

LP. Pronominal and Adnominal Demonstratives

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1. Defining the values

Demonstratives are commonly divided into pronominal demonstratives, which substitute for a noun (phrase), and adnominal demonstratives, which accompany a coreferential noun. In English, pronominal and adnominal demonstratives have the same forms: *this* and *that* may function as independent pronouns as in (1a) or they may cooccur with a noun as in (1b).

(1) English

a. *I don't like that.*

b. *this book*

In other languages, pronominal and adnominal demonstratives are often formally distinguished: They may have different stems or they may have different inflectional features. For instance, in French pronominal and adnominal demonstratives have different stems: *celui* and *celle* are used pronominally and *ce* and *cette* accompany a noun.

(2) French

Donne-moi ce livre-là et garde celui-ci

give-me this book-there and keep this.one-here

pour toi.

for you

'Give me that book and keep this one for you.'

In Turkish, pronominal and adnominal demonstratives have the same stems; both involve the proximal demonstrative *bu* and the distal demonstrative *o*. However, pronominal and adnominal

35 demonstratives differ in their inflectional behaviors: The
 36 pronominal demonstratives are inflected for case (and number)
 37 (see 3a), whereas the adnominal demonstratives are uninflected
 38 particles that preceded an inflected noun (see 3b).

39

40 (3) Turkish (Kornfilt 1997: 312, 315)

- 41 a. *Ali bun-u unut-amı-yor.*
 42 Ali this-ACC forget-cannot-PROG
 43 'Ali is unable to forget this.'
- 44 b. *bu gazete-yi*
 45 this newspaper-ACC
 46 'this newspaper'

47

48 The map shows the geographical distribution of three
 49 types of languages: Languages like English in which the
 50 demonstratives have the same forms (value 1), languages like
 51 French in which the demonstratives have different stems (value
 52 2), and languages like Turkish in which the demonstratives have
 53 different inflectional features (value 3).

54

@	1. same forms	143
@	2. different stems	37
@	3. different inflectional features	21
	total	201

55

56 Note that the demonstratives of the third type may or may not
 57 have different stems; crucial is that they have different
 58 inflectional features. For instance, in Tamil the pronominal
 59 demonstratives have the stems *itu* 'proximal' and *atu* 'distal',
 60 which are combined with gender-number affixes. The
 61 adnominal demonstratives on the other hand are expressed by
 62 *intu* 'proximal' and *antu* 'distal', which do not occur with
 63 gender-number markers. Since pronominal and adnominal
 64 demonstratives have different inflectional properties in Tamil,

65 they are classified as languages of the third type regardless of
66 the fact that they also have different stems.

67 In the great majority of languages, pronominal and
68 adnominal demonstratives are independent words; however,
69 adnominal demonstratives can also be clitics. Demonstrative
70 clitics are bound forms that attach to a noun or another word in
71 the noun phrase. Two examples from Lango (Nilotic; Uganda)
72 are given in (4a–b).

73

74 (4) Lango (Noonan 1992: 155)

75 a. *gwókk=ki*

76 dog=this

77 'this dog'

78 b. *gwôkk à dwón=ni*

79 dog ATTR big=this

80 'this big dog'

81

82 In contrast to adnominal demonstratives, pronominal
83 demonstratives are virtually always free forms (Diessel 1999: ch
84 2). Languages in which adnominal demonstratives are clitics and
85 pronominal demonstratives are independent forms are classified
86 as languages in which pronominal and adnominal
87 demonstratives have different stems (i.e. they have been
88 assigned to the second type).

89 Some languages do not have a separate class of
90 demonstrative pronouns. For instance, in Korean demonstratives
91 are uninflected particles that have to be accompanied by a noun.
92 The semantic equivalent of a pronominal demonstrative in
93 English is a noun phrase consisting of the demonstrative
94 particles *i* 'near speaker', *ku* 'near hearer', or *ce* 'away from
95 speaker and hearer' and a "defective noun" (Sohn 1994: 295)
96 that indicates the type of referent (e.g. *il* 'thing/fact'):

97

98 (5) Korean (Sohn 1994: 295)

99 [*ce il-ul*] *nwu-ka mak-keyss-ni*

100 that thing-ACC who-NOM block-FUT-Q
101 ‘Who would be able to block this?’

102

103 There are other languages in which parallel expressions are
104 formed by combining an adnominal demonstrative with a third
105 person pronoun, a classifier, or some other element that
106 functions as the head of the construction (Diessel 1999: ch 4).
107 Although, strictly speaking, these languages do not have a
108 separate class of demonstrative pronouns, one can think of the
109 construction in (5) and parallel constructions in other languages
110 as complex pronominal forms. On the map, languages like
111 Korean have been classified as languages in which pronominal
112 and adnominal demonstratives have different stems (i.e. they
113 also have been assigned to the second type).

114 Apart from pronominal and adnominal demonstratives,
115 many languages employ a separate class of identificational
116 demonstratives, which in many descriptions are not properly
117 distinguished from pronominal demonstratives (Diessel 1999:
118 ch 4). Identificational demonstratives occur in copular and
119 nonverbal clauses. For instance, in Ponapean (Oceanic;
120 Micronesia) *me(t)* ‘near speaker’, *men* ‘near hearer’, and *mwo*
121 ‘away from speaker and hearer’ are used as pronominal
122 demonstratives in verbal clauses, whereas *ie(t)* ‘near speaker’,
123 *ien* ‘near hearer’, and *io* ‘away from speaker and hearer’
124 function as identificational demonstratives in nonverbal clauses.

125

126 (6) Ponapean (Rehg 1981: 143, 150)

127 a. *met pahn megali*

128 this will wither

129 ‘This will wither.’

130 b. *iet noumw naipen*

131 this/here your knife

132 ‘Here is your knife.’

133

134 Like Ponapean, Tümpisa Shoshone (Uto–Aztecan; North
 135 America) distinguishes pronominal demonstratives in verbal
 136 clauses from identificational demonstratives in nonverbal
 137 clauses. However, in Tümpisa Shoshone pronominal and
 138 identificational demonstratives have the same deictic roots, but
 139 differ in their inflectional behaviors: The pronominal
 140 demonstratives are inflected for number and case and may take
 141 an “obviative marker” (Dayley 1989:136) that is prefixed to the
 142 deictic root. By contrast, the identificational demonstratives are
 143 unmarked for number, take the suffix *-sü(n)* in place of a
 144 regular case ending, and never occur in the obviative form.

145

146 (6) Tümpisa Shoshone (Dayley 1989: 141, 145)

- 147 a. *u punikka s-e-tü*
 148 it see OBV–that–NOM
 149 ‘This one saw it.’
- 150 b. *e-sü(n) nahim pungku*
 151 this.is our.DU pet
 152 ‘This is our pet.’

153

154 While identificational demonstratives can be seen as some type
 155 of pronoun, they should be distinguished from pronominal
 156 demonstratives in verbal (and non-copular) clauses. For the
 157 purpose of this map the category of pronominal demonstratives
 158 has been restricted to demonstratives that function as
 159 arguments of verbs in verbal clauses, i.e. identificational
 160 demonstratives have been disregarded.

161

162 2. Geographical distribution

163

164 In most languages, pronominal and adnominal demonstratives
 165 are morphologically identical. In 71.1% of the languages shown
 166 on the map pronominal and adnominal demonstratives have the
 167 same forms, in 18.4% pronominal and adnominal

168 demonstratives have different stems, and in 10.4% they differ
169 with regard to their inflectional features.

170 If we look at the geographical distribution of languages in
171 which pronominal and adnominal demonstratives are formally
172 distinguished, we find a concentration in two large areas.
173 Languages in which pronominal and adnominal demonstratives
174 differ in terms of their inflection are especially frequent in Asia
175 and south-eastern Europe. They occur in a region ranging from
176 Turkey and the Caucasus in the west to India and Japan in the
177 east. In the majority of these languages, adnominal
178 demonstratives are uninflected particles that precede an
179 inflected noun whereas pronominal demonstratives are inflected
180 for number and case, and less frequently also for gender.
181 Outside of this area, there are only a few other languages on the
182 map in which pronominal and adnominal demonstratives have
183 different inflectional features (Somali, Tauya, Epena Pedee, and
184 Lealao Chinantec).

185 Languages with different stems are especially frequent in
186 northern and central Africa. The majority of the Afro-Asiatic and
187 Nilo-Saharan languages spoken in this region employ
188 demonstratives with different stems in pronominal and
189 adnominal positions. Apart from the Afro-Asiatic and Nilo-
190 Saharan languages, there are various other languages
191 throughout the world in which pronominal and adnominal
192 demonstratives have different stems. Such languages occur for
193 instance in Europe (e.g. French), Asia (e.g. Mulao), South
194 America (e.g. Wari'), and the Pacific region (e.g. Ambulas).

195 There are two large areas in which all demonstratives have
196 the same morphological forms. One of them is Australia, where
197 not a single language shown on the map differentiates between
198 pronominal and adnominal demonstratives. The other area is
199 North America with the exception of a small region in the Pacific
200 Northwest. The languages that are spoken in this region belong
201 to the Salishan and Wakashan language families, which tend to
202 have complex systems of articles and determiners that are

203 formally distinct from the corresponding pronouns. In all other
204 areas of North America, adnominal and pronominal
205 demonstratives are expressed by the same forms.

206

207 3. Theoretical issues

208

209 If a language employs different demonstratives in pronominal
210 and adnominal positions, it is reasonable to assume that the
211 demonstratives in these positions are categorially distinguished:
212 Pronominal demonstratives are independent pronouns and
213 adnominal demonstratives are articles or determiners. However,
214 what is the categorial status of adnominal demonstratives in
215 languages in which pronominal and adnominal demonstratives
216 have the same forms? Are they demonstrative pronouns or do
217 they function as determiners that happen to have the same
218 forms as the pronominal demonstratives?

219 There is good evidence that the adnominal
220 demonstratives of many languages are independent pronouns
221 that are only loosely adjoined to a noun in some kind of
222 appositional structure. In particular, in languages in which the
223 ordering of demonstrative and noun is flexible and/or
224 discontinuous, it is reasonable to assume that adnominal
225 demonstratives are independent pronouns in apposition to a
226 noun (Diessel 1999: ch 4). Languages of this sort usually belong
227 to the non-configurational language type, in which words are
228 organized in appositional constructions rather than in
229 hierarchically structured phrases (Hale 1983). Interestingly, the
230 languages of the two areas where pronominal and adnominal
231 demonstratives always have the same forms, Australia and
232 North America, are well-known for their non-configurational
233 properties. An interesting hypothesis is thus that the
234 pronominal and adnominal demonstratives of the Australian and
235 North American languages are formally identical because the
236 adnominal demonstratives of these languages are demonstrative
237 pronouns in apposition to a noun.

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