel.

Langacker, Ronald W. 1990. *Concept, image, and symbol: The cognitive basis of grammar.* Berlin: De Gruyter. DOI: 10.1515/9783110857733.

Lausberg, Heinrich. 1976. *Linguistica romanza.* Vol. II, Morfologia. Milan: Feltrinelli.

Ledgeway, Adam. 2004. Lo sviluppo dei dimostrativi nei dialetti centromeridionali. *Lingua e stile* 39(1). 65–112.

Ledgeway, Adam. 2009. *Grammatica diacronica del napoletano.* Vol. Bd. 350 (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie). Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Ledgeway, Adam. 2012. *From Latin to Romance: Morphosyntactic typology and change.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ledgeway, Adam. 2015. Varieties in Italy. In Konstanze Jungbluth & Federica Da Milano (eds.), *Manual of deixis in Romance languages*, 146–162. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Ledgeway, Adam & John Charles Smith. 2016. Deixis. In Adam Ledgeway & Martin Maiden (eds.), *The Oxford guide to the Romance languages*, 879–896. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Leone, Alfonso. 1995. *Profilo di sintassi siciliana.* Vol. 3. Palermo: Centro studi filologici e linguistici siciliani.

Lombardi Vallauri, Edoardo. 1995. Il sistema dei pronomi dimostrativi dal latino al piemontese (varietà torinese), una catena di trazione morfologica: Atti del XXVVII congresso della Società di Linguistica Italiana, Lecce, 28-30 ottobre 1993. In Maria Teresa Romanello & Immacolata Tempesta (eds.), *Dialetti e lingue nazionali*, 209–225. Rome: Bulzoni.

Loporcaro, Michele. 1988. *Grammatica storica del dialetto di Altamura.* Pisa: Giardini editori e stampatori.

Loporcaro, Michele. 1997. Puglia and Salento. In Martin Maiden & M. Mair Parry (eds.), *The dialects of Italy*, 341–351. London: Routledge.

Loporcaro, Michele. 2009. *Profilo linguistico dei dialetti italiani* (Manuali Laterza 275). Rome: Laterza.

Lüdtke, Helmut. 1979. *Lucania* (Consiglio nazionale delle ricerche, Centro di studio per la dialettologia italiana 17). Pisa: Pacini.

Lyons, Christopher. 1999. *Definiteness.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Maiden, Martin. 1995. *A linguistic history of Italian.* London: Longman.

Maiden, Martin & Cecilia Robustelli. 2000. *A reference grammar of modern Italian.* Chicago, Ill: McGraw-Hill.

Mancarella, Giovan Battista. 1975. *Salento.* Pisa: Pacini.

Mancarella, Giovan Battista. 1998. *Salento: Monografia regionale della Carta dei dialetti italiani.* Lecce: Edizioni del Grifo.

Manea, Dana. 2012. Pronumele: Morfosintaxa limbii literare în secolele al xix-lea şi al xx-lea. In Gheorge Chivu, Gabriela Pană Dindelegan, Adina Dragomirescu, Isabela Nedelcu & Irina Nicula (eds.), *Studii de istorie a limbii române*, 479–524. Bucharest: Editura Academiei Române.

Mantenuto, Isara. 2016. *Demonstratives in Teramano: A decompositional approach.* Poster presented at Going Romance 30, Frankfurt, Germany.

Manzini, M. Rita & Leonardo M. Savoia. 2005. *I dialetti italiani e romanci: Morfosintassi generativa.* 3 vols. Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso.

Marcato, Gianna & Flavia Ursini. 1998. *Dialetti veneti: Grammatica e storia*. Padua: Unipress.

Marinucci, Marcello. 1988. Aree linguistiche VIII: Abruzzo e Molise. In Günter Holtus, Michael Metzeltin & Christian Schmitt (eds.), *Lexikon der romanistischen Linguistik*, vol. IV. Italienisch, Korsisch, Sardisch, 643–652. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Masotti, Adelmo. 1999. *Grammatica romagnola*. Ravenna: Edizioni del Girasole.

Meyer-Lübke, Wilhelm. 1895. *Grammaire des langues romanes*. Vol. Tome deuxième: Morphologie (traduction française par auguste Doutrepont et Georges Doutrepont). Paris: Welter.

Meyer-Lübke, Wilhelm. 1900. *Grammaire des langues romanes*. Vol. Tome troisième: Syntaxe (traduction française par auguste Doutrepont et Georges Doutrepont). Paris: Welter.

Moll, Francesc de Borja. 2006. *Gramàtica històrica catalana*. Valencia: Publicacions de Universitat de València.

Moretti, Giovanni. 1987. *Umbria*. Pisa: Pacini.

Nogué-Serrano, Neus. 2015. Catalan. In Konstanze Jungbluth & Federica Da Milano (eds.), *Manual of deixis in Romance languages*, 206–239. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Nyrop, Kristoffer. 1925a. *Grammaire historique de la langue française*. Vol. 5. Syntaxe. Noms et pronoms. Copenhagen: Gyldendal.

Nyrop, Kristoffer. 1925b. *Grammaire historique de la langue française*. Vol. 2. Morphologie. Copenhagen: Gyldendal.

Parascandola, Vittorio. 1976. *Vèfio: Folk-glossario del dialetto procidano*. Napoli: A. Berisio.

Parry, M. Mair. 1991. Le système démonstratif du cairese. In Dieter Kremer (ed.), *Actes du XVIIIe congrès international de linguistique et de philologie romanes*, 625–631. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Parry, M. Mair. 1997. Piedmont. In Martin Maiden & M. Mair Parry (eds.), *The dialects of Italy*, 237–244. London: Routledge.

Parry, M. Mair. 2005. *Sociolinguistica e grammatica del dialetto di Cairo Montenotte: Parluma 'd còiri* (Zetesis 2). Savona: Società savonese di storia patria.

Penny, Ralph J. 2000. *Variation and change in Spanish*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. http://www.loc.gov/catdir/samples/cam031/00023265.html.

Petroselli, Francesco. 2009. *Il lessico dialettale viterbese nelle testimonianze di Emilio Maggini*. Viterbo: Banca di Viterbo.

Pitré, Giuseppe & Christian Wentrup. 1995. *Grammatica siciliana del dialetto e delle parlate*. Palermo: Flaccovio.

Price, Glanville. 1971. *The French language: Present and past.* London: Edward Arnold.

Putzu, Ignazio. 2015. Sardinian. In Konstanze Jungbluth & Federica Da Milano (eds.), *Manual of deixis in Romance languages*, 45–58. Berlin: De Gruyter. DOI: 10.1515/9783110317732-005.

Quartarone, Saverio. 1998. *'A parrata missinisa: Il dialetto siciliano in Messina.* Messina: Antonino Sfameni.

Regnicoli, Agostino. 1995. Questione di organizzazione linguistica dello spazio a partire da fenomeni del dialetto maceratese. In Raffaella Bombi (ed.), *Lingue speciali e interferenza. atti del Convegno seminariale, Udine 16-17 maggio 1994*, 227–247. Rome: Il Calamo.

Roberts, Ian. 2012. Macroparameters and minimalism: A programme for comparative research. In Charlotte Galves, Sonia Cyrino, Ruth Lopes, Filomena Sandalo & Juanito Avelar (eds.), *Parameter theory and linguistic change*, 320–335. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Roberts, Ian. 2014. Subject clitics and macroparameters. In Paola Benincà, Adam Ledgeway & Nigel Vincent (eds.), *Diachrony and dialects: Grammatical change in the dialects of Italy*, 177–201. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Roberts, Ian & Anders Holmberg. 2010. Introduction: Parameters in minimalist theory. In Theresa Biberauer, Anders Holmberg, Ian Roberts & Michelle Sheehan (eds.), *Parametric variation: Null subjects in minimalist theory*, 1–57. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Roca, Ignacio. 2009. Todas las vascas son vascos, y muchos vascos también vascas: Género y sexo en el castellano. *Boletín de la Real Academia Española* 89. 77–117.

Rohlfs, Gerhard. 1968. *Grammatica storica della lingua italiana e dei suoi dialetti.* Vol. II. Morfologia. Turin: Einaudi.

Rohlfs, Gerhard. 1970. *Le gascon: Études de philologie pyrénéenne.* Second edition (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie, 85. Heft). Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Rohlfs, Gerhard. 1977. *Nuovo dizionario dialettale della Calabria (con repertorio italo-calabro).* Nuova ed. interamente rielaborata, ampliata ed aggiornata. Ravenna: Longo.

Ronjat, Jules. 1913. *Essai de syntaxe des parlers provençaux modernes.* Macon: Protat.

Rowlett, Paul. 2007. *The syntax of French.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. http://www.loc.gov/catdir/enhancements/fy0729/2007297864-b.html.

Ruggieri, Donato & Antonio Batinti. 1992. *Lingua e dialetto ad Anzi (Potenza): Note sulla situazione linguistica.* Vol. 3. Potenza: Il Salice.

Salvat, Joseph. 1998. *Gramatica occitana: Quinta edicion revista per Ernèst Nègre.* Toulouse: Collège d'Occitanie.

Salvi, Giampaolo. 2011. Morphosyntactic persistence. In Martin Maiden, John Charles Smith & Adam Ledgeway (eds.), *The Cambridge history of the Romance languages*, vol. 1: Structures, 318–381. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sandfeld, Kristian & Hedvig Olgen. 2019. *Syntaxe roumaine.* Copenhague: Munksgaard.

Savini, Giuseppe. 1881. *La grammatica ed il lessico del dialetto teramano: Due saggi.* Bologna: Forni.

Smith, John Charles. 1995. L'évolution sémantique et pragmatique des adverbes déictiques ici, là et là-bas. *Langue française* 107. 43–57.

Sornicola, Rosanna. 2011. Per la storia dei dimostrativi romanzi: I tipi neutri [tso], [so], [ço], [to] e la diacronia dei dimostrativi latini. *Zeitschrift für romnische Philologie* 127. 1–80.

Stavinschi, Alexandra. 2009. *Sullo sviluppo del sistema dimostrativo italoromanzo: Una nuova prospettiva.* Padua: Monografie LabRoman 3/I-2009 (www.maldura.unipd.it/ddlcs/laboratorio/home.html).

Tassone, Bruno. 2000. *Grammatica e dizionario del dialetto crotonese.* Soveria Mannelli (Catanzaro): Calabria letteraria.

Teyssier, Paul. 1976. *Manuel de langue portugaise: Portugal-Brésil.* Paris: Klincksieck.

Teyssier, Paul. 1980. *Histoire de la langue portugaise.* Vol. 1864 (Que sais-je?). Paris: Presses universitaires de France.

Tláskal, Jaromir. 1994. Flexion. In Günter Holtus, Michael Metzeltin & Christian Schmitt (eds.), *Lexikon der romanistischen Linguistik*, vol. Band VI, 2. Galegisch, Portugiesisch, 160–172. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Topa Valentim, Helena. 2015. European Portuguese. In Konstanze Jungbluth & Federica Da Milano (eds.), *Manual of deixis in Romance languages*, 297–314. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Valente, Vincenzo & Giovan Battista Mancarella. 1975. *Puglia.* Vol. 15-16 (Consiglio nazionale delle ricerche, Centro di studio per la dialettologia italiana 5). Pisa: Pacini.

Vanelli, Laura. 1995. La deissi. In Lorenzo Renzi, Giampaolo Salvi & Anna Cardinaletti (eds.), *Grande grammatica italiana di consultazione*, 261–375. Bologna: Il Mulino.

Vanelli, Laura. 1997. Personal pronouns and demonstratives. In Martin Maiden & M. Mair Parry (eds.), *The dialects of Italy*, 106–113. London: Routledge.

Vann, Robert E. 1995. Constructing Catalanism: Motion verbs, demonstratives, and locatives in the Spanish of Barcelona. *Catalan Review* IX(2). 253–274.

Varvaro, Alberto. 1988. Aree linguistiche XII. Sicilia. In Günter Holtus, Michael Metzeltin & Christian Schmitt (eds.), *Lexikon der romanistischen Linguistik*, vol. IV. Italienisch, Korsisch, Sardisch, 716–731. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Veny, Joan. 1991. Català: Áreas lingüísticas. In Günter Holtus, Michael Metzeltin Metzeltin & Christian Schmitt (eds.), *Lexikon der romanistischen Linguistik*, vol. V, 2. Okzitanisch, Katalanisch, 243–261. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Verratti, Vittore. 1968. *Fonologia e morfologia del volgare abruzzese*. Lanciano: Cooperativa editorale tipografica.

Vignuzzi, Ugo. 1988. Aree linguistiche VII: Marche, Umbria, Lazio. In Günter Holtus, Michael Metzeltin & Christian Schmitt (eds.), *Lexikon der romanistischen Linguistik*, vol. IV. Italienisch, Korsisch, Sardisch, 606–642. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Vignuzzi, Ugo. 1997. Lazio, Umbria and the Marche. In Martin Maiden & M. Mair Parry (eds.), *The dialects of Italy*, 311–320. London: Routledge.

Vincelli, Antonio. 1995. *Grammatica descrittiva del dialetto di Casacalenda*. 1. ed. Vol. 2. Campobasso: Edizioni Enne.

Vincent, Nigel. 1999. The synchrony and diachrony of deixis in Old Neapolitan (with special reference to the Cronache e ricordi of Loise De Rosa). Ms., University of Manchester.

Wheeler, Max, Alan Yates & Nicolau Dols. 1999. *Catalan: A comprehensive grammar*. London: Routledge.

Zamora Vicente, Alonso. 1967. *Dialectología española*. Second edition (Biblioteca románica hispánica 3: Manuales). Madrid: Editorial Gredos.