

Chapter 22

Preliminary notes on the Merge position of deictic, anaphoric, distal and proximal demonstratives

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In many languages the same demonstrative forms can be used either deictically (to point to some entity present in the speech act situation) or anaphorically (to refer back to some entity already mentioned in the previous discourse). In other languages deictic and anaphoric demonstratives are expressed by different forms, and in a subset of the latter group of languages the deictic and anaphoric demonstratives can co-occur, in a certain order. The two thus appear to be merged in different positions of the nominal extended projection, with deictic demonstratives arguably merged higher than anaphoric demonstratives, as is more clearly evident in certain languages. I submit that this is true of all languages even if most do not provide any overt indication of a different Merge position. Some languages also appear to provide evidence that distal and proximal demonstratives are merged in distinct positions of the nominal extended projection.

1 Introduction

Demonstratives, whether used deictically or anaphorically,¹ are usually taken to be merged in the same position of the extended nominal projection. While most languages do not provide evidence to the contrary, there are some that do show a

¹Anaphoric demonstratives, together with “cataphoric” and “recognitional” demonstratives (the latter used for entities known from shared knowledge, Diessel 1999), are often termed “endophoric”, and are opposed to “exophoric” (deictic) demonstratives, though anaphoric demonstratives may also show distal/proximal/etc. deictic distinctions. For simplicity I will keep here to the traditional terms “anaphoric” and “deictic”.



distinct Merge position for their deictic and anaphoric demonstratives (pointing to a higher Merge position for the deictic ones). Rather than taking this to be a parametric difference among languages, I submit that all languages merge their deictic and anaphoric demonstratives in two distinct positions. This will simply not be visible in those languages where the two cannot co-occur and/or where nothing raises between the position occupied by anaphoric demonstratives and that occupied by deictic ones.

2 Languages where deictic and anaphoric demonstratives are formally distinct and can co-occur

I consider first those languages where the two types of demonstratives are represented by different forms² and overtly display their distinct Merge position by occurring together.

One such language is Ngiti, a Central Sudanic Nilo-Saharan language. Demonstrative, numeral and adjectival nominal modifiers precede the head noun (Kutsch Lojenga 1994: §9) and deictic demonstratives are formally distinct from anaphoric ones (cf. Kutsch Lojenga 1994: §§9.5.1–9.5.2). See (1a,b).³

(1) Ngiti (Kutsch Lojenga 1994: 373, 375)

<p>a. yà dza Dem_{deictic} house ‘this house’</p>	<p>b. ndi dza Dem_{anaphoric} house ‘that house (mentioned before)’</p>
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As apparent from (2), the two types of demonstratives can co-occur, with the deictic demonstratives preceding the anaphoric ones:⁴

²Diessel (1999: §5.5) states that anaphoric demonstratives are morphologically more complex than deictic demonstratives, citing a number of languages where the former are formed by adding a morpheme to the latter. Dixon (2003: 76f) however, documents the opposite case, where the deictic demonstrative is formed by adding a morpheme to the anaphoric one. For the internal complexity of demonstratives, composed of a determiner and an adjectival deictic adjective, see Leu (2007; 2015: §2.5) (pace Kleiber 1986).

³The question arises whether the “anaphoric” demonstrative of Ngiti and that of the other languages mentioned below are distinct from determiners. In Loniu at least (see footnote 5 below) the post-nominal anaphoric and deictic demonstratives are distinct from the determiners, which are pre-nominal. In the other languages, which lack determiners, this is harder to tell, though the relevant grammatical descriptions seem not to assimilate the anaphoric demonstratives to determiners. I thank Richard Kayne for raising this general question. Possibly some of the anaphoric demonstratives discussed below correspond to the “neutral” demonstratives of Kayne (2014: §11).

⁴If nominal modifiers can move only as part of a constituent containing the N (Cinque 2005), the possibility that the deictic demonstrative of (2) is merged below the anaphoric one and is raised above it is not viable.

- (2) Ngiti (Kutsch Lojenga 1994: 376)
 yà ndi dza
 Dem_{deictic} Dem_{anaphoric} house
 ‘this house (mentioned before)’

As pre-nominal modifiers (as opposed to post-nominal ones) reflect the order of Merge, with elements to the left higher than those to the right (Kayne 1994, Cinque 2009; 2017), this language provides direct evidence that deictic demonstratives are merged higher than anaphoric demonstratives.

Another language showing the distinct Merge position of deictic and anaphoric demonstratives, with the former arguably higher than the latter, is the Papuan (Yam) language Komnzo.

In addition to deictic demonstratives, Komnzo has one demonstrative, *ane*, which

has no spatial reference, but it is used for anaphoric reference. It marks a referent which has been established in the preceding context. [...] It may combine with the proximal and the medial demonstrative identifier as can be seen in example [(3)] (Döhler 2016: 128f)

in the order N > anaphoric demonstrative > deictic demonstrative:

- (3) Komnzo (Döhler 2016: 129)
 fintäth *ane* z=*iyé* ... yem=*anme* dagon.
 PROP_N Dem_{anaphoric} PROX=3SG.M:NPST.be cassowary=POSS.NSG food
 ‘This fintath (Semecarpus sp.) here is the cassowaries’ food.’

The relative order of the two is with the anaphoric demonstrative closer to the noun than the deictic demonstrative, as was the case in Ngiti. The linear order, however, is the reverse, arguably due to the successive raising of the NP, with pied piping of the *whose picture*-type, first above the lower anaphoric and then above the higher deictic demonstrative dragging along the lower anaphoric one, with the result of reversing the order entirely (cf. Cinque 2005; 2017).

Identical to the Komnzo situation is that of the Alor Pantar (Papuan) language Kaere, where the anaphoric demonstrative *erang* can combine with the deictic demonstratives *ga* ‘this’ or *gu* ‘that’ (Klamer 2014: §4) (see 4), and that of the Oceanic language Loniu (Hamel 1994: §4.3.7), where the anaphoric demonstrative

nropo can co-occur with the deictic demonstrative *itiyen* ‘that (relatively distant from speaker)’ (see 5), in both cases with the order N Dem_{anaphoric} Dem_{deictic}:⁵

- (4) Kaere (Klamer 2014: 120)
 kunang masak utug *erang* *gu*
 child male three DEM_{anaphoric} that
 ‘those three boys (mentioned earlier)’
- (5) Loniu (Hamel 1994: 99)
 ... hetow law a *iy nropo itiyen* ...
 3PL.CL REL POSS 3SG DEM_{anaphoric} DEM_{deictic}
 ‘...to those aforementioned relatives of his ...’

The Austronesian, Malayo-Polynesian, languages Gayo (Eades 2005) and Nias (Brown 2005) and the Niger-Congo languages Samba Leko (Fabre 2004) and Kitalinga (Paluku 1998) instead show post-nominally the same order shown pre-nominally by Ngiti: NP > deictic demonstrative > anaphoric demonstrative:⁶

⁵ “[T]he two together are equivalent to English ‘aforementioned’” (Hamel 1994: 99). In addition to the anaphoric and deictic demonstratives in post-nominal position, Loniu appears to also have determiners, in pre-nominal position. “The order of constituents in the noun phrase is, generally, as shown in the formula in [(i)] below” (Hamel 1994: 89).

- (i) (Det) Noun (Possessor NP) (Associated NP) (Descriptive Adjunct) (Quantifier) (Prepositional Phrase) (Relative Clause) (Demonstrative)

“The personal pronouns which function as determiner are the same as those used as nominals for subject, object, and so on. Although they may co-occur with inanimate nouns, the majority of NPs in the data which contain personal pronoun determiners are animate. [...] These personal pronoun determiners, however, seem to be present only in NPs which are definite” (Hamel 1994: 90). See the example in (ii):

- (ii) Loniu
iy pihin iy huti kawa
 3SG woman 3SG take basket
 ‘The woman takes the basket’

⁶In (6b), the anaphoric demonstrative *nomema* contains *mema* ‘earlier’. Adjectives and numerals follow the two demonstratives in that order (Brown 2001: 412). Another language with an anaphoric demonstrative meaning ‘earlier/before’ is Madurese:

- (i) Madurese (Davies 2010: 192)f
 Reng lake’ gella’ entar ka Sorbaja
 person male before go to Surabaja
 ‘That man (we were talking about just now) went to Surabaja’

- (6) a. Gayo (Eades 2005: 225)
 Serule-*ni-ne*
 Serule-this-earlier
 ‘this Serule’ [Serule-this-MENTIONED earlier] (the aforementioned Serule)
- b. Nias (Brown 2005: 579)
 Ba si’ulu wa e nama-da *andre*
 CNJ noble DPTCL DPTCL father:MUT-1PL.INCL.POSS DEM_{Deictic}
nomema’e!?
 DEM_{Anaphoric}
 ‘And you mean that ancestor you’ve been talking about was a noble!?’
- c. Samba Leko (Fabre 2004: 173)
 bā?-ā yê *dō*
 iron DEM_{deictic} DEM_{anaphoric}
 ‘that iron we talked about’ [our translation]
- d. Kitalinga (Paluku 1998: 203)
 omumelo *ɣú-ni-lá*
 throat ?-DEM_{deictic}-DEM_{anaphoric}
 ‘this aforementioned throat’, orig. French ‘gorge celui-ci – en question’

My interpretation of the orders in (6) is that they are derived by raising the NP (or constituents containing the NP) above the two demonstratives in one fell swoop (without pied piping) (cf. Cinque 2005; 2017).⁷

3 Languages where deictic and anaphoric demonstratives are formally distinct, occupy different positions, but cannot co-occur

In the Trans-New Guinea Alor-Pantar language Abui (Kratochvíl 2007: §3.5.2; 2011) “[t]he deictic demonstratives precede the head noun while the anaphoric demonstratives follow it” (Kratochvíl 2007: 156). See the overall structure of Abui determiner phrases in (7) (Kratochvíl 2007: 156), and the illustrative examples of the order of the two types of demonstratives in (8):

⁷For evidence that constituents appearing to the right of N/V/etc. cannot be taken to be merged there, but come to be there as a function of the N(P)/V(P)/etc. moving above them, see Cinque (2009).

(7) (DEM_{deictic}) (NPOSS PROPOSS-) N (NMOD) (ADJ/V) (QUANT) (DEM_{anaphoric})

(8) a. Abui (Kratochvíl 2007: 111)
oro fala
 DEM_{deictic} house
 ‘that house over there (far from us)’

b. Abui (Kratochvíl 2007: 114)
fala to
 house DEM_{anaphoric}
 ‘the house (you just talked about)’

If deictic demonstratives are merged higher than anaphoric demonstratives, the Abui DP internal order Dem_{deictic} N A Num Dem_{anaphoric} can be analysed as involving successive raisings of the NP, with pied piping of the *whose picture*-type above the lower anaphoric demonstrative but not above the higher deictic demonstrative.⁸

In the Dogon language Jamsay, where the deictic demonstrative follows the noun (cf. 9a)⁹ and the anaphoric one precedes it (cf. 9b),¹⁰ within the overall order ⟨Dem_{anaphoric}⟩ N A Num ⟨Dem_{deictic}⟩, the derivation must be different, involving raising of the constituent [Dem_{anaphoric} N A Num] (itself obtained via raising of the NP around A and Num) above the higher deictic demonstrative (cf. Cinque 2005; 2017).

(9) a. Jamsay (Heath 2008: 161)

èjù núŋò
 field.L DEM_{deictic}
 ‘this/that field’

b. Jamsay (Heath 2008: 164)

kò kùmandâw kùⁿ bé
 DEM_{anaphoric} Major DEF PL
 ‘those (aforementioned) Majors’

⁸The situation in Topoke (Bantu, C53) is only slightly different, as “the anaphoric demonstrative always follows the noun, whereas other demonstratives can either precede or follow” (Van de Velde 2005: §2.4). This suggests that anaphoric demonstratives are obligatorily crossed over by the NP, while deictic demonstratives are crossed over by the NP only optionally. Only slightly different is the case of Rama (Chibchan; Craig Grinevald 1988: §6.6), where the deictic demonstrative is only pre-nominal while the anaphoric one “meaning ‘previously mentioned’ [...] is found either pre- or post-nominally” (p. 15).

⁹“*núŋò* is deictic, and may be accompanied by pointing or a similar gesture” (Heath 2008: 162).

¹⁰“Unlike deictic [noun + *núŋò*], the phrase [*kò* + noun] is discourse anaphoric ...” (Heath 2008: 164).

4 Languages where deictic and anaphoric demonstratives are formally identical, occupy different positions, but cannot co-occur

The same pattern is instantiated by a number of other languages, modulo the formal identity of the deictic and the anaphoric demonstratives.

Migdalski (2001: 142) notes that “demonstratives may either precede or follow a noun in Polish. The latter option is stylistically marked and is used only when the noun followed by a demonstrative has been previously mentioned, [...] as in [(10)]”:¹¹

(10) Polish

- a. *Ta* książka
‘this book’
- b. *Książka ta* (acceptable if the book has been mentioned previously)
book this

Here too it is possible to analyse the pattern in Dem_{deictic} NP Dem_{anaphoric} as involving raising of the NP (with possible pied piping) above the lower anaphoric demonstrative but not above the higher deictic one.¹²

The opposite pattern Dem_{anaphoric} NP Dem_{deictic} is instantiated by Thimbukushu (Bantu language of Namibia; Fisch 1998), where “[u]sually demonstratives

¹¹The Polish situation recalls the semantic difference between pre- and post-nominal demonstratives in Spanish and Modern Greek (modulo the obligatory presence of a determiner in pre-nominal position when the demonstrative is post-nominal). As observed by Bernstein (1997) and Taboada (2007) for Spanish and Panagiotidis (2000) for Modern Greek, a post-nominal demonstrative is only interpreted anaphorically (unless a demonstrative reinforcer is added), while a pre-nominal one can be interpreted deictically. But see Brugè (2002: 50, n. 27) and Brugè (2000: §2.5.3, p. 167, n. 51) for discussion of a number of complexities and of differences among the Spanish distal and proximal demonstratives.

¹²In Italian, where no evidence exists of a different Merge position of deictic and anaphoric demonstratives, there is still a difference between the two in the possibility for the former but not for the latter, in its neuter usage (presumably with a silent head noun *THING*; cf. Kayne & Pollock 2009), to take a locative “reinforcer”. See (i):

- (i) a. *Questo* (**qui*) non lo so
This (here) not it I.know
‘This I don’t know’
- b. *Quello* (**lì*) me lo sono chiesto anch’io
That (there) to.me it am asked even-I
‘That I wondered myself’

[...] occur as postpositive determiners after the nouns to which they refer” (Fisch 1998: 50), see (11):

- (11) Thimbukushu (Fisch 1998: 50)
[Mugenda *oyu*] na haka
guest this I like
‘I like this guest’

“If the demonstrative preposes the noun, it carries the meaning of ‘this aforementioned’, ‘this one mentioned’” (Fisch 1998: 50), see (12):¹³

- (12) Thimbukushu (Fisch 1998: 50)
[*oyu* ngombe]
the.aforementioned cow
‘this cow’

This pattern can be taken to involve no movement of the NP above the lower anaphoric demonstrative (or possibly movement of the NP in the *picture of whom*-mode, which has the effect of not changing the relative order of the two elements), and raising of the NP (or of larger constituents containing the NP) above the higher deictic demonstrative.

5 Languages where distal and proximal demonstratives occupy different positions

In Nawdm (Niger-Congo, Gur; Albro 1998: §2.4)

there are two basic demonstratives [...], corresponding to ‘this’ and ‘that’ in English. Their distribution within the DP is different. The demonstrative corresponding to ‘this’ appears at the end of the DP [...], and the demonstrative corresponding to ‘that’ appears at the beginning of the DP.

See (13):

- (13) Nawdm (Albro 1998: 6)
a. *là?à* bà hɔ́l’ə té tère?été:
that dog black CL.PL CL-two-CL
‘those two black (big) dogs’

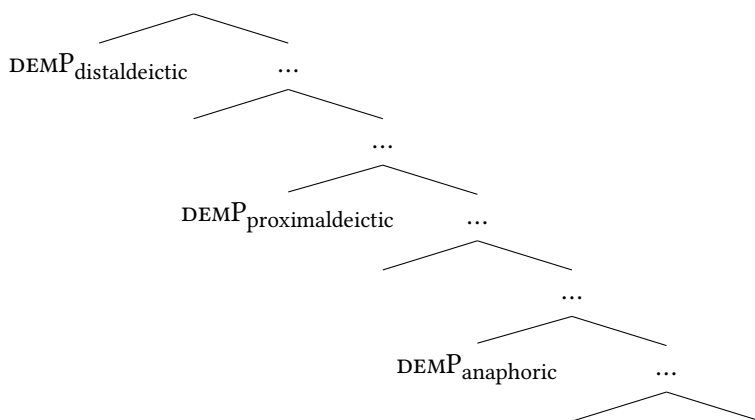
¹³Romanian appears to be similar. Post-nominal demonstratives have a deictic interpretation while pre-nominal ones, which belong to a non-colloquial style (cf. Brugè 2002: n. 32), have an anaphoric interpretation (Giusti 2005: 31; Nicolae 2013: 299f).

- b. *bà hɔ́l'ə té téréʔètèn tɛ̀nté*
 dog black CL.PL CL-two-CL CL-this-CL
 'these two black (big) dogs'

According to Apronti (1971: 66ff), the same distribution (Dem_{that} N A Num and N A Num Dem_{this}) is found in the Kwa language Dangme.

It is thus tempting to assume that the distal and proximal deictic demonstratives occupy two distinct Merge positions, with distal demonstratives higher than proximal demonstratives, as shown in (14):

(14)



The order in Nawdm and Dangme would then involve raising of the NP with pied piping of the *whose picture*-type around A, Num and the lower proximal demonstrative, but not above the higher distal one, which then appears pre-nominally.

As in the case of Jamsay above, a different derivation must be involved to yield the order Dem_{proximal} (Num) N (A) Dem_{distal} of Tigre (Afro-Asiatic, Semitic), where it is the proximal demonstrative that precedes the noun and the distal one that follows it (see 15):

(15) Tigre (Dryer 2013, after Raz 1983: 45)

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>a. <i>ʔəllan ʔamʕəlat</i>
 this.F.PL days
 'these days'</p> | <p>b. <i>ʔəb laʔawkād lahay</i>
 at time that.M
 'at that time'</p> |
|--|---|

The NP must raise around A with pied piping of the *whose picture*-type (or with no pied piping), and then around Num and the lower proximal demonstrative with pied piping of the *picture of whom*-type, after which it raises around the higher distal demonstrative again with pied piping of the *whose picture*-type (a mixture of movements typically involved in the derivation of non-consistent languages; see Cinque 2017).

The fact that the two positions are presumably close to each other may give the impression in those languages where no material raises between them that they are one and the same position.

Abbreviations

1	first person	MUT	mutated nominal
3	third person	NPST	non-past
CL	clitic	NSG	non-singular
CNJ	conjunction	PL	plural
DEM	demonstrative	POSS	possessive
DPTCL	discourse particle	PROP	proper name
F	feminine	PROX	proximal, proximate
INCL	inclusive	REL	relative
L	low tone	SG	singular
M	masculine		

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