

## **Manual of Deixis in Romance Languages**

MRL 6

# **Manuals of Romance Linguistics**

**Manuels de linguistique romane**

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Edited by

Günter Holtus and Fernando Sánchez Miret

## **Volume 6**

# **Manual of Deixis in Romance Languages**

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Edited by

Konstanze Jungbluth and Federica Da Milano

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## ***Manuals of Romance Linguistics***

The new international handbook series *Manuals of Romance Linguistics* (*MRL*) will offer an extensive, systematic and state-of-the-art overview of linguistic research in the entire field of present-day Romance Studies.

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Günter Holtus (Lohra/Göttingen)

Fernando Sánchez Miret (Salamanca)

June 2015

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Konstanze Jungbluth (Frankfurt an der Oder)

Federica Da Milano (Milano)

August 2015



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# List of Abbreviations

Abr.	Abruzzese
acc.	accusative
adj.	adjective
adn.	adnominal
adv.	adverb
AgrP	agreement projection
AP	adjectival phrase
ART	article
Bas.	Basilicatese
Bol.	Bolognese
BP	Brazilian Portuguese
ca.	circa
Cal.	Calabrian
Cast.	Castillian
Cat.	Catalan
cf.	see/compare
ch.	chapter
CL	Cognitive Linguistics
Cmp.	Campanian
CN	compound nominals
ČNK	Czech national corpus
COMP	compound
CP	complementizer phrase
CT	coding time
dat.	dative
DEF	definite
Deic	deictic
DEM	demonstrative
DES	Dizionario etimologico sardo
DET	determiner
DIR	direct
dist	distal
DP	determiner-phrase
DS	Default Semantics
E	event
EAbr.	Eastern Abruzzese
edd.	editors
e.g.	for example
Eml.	Emilian
Eng.	English
EP	European Portuguese
et al.	and others
etc.	and so forth
Ex.	example
f./fem.	feminine
fig.	figure
fn.	footnote

FP	functional projection
Fr.	French
Frl.	Friulian
FV	Français Vaudois
Gal.	Galician
gen.	genitive
Gen.	Genoese
Ger.	German
GOAL	target
H	hearer
ibid.	in the same place
ICM	Idealized Cognitive Model
i.e.	that is
INDEF	indefinite
INDIR	indirect
IPA	International Phonetic Alphabet
Istr.	Istroromanian
It.	Italian
Lat.	Latin
Laz.	Laziale
LF	logical form
lh.	left hand
Lig.	Ligurian
lit.	literal
Lmb.	Lombard
LOC	locative
Log.	Logudorese
L2	second language
m./m(a)sc.	masculine
MA	Mesoamerican
MED	Medial
Megl.	Meglenoromanian
Mil.	Milanese
Mol.	Molisano
Mold.	Moldave
N	noun
n.	number
Nap.	Neapolitan
NCal	Northern Calabrian
NKJP	Narodowy Korpus Języka Polskiego
nom.	nominative
NONPAST	non past (a verbal form in Japanese)
NP	noun-phrase
NumP	number-phrase
Occ.	Occitan
OLmd.	Old Lombard
ONap	Old Neapolitan
OPdm.	Old Piedmontese
p.c.	personal communication

Pdm.	Piedmontese
PERS	personal
Pgl.	Pugliese
Pl./plur.	plural
Pmg.	Parmigiano
PLOH	palm lateral open hand
pp.	pages
PREP	preposition
PRO/pron	pronoun
prox	proximal
Pt.	Portuguese
p1/p2/p3	first/second/third person plural
QP	quantifier-phrase
ref.	referential
Rel.	relative
rh.	right hand
RL(s)	Romance Language(s)
Rml.	Romagnol
Rom.	Romanian
Rus.	Russian
S	speaker
s.	sequens
Sal.	Salentino
SAP	Speech Act Participant(s)
SBas.	Southern Basilicate
SCal.	Southern Calabrian
sect.	section
SF	Standard French
Sg./Sing.	singular
Sic.	Sicilian
SIL	Summer Institute of Linguistics
Sp.	Spanish
Spec	specifier
SPK	speaker
sq.	sequens
ss.	sequentes
SUBJ	subject
Subst.	noun
s.v.	under the word
SWPdm.	South Western Piedmontese
s1/s2/s3	first/second/third person singular
TAG	tag-question
TAM	temporal-aspectual-modal
TOP	topic
Transilv.	Transilvan
Tsc.	Tuscan
u	utterance
Umb.	Umbrian
v	verb

Var.	variation
Ven.	Venetian
viz.	namely
vol.	volume
VP	verbal-phrase
vs.	versus
V2	verb second
WAbr.	Western-Abruzzese
XP	x-phrase
1PL	first person plural
1SG	first person singular
2PL	second person plural
2SG	second person singular
3PL	third person plural
3SG	third person singular

Paolo Ramat

## 24 Language Change and Language Contact

**Abstract:** Some general reflections on the communication process open this article: the communication process implies deixis. Deixis is composed by three elements: speaker, hearer and event(s) or state of affair(s) that is or are spoken about in the speech act.

Personal Pronouns ('me', 'thou', 'he/she/it'), Demonstratives ('this' and 'that'), Place and Time Adverbs ('here' and 'now', 'left' and 'right'), Motion Verbs ('come' and 'go') play the most important role in the dyad of conversation. They may be used anaphorically or cataphorically and are endophoric (Eng. *this*) or exophoric (Eng. *that*).

Some cases of language contact causing language change are dealt with in this chapter: lexical borrowing (like Sp. *izquierda* 'left' substituting the Latin type *sinies-tra*), but also morphological and syntactic change. Some sub-areas are proposed for the Romance area: Ibero-Romance as well as dialects of central and southern Italy plus Corsica and Sardinia know a tripartite division of demonstratives, whereas the areas of Northern Italy and France have a bipartite division: one can assume that language contact took place among the two regions. Also the possibility of using 'come' and 'go' in the same context (Fr. *Dans ce bistrot j'y allais/j'y venais tous les jours*) hints at the possibility of a constructional borrowing from English or German. Finally, also the onomastic formula *Charles le Chauve*, *Charles le Bien-Aimé* is an onomastic type which first developed in the Germanic world.

**Keywords:** Romance Languages, Latin, Italian, French, Spanish, English, language contact, language change, grammar, pragmatics, deixis, demonstrative, article, pronoun, personal pronoun, adverb, temporal adverb, motion verb, two-term system, three-term system, anaphora, cataphora, endophoric adposition, exophoric, adposition, proximal, distal, dyad of conversation, speech act

### 0 Introduction

In the recent book edited by Siemund/Kintana (2008) many examples of language change due to language contact are discussed. Instances where genetic affiliation is overruled by language-contact factors are numerous around the world. Even the hypothesis of "Standard Average European" by which we will conclude this chapter is based on the idea of language contact inducing language change. The topic is well-known and boasts a very large literature. Suffice to mention here Kortmann and van der Auwera's comprehensive guide to languages and linguistics of Europe (Kortmann/van der Auwera 2011), where many case studies of contact-induced changes are



presented: see for instance the case of phrasal adverbials such as “no longer”, “not yet”, “still”, that may be considered – at least partially – deictic inasmuch as they make reference to the “now and here” of the conversational situation. Basque, Feroese, Maltese and Romanian have an “already” adverb: Basque borrowed it from Spanish, Feroese from Danish, Maltese from Italian, and Romanian from French (cf. van der Auwera 2011, 297). As for the ARTicles, which doubtlessly belong to the deixis domain (see below, section 1), Putzu (2002) has illustrated their “east-to-west gradient” in the Mediterranean area, from Classical Egypt (2000 BC onwards) and Ugarit (14th–12th cent. BC) to post-Mycenean Greece (in Homeric Greek ARTs still appear to be in a development process). Thereafter, from the Magna Graecia ARTs spread in the western part of the Mediterranean to Phoenician-Punic, Etruscan, Lybian, Iberian and Paleo-Sardinian and finally landed in Rome as an article-like DEMonstrative (see also Putzu/Ramat 2001, 111–125; Sansò 2011, 350s.). Note that the first attestations of article-like DEMs appear in not official texts like private letters, following the need for discursive efficacy (see below the case of Lat. ILLE in section 3). This is a clear example of diffusion of an innovative change (in Benveniste’s terms), due to linguistic and cultural contact that introduces a new morphosyntactic category.

## 1 Pronouns, Definite and Indefinite Articles

To better understand the nature of DEMs it is useful to compare the use of personal PROnouns – beyond any doubt an essential part of the deixis domain – with their impersonal counterparts. As shown by Gast/van der Auwera (2013, 122s.), impersonal PROs are unable to introduce discourse referents: one cannot say in German \**Man*<sub>(IMPS PRO)</sub> *hat geklopft. Er ist sehr verärgert* ‘Someone has knocked. He is very angry’. But *Sie*<sub>(PERS PRO)</sub> *hat geklopft. Sie ist sehr verärgert*, ‘She has knocked. She is very angry’ is fine, since *sie* refers via a deictic PRO to a person which is supposed to be known to speaker and hearer (otherwise the hearer would ask ‘Who’s she?’). A ‘Givenness Hierarchy’ of the referential status of the antecedent referent has been suggested by Gundel/Hedberg/Zacharski (1993), that connects different referring (i.e., also deictic) expressions with different degrees of cognitive prominence of the referent, i.e. its salience:

a) in focus > b) activated > c) familiar > d) uniquely identifiable > e) referential > f) type identifiable.

At the f) level an INDEF ART can be used since the addressee can identify just the type of the described object: *se questo è **un** uomo, si (ça) c’est **un** homme, si esto es **un** hombre, se isto é **um** homem* ‘if this is a man’. Passing from f) to a) the deictic reference is increasing and entails the use of DEMs (DEF ARTs and DETs, cf. De Vos 2013, 246–48).

Among the Romance Languages (RLs), cases of change due to language contact are rather rare in the deixis domain. Personal pronouns belong to the most conservative parts of grammar and they keep the complex Latin suppletivism (*ego*<sub>[NOM.SG]</sub> vs.

*me*<sub>[ACC.SG]</sub> vs. *nos*<sub>[NOM.ACC.PL]</sub> → It. *io, me, noi*, Fr. *je, me, nous*, Cat. *jo, mi, nosaltres*, Sp. *yo, me, nosotros/-as*, Pt. *eu, me, nós*, etc.<sup>1</sup>

In what follows I illustrate some cases which are probably due to language contact. It is trivial truth that language contact does not necessarily amount to lexical borrowing only. It may consist in morphological or syntactic calque, where the borrowing language keeps its lexical material but patterns it according to the rules of the source language.

## 2 The Pragmatic (Conversational) Dimension of Deixis

In the communication process there exists a threefold relation: the speaker(s), the hearer(s), and the object(s)/event(s)/state(s) of affairs it is spoken about: “pointing [i.e. deixis: P.R.] is generally triadic, there is some third entity involved” (Tomasello 2003, 33). Deictic gesture is a primitive in the ontogenetic and phylogenetic process: when a not-yet-speaking child points to an object indicating it to an adult, the threefold relations is actuated and the object is pointed to both for the adult and the child himself.

Jacquesson has already described in this book (↗21 Typology) many aspects that concern the wide field of deixis. We understand deixis as defined by Lyons (1977, 637; see ↗0 Introduction, section 1) and Levinson (1983, 54), accepted also by Ricca (1993, 13): any morphological, syntactic or lexical expression that codifies informations concerning space and time of a speech act and its actants (speaker and hearer), necessary for the interpretation of the speech act itself, is deictic. In other words, “deixis” means reference, internal to the speech act itself, to space, time and actants of the conversational situation. However, this does not mean that speaker and hearer may not refer in their conversational situation to persons, objects and, more generally, to states of affairs which are not present in the speech situation. Deixis is situated at the border line between semantics and pragmatics (Levinson 1983). As usual, it is along this border line that we encounter grammaticalization phenomena of constructs originated at the level of conversation (i.e. of pragmatics: see, e.g., the reinforcement of deictics discussed below, section 3): “[t]he fascinating field of deixis is situated at the crossroads between grammar and semantics” (↗0 Introduction).

Personal PRONouns ‘(me/we’, ‘thou, you’<sup>2</sup>) are bound to the conversational situation and may change their reference in the conversation role exchange between

1 Note that the Catalan and Spanish first plur. PROs have generalized the exclusive form, as the dialects of Rome and Sicily (*noantri* and, respectively, *nuàutri* vs. standard It. *noi* *altri*, exclusive and opposed to the non-exclusive *noi*). The pronoun *nui* is, on the contrary, rarely used by itself in Sicilian.

2 Note that the “dyad of conversation” (see ↗0 Introduction, sect. 7 and further below, fn. 5) may use personal PROs other than ‘me’ and ‘thou’, such as Fr. *vous*, Sp. *Usted*, Pt. *o senhor/a senhora* and *você*,

speaker and hearer. Hence, not only the well-known demonstratives ‘this’ and ‘that’, and the adverbs ‘here’ and ‘there’ but also time adverbs such as ‘yesterday’, ‘tomorrow’ are deictic inasmuch as they refer to a time point taken as “origo”. Motion verbs such as ‘come’ and ‘go’ are deictic, too, since they refer to the point of the movement origin. Anderson/Keenan (1985, 277) quote Abaza as an example of verbal inflection which distinguishes via prefixes ‘bring’ and ‘take’: *ṣágra* ‘to bring’ and *nágra* ‘to take’. RLs do know prefixes which locate the action in space and time (for instance It. *ritornare* ‘to come back’, Fr. *revenir*, Sp. *regresar*; Rom. *a sustrage* ‘to take away from’, It. *detrarre*, Fr. *soustraire*, Sp. *detraer*, etc.) but they usually make use of different verbs in order to express the movement direction, as in Rom. *a urca ~ a coborî* ‘to go up ~ to go down’, It. *salire ~ scendere*, Fr. *monter ~ descendre*, Pt. *subir ~ descender*. Bernini (2010, 40) notes that Standard Italian may add an adverbial postposition to the motion verb *andare* ‘go’: *andare via* ‘to go away’ from the “origo” point (possibly like Pt. *ir embora*), while Romanian, French and Spanish cannot. The same holds for *salire* ‘go up’ (*salire su*) and *scendere* (*scendere giù*) ‘go down’. However, the deictic nature of these forms – called by Talmy (1985) “satellite-framed” – does not change and a verb phrase like \**salire giù* is of course logically impossible. Like the English locutions *to go up*, *to go down* etc. the function of the ‘satellite’ is to enhance and make more specific the meaning of the base verb, especially when the verb ‘per se’ indicates a generic movement like *andare*: *andare dentro* ‘to enter’, *andare fuori* ‘to exit’ *andare dietro* ‘to follow’, *andare avanti* ‘to precede, go before’. Standard Italian has more elegant equivalents for these ‘satellite-framed’ expressions: *entrare*, *uscire*, *seguire*, *precedere*, but many Italian dialects make use of the satellite-framed strategy. On the other hand, French has just a restricted number of the so-called ‘stranded prepositions’. In a recent discussion in “Histling” the following sentences have been reported by Paul Hopper (15.12.2013): *les femmes qu’il a couché avec* “the women he’s slept with”, *je lui ai couru après* ‘I ran after him’, *tu n’as pas travaillé pour* ‘You didn’t work for it’, *J’y suis pour*, presumably ‘that’s what I’m here for’. As we may see from the above French examples, “preposition stranding” is not limited to deictic motion verbs. On the contrary, it concerns the general issue of free position of adpositions; therefore it cannot be discussed further in this chapter (see Cuzzolin/Putzu/Ramat 2006; Ferrari/Mosca 2010).

On the other hand, logophoric strategies (anaphora and cataphora) strictly belong to deixis. Strictly speaking, some authors make a difference between deixis and anaphora. According to Cornish (1996, 22; see also Croft 2013, 106s.), deixis serves to shift the hearer’s attention from an already existing object of discourse to a new one, while anaphora signals the continuation of the already established attention focus: both deixis and anaphora operate at the memory organization level. However, both

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It. *Lei (Voi)*. Such “honorifics” do not alter the discourse situation: we have always to do with the “dyad of conversation”.

deixis and anaphora serve to install an infra- or extratextual relation with what is referred/alluded to in the discourse and/or in the situation, already known to the speaker (and possibly to the hearer), and consequently they deserve to be discussed along the same lines. Vanelli (2010, 1253s.) notes that the Old Ital. locative adverbs, *indi/quindi* (also with temporal meaning), *ivi/quivi* ‘per se’ are not deictic since they can mean both ‘from here’ and ‘from there’, ‘here’ and ‘there’, respectively (see in section 6 the discussion of the possible null difference between “come” and “go”, which sets to zero their deictic nature). Both ADVs can be used anaphorically or cataphorically, and Koenig (2012) has recently written an accurate study about the manner deictics such as Lat. *sic*, Fr. *ainsi* etc., which anaphorically/cataphorically refer mainly to the ongoing speech act (“situation d’élocution”: Koenig 2012, 13).

### 3 Demonstratives in the Romance Languages

In the domain of demonstratives we hardly find cases of borrowing among the Romance Languages (RLs). We have to distinguish between contact-induced changes and spontaneous developments: for instance, demonstratives provide a very common source for definite ARTicles, as Lat. ILLE > It. *il*, Fr. *le*, Sp. *el*, etc. – or Ger. *der*, Dutch *de*, Eng. *the* that derive from the Indo-European demonstrative \*TO (cf. Lat. *is-tod*). There is no reason to argue that Sp. *el* derives from It. *il* or Fr. *le*. These articles are indigenous developments (in different times and in different forms) of the Latin common origin. On the other hand, it is probable that the definite article developed already in (late) Latin under the influence of Greek which knew definite ARTs since Homeric times. Especially New Testament Greek had a strong impact in the Latin development of ARTs. On its turn, the translation of religious Latin texts influenced the development of definite ARTs in the Germanic languages.

In the realm of DEMs the traditional deictic division is tripartite, see for instance the DETerminer in Spanish (Castilian) *este*, *ese*, *aquel*, and Catalan (in Valencia, in the comarca of Ribagorça, Huesca, and in classic literary style): *aquest*<sub>MASC</sub>/*-a*<sub>FEM</sub> ‘this’ (called ‘proximal’, near the speaker) ~ *aqueix*/*-a* ‘that’ (called ‘distal’, near the hearer; see fn. 4) ~ *aquell*/*-a* ‘that’ (far from both speaker and hearer); Neuter Pronoun: *açò* ~ *això* ~ *allò*. Note that the tripartite system seems to survive just in some parts of Catalonia, the trend being to adopt a bipartite system with *aquest* and *aquell*, *això* and *allò*. A similar situation can be observed with reference to Italian (Tuscan) *codesto* vs. *questo* and *quello* (see below): there is the same drift toward a two-term system. As for the locative ADVerbs, the Catalan variety of Valencia and Ribagorça is still tripartite: *ací* ‘here’ ~ *aquí* ‘here’ ~ *allí/allà* ‘overthere’.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Elsewhere, Modern Catalan has substituted the tripartition by a bipartition also in the adverbial domain: *aquí* ~ *allí/allà*; see Solà et al. 2002, I 548s. The former ADV covers the speaker’s and hearer’s

Basically, all RLs are ‘person-oriented’, i.e. they take account of the object(s)/person(s)/state of affair(s) seen from the viewpoint of the deictic center. This center can be represented both by the speaker and the hearer (whereas in ‘distance-oriented systems’ the distance is considered with reference to the speaker only: see Da Milano 2005, 24–26, referring to Anderson/Keenan 1985; Diessel 1999). Among the person-oriented languages Spanish is an example of a dual-anchor system, i.e. it has a deictic term that indicates both proximity to the hearer and distance from the speaker: speaker and hearer are included in a single unity, opposed to any external reference (i.e. to the 3rd person, see Benveniste’s statement below): the cognitive space is shared by speaker and hearer. For instance, the Spanish DEM *ese* (see section 4) may be used for a referent near the hearer as well as for a referent located midway between hearer and speaker; Tuscan, on the contrary, is an example of an addressee-anchor isolated type, as *codesto* is (or was: see section 4) used just for referents near the hearer.

DEMs (ARTicles, DETerminers – also called ADNominals as in *this house* – and PROnouns as in *what is this?*) are certainly among the most used words in every day conversation, so that there is not only a phonetic attrition (e.g. ECCU *ISTE* > Sard. *custu*) but also a semantic attrition (‘bleaching’). Therefore, DEMs are always in need to be reinforced (e.g. Fr. *ce* > *ce-lui* > *ce-lui-ci*, and already Lat. *hi-c(e)* ‘this’. Jacquesson (201 Typology) speaks for such forms of ‘super-composition’). Already Lakoff (1974) spoke of ‘emotional deixis’: the speaker wants to point to his/her discourse object as clearly as possible.

The ‘emotional deixis’ (or ‘empathetic deixis’: Lyons 1977) reinforcement is not limited to RLs (cf. Germ. *der da* ‘this/that there’ and also *das Haus da* ‘this/that house there’, like Fr. *cette maison là*. See Pol. *tamten* ‘that’ composed of the distal locative *tam* ‘there’ + *ten* ‘this’; 28 Corpus Linguistics). Diessel (1999, 36s.) quotes the Alamlak language (Sepik province of Papua New Guinea) which has a proximal suffix *-ar* and a distal *-ur* that can be adjoined to the DEM *ind*: *ind-ar-r*<sub>[SG.M.PROX]</sub> and *ind-ur-r*<sub>[SG.M.DIST]</sub>. But *ind* may occur also without these suffixes, just like *das* or *cette*. In Chambers’ terms (2004, 128) we can speak of ‘vernacular universals’, i.e. ‘natural structural linguistic developments’. These developments originate in the discourse (usually colloquial and informal) interaction and may grammaticalize in the course of time – as has been the case in RLs. This also explains why third-person pronouns are very often related to demonstratives and definite articles. This is the case, for instance, of Romani, the language of the Rom (Gypsies). The Rom spoke an Indo-Aryan variety which didn’t have DEF ARTs. When they migrated to Europe, they encountered languages (specifically Bizantine Greek) that had DEF ARTs; thus, the Rom gave rise to both 3rd person PROs and DEF ARTs from their anaphoric DEM (see

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reference area while the latter refers to all what is not covered by *aquí*. As noted by Benedetti and Ricca (2002, 16), deictic ADVs tend to be more unstable and synchronically less systematically structured than demonstratives.

Matras 2002, ch. 5). We consider this a case of contact-induced internal change (Matras 2011, 279s.)

In Benveniste's terms the 3rd person is a 'non-personne' since it is not present in the dialogue, i.e. in the 'dyad of conversation', it is not compatible with the deictic notions of "here" and "now" (*hic et nunc*) and may refer to any discourse segment or even to different discourse objects (Benveniste 1956). Consequently, it is necessary to cope with this deictically deficient situation via linguistic (or gestual) ostension. In the sample of 225 languages gathered by Bhat (2005, 178) 100 languages do not show any relation between DEMs and 3rd person PROs, as Eng. *the/this/that* vs. *he/she/it*. But 84 do show such a relation, either with remote or non-remote DEMs. RLs belong to the 84 group: cf. Lat. *ille/-a* 'that', so-called 'distal' DEM, giving rise to the ART *il* or *lo*, *el* or *lo*, *o*, *le*, *-(u)l*, and the PROs such as Fr. *il/elle*, Pt. *ele/ela*, etc., plus the forms derived from the oblique cases: dative (*(il)lūi*<sub>[MASC SG]</sub> > It. *lui* 'he', Fr. *lui* 'to him' (and, analogically, also 'to her'), *\*(il)laei*<sub>[FEM SG]</sub> > It. *lei* 'she', along with the genitive plural (*(il)lōrum* > It. *loro* 'they', both masculine and feminine. (Note that in Romanian the Latin DEMs fused with the noun giving rise to a new nominal synthetic declension: *muntele*<sub>[NOM/ACC SG]</sub> 'the mount', *muntelui*<sub>[GEN/DAT SG]</sub> 'of/to the mount', *munții*<sub>[NOM/ACC PL]</sub> 'the mounts', *munților*<sub>[GEN/DAT PL]</sub> 'of/to the mounts', whilst the other RLs developed an analytic strategy: *de los montes*, *dos montes*, etc.).

Furthermore, from the non-remote, so-called 'proximal' DEM *hic* 'this' derive deictic ADVs like Sp. *ahora* 'now' < HAC ORA, *ogaño* 'this year' < HOC ANNO; It. *qua* 'here' < ECCU HAC, Sp. *acá* < ACCU HAC, Fr. *avec* 'with' < APUD HOC, etc. Also the deictic French forms with *ci* < ECCE HIC which we find in *ceci*, *celui-ci* (see section 4) ultimately derive from *hic*. Distal DEMs are quite often the origin of definite ARTs, as is the case in RLs. A proximal DEM refers to something, someone or state of affairs which is present to speaker and hearer in the 'dyad of conversation' (*this dog*). It constitutes an endophoric reference. On the contrary, a distal DEM is exophoric: it refers to a referent which cannot be identified solely on the basis of the immediate conversational context (*that dog*) and the hearer has to retrieve the reference 'in absentia', having recourse to his/her previous knowledge (*We saw a dog in the garden. That/The dog was loudly barking*: in the noun phrase *That/The dog* the DEM/ART occurs before the noun and refers anaphorically to the previous sentence). The referring demonstrative appears in anaphoric position in many Vulgar and Late Latin texts: *Intra qua ecclesia est spelunca illa in qua docebat Dominus apostolos* (Peregrin. Eger. 49.3) 'and in this church there is a cavern where Our Lord taught to the apostles'. Both in the anaphora and cataphora there is the need to specify the reference via a dedicated demonstrative marker (ADN DET or ART). As De Mulder/Carlier (2011, 531) correctly state, there is a shift from pragmatic constructional definiteness to semantic definiteness and the DEF ART extends its morphological use to contexts in which a DEM would be inappropriate: *We arrived in a village. The (/this) church was on the hill*. Also *\*church was on the hill* would be ungrammatical: the use of the DEF ART has become obligatory. At this stage (stage iii in Greenberg's scale of the development of the DEF ART: see Greenberg

1978) the DEF ART is used as a noun marker or a noun phrase marker, i.e. a marker of nominality without deictic function anymore.

## 4 Bi- and Tripartite Systems in the Romance Languages

As we shall see in the forms quoted below and in the footnotes, every Romance language/dialect has elaborated more or less independently on the basis of the tripartite Latin system *hic* ('proximal', 1st pers.) ~ *iste* ('distal', 2nd pers.) ~ *ille* ('distal', 3rd pers.).<sup>4</sup> However, we can individuate more or less homogeneous areas ('compact areas'): Ibero-Romance (Castilian, Galego, Portuguese and, partially, Catalan – see above) has a tripartite system as well as Sardinian (*custu* ~ *cussu* ~ *cuddu*; ↗2 Sardinian), Corsican (*que*)*stu* ~ *issu/quessu/quissu* ~ *quellu/quillu/quiddu* and Italian southern dialects (e.g. Neapolitan *chisto* ~ *chisso* ~ *chillo*, Sicilian *chistu* ~ *chissu* ~ *quiddu*, etc.). Also dialects of central Italy behave in this way: Abruzzese *quiste* ~ *quisso* ~ *quillo*, Laziale *kistu* ~ *kissu* ~ *chiglio* (see Ledgeway 2004, 66s.; ↗4.1 Varieties in Italy 1).

On the contrary, other Romance areas follow the general trend toward simplification of the deictic systems, which is to be observed also in other language families (English knows just *this* and *that*): see already Old French *cist* 'this' ~ *cil* 'that'.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Traditionally, the 2nd person distal (*iste*) is called "medial", or "neuter". But the term "medial" is not an appropriate choice. It is usual to equate the threefold division with 1st, 2nd, and 3rd person (see for instance Wheeler 1988a, 178) – though this is not exact since both *aqueix* and *aquell* can be considered "distal" (from the speaker). The Corsican grammar by Romani (2000, 29) is more cautious and divides the demonstratives and demonstrative pronouns into three classes: 1st class (*stu* "plutôt près de moi"), 2nd class (*issu* "plutôt près de toi et assez loin de moi"), 3rd class (*quillu* "plutôt loin de nous, dans le temps et l'espace"). This is not the place to discuss the problem: for a detailed discussion see Lombardi Vallauri (1995, 222s.); Da Milano (2005, 37–43). As we shall see in a moment, what matters here is the distinction between bi- and tripartite deictic systems.

<sup>5</sup> Like Modern Catalan (cf. fn. 3) and Tuscan, even Sardinian varieties, according to Blasco Ferrer (1988, 839), would nowadays tend towards a binary system. More generally, Ledgeway (2004) maintains that along with a threefold demonstrative system (exemplified by Neapol. *chisto* ~ *chisso* ~ *chillo*), central and southern dialects of Italy know also a binary system with *chisto/chisso* (without distinction between speaker's and hearer's reference area) and *chillo* referring to a person/object not participating in the communicative situation (i.e. not belonging to the 'dyad of conversation'). If it is true, the general trend toward simplification of the deictic systems already alluded to would hold also for central and southern Italy (see, however, fn. 7). For non-Romance parallel reduction from tripartite to bipartite deictic systems see Diessel (1999, 167, fn. 57). On the concept of 'dyad of conversation' see Jungbluth (2005). – A good synopsis of the deictic ADVs and DETs in the European languages is offered by Da Milano (2005) in her Appendix B (pp. 176–214), which considers the different positions of hearer (H) and speaker (S) when they refer to objects in the 'dyad of conversation': face to face, side by side etc. The languages which are considered are Catalan, French, Italian, Portuguese, (Campidanese) Sardi-



Demonstratives – both DETs and PROs – drifted towards a bipartite system, as we have seen in fn. 3 for local ADVs (cf. also Fr. *ici* ~ *là*). Italian *codesto* ‘that by you’ – born by phonetic attrition from *ECCU TI(BI) ISTU(M)* – is vanishing even in Tuscany.<sup>6</sup> Like Sp. *ese*, it has acquired (or maintained?: see the Latin example immediately below) a derogatory value at the pragmatic discourse level: *non mi piacciono codeste parole* ‘I don’t like such words’ (cf. Lat. *Mars alter, ut isti uolunt*, Livius, *Ab U.C.* xxi, 10.8 ‘a second Mars, as these pretend’; see Ernout/Thomas <sup>2</sup>1989, 188; Da Milano 2005, 82; ↗21 Typology). Summing up, it seems that there exists a western part of the Romania that maintains the threefold system: it extends to Corsica, Sardinia and southern Italy where the influence of Spain is historically well-known.

Among the RLs, Romanian is bipartite between *acest* (< ECCE-IST-) ‘this’ and *acel* (< ECCE-ILL-) ‘that’, which take a final -*a* when used with definite value: *acesta* ~ *acela*; Locat. ADVs *aici* ‘here’ ~ *acolo* ‘there’. Ladin (Rhaeto-Romance) knows *quist/quaist* ~ *que/quel*. According to Wheeler (1988b, 259), the three-term system of Occitan deictic ADJs, PROs and ADVs (*aiceste* ~ *aqueste* ~ *aquel*; *aicò* ~ *aquò* ~ *ailò*; *aici* ~ *aquí* ~ *aili/ailà*) seems to have broken down and to have been replaced by a bipartite system on the model of French (on which see immediately below). Significantly, an exception to this Occitan drift toward a bipartite system is Gascon which is near to the three-term area of Pyrenees and northern Spain (also in the case of “left” and “right”, Gascon goes with Ibero-Romance; see further below, section 5).

Also French and (northern) Italian have a basic bipartite system, both for ADVs (*ici* ~ *là* and *qui/qua* ~ *là/là* ‘here ~ there’) and DETs (*ceci* ~ *celà* and *questo* ~ *quello* ‘this ~ that’).<sup>7</sup> Based on *ce(t)*, demonstrative ADJ and PRO, we get French *ceci* as demonstrative PRO ‘this’ and ‘that’ and then *celui* distinguishing *celui-ci* ‘this’ from *celui-là* ‘that’ (↗23 From Old French and Middle French to Contemporary French).<sup>8</sup> A

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nian, Castilian, Tuscan, Danish, English, Dutch, (Bokmål) Norwegian, Swedish, German, Bulgarian, Czech, Polish, Russian, Serbo-Croat, Modern Greek, Finnish, Hungarian and Basque. Statistically, tripartite systems are shared by 9 languages, bipartite systems oscillate between 15 and 11 languages according to the positions assumed by H and S in the “dyad of conversation”.

<sup>6</sup> Sosnowski (2013) has studied the case of *cotesto* (> *codesto* with sonorization of the intervocalic -t-) that belonged to a ternary, person-oriented system (*questo* ~ *cotesto* ~ *quello* – and the corresponding local ADVs *qui* ~ *costi/costà* ~ *lì*). He has shown that examples of reduction of the ternary system to a binary opposition between the proximal *questo* and the distal *quello* according to a distance-oriented system can be found already in the grammars and in theatre texts of the 16th century (mostly motivated by the northern origin of the speaker): *Che pianto è questo* (instead of *cotesto*) *tuo? Pianto d’Amore?* (Tasso, *Aminta* [1573] I,1) ‘what are **these** your tears? Tears of love?’.

<sup>7</sup> However, restorations of tripartite systems by ‘making up’ new deictics from assemblage of two or more bases, are attested in some dialects: Turin. *kust sî* (near the speaker) ~ *kul lî* (near the hearer) ~ *kul là* (far from the space shared by the speaker and the hearer; Lombardi Vallauri 1995, 223; Pieroni 2010, 418, fn. 30).

<sup>8</sup> On the very complex development of the French demonstratives and their local variants see Buridant (2000, 122–137). The -*i* and -*a* forms contain the reduced Latin adverbs (II)LIC ‘overthere, in that place’ and (II)LAC ‘(from) overthere’, respectively. As for Italian, *questo qui* and *questo qua* both ‘this here’,



reciprocal influence between northern Italy and France is historically and linguistically well attested since the Middle Ages, and – indeed – the already mentioned Old French *cist* ~ *cel* are more similar to It. *questo* ~ *quello* than the Modern French forms that underwent further transformations.

In conclusion, the expansion of a bipartite demonstrative system in French and (principally) northern Italy could represent a good case of linguistic contact.

## 5 “left” and “right”; “above” and “below”

It is a well-known fact that in many (/all?) languages the opposition ‘left ~ right’ assumes a deictic value. “Left” and “right” are discourse-bound and their reference may change according to the speaker ~ hearer conversation role, like “me” and “you”.

Latin had the opposition *sinister* ~ *dexter*<sub>(ADJ)</sub> and *sinistra* ~ *dextra* (scil. *manus*) as substantive: ‘the left ~ right (hand)’. Along with the words derived from *dexter* we consistently find derivations from the past participle of *dirigere* (‘direct, control, give the right direction’) *dirēctum*/\**dirīctum*: Cast. *a la derecha*, Fr. *à droite*, It. (archaic) *a dritta*, etc.). Italian has kept until now the Latin terms: *sinistra* ~ *destra*, though the masculine substantive *sinistro* – like its Romanian correspondent form *sinistru* – has acquired the new meaning of ‘disaster’. Also the ADJs *sinistro* and *sinistru* have a negative meaning: ‘sinister, dangerous’. Like *sinistru*, *sinistro* which acquired new meanings, the term referring to “left” shows less lexical stability:<sup>9</sup> Romanian has *stânga* ‘left’ and the phrase *mână stângă*<sub>(ADJ)</sub> ‘left hand’ where *stânga* could derive from Late Lat. *stancus* ‘tired’ (cf. It. *stanco* ‘tired’). Fr. *gauche*<sub>(ADJ)</sub> ‘left’ and ‘clumsy’ is a German word (< Old Frank. *walki* ‘feeble’?) which replaced in the 16th cent. Old Fr. *senestre*. Sardinian has *destru* or *drestu* (along with *deretu*) but *manca*<sub>(SUBST)</sub> ‘the left’ (from *mancare* ‘to lack’) and *mancheddu*<sub>(ADJ)</sub> (cf. Old It. *a dritta e a manca* ‘to the right and to the left, on all sides’). Rhaeto-Romance knows another word whose etymology is not clear: Engad. *tschamp*, Gard. *cianch*, Trent. *zanco*. Friulian keeps *diestre* (along with *drete*) but has *çampe* for ‘left’ (Badiot *ciamp*).<sup>10</sup>

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do not show the opposition -ì ~ -à we find in French and Piemontese – but not in Occitan *ailh/ailà*! – (see Sobrero, 1993, 421, who speaks of *qui* and *qua*, *lì* and *là* as stylistic variants of the same meaning, i.e. ‘near the place where is the speaker’ and ‘more or less far from speaker and hearer’, respectively). Also the dialect of Lucca (Tuscany) knows pronominal forms based on *lì* and *là*: *luqqui* (near the speaker/hearer dyad) ~ *lullì/lullà* (far from the ‘dyad of conversation’). *Luqqui* (fem. *leqqui*) and *lullì* (fem. *lellì*)/*lullà* (fem. *lellà*) are formed by the coalescence of the PRO *lu’/le’* ‘he/she’ (instead of *lui/lei*) + the local ADVs *qui* (but not *qua*: \**luqqua*), *lì* and *là*. This bipartite type is/was known even in the Po plain (northern Italy); cf. Giannini (1995).

<sup>9</sup> Notoriously, the left part was/is seen as the ominous, bad part: hence the many avoiding terms in the RLs quoted below. See Corominas/Pascual /1980, s.v. *izquierdo*, 470); Zamboni (1976, 178).

<sup>10</sup> Thanks go to my colleague Gianguido Manzelli for his insightful information.

A clear case of language contact in the deictic expressions is the following: Gascon (*querr/esquerr*), Catalan (*esquerre/-a*), Languedoc (*esquer/esquerra*), Castilian (*izquierdo/-a*), Galego and Portuguese (*esquerdo/-a*) borrowed the word both as ADJ ('clumsy, hideous') and SUBST ('the left') from Basque *ezker, ezkerra*. In the texts until the 14th century we still find *siniestro* (Corominas/Pascual 1980, s.v. *izquierdo*). This is a remarkable fact in itself, since deictics generally seem not prone to borrow from other languages. Actually, we have seen in the case of demonstratives that RLs create new forms (such as *lullí, aici sus* etc.) via internal means, i.e. having recourse to their own lexical stock.

Not only "left" and "right" are deictic concepts, but also "above", "below", "before" and "behind" as they are bound to the discourse situation: a sentence like *It is hot below* hasn't any truth value if it is not bound to a definite speech situation referring to a definite state of affairs (even a reported situation, as in a novel). We have already seen that demonstratives can combine with spatial deixis (see *celui-ci, celui-là, questo qui, questo qua* and Lucchese *lullì, lullà*). These composed forms can be further specified as in *lullassù*<sub>(PRO)</sub> 'that one up there', *lullaggiù*<sub>(PRO)</sub> 'that one down there', while Italian knows only the deictic ADVs *lassù / quassù* 'up there / up here' and *laggiù / quaggiù* 'down there / down here'.<sup>11</sup>

## 6 "come" and "go"

We have already said that verbs expressing the notion of "come" and "go" may be considered deictic when used as opposed terms. Like "left" and "right", coming and going are bound to the discourse situation and their reference may change according to the speaker ~ hearer conversation role. There are languages where the lexical contrast between "come" and "go" is not present: for instance the Slavonic languages do not make a difference between 'he comes toward us' and 'he goes to that

<sup>11</sup> For expressing the reinforced deictic pronominal function Italian uses *questo qui / quello là* (never *\*questo là!*): *Chi è questo qui?/quello là?* 'Who's this guy? / that guy?'. Of course, it is always possible to have space specifications such as *quello lassù/quassù* 'that one up there/up here' or *quello laggiù/quaggiù* 'that one down there/down here', but we enter here the domain of deictic phrases, that potentially can allow much more specifications than the DETs, included the 'super-composed' deictics such as Fr. *celui-ci* which cannot be separated: *\*celui garçon-ci* 'this boy'. In fact, we can have It. *quello sciame lassù/laggiù* 'that swarm up there/down there' but never *\*quello lassù/laggiù sciame*: in adjectival position the deictic ADVs must follow the SUBST they refer to: *questo libro qui* 'this book here' (never *\*questo qui libro*) / *quella stella là* 'that star overthere' (never *\*quella là stella*). Cf. Fr. *ce livre-ci* (*\*ceci livre*), *cette étoile-là* (*\*cette là étoile*). In Spanish *vivo allá arriba* 'I live up there' has a different meaning than *allá, vivo arriba* 'overthere, I live at the above floor': *aquí arriba* 'up here' and *aquí abajo* 'down here' as well as *allí/allá arriba* and *allí/allá abajo* constitute an inseparable form. Portuguese deictic ADVs *aqui en cima, aqui abaixo* behave just as their Spanish equivalents. Romanian uses *aici sus / aici jos* and *acolo sus/acolo jos*.

house' (Russian *On idët k nam* and *On idët k tomu domu*, Ukr. *Vin ide do nas* and *Vin ide do togo budynko*; see Ricca 1993, 85). RLs do regularly distinguish between centripetal move toward the 'origo' and centrifugal move from the 'origo': Pt. *Ele está vindo hacia nossa direção*, It. *Sta venendo verso di noi* 'He's coming towards us' ~ *Ele está indo para aquela casa ali*, *Sta andando verso quella casa laggiù* 'He's going towards that house overthere', whereas \**Sta venendo verso quella casa laggiù* is not possible (see Ricca 1993, 80). Only French, among the RLs, can use both *aller* 'go' and *venir* in sentences where the theme has already been announced: *Dans ce bistrot j'y allais/j'y venais tous les jours* (It. *In quel bistrò ci andavo / ?? ci venivo tutti i giorni*; 19 Cognitive Linguistics). German can say *Er kommt* ('comes') *auf uns zu* and *Er geht* ('goes') *auf uns zu*, without deictic value of the two movement verbs. See further Dutch *Kunt u mij vertellen hoe ik naar het station kom?*, Germ. *Können Sie mir sagen wie ich zum Bahnhof komme?* 'Can you tell me how I could get (/go) to the station?' (Ricca 1993, 83). In Italian and Spanish sentences as \**Può dirmi come vengo alla stazione?* and \**Puede decirme cómo yo vengo a la estación?* would be impossible and the 'come' verb has to be substituted by *arrivare* 'arrive' or the itive *andare* 'go': *Può dirmi come arrivo/vado alla stazione?* The asterisk sentences would be possible only if the speaker is calling a person who is at the station, whereby the speaker assumes as reference point ('origo') the hearer's location, and not his/her own location.

If "come" and "go" can be indifferently used in the same sentence they are no longer deictic, since they do not refer to the movement direction (it is as if "right" and "left" could be used without semantic difference and mean 'on/at the side of'): rather, they express some other aspect of the movement idea, e.g. the 'Aktionsart' (*to come* is telic, whereas *to go* is atelic). Consequently, Ricca (1993, 83) considers French as a "prevalingly deictic language" (and not a "fully deictic language" as the other RLs), on a par with English, German, Dutch and other languages like Danish, Swedish, Serbo-Croatian, Slovenian.

Thus, French verbal deictic system could represent a case of language contact on a par with what we have seen when speaking of demonstratives.

## 7 The Onomastic Formula

A further case of possible language contact is the onomastic formula with a postposed deictic form. We find in the Germanic languages the sequel N+DEM/REL+ADJ: Germ. *Karl der Große*, Dan. *Erik den Røde*, Far. *Erik (hin) Reyð* 'Erik the Red'. The function of what linguists used to call 'Gelenkpartikel' is actually that of individuating/determining in the Karls' or Eriks' sets that one who is great or red (remember that family names began to be used relatively later).

Notoriously, the ARTicle and the RELative may coincide in Germanic: see OHG *Ih meinu sancta Mariun<sub>(ACC)</sub>*, *kuningin thia richun* (Otfr. 1. 3.31) 'I mean (the) Holy Mary,

the mighty queen'.<sup>12</sup> The construct is already IndoEuropean (cf., for instance, Old Persian *Gaumātam*<sub>(ACC)</sub> *tyam magum* 'Gaumata **the** wizard': see Ramat <sup>2</sup>1988, 121–126), but extremely rare in Latin which didn't know a full ART and had for the relative pronoun a completely different form (κ<sup>w</sup>ο-/κ<sup>w</sup>ι-). I have found very few instances such as *Antipater ille Sidonius* (Cicero, *de orat.* 3,194; see Pieroni 2010, 389). It seems highly probable that the construct spread from (north-)west Germanic to the nearest Romance speaking area and from the high-prestigious regions Île-de-France, Normandy, Burgundy (ruled by an originally German nobility) to the other Romance countries: see *Alfonso el Sabio*, *Henrique o Navegador*, *Lorenzo il Magnifico*, *Ștefan cel Mare*, etc.<sup>13</sup>

If the hypothesis is correct, this would be a third instance of contact-induced calque German(ic) → French, and this is quite plausible from the socio-historical point of view. The linguistic ties existing between French and Dutch/German confirm the hypothesis of a "Charlemagne area" as the core of what has been called Standard Average European (cf. van der Auwera 1998, 823–825; Haspelmath 2001; Heine/Kuteva 2006, 8s.). Among the "eleven features of Standard Average European" Haspelmath (1998, 275–281) mentions the existence of definite and indefinite articles, which – as we have seen – are present in all RLs and almost all Germanic languages, plus some Slavonic language in the Balkans like Bulgarian (most probably under Greek influence: a good example of contact-induced language change).

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<sup>12</sup> In the present context it is not relevant to decide whether *der*, *die*, *das* is a pronoun in a relative nominal sentence without copula or a simple demonstrative article (see the discussion in Diessel 1999, 122s., referring to Lehmann 1984, 378s.).

<sup>13</sup> This model has been used also when translating from languages which didn't know an article: Russian Иван Грозный (Ivan Grozny: lit. Ivan Fearsome) has been translated as Ivan the Terrible.

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