C21

CHAPTER 21

DEMONSTRATIVES

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C21S1

21.1 Introduction

C21P1 The term demonstrative refers to a particular class of function words that are (primarily) defined by their communicative function and meaning. In their basic use, demonstratives serve to coordinate interlocutors' joint focus of attention and to indicate the location of a referent relative to the deictic centre (Diessel 2006, 2014). In addition, demonstratives are often characterized as members of particular word-class categories. Traditionally, they are categorized as pronouns and adjectives (e.g. Bloomfield 1933: 203). However, recent research in typology has argued that demonstratives can also function as adverbs of space, manner, and degree, determiners, nonverbal predicators, presentatives, and verbs (Himmelmann 1997; Diessel 1999; Dixon 2003; König 2012; Fedorin 2015; Breunesse 2019).

C21P2 This chapter provides an overview of grammatical word-class categories of demonstratives from a cross-linguistic perspective. The chapter builds on data and analyses from current research in typology and presents some new statistical information on the cross-linguistic distribution of demonstrative word classes from a large and balanced language sample. The sample consists of 150 languages distributed across 128 genera and six large geographical areas, which are commonly distinguished in typology (Dryer 1992), i.e. Eurasia (N = 36), Africa (N = 26), South East Asia and Oceanic (N = 17), Australia and New Guinea (N = 30), North America (N = 21), and South America (N = 20). Although the sampling method has not been fully systematic, the sample is arguably sufficient to provide estimates regarding the cross-linguistic distribution of demonstrative word classes.[1]

C21S2

21.2 Definition of key terms

C21P3 In the older literature, demonstratives are commonly defined with reference to particular word-class categories. Karl Brugmann (1904), for example, defined demonstratives

[1] A list of languages included in the sample is given in the Appendix.

as a particular class of pronouns. However, since the morphosyntactic properties of demonstratives are cross-linguistically ~~very~~ diverse, the current definition of demonstratives does not include any grammatical categories such as the traditional world classes; rather demonstratives are defined by two non-structural criteria in this chapter.

C21P4 First, demonstratives are deictic expressions that are usually interpreted within an egocentric, body-oriented frame of reference (Diessel 2014). In this use, demonstratives refer to entities, events or locations that are perceptually accessible to the speech participants (e.g. *This is my bike* [speaker is pointing to the bike]). There are other uses of demonstratives in which they refer to linguistic elements in discourse or abstract concepts that are not immediately accessible to perception (Bühler 1934; Fillmore 1997). However, following Bühler (1934: 202), it is widely assumed that the basic use of demonstratives involves a 'coordinate system' grounded by the 'origo', which is the centre of a 'deictic frame of reference' that is usually determined by the speaker's body, gesture, and location.[2]

C21P5 The second feature that defines demonstratives as a particular class of function words concerns their communicative function. Recent research in conversational analysis and psycholinguistics has emphasized that demonstratives are not just used for spatial reference, but also to coordinate interlocutors' social interaction (Laury 1997; Piwek et al. 2008; Stukenbrock 2015), or more precisely, demonstratives 'serve to establish joint attention' (Diessel 2006: 463). Joint attention is a key concept of social cognition providing a prerequisite for communication and for what psychologists call 'theory-of-mind' (Tomasello 1999). In order to communicate, the speech participants must be focused on the same referent and must be able to understand that the communicative partner looks at the shared referent from a different perspective. While there are many strategies to create and manipulate joint attention, it has been argued that demonstratives provide the quintessential linguistic device to accomplish this important task (Diessel 2006; see also Clark 1996: 168).

C21P6 Given the particular communicative function of demonstratives to establish joint attention, it does not come as a surprise that demonstratives have a particular status in language (see Diessel and Coventry 2020). In contrast to most other function words (e.g. adpositions, auxiliaries), demonstratives are not derived from content words by grammaticalization (Himmelmann 1997: 20) and are likely to be universal (Diessel 2006: 472–474). Recent research in typology has argued that language universals are rare and difficult to find (Evans and Levinson 2009). Yet, experts agree that demonstratives may exist in all languages (Himmelmann 1997; Dixon 2003; Breunesse 2019; see also Levinson 2018).

C21P7 However, while demonstratives are likely to be universal, they exhibit a great deal of cross-linguistic variation in their morphological structure and syntactic use, making it difficult, or even impossible, to subsume demonstratives under a particular set of universal word classes. Following Croft (2001), I assume that word-class categories are language- and construction-particular (see Diessel 2019: 142–171). Nevertheless, while demonstratives cannot be universally assigned to particular word-class categories, they tend to share certain structural properties across languages, which has led typologists to divide them into a few basic types that can be seen as prototypes of demonstrative word classes (e.g. Himmelmann 1997; Diessel 1999; Dixon 2003; Guérin 2015).

[2] Not all researchers share Bühler's view of deixis. Levinson (2003a: 71), for instance, argued that the traditional notion of a 'deictic frame of reference' is 'conceptual nonsense'; but see Diessel (2014) for a critique of this view (see also Diessel and Coventry 2020).

C21P8 In Diessel (1999), I have proposed a syntactic typology of demonstratives with four word-class categories: (i) demonstrative pronouns, which serve as arguments of verbs and adpositions, (ii) demonstrative determiners, which specify a co-occurring noun or noun phrase, (iii) demonstrative adverbs, which modify a verb or adjective, and (iv) demonstrative identifiers, which accompany the predicate nominal of a nonverbal or copular clause. However, in the meantime, a number of studies have argued that demonstratives can also function as verbs as evidenced by the occurrence of verbal categories such as tense, aspect, and mood (Dixon 2003; Guérin 2015; Breunesse 2019).

C21P9 Adopting this analysis, the current chapter outlines a typology of demonstrative word classes with five basic categories and several sub-categories. The typology rests on two basic criteria: (i) a distributional criterion, which concerns the occurrence of demonstratives in particular structural positions of constructions, and (ii) a morphological criterion, which concerns the morphological forms of demonstratives, i.e. the forms of their stems and their inflectional features.

C21P10 Crucially, the two criteria do not always coincide. As we will see, many languages use the same morphological forms of demonstratives in different structural positions across several constructions (e.g. *this house* [DET] vs *I like this* [PRO]). If the demonstratives of different structural positions are morphologically distinct from one another, they are readily assigned to distinct word classes (e.g. French *celui-ci/là* [PRO] vs *ce*-N-*ci/là* [DET]). However, if the demonstratives of different structural positions have the same forms, their categorical status is often difficult to determine (see the discussion of *this* and *that* in Diessel 1999: 62–71).

C21P11 In order to distinguish the two cases, I will restrict the above proposed categories to demonstratives in different structural positions that are formally distinct from one another, and I will use the terms 'pronominal', 'adnominal', 'adverbial', 'identificational', and 'verbal' for demonstratives in particular structural positions irrespective of their morphological forms or any other structural properties that may or may not distinguish them (see Table 21.1).

C21T1

Table 21.1 Word-class typology of demonstratives

CATEGORY	DISTRIBUTION
demonstrative pronoun	pronominal demonstrative
demonstrative determiner	adnominal demonstrative
demonstrative adverb	adverbial demonstrative
demonstrative identifier	identificational demonstrative
demonstrative verb	verbal demonstrative

C21S3

21.3 Demonstrative pronouns

C21P12 Demonstrative pronouns are paradigmatically related to other types of pronouns and lexical NPs. They typically function as arguments of verbs and adpositions and tend to occur with the same inflectional categories as nouns; that is, demonstrative pronouns are often inflected for number, gender, and/or case. Most frequent is the occurrence of number marking. In my sample, 102 languages have demonstratives marked for number, 56 languages have

demonstratives inflected for gender or noun class, and 45 languages have case-marked demonstratives. Needless to say, these features often cooccur in one form. In German, for instance, demonstratives pronouns are inflected for gender, number, and case.

C21P13 Overall, there are 112 languages in the data in which pronominal demonstratives share at least some inflectional properties with other nominal expressions, notably with nouns. In the remaining 38 languages, pronominal demonstratives are uninflected, as for instance in Hdi, in which demonstrative pronouns are formed from simple forms (used in other contexts) by reduplication (see (1)).

(1) Hdi (Frajzyngier 2002: 85)
bà-f-b-í *tá* ***ná-ná***
build-UP-build-1SG OBJ DEM.PROX-DEM.PROX
'I built this.'

C21P15 Note that the case role of the demonstrative is marked by a free morpheme in this example, but number is not overtly marked in the Hdi demonstrative pronouns (Frajzyngier 2002: 85). In most of the languages in which demonstratives do not occur with inflectional affixes, nouns are also uninflected, but in Hdi plural nouns are commonly marked by a number suffix (e.g. *tə̀m-xà* 'onion-PL'; see Frajzyngier 2002: 46).

C21P16 Since adnominal demonstratives are not reduplicated in Hdi, there is a clear formal contrast between demonstrative pronouns and demonstrative determiners. Yet, in other languages where pronominal demonstratives are uninflected, the same deictic forms are also often used as adnominal and/or adverbial demonstratives, which can make it difficult to determine their categorical status (see Diessel 1999: 89–90). We will come back to this in section 21.5.

C21P17 A related problem concerns the analysis of pronominal demonstratives in locative case. Consider, for instance, the following examples from Tauya and Finnish.

(2) Tauya (MacDonald 1990: 101)
apu ***me-i*** *mene-i-ʔa*
now DEM.PROX-LOC stay-3PL-IND
'Now they stay here.'

(3) Finnish (Laury 1997: 133)
sit *leipä* *viskataan* ***tonne***
then bread throw.PASS DEM.DIST.LOC
'Then the bread gets thrown over there.'

C21P18 As can be seen, the demonstratives in these examples correspond semantically to English *here* and *there* (as indicated by the translation). However, unlike English *here* and *there*, Tauya *mei* and Finnish *tonne* include a locative case marker. Since the same deictic roots are also used in demonstratives with other case roles functioning as subject or object pronouns, one could analyse the forms in (2) and (3) as demonstrative pronouns in locative case rather than spatial demonstrative adverbs. On this account, pronominal and adnominal demonstratives are expressed by members of the same word-class category in Tauya and Finnish (Diessel 1999: 75–78).

C21P19 However, while this analysis may be appropriate for locational demonstratives in Tauya, the situation is more complex in Finnish. According to Laury (1997), Finnish has several series of locational demonstratives marked by locative case suffixes (e.g. adessive, allative, inessive). All of these forms are morphologically transparent, but some of them have syntactic and semantic properties that are not compatible with their analysis as pronouns. Considering these properties, Laury (1997: 138) argues that the Finnish demonstratives constitute a category continuum ranging from forms that are best analysed as pronouns to forms that are syntactically and semantically similar to adverbs.

C21P20 Finally, there are several languages in my sample, in which demonstratives cannot be used as free pronouns. Korean, for example, has three demonstrative roots, *i* 'this (near speaker)', *ku* 'that (near hearer)', and *ce* 'that (distal, i.e. away from both speaker and hearer)', that can function as determiners (see (4)).

(4) Korean (Sohn 1994: 251)
*[**ku*** *cha]*
that (near H) car
'that car'

C21P21 Unlike English *this* and *that*, Korean *i, ku*, and *ce* cannot be used without a cooccurring nominal; that is, there are no simple demonstrative pronouns in Korean. However, the determiners are commonly combined with 'defective nouns' (e.g. *il* 'thing/fact', *i* 'person') to form demonstrative NPs that are semantically equivalent to demonstrative pronouns in other languages (see (5)) (Sohn 1994: 294).

(5) Korean (Sohn 1994: 295)
*[**ce*** *__il-ul__]* *nwu-ka* *mak-keyss-ni?!*
that (DIST) thing-ACC who-NM block-will-Q
'Who would be able to block that (mess that I have just mentioned)?'

C21P22 Apart from Korean, there are several other languages in the data in which the pronominal use of demonstratives typically involves an NP (e.g. Ainu, Lao, Taba, Vietnamese, Kotiria, Pichi, Zapotec). In Ainu, for example, pronominal demonstratives involve a 'dependent noun' (see (6)) (Tamura 2000: 91), which Refsing (1986: 93) calls a 'nominalizer', and in Zapotec they include a 'classifier' (see (7)) (Sonnenschein 2004) functioning as nominal head of a noun phrase.

(6) Ainu (Tamura 2000: 61)
*[**tan*** *__pe__]*$_{NP}$ *en-kore* *hawe?*
this thing 1SG.ACC-give EVD
'Will (you) give this to me?'

(7) Zapotec (Sonnenschein 2004: 267)
bi *dx-een=da'* *[__be=nga__]*$_{NP}$ *dx-een=da'* *[__be=na'__]*$_{NP}$
NEG CONT-want=1SG.EXP CLF=DEM.MED CONT-want=1SG.EXP CLF=DEM.DIST
'I don't want this one, I want that one.'

C21P23 Note that English *this* and *that* are often combined with the impersonal pronoun *one*, forming NPs similar to those in the above examples. However, while the English demonstratives are frequently accompanied by *one*, *this* and *that* are also used as free pronouns. Yet, the occurrence of these forms is restricted to particular pragmatic contexts and constructions: If *this* and *that* refer to an event or proposition, they are usually used alone as pronouns (e.g. *I know this*); but if they refer to a concrete object chosen from a set of alternatives, they are usually accompanied by *one* (see *I will take this one, not that one*). In addition, *this* and *that* are used as subject pronouns in copular clauses (see *This is my friend*); but, as we will see below (section 21.6), the demonstratives of copular constructions are often formally distinct from pronominal demonstratives in other contexts.

C21P24 There are two different ways of analysing expressions such as English *this one* or Korean *i il* 'this thing'. Either the demonstrative is analysed as a determiner of a noun phrase, or the whole NP is interpreted as a complex pronoun. The latter analysis is suggested by the fact that demonstrative NPs are often reduced to simple pronouns in the process of language change. There are several languages in my data in which demonstrative pronouns are historically based on a demonstrative and a third person pronoun or classifier that have been fused into one form, as, for instance, French *celui*, which includes the pronoun *lui* 'him' (Harris 1978).

C21S4

21.4 Demonstrative determiners

C21P25 Demonstrative determiners occur in a particular structural position of a definite NP. There is general consensus in the literature that adnominal demonstratives modify, or specify, a co-occurring noun semantically, but their syntactic function has been subject to debate (see Diessel 1999: 62–71). As we will see, not all adnominal demonstratives qualify as determiners.

C21P26 In many languages, adnominal demonstratives have the same forms as demonstrative pronouns, but in about 30% of the world's languages, adnominal and pronominal demonstratives are formally distinguished (Diessel 2005). In the current sample, there are 47 languages with a particular series of demonstrative determiners distinct from demonstrative pronouns. The distinction concerns different aspects of linguistic structure. To begin with, there are 14 languages in which the stems of demonstrative determiners differ from those of demonstrative pronouns, as for instance in French (see *ce* [DET] vs *celui* [PRO]) and Awa Pit (see Table 21.2).

C21T2

Table 21.2 Demonstratives in Awa Pit (Curnow 1997: 87)

C21P91

	PRONOUN	DETERMINER
PROXIMAL	*ana*	*an*
DISTAL	*suna*	*sun*

C21P27 Second, adnominal demonstratives are frequently reduced to clitics. In my sample, there are eleven languages in which adnominal demonstratives may cliticize to an adjacent noun (or attribute), whereas the corresponding pronouns are expressed by free forms (e.g. Anywa,

Ik, Lango, Meithei, Nihali, Pohnpeian, Tidore, Ubykh). One of these languages is Ubykh, where adnominal demonstratives are both phonetically reduced and bound to a subsequent noun (see Table 21.3).

C21T3

Table 21.3 Demonstratives in Ubykh (Fenwick 2011: 79)

C21P92

	PRONOUN		DETERMINER	
	SG	PL	SG	PL
PROXIMAL	*jɨnʒ́*	*jɨɬʒ́*	*jɨ=N*	*jɨɬ3=N*
DISTAL	*w3nʒ́*	*w3ɬʒ́*	*w3=N*	*w3ɬ3=N*

C21P28

Third, in some languages, adnominal demonstratives are restricted in their inflectional behaviour compared to the inflection of demonstrative pronouns (e.g. Kambaata, Lezgian, Menya, Trumai, Turkish, Wolaytta, Kolyma Yukaghir). In Kambaata, for example, demonstrative pronouns indicate number and gender and occur with nine different cases, whereas adnominal demonstratives are only marked for gender and confined to three cases (Treis 2019). Similarly, in Evenki, demonstrative pronouns are always inflected for case and gender, whereas adnominal demonstratives 'usually do not agree in case with the head', though they are always inflected for number (Nedjalkov 1997: 83). In the extreme case, adnominal demonstratives do not have any of the inflectional properties of demonstrative pronouns. In Lezgian, for example, demonstrative pronouns occur with case and number suffixes, whereas the demonstrative determiners are uninflected particles that precede an inflected noun (see Table 21.4) (see also Turkish).

C21T4

Table 21.4 Demonstratives in Lezgian (Haspelmath 1993a: 190)

C21P93

	PRONOUN				DETERMINER		
	PROX	MED	DIST		PROX	MED	DIST
SG ABS	*i-m*	*a-m*	*at'a-m*	SG/PL	*i*	*a*	*at'a*
SG ERG	*i-da*	*a-da*	*at'a-da*				
SG GEN	*i-dan*	*a-dan*	*at'a-dan*				
PL ABS	*i-bur*	*a-bur*	*at'a-bur*				

C21P29

Finally, demonstrative pronouns may contain an extra morpheme that does not occur in the (corresponding) determiners. For example, above, we have seen that demonstrative pronouns in French include a third person pronoun that has merged with a preceding demonstrative. Similar types of demonstrative pronouns occur in several other languages of the sample, as, for instance, in Ambulas (8a)–(8b) (see also Nivkh, Tidore, and Toqabaqita).

(8) Ambulas (Wilson 1980: 56, 154)
a. *dé-**wan***
3SG.M-DEM.DIST
'that one'

b. ***wani*** *baalé*
DEM.DIST pig
'that pig'

C21P30 There are also demonstrative determiners that include an extra morpheme (compared to demonstrative pronouns), but this seems to be a rare phenomenon. There are only two languages of this type in my data: Pangasinan, in which demonstrative determiners are composed of a demonstrative root, the article prefix *sá-*, and a (neutral) number suffix (see *sá-ta-y* 'ART-this-SG/PL'; Benton 1971: 51–52), and Mapudungun, in which demonstrative determiners consist of a demonstrative base and an 'adjectivizer' (see *tüfa-chi* 'this-ADJZ'; Smeets 1989: 105).

C21P31 If adnominal demonstratives are formally distinct from demonstrative pronouns, it is reasonable to analyse them as determiners. However, when adnominal demonstratives are expressed by the same forms as demonstrative pronouns, one has to consider their syntactic properties in order to determine their word-class status. To simplify, adnominal demonstratives occur in two different types of constructions.

C21P32 In some languages, adnominal demonstratives are tied to a particular determiner position in a hierarchically structured NP. English provides a case in point. The English noun phrase is a tightly organized construction with a particular slot for a small class of semantically related expressions including definite and indefinite articles, possessive pronouns, and genitive nouns.

C21P33 Since the English demonstratives occur in a particular structural position hosting a closed class of related expressions, we may analyse them as determiners (see Diessel to appear). On this account, *this* and *that* are polyfunctional expressions that pertain to two distinct word-class categories: (i) they are pronouns when they appear in argument position of a verb (or adposition), and (ii) they are determiners when they occur in the initial slot of a noun phrase.

C21P34 Crucially, while demonstratives are commonly used to modify a noun semantically, some languages lack a particular class of demonstrative determiners (Diessel 1999: 68–70). Hixkaryana, for example, has three demonstratives that are either used as free pronouns in argument position of a verb or in conjunction with a noun. Yet, the adnominal demonstratives are only loosely adjoined to the co-occurring noun. In contrast to the English NP, the Hixkaryana NP does not include a particular determiner slot: Bare nouns can serve as full NPs; i.e. they do not need a determiner. If a noun is accompanied by a demonstrative, constituent order is variable; i.e. the demonstrative may follow or precede the associated noun (9a)–(9b). Moreover, in adpositional phrases, both constituents, i.e. noun and demonstrative, are usually marked by the same postposition and the two PPs may be separated by a pause (9c).

(9) Hixkaryana (Derbyshire 1985: 53, 1979: 68, 40, adopted from Krasnoukhova 2012: 49)
a. *[ow-otɨ* ***mosonɨ]***$_{NP}$ *Ø-ar-ko* *ha*
2-meat.food DEM.PROX.AN 3-take-IMP INTENS
'Take this meat for you.'
b. *kaywana* *y-omsɨ-r* *y-oknɨ* ***[mokro*** *kaykusu]*$_{NP}$
Kaywana LK-daughter-POSSD LK-pet.POSSD DEM.MED.AN dog
'That dog is Kaywana's daughter's pet.'

c. *k-omok-no* *[[**moson** **y-akoro**]$_{PP}$* … *[**ro-he-tx** **y-akoro**]$_{PP}$]*
1-come-PST DEM.PROX.AN LK-COM … 1-wife-POSSD LK-COM
'I have come with this one, with my wife.'

C21P35 Considering these data, Derbyshire (1979: 131) argued that Hixkaryana does not have a grammatical class of demonstrative determiners, but uses instead free demonstrative pronouns in conjunction with a noun.[3] Similar types of constructions occur in several other languages of the sample, including Imonda, Nunggubuyu, Oneida, Tümpisa Shoshone, Wardaman, and West Greenlandic.

C21P36 Let me emphasize, however, that the proposed distinction between demonstrative determiners and adnominal demonstrative pronouns constitutes a continuum rather than a clear-cut opposition. As it turns out, in many languages adnominal demonstratives have properties of both pronouns and determiners (Diessel to appear). In Hungarian, for example, demonstratives precede all other modifiers of the noun, suggesting that the Hungarian NP includes a particular slot for adnominal demonstratives, similar to English. However, in contrast to English *this* and *that*, the Hungarian demonstratives are not paradigmatically related to other noun modifiers. In fact, adnominal demonstratives have to be combined with a definite article in Hungarian and may co-occur with possessive pronouns and other noun modifiers that are mutually exclusive in English (see (10)). Considering these properties, Moravcsik (1997) argued that the Hungarian demonstratives share properties with both pronouns and determiners.

(10) Hungarian (Moravcsik 1997: 307)
ez *a* *te* *két* *szép* *nagy* … *kerted,* *melyet* *eladtál*
this the your two nice big … our.yard which you.sold
'These two nice big yards of yours which you sold.'

C21S5

21.5 Demonstrative adverbs

C21P37 Adverbial demonstratives modify a verb or adjective (Diessel 1999: 74-8). The typological literature has been mainly concerned with demonstrative adverbs of space such as English *here* and *there*. Since these expressions are commonly used to specify the location of an action or event denoted by a verb (e.g. *She went there*), they are categorized as adverbs. Note, however, that the same expressions are also often used to reinforce demonstrative pronouns and determiners, as for instance in German (see *der hier* 'DEM here' vs *der da* 'DEM there') and French (see *celui-ci* 'DEM here' and *celui-là* 'DEM there').

C21P38 In the vast majority of languages, spatial deixis involves a particular set of demonstrative adverbs, formally distinct from demonstrative pronouns and determiners; that is, there are only a few languages in the sample in which adverbial demonstratives of space have the same

[3] More precisely, Derbyshire (1979: 131–132) characterized the adnominal demonstratives in Hixkaryana as pronouns of 'equative sentences' that are often embedded in larger structures and functionally equivalent to a demonstrative noun phrase.

forms as pronominal and/or adnominal demonstratives (e.g. Abui, Acehnese, Dom, Tukang Besi). Abui, for example, has a set of invariable demonstratives that can function as pronouns, noun modifies, and spatial adverbs (11a)–(11c). While the various uses of demonstratives are recognizable from their appearance in particular constructions, Kratochvíl (2007) does not divide them into distinct word classes. Since the Abui demonstratives are NOT paradigmatically related to other types of expressions, they are perhaps best analysed as deictic particles that can serve a variety of semantic and syntactic functions.

(11) Abui (Kratochvíl 2007: 128, 162, 269)

a. *it* ***do*** *nala?*
lie.CPL PROX what
'What is this (lying here)?'

b. ***do*** *fala*
PROX house
'this house (located by me)'

c. *a* ***do*** *mi-a* *maiye,* *ama* *e-l* *feng* *kang*
2SG PROX be.in-DUR when person 2SG.LOC-give injure be.good
'If you stay here, people can harm you.'

C21P39 While spatial demonstrative adverbs are usually distinct from demonstrative pronouns and determiners, they typically include the same deictic roots as demonstratives in other contexts. Overall, there are only ten languages in the entire database for which I was not able to determine a formal or diachronic connection between demonstrative adverbs of space and demonstrative pronouns/determiners (e.g. Apurinã, Oneida, Supyire, Ubykh).

C21P40 Unlike demonstrative pronouns, demonstrative adverbs tend to be uninflected. In particular, gender and number are hardly ever encoded by demonstrative adverbs. Nevertheless, as pointed out above, some languages have demonstrative pronouns in locative case that are similar to English *here* and *there* (e.g. Tauya and Finnish). In my sample, there are 35 languages of this type (e.g. Kxoe, Mangarrayi, Nunggubuyu).

C21P41 Another strategy to form adverbial demonstratives of space is to combine adnominal demonstratives with a generic noun or classifier denoting a place or location. Two examples from Hdi and ǂHõã are given in (12) and (13).

(12) Hdi (Frajzyngier 2002: 228)
lá-m-là *dífà-úgh-tà* ***xàdì*** ***yá,*** *mà* *tùghwázàk* …
go-IN-go hide-SO-REF place DEM P hibiscus
'Go hide yourself here, in the hibiscus, …'

(13) ǂHõã (Collins and Gruber 2014: 124)
ʾàm *ču* ***šú*** ***kyŏa*** ***kì*** *ʾa* *ʾám*
1SG.GEN father place that EMPH PROG eat
'My father is eating there.'

C21P42 Like demonstratives in locative case, these forms are often frozen or lexicalized. In fact, there are several languages in the data in which demonstrative NPs including a noun meaning 'place' have developed into (monomorphemic) adverbs. Korean, for example, has three

locational demonstratives, i.e. *yeki* 'here (near speaker)', *keki* 'there (near hearer)', and *ceki* 'there (distal)', that are historically derived from a demonstrative determiner and the base *eki* meaning 'place' (14).[4]

(14) Korean (Sohn 1994: 296)

i-eki	'this place (near S)'	>	*yeki*	'here (near S)'
ku-eki	'that place (near H)'	>	*keki*	'there (near H)'
ce-eki	'that place (distal)'	>	*ceki*	'there (distal)'

C21P43 All languages have spatial demonstrative adverbs that may indicate the relative distance between the deictic centre and a more distant location. Yet, apart from distance, spatial demonstratives may encode various other semantic features (Diessel 1999: 35–55). Imonda, for example, has two deictic roots, *õh* 'PROX' and *ed* 'DIST', that occur in various structural positions. Adverbial demonstratives denoting a location are often marked by the locative suffix *-ia*; but in addition to *õh-ia* 'here' and *ed-ia* 'there', Imonda has three other pairs of spatial demonstrative adverbs indicating direction and elevation as shown in Table 21.5.

C21T5

Table 21.5 Spatial demonstrative adverbs in Imonda (Seiler 1985: 43–46)

C21P94

	PROXIMAL	DISTAL
LOCATION	*õh-ia* 'here'	*ed-ia* 'there'
DIRECTION	*õsm* 'hither'	*esm* 'thither'
ELEVATION [UP]	*õh-puhõ* 'up here'	*ed-puhõ* 'up there'
ELEVATION [DOWN]	*õh-gõ* 'down here'	*ed-gõ* 'down there'

C21P44 Semantically similar demonstratives occur in Belhare, Dyirbal, Tauya, Tidore, and Yakkha (as well as in several other languages of the sample), but note that while these features are particularly common with demonstrative adverbs, they also appear with demonstrative pronouns and demonstrative determiners (see Schapper 2014 for examples; see also Forker 2020).

C21P45 In addition to spatial concepts, adverbial demonstratives may express non-spatial concepts such as manner and degree. Manner demonstratives have long been neglected, but a number of recent studies have been specifically concerned with this important class (König 2012, 2017; König & Umbach 2018; Treis 2019). Like all other types of demonstratives, manner demonstratives can be used exophorically with reference to elements in the outside world. However, in contrast to demonstrative pronouns and spatial demonstrative adverbs, manner demonstratives do not refer to entities, events or places, but focus interlocutors' attention onto the way an action is carried out (for an in-depth semantic analysis of manner

[4] Incidentally, contrary to what Heine and Kuteva (2007: 84–86) claim, there is little evidence in my data that demonstrative pronouns and determiners are commonly derived from demonstrative adverbs (though this is certainly possible). On the contrary, the data suggest that spatial demonstrative adverbs are often derived from demonstrative pronouns by the addition of locative case markers, postpositions or nouns meaning 'place'.

demonstratives, see König & Umbach 2018). Consider, for instance, the following example from German, including the manner demonstrative *so*.

(15) German
Einen guten Eindruck macht man ***so!*** [pointing gesture]
a good impression make one like.this
'This is how you make a good impression.'

C21P46 According to König & Umbach (2018), manner demonstratives indicate similarity between the manner of the event referred to by the demonstrative and some other event, or generic concept of an event, that is currently activated. In (15), for example, *so* refers to the manner of an action in the interlocutors' visual focus of attention, which is compared to the general concept of 'to make a good impression' referred to in the initial phrase.

C21P47 Although manner demonstratives are often ignored in reference grammars, I have found evidence for a particular (morphological) class of manner demonstrative adverbs in 67 languages. A few examples are given in Table 21.6.

C21T6 **Table 21.6 Demonstratives pronouns and demonstrative adverbs of space and manner in Lezgian (Haspelmath 1993a), Japanese (König 2012), Croatian (Brala-Vukanović 2015), and Korean (Sohn 1994)**

C21P95

		DEM PRO	DEM ADV OF SPACE	MANNER DEM
Lezgian	PROX DISTAL	*i-*INFL *a-*INFL	*ina* *am*	*ik'* *ak'(a)*
Japanese	NEAR S NEAR H DISTAL	*kore* *sore* *are*	*koko* *soko* *asoko*	*koo* *soo* *aa*
Croatian	PROX MEDIAL DISTAL	*ovaj* *taj* *onaj*	*ovdje* *tu* *ondje*	*ovako* *tako* *onako*
Korean	NEAR H NEAR S DISTAL	*i* N *ku* N *ce* N	*yeki* *keki* *ceki*	*i-le-key* *ku-le-key* *ce-le-key*

C21P48 As can be seen, in all four languages shown in this table, manner demonstratives are lexemes that are formally distinct from demonstrative pronouns and spatial demonstrative adverbs. However, manner demonstratives are also expressed by multi-word expressions, or phrases, consisting of a demonstrative pronoun and a similative marker (such as Engl. *like*) or an adnominal demonstrative and a noun meaning 'manner', as illustrated by the following examples from Awa Pit (16) and Semelai (17).

(16) Awa Pit (Curnow 1997: 144)
an=kana 'this=like' [*kana* = 'like']
sun=kana 'that=like'

(17) Semelai (Kruspe 1999: 311)
deŋ nɔʔ 'manner this' [*deŋ* = 'manner']
deŋ ke 'manner that'

C21P49 Like spatial demonstrative adverbs, manner demonstratives are not (usually) inflected, though they may occur with case markers (e.g. in Kambaata). However, in contrast to spatial demonstrative adverbs, manner demonstratives are not always deictically contrastive. There are several languages in the sample in which manner demonstratives are distance-neutral, like German *so*, French *ainsi*, Italian *così* 'so/thus', and Kambaata *hittíta* 'like this'.

C21P50 What is more, while manner demonstratives may refer to actions or events in the outside world, they are very often used with reference to linguistic elements in discourse. In fact, English *so* and *thus* (which are related to (exophoric) manner demonstratives in other Germanic languages) are almost exclusively used in this way (18).

(18) Peter is sick. **So/thus** he will not be able to attend the meeting.

C21P51 Since manner demonstratives are frequently used with reference to propositions, they often develop into clause linkers. Across languages, manner demonstratives provide a frequent source for the grammaticalization of conjunctive adverbs and markers of direct speech (Güldemann 2008; König 2012; Diessel & Breunesse 2020). In particular, the development of manner demonstratives into quotative markers is cross-linguistically very common (Güldemann 2008). Usan, for example, has two manner demonstratives, *ete* and *ende* (which both include the proximal root *e* 'this/here') that are commonly used as quote markers. Interestingly, while *ete* 'thus/so' serves to announce an upcoming quotation, *ende* 'thus/so' refers to a preceding quote (19).

(19) Usan (Reesink 1987: 184)

munon	*eng*	***ete***	*yo-nob*	*qâm-ar:*	*"mâni*	*âib*	*ne-teib-âm,"*
man	the	thus	me-with	say-3SG.PST	food	big	you-give.SG.FUT-1SG
ende	*qâm-arei*						
thus	say-3SG.PST						

'The man said thus to me: "I will give you a lot of food", thus he said.'

C21P52 Semantically related to demonstratives of manner are demonstratives of degree (König 2012, 2017). They also indicate a comparison, but are usually related to adjectives rather than to verbs. In this use, degree demonstratives indicate the degree or quantity of a property relative to some standard measure. Two examples from German and Lezgian are given in (20) and (21).

(20) German

Die	*Schlange*	*war*	***so***	*lang.*
the	queue	was	that	long

'The queue was that long.'

(21) Lezgian (Haspelmath 1993a: 312)

kün	*wučiz*	***iq'wan***	*pašman*	*ja?*
you.all.ABS	why	so.much	sad	COP

'Why are you-all so sad?'

C21P53 Note that German uses the demonstrative *so* to indicate both the manner of an action and the degree of a property. However, in Lezgian, the degree demonstratives *iq'wan* 'so much' and *aq'wan* 'so much' are formally distinct from the manner demonstrative *ik'* 'this way' and *ak'(a)* 'that way'.[5]

C21S6

21.6 Demonstrative identifiers

C21P54 Demonstratives are very frequent in copular and nonverbal clauses (e.g. *This/there is my friend*). Usually, the demonstratives of copular and nonverbal clauses are regarded as pronouns; but in many languages, they are formally distinct from demonstratives in other contexts. In particular, the demonstratives of nonverbal clauses often have special properties. Consider, for instance, the demonstratives in Table 21.7 from Pohnpeian (Table 21.7 and (22a)–(22c).

C21T7

Table 21.7 Demonstratives in Pohnpeian (Rehg 1981: 150–153)

C21P96

	PRONOUN		ADVERB	IDENTIFIER	
	SG	PL		SG	PL
NEAR S	*me(t)*	*metakan*	*me(t)*	*ie(t)*	*ietaka*
NEAR H	*men*	*menakan*	*men*	*ien*	*ienakan*
DISTAL	*mwo*	*mwohkan*	*mwo*	*io*	*iohkan*

(22) Pohnpeian (Rehg 1981: 143, 152, 150)

a. ***met*** *pahn* *mengila*
this will wither
'This will wither.'

b. *e* *wahdo* ***met***
he brought here
'He brought it here.'

c. ***ien*** *noumw* *pinselen*
there your pencil
'There is your pencil.'

C21P55 The demonstrative in (22a) functions as subject pronoun of an intransitive verb. As can be seen (in Table 21.11), demonstrative pronouns are inflected for number, but the singular forms are also used as spatial demonstrative adverbs (see (22b)). In addition to

[5] Another semantically related type of demonstrative indicates the 'quality' of an object (e.g. ***such*** *a fool*). Quality demonstratives can have the same forms as degree and/or manner demonstratives (König 2012), but they are usually used to modify (or specify) a co-occurring noun rather than a verb or adjective.

demonstrative pronouns and demonstrative adverbs, Pohnpeian has a special series of demonstratives that are exclusively used in nonverbal equational constructions (see (22c)) (or in one-word utterances, e.g. *Iet!* 'Here it is!'). Rehg (1981: 150) refers to the demonstratives in these constructions as 'pointing demonstratives', suggesting that they are frequently accompanied by a pointing gesture.

C21P56 Traditionally, the demonstratives of nonverbal clauses are analysed as subject pronouns, which seems to be appropriate as long as the demonstratives of nonverbal clauses have the same forms as demonstrative pronouns in verbal clauses. However, if the demonstratives of nonverbal clauses are formally distinct from demonstrative pronouns in other constructions (as in Pohnpeian), we may analyse them as a separate grammatical class, which I call 'demonstrative identifiers' (Diessel 1999: 78-88).

C21P57 Demonstrative identifiers are similar to deictic presentatives such as French *voici* and *voilà* or Russian *vot* and *von*. Both types of expressions serve to focus interlocutors' attention onto a referent in the surrounding situation and are frequently accompanied by a pointing gesture. However, in contrast to identifiers, presentatives are not associated with a particular construction. Identifiers are defined by their occurrence in nonverbal or copular clauses, whereas presentatives are typically used alone or in loose combination with a co-occurring clause or phrase. Nevertheless, there is no clear-cut distinction between deictic presentatives and demonstrative identifiers: When presentatives are used together with a noun, they are often strikingly similar to demonstrative identifiers in nonverbal clauses (e.g. *Voici ton train* 'Here comes your train').

C21P58 Like Pohnpeian, Uduk has a particular morphosyntactic class of demonstrative identifiers (Killian 2015: 149–166). The demonstrative system is very complex in Uduk. Table 21.8 shows only a subset of the available forms. Since demonstrative identifiers occur in verbless clauses (see (23)), Killian characterizes them as 'verb-like' elements. They are accompanied by the 'identificational particle' *ā* but do not conjugate like ordinary verbs for tense and aspect.

C21T8 **Table 21.8 Demonstratives in Uduk (Killian 2015: 152–162)**

C21P97

	PRONOUN		ADVERB	IDENTIFIER	
	SG	PL		SG	PL
PROXIMAL	*yá-nhān*	*gwă-nhān*	*má-nhān*	*ā ʾdán*	*ā nán*
MEDIAL	*jă-ʾdān*	*gwă-ʾdān*	*má-ʾdān*	*ā cíʾdān*	*ā níʾdān*
REMOTE	*jă-tāān*	*gwă-tāān*	*má-tāān*	*ā cíttān*	*ā níttān*
DISTAL	*jà-ttáán*	*gwà-ttáán*	*má-ttāān*	*ā cīttáán*	*ā nīttáán*

(23) Uduk (Killian 2015: 163)

à	*rìs*	*k̲ā'bāl*	***ā***	***nán***
CL2	many	sheep	IDENT	DEM.PL.MED

'There are a lot of sheep.'

C21P59 In Pohnpeian and Uduk, demonstrative identifiers have particular stems that distinguish them from demonstratives in verbal clauses (see also Maori, Musqueam, Pangasinen,

Supyire). In other languages, demonstrative identifiers differ from demonstrative pronouns and adverbs in terms of their inflectional properties, as, for example, in Tümpisa Shoshone (see (24a)–(24b)).

(24) Tümpisa Shoshone (Dayley 1989: 76, 145)
a. ***s-a-tü*** *to'ehi*
OBV-that-SBJ.SG emerge.hither
'That (one) is coming out.'
b. ***a-sü*** *hipikkahni*
that-IDENT bar
'That is a bar.'

C21P60 Example (24a) includes a demonstrative pronoun functioning as subject of the verb meaning *to'ehi* 'emerge' or 'come out'. The demonstrative consists of three morphemes: the deictic root *-a* 'that', the prefix *s-*, which Dayley (1989: 136) calls an 'obviative marker', and a number-case suffix. Example (24b) shows a demonstrative identifier that includes the same deictic root as the demonstrative pronoun in (24a), but in contrast to the latter, the demonstrative identifier is not inflected for case and number and does not include the obviative marker. Instead, demonstrative identifiers are marked by the suffix *-sü(n)* (Dayley 1989: 144, 372). Both types of demonstratives occur with several deictic roots, but Table 21.9 shows only the distal forms.

C21T9 **Table 21.9 Distal demonstratives in Tümpisa Shoshone (Dayley 1989: 137–145)**

C21P98

	PRONOUN			IDENTIFIER
	SINGULAR	DUAL	PLURAL	
SUBJECT	*(s-)a-tü*	*(s-)a-tungku*	*(s-)a-tümmü*	*a-sü(n)*
OBJECT	*(s-)a-kka*	*(s-)a-tuhi*	*(s-)a-tümmi*	
POSSESSIVE	*(s-)a-kkan*	*(s-)a-tuhin*	*(s-)a-tümmin*	

C21P61 Like demonstratives in Tümpisa Shoshone, the demonstrative identifiers of several other languages are deprived of their inflectional properties. In German and Russian, for example, demonstrative pronouns are inflected for gender, number, and case, but the demonstratives of identificational constructions are invariable (and thus do not agree with the predicate nominal; see (25) and (26)). The only forms that are permissible in these constructions are the neuter-singular demonstratives *das* and *3mo* 'this/that/it'.

(25) German
Das *sind* *meine* *Sachen.*
DEM.N.SG.NOM are my.PL thing.F.PL
'These are my things.'

(26) Russian (Sergei Monakhov p.c.)
Это *моя* *сестра.*
DEM.N.SG.NOM my.F.SG.NOM sister(.F).SG.NOM
'That's my sister.'

C21P62 Another example of a language in which demonstrative identifiers lack any inflectional properties is Inuktitut. As can be seen in Table 21.10, demonstrative pronouns are composed of a deictic root, a nominalizer and a case suffix in Inuktitut; but demonstrative identifiers, which Denny (1982: 365) characterizes as 'predicate particles', are invariable.

C21T10 **Table 21.10 Demonstrative pronouns and identifiers in Inuktitut (Denny 1982: 364–365)**

C21P99

	PRONOUN		IDENTIFIER	
PROXIMAL	*uv-sum-ing* prox-nml-acc	'this (one)'	*uvva*	'here (is)'
DISTAL	*ik-sum-ing* dist-nml-acc	'that (one)'	*ikka*	'there (is)'

C21P63 Finally, there are several languages in my data in which demonstrative pronouns are accompanied by a classifier (or pronoun) that does not occur with the demonstratives in copular or nonverbal clauses. For instance, as can be seen in (27a), demonstrative pronouns are preceded by a classifier in Vietnamese, whereas the demonstratives of copular clauses occur alone, i.e. without a classifier (see (27b)).[6]

(27) Vietnamese (Khanh Linh Hoang p.c.)
a. *tôi* *lấy* ***cái*** ***này***
I take CLF.INAN this
'I take this one.'
b. ***đây*** *là* *nhà* *tôi*
this COP house I
'This is my house.'

C21P64 Note that the demonstratives of nonverbal clauses are reminiscent of copulas if they resume a preceding noun or noun phrase. Consider, for instance, the following examples from Wappo.

(28) Wappo (Thompson et al. 2006: 101, 101)
a. *ce* *k'ew* ***ceʔeʔ*** *i* *nokh*
that man DEM/COP 1SG friend
'That man is my friend.'

[6] Note that if a copula is followed by a predicative adjective in Vietnamese, the demonstrative is accompanied by a classifier like a demonstrative pronoun in argument position of a full verb.

b. *ceʔeʔ* *kʼešu*
DEM/COP deer
'That's a deer.'

C21P65 Wappo has two demonstrative pronouns, *he* 'this' and *ce* 'that', that are included in the morphemes *heʔeʔ* and *ceʔeʔ,* which Thompson et al. (2006: 100–103) analyse as nonverbal copulas when they follow a topicalized NP, as in example (28a). However, since *heʔeʔ* and *ceʔeʔ* can also occur without a topicalized referent (see (28b)), one could regard them as demonstrative identifiers rather than copulas. Nevertheless, there is plenty of evidence that nonverbal copulas are often historically derived from demonstratives in nonverbal clauses that resume a preceding topic (Li and Thompson 1977; Diessel 1999: 143–150).

C21S7

21.7 Demonstrative verbs

C21P66 Demonstrative verbs include the same deictic roots as demonstrative pronouns, determiners, adverbs, and identifiers, but serve as predicates and share inflectional categories with verbs. Demonstrative verbs have been described in three recent typological studies by Dixon (2003), Guérin (2015) and Breunesse (2019). In accordance with these studies, my data show that demonstrative verbs are cross-linguistically infrequent. Overall, there are only eleven languages in the entire database in which some demonstratives share some inflectional properties with verbs: Dyirbal (Dixon 2003: 101–103), Epena Pedee (Harms 1994: 63, 176), Kambaata (Treis 2019: 12–13), Mapudungun (Smeets 1989: 424), Mauwake (Berghäll 2015: 172), Musqueam (Suttles 2004: 351), Nivkh (Guérin 2015: 159), Ngalakan (Merlan 1983: 62), Quechua (Shimelman 2017: 207), Kolyma Yukaghir (Maslova 2003: 242), and Yuracaré (Van Gijn 2006: 130).

C21P67 Demonstrative verbs constitute a heterogeneous class of expressions that vary along several parameters.

C21P68 • First, demonstrative verbs are either derived from other demonstratives by a verbalizing morpheme or they are inherently verbal (see Guérin 2015).

C21P69 • Second, demonstrative verbs either refer to entities or places or, more frequently, to the manner an action is carried out (or to a proposition) (see Breunesse 2019).

C21P70 • And finally, demonstrative verbs vary on a scale of verbhood, ranging from expressions that appear with the full range of verbal morphemes available in a particular language to expressions that share only some morphological properties with verbs.

C21P71 In what follows, we will consider these parameters based on a few selected examples.

C21P72 Mauwake has two 'locational verbs' derived from the demonstrative adverbs *fan* 'here' and *nan* 'there' (see Table 21.11). Since the verbal use of *fan* and *nan* does not involve a verbalizing morpheme, Berghäll (2015: 134, 172) argues that demonstrative verbs are formed by 'zero derivation' in Mauwake. Examples show *fan* and *nan* with tense and person marking (see (29)), but note that tense inflection is restricted to the past tense suffix *-e*, which, according to Berghäll, has lost its past tense meaning when combined with a demonstrative.

C21T11

Table 21.11 Demonstratives in Mauwake (Berghäll 2015: 116, 121, 172)

C21P100

	PRONOUN	ADVERB	VERB
PROXIMAL	*fain*	*fan*	*fan-e-agr*
DISTAL	*nain*	*nan*	*nan-e-agr*

(29) Mauwake (Berghäll 2015: 172)

aa,	*o*	*koora*	***fan-e-k***	*a*
INTJ	3SG	house	here-(PST)-3SG	INTJ

'Ah, this house is here.'

C21P73 Quechua has a series of demonstrative verbs that are derived by the verbalizing suffix *-na*. They include the same deictic roots as demonstrative pronouns and adverbs but occur with tense and evidential markers rather than with case and number affixes (see (30a–b)). Note that while demonstrative verbs are built on the same deictic roots as demonstrative pronouns and adverbs, they refer to the manner of an action rather than an entity or location.

(30) Quechua (Shimelman 2017: 207, 40)

a. *mana* *hampi-chi-pti-ki-pa* ***chay-na-nqa-m***
no cure-CAUS-SUB.DS-2-TOP DEM.DIST-VRBZ-3FUT-EVD
'If you don't have her cured, it's going to be like that.'

b. *kanan* ***chay-kuna-kta*** *wañu-chi-shaq*
now DEM.DIST-PL-ACC die-CAUS-1.FUT
'Now I'll kill those.'

C21P74 With few exceptions (e.g. Mauwake), the demonstrative verbs included in my data are semantically similar to manner demonstratives: They evoke a comparison and refer to an event or proposition. Here are two more examples from Mapudungun (31) and Kolyma Yukaghir (32).

(31) Mapudungun (Smeets 1989: 426)

kawellu	***fe-m-nge-y***
horse	become.like.that-CAUS-PASS-IND-(3)

'It looks like a horse.'

(32) Kolyma Yukaghir (Maslova 2003: 242)

alhudō-l	*lebie*	*unuŋ-pe-gi*	*čumut*	***tāt-mie-l'el-ŋi***
low-ANR	earth	river-PL-POSS	all	that-QLT-INFR-3PL.INTR

'All rivers on the Lower Earth are reported to be like that.'

C21P75 In Mapudungun, demonstrative verbs are based on the roots *fa-* 'become like this' and *fe-* 'become like that'. The same roots appear in demonstrative pronouns and adverbs (e.g. ***tüfá*** 'this', ***tüfey/fey*** 'that', ***tüfá-mew*** 'here-P', ***fey-mew*** 'there-P'), but in contrast to the latter, demonstrative verbs are inflected for aspect, mood, voice, and person.

C21P76 In Kolyma Yukaghir, demonstrative verbs are derived by the suffix *-mie*, which serves to form 'qualitative verbs' (Maslova 2003: 92ff.). The demonstrative verbs occur with the full paradigm of verb inflection, except that they do not have converb forms (Maslova 2003: 67).

C21P77 Like manner demonstrative adverbs, demonstrative verbs are often used with reference to direct speech, as in example (33) from Epena Pedee. Note that while demonstratives may be accompanied by a speech verb when referring to a quote, there is no verb apart from the demonstrative in the clause introducing the quotation in this example.

(33) Epena Pedee (Harms 1994: 176)
ma-ga-hí, *"pʰáta* *kʰo-páde* *a-hí"*
that-like-PST "plantain eat-IMP say-PST
'That is: "Eat your plantains"'.

C21P78 Concluding this section, let us take a short look at ǂHòã, a Kx'a language of Botswana, in which the semantic equivalent of a demonstrative pronoun has the structure of a 'minimal relative clause' (Collins & Gruber 2014: 118). There are two demonstrative determiners in ǂHòã, *ha* 'this/these' and *kyŏa* 'that/those', that can modify a preceding noun but cannot be used alone as pronouns. In order to use *ha* and *kyŏa* as pronouns (i.e. without a cooccurring noun), they have to be combined with two other morphemes: the 'relative pronoun' *ǁna* and the 'perfective relative marker' *m̀*, as in (34b).

(34) ǂHòã (Collins & Gruber 2014: 108, 118)
a. *O'ú* *[ǁna* *m̀* *'ám-'a* *lqhŭi-qà]*
duiker which REL.PERF eat-PERF grass-PL
'the duiker that ate grass'
b. *[ǁna* *m̀* ***ha]*** *kì* *n|na'a*
which REL.PERF this EMPH ugly
'This one is ugly.' (said of a person)

C21P79 Both examples in (34) include a relative clause marked by *ǁna* and *m̀*. However, where the relative clause in (34a) occurs with the verb *'ám* 'eat', the relative clause in (34b) occurs with the demonstrative *ha* 'this', suggesting that the demonstrative in (34b) serves as predicate of the relative clause. Similar types of demonstratives occur in other Kx'a languages and have been analysed as verbs (see Lionnet 2014). Note, however, that while the demonstratives in ǂHòã appear in the verb slot of a relative clause, they do not carry verbal inflection affixes such as tense, aspect, or mood (see Collins & Gruber 2014).

C21S8

21.8 Summary

C21P80 In conclusion, all languages have demonstratives, but their morphosyntactic properties are cross-linguistically diverse. In traditional grammar, demonstratives are commonly categorized as pronouns and/or adjectives, but if we look at demonstratives from a cross-linguistic perspective, we find a great deal of variation, making it very difficult to divide demonstratives into a universal set of word classes. Nevertheless, there are some

cross-linguistic tendencies in the morphological encoding and syntactic behaviour of demonstratives that can be interpreted as prototypes of certain (demonstrative) word classes.

C21P81 Drawing on data from a sample of 150 languages, this chapter has outlined a word-class typology of demonstratives with five basic categories: (i) demonstrative pronouns, (ii) demonstrative determiners, (ii) demonstrative adverbs, (iv) demonstrative identifiers, and (v) demonstrative verbs. Each type is defined by two basic criteria: (i) a distributional criterion, which describes the use of demonstratives in a particular construction (or syntactic context), and (ii) a morphological criterion, which specifies the morphological forms of demonstratives, notably the forms of their stems and their inflectional properties.

C21P82 Since the two criteria do not always coincide, one has to distinguish between the syntactic use of a demonstrative and its categorical status. As it turns out, many languages use the same demonstratives in multiple constructions. For instance, as we have seen, it is very common for demonstratives functioning as free pronouns to also serve as semantic modifiers of a cooccurring noun. If the demonstratives of different constructions are formally distinct from one another, they can be immediately categorized as members of separate word classes. However, if a language uses the same demonstratives in several constructions, we have to consider other aspects of their syntactic use in order to determine their word-class status. For instance, as we have seen, in English, adnominal demonstratives are paradigmatically related to articles and other noun modifiers that can be grouped together into a class of syntactic determiners. Yet, in other languages, adnominal demonstratives are only loosely associated with the noun they modify, suggesting that these forms are best analysed as free pronouns in apposition to a noun (rather than determiners).

C21P83 In general, there is an enormous amount of cross-linguistic variation in the structure and syntactic use of demonstratives, making it impossible to divide demonstratives into a universal set of word-class categories. Grammatical word classes are language- and construction-particular (Croft 2001). However, given the communicative function of demonstratives to create and to manipulate joint attention, it does not come as a surprise that demonstratives tend to occur in similar constructions (across languages) where they often acquire similar structural properties (though grammaticalization) that are characteristic of certain word classes.

C21P84

Appendix: Language sample[7]

C21P85 **Africa**: Aghem (Niger-Congo, Bantoid), Anywa (Eastern Sudanic, Nilotic), Arabic [Egyptian] (Afro-Asiatic, Semitic), Dagik (Narrow Talodi, Buram-Saraf), Dime (Afro-Asiatic, South Omotic), Ewondo (Niger-Congo, Bantoid), Goemai (Afro-Asiatic, West Chadic), Gumuz (Isolate), Hausa (Afro-Asiatic, West Chadic), Hdi (Afro-Asiatic, Biu-Mandara), ǂHõã [=|Hoan] (Kx'a), Ik (Eastern Sudanic, Kuliak), Jamsay (Dogon), Kambaata (Afro-Asiatic,

[7] The genetic classification of languages has been adopted from *The World Atlas of Language Structures* (Dryer & Haspelmath 2013), supplemented by information from *Glottolog* (Hammarström et al. 2020) when *The World Atlas of Language Structures* did not provide (sufficient) information. Alternative language names (or alternative spellings of language names) are indicated in square brackets.

Cushitic), Koyra Chiini (Songhay), Kxoe [Khwe] (Khoe-Kwadi), Lango (Eastern Sudanic, Nilotic), Masalit (Maban), Mende (Mande, Western Mande), Pichi (Creole), Sandawe (Isolate), Shabo [Chabu] (Isolate), Supyire (Niger-Congo, Senufo), Tamashek (Afro-Asiatic, Berber), Uduk (Koman, Central Koman), Wolaytta (Afro-Asiatic, North Omotic)

C21P86 NORTH AND CENTRAL AMERICA: Chimariko (Hokan, Chimariko), Choctaw (Muskogean), Inuktitut (Eskimo–Aleut, Eskimo), Jamul Tiipay (Hokan, Yuman), Keresan (Isolate), Kiowa (Kiowa-Tanoan), Lealao Chinantec (Oto-Manguean, Chinantecan), Passamaquoddy-Maliseet (Algic, Algonquian), Molala (Penutian), Montagnais (Algic, Algonquian), Musqueam (Salishan, Central Salish), Oneida (Iroquoian, Northern Iroquoian), Quileute (Chimakuan), Slave (Na-Dene, Athapaskan), Stoney [Assiniboine] (Siouan, Core Siouan), Tümpisa Shoshone (Uto-Aztecan, Numic), Tzeltal (Mayan), Tzutujil (Mayan), Wappo (Wappo-Yukian, Wappo), West Greenlandic (Eskimo–Aleut, Eskimo), Zapotec (Oto-Manguean, Zapotecan)

C21P87 SOUTH AMERICA: Apurinã (Arawakan, Purus), Awa Pit (Barbacoan), Bora (Huitotoan, Boran), Epena Pedee (Choco), Hixkaryana (Cariban, Parukotoan), Hup (Nadahup), Kamaiurá (Tupian, Tupi-Guaraní), Kotiria (Tucanoan), Kwaza (Isolate), Macushi (Cariban), Mapudungun [Mapuche] (Araucanian), Matsés (Pano-Tacanan, Panoan), Mosetén (Isolate), Pilagá (Guaicuruan), Quechua (Quechuan), Trumai (Isolate), Warao (Isolate), Wari' (Chapacura-Wanham), Yagua (Peba-Yaguan), Yuracaré (Isolate)

C21P88 EURASIA: Ainu (Isolate), Bao'an Tu (Altaic, Mongolic), Basque (Isolate), Belhare (Sino-Tibetan, Mahakiranti), Burushaski (Isolate), Cantonese (Sino-Tibetan, Chinese), Chukchi (Chukotko-Kamchatkan, Northern Chukotko-Kamchatkan), Croatian (Indo-European, Slavic), English (Indo-European, Germanic), Evenki (Altaic, Tungusic), Finnish (Uralic, Finnic), French (Indo-European, Romance), Georgian (Kartvelian), German (Indo-European, Germanic), Hinuq (Nakh-Daghestanian, Avar-Andic-Tsezic), Hungarian (Uralic, Ugric), Italian (Indo-European, Romance), Japanese (Japanese), Ket (Yeniseian), Kolyma Yukaghir (Yukaghir), Korean (Korean), Lezgian (Nakh-Daghestanian, Lezgic), Marathi (Indo-European, Indic), Meithei (Sino-Tibetan, Kuki-Chin), Nihali (Isolate), Nivkh (Isolate), Persian (Indo-European, Iranian), Qiang (Sino-Tibetan, Qiangic), Russian (Indo-European, Slavic), Saami (Uralic, Saami), Spanish (Indo-European, Romance), Swedish (Indo-European, Germanic), Tamil (Dravidian, Southern Dravidian), Turkish (Altaic, Turkic), Ubykh (North-West Caucasian), Yakkha (Sino-Tibetan, Kiranti)

C21P89 SOUTH EAST ASIA AND OCEANIA: Acehnese (Austronesian, Malayo-Sumbawan), Bajau (Austronesian, Sama-Bajaw), Begak-Ida'an (Austronesian, North Borneo), Chamorro (Austronesian, Chamorro), Jahai (Austro-Asiatic, Aslian), Khamti (Tai-Kadai, Kam-Tai), Khasi (Austro-Asiatic, Khasian), Lao (Tai-Kadai, Kam-Tai), Malay (Austronesian, Malayo-Sumbawan), Maori (Austronesian, Oceanic), Pangasinan (Austronesian, Northern Luzon), Pohnpeian (Austronesian, Oceanic), Semelai (Austro-Asiatic, Aslian), Taba [East Makian] (Austronesian, Eastern Malayo-Polynesian), Toqabaqita (Austronesian, Oceanic), Tukang Besi (Austronesian, Celebic), Vietnamese (Austro-Asiatic, Viet-Muong)

C21P90 AUSTRALIA AND NEW GUINEA: Abui (Timor-Alor-Pantar, Greater Alor), Alamblak (Sepik, Sepik-Hill), Ambulas (Sepik, Ndu), Bilua (Solomons East Papuan, Bilua), Dom (Trans-New Guinea, Chimbu-Wahgi), Duna (Trans-New Guinea, Duna), Dyirbal (Pama–Nyungan, Northern Pama–Nyungan), Hatam (West Papuan, Hatam), Imonda (Border), Komnzo

[Anta-Komnzo-Wára-Wérè-Kémä] (Yam, Morehead-Maro), Lavukaleve (Solomons East Papuan), Mangarrayi (Mangarrayi-Maran), Martuthunira (Pama–Nyungan, Western Pama–Nyungan), Mauwake (Trans-New Guinea, Madang), Menya (Trans-New Guinea, Angan), Mian (Trans-New Guinea, Ok), Mparntwe Arrernte (Pama–Nyungan, Central Pama–Nyungan), Nankina (Trans-New Guinea, Finisterre-Huon), Ngalakan (Gunwinyguan, Ngalakan), Nunggubuyu (Gunwinyguan, Nunggubuyu), Tauya (Trans-New Guinea, Madang), Tidore (West Papuan, North Halmaheran), Urim (Torricelli, Urim), Usan (Trans-New Guinea, Madang), Wambaya (Mirndi, Wambayan), Wardaman (Yangmanic), Yagaria (Trans-New Guinea, Eastern Highlands), Yawuru (Nyulnyulan), Yelî Dnye (Yele), Yimas (Lower Sepik-Ramu, Lower Sepik)