

## Further Pathways Towards Demonstratives

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Demonstratives are generally seen as deictic elements, which are primarily used to point to a referent. In a series of important works, Diessel (2006 and more) observes that though demonstratives are ubiquitous cross-linguistically, we rarely see evidence of the expected pathways of grammaticalization which underlie them. If demonstratives were indeed impervious to change, we would expect them to match across related languages, apart from regular sound changes. But such is often not the case. More recently, Heine et al (2020) have uncovered some pathways by which demonstratives have developed in certain languages from locative adverbs, positional verbs, and classifiers. They point out that while in many cases the developments involve processes of renewal, whereby original demonstratives are reinforced by additional elements, in some others demonstratives may not have been part of the source construction at all.

Demonstratives are especially pervasive in speech in languages of the Iroquoian family, indigenous to eastern North America. They are used as in other languages as pronouns, but they also occur in a wide array of other constructions, including pervasive conventionalized discourse structures. Yet they are not fully cognate across the languages.

Those in some of the languages show partial similarities which indicate development from shared communicative strategies. Basic proximal demonstrative pronouns for ‘this, this one’ include Mohawk *kí:ken*, Oneida *kaʔikaʔ*, Onondaga *ɾé:kɛ*, Cayuga *ɾé:kɛ*, Seneca *nɛ:kɛ*, and Tuscarora *kyè:ní:kɛ*. (The Mohawk digraph *en* is a nasalized vowel  $\text{ɛ}$  spelling has otherwise been regularized to show correspondences.) Distal demonstratives include Mohawk *thí:ken*, Oneida *thikaʔ*, Onondaga *thó:kɛ*, Cayuga *thó:kɛ*, Seneca *hi:kɛ*, and Tuscarora *hè:ní:kɛ*.

All combine two of the sources described by Heine et al, locative adverbials and lexical verbs, but not via processes of renewal. Dialectal alternants in Mohawk provide a clue. In place of *kí:ken* ‘this’, some speakers use *ken* ‘*í:ken*’, and for *thí:ken* ‘that’, they use *tho* ‘*í:ken*’. Mohawk *kèn*: ‘*en*’ or *ken*’ is the proximal locative adverbial ‘here’, and *tho* is the distal locative adverbial ‘there’. The word *í:ken* is a verb consisting of the neuter pronominal prefix *ka-* and a verb stem *-i* which occurs only in certain fixed constructions. The sequence *a+i* fuses to the nasalized vowel. Verbs must be at least disyllabic, so the initial *i* is prothetic. The sources are thus ‘here it is’ and ‘there it is’. The languages have used different initial demonstratives in this construction.

Tuscarora has another proximal demonstrative of interest: *kyé:nɛ*: ‘this one’. It appears in such constructions as ‘Drink **this**’, ‘Suck on **this**’, ‘Hold **this**’, ‘Take **this** into the house’, ‘Cook **this one**’, etc., as well as ‘**This** is the tree’ and ‘**Here** is a treat for you’. Its source is a well-formed verb ‘I am holding it’: *k-yenɛ-*: 1SG.AGT-hold-STATIVE. This same demonstrative is the first element of the basic proximal demonstrative *kyè:ní:kɛ*: ‘this one’ (*kyé:nɛ*: *í:kɛ*:).

Comparison of demonstratives in Northern Iroquoian languages thus suggests certain pathways of development foreseen by Heine et al., in some cases from locative adverbial demonstratives

plus verbs, but not via renewal, and in others directly from verbs on their own. The developments still reflect well-known processes of grammaticalization: content extension, desemanticization, decategorialization, loss of lexical autonomy (fusion), and substance erosion.

#### REFERENCES

- Diessel, Holger. 2006. Demonstratives, joint attention, and the emergence of grammar. *Cognitive Linguistics* 17.4: 463-489.
- Heine, Bernd, Tania Kuteva, Haiping Long, Heiko Narrog, and Fang WU. 2020. Where do demonstratives come from? *STUF* 73.3: 403-434.