

## On the Development of Demonstratives into Personal Pronouns

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It is well known that crosslinguistically demonstratives are the major source of third person pronouns. Previous studies show that the close relationship between demonstratives and third person pronouns is due to their functional similarity and that many languages use demonstratives in place of third person pronouns (e.g. Bhat 2004; Diessel 1999; Siewierska 2004). However, questions regarding the tenuous link between demonstratives and first/second person pronouns have received little attention. For example, ‘How uncommon is it actually for demonstratives to develop into first/second person pronouns?’ and ‘What are some of the reasons for that?’ In this study, I first present the results of a crosslinguistic survey based on a representative sample of 100 languages. The present study shows that demonstratives gave rise to first/second person pronouns in a clear manner only in three languages. I then propose some reasons as to why demonstratives rarely develop into first/second person pronouns.

There are only three languages in the sample (Basque, Japanese, Malagasy) with first and/or second person pronouns that show a clear link with demonstratives. In some Eastern varieties of Basque, the second person singular *ori* is derived from the medial demonstrative *hori* (Trask 2003: 150), and in Japanese, one of the second person pronouns comes from the demonstrative adverb *anata* ‘that way (distant from both you and me)’ (Ishiyama 2012, 2019). Malagasy shows a more extensive connection between demonstratives and personal pronouns. Garvey (1964: 40-41) states that Malagasy demonstratives are composed of the demonstrative prefix *i-* and the locative stems (e.g. *iti* ‘this (very near)’, *iú* ‘that (near)’, *ítsi* ‘that (not far)’), and that this characteristic is shared by all Malagasy independent personal pronouns (with the exception of one of the first person singular forms) which consist of the same demonstrative prefix *i-* and the pronoun stems, as in *izául/iànául/ízi* ‘first/second/third person singular’, respectively. There are several languages in the sample that optionally use demonstratives for the speaker and addressee as contextual substitutes for first/second person pronouns. This contextual use occurs predominantly in a typologically similar languages, particularly in East and Southeast Asia.

I argue that the tenuous link between demonstratives and first/second person pronouns is due to their functional dissimilarities. The basic function of demonstratives is to (i) indicate the location of a referent in relation to the deictic center and (ii) coordinate the interlocutors’ joint attentional focus (Diessel 2003, 2006). (i) may lead to the use of demonstratives for the speaker/addressee, but within the scope of the original demonstrative function (i.e. spatial semantics), thus providing little need for demonstratives to become first/second person pronouns (cf. Ishiyama 2012, 2019). For (ii), the referent of first/second person pronouns is generally presupposed and readily accessible to all relevant parties. That is, the joint attentional focus is in most instances taken for granted for first/second person pronouns. The nature of deictic force involving demonstratives on the one hand and first/second person pronouns on the other is also quite distinct. First/second person pronouns assume less stability of referents than demonstratives in the speaker-addressee interaction, that is, the referent of first/second person pronouns is ‘more shifting’. For demonstratives to become first/second person pronouns, it is necessary to lose the two basic functions and acquire qualitatively different one: i.e. losing the function to achieve joint attention and gaining the ability to be used repeatedly for presupposed referents regardless of the spatial relationship that holds between a referent and the deictic center.

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## LANGUAGES

Abkhaz (Northwest Caucasian, Northwest Caucasian; Georgia), Acoma (Keresan, Keresan; United States), Alambalak (Sepik Hill, Sepik; Papua New Guinea), Amele (Madang, Trans-New Guinea; Papua New Guinea), Apurinã (Purus, Arakawan; Brazil), Arabic (Egyptian) (Semitic, Afro-Asiatic; Egypt), Arapesh (Mountain) (Kombio-Arapesh, Torricelli; Papua New Guinea), Asmat (Asmat-Kamoro, Trans-New Guinea; Indonesia), Bagirmi (Bongo-Bagirmi, Central Sudanic; Chad), Barasano (Tucanoan, Tucanoan; Colombia), Basque (Basque, Basque; France/Spain), Bengali (Indic, Indo-European; Bangladesh, India), Berber (Middle Atlas) (Berber, Afro-Asiatic; Morocco), Bunuba (Bunuban, Bunuban; Australia), Burmese (Burmese-Lolo, Sino-Tibetan; Myanmar), Burushaski (Burushaski, Burushaski; Pakistan), Canela-Krahô (Ge-Kaingang, Macro-Ge; Brazil), Chamorro (Chamorro, Austronesian; Guam), Chinantec (Plantla) (Chinantecan, Oto-Manguean; Mexico), Chukchi (Northern Chukotko-Kamchatkan, Chukotko-Kamchatkan; Russia), Cree (Plains) (Algonquian, Algic; Canada), Daga (Dagan, Dagan; Papua New Guinea), Dani (Lower Grand Valley) (Dani, Trans-New Guinea; Indonesia), Drehu (Oceanic, Austronesian; New Caledonia), Dyirbal (Northern Pama-Nyungan, Pama-Nyungan; Australia), English (Germanic, Indo-European; United Kingdom), Fijian (Oceanic, Austronesian; Fiji), Finnish (Finnic, Uralic; Finland), French (Romance, Indo-European; France), Georgian (Kartvelian, Kartvelian; Georgia), German (Germanic, Indo-European; Germany), Gooniyandi (Bunuban, Bunuban; Australia), Grebo (Kru, Niger-Congo; Liberia), Greek (Greek, Indo-European; Greece), Greenlandic (West) (Eskimo, Eskimo-Aleut; Greenland), Guaraní (Tupi-Guarani, Tupian; Paraguay), Hausa (West Chadic, Afro-Asiatic; Niger, Nigeria), Hebrew (Modern) (Semitic, Afro-Asiatic; Israel), Hindi (Indic, Indo-European; India), Hixkaryana (Cariban, Cariban; Brazil), Hmong Njua (Hmong-Mien, Hmong-Mien; China), Imonda (Border, Border; Papua New Guinea), Indonesian (Malayo-Sumbawan, Austronesian; Indonesia), Ingush (Nakh, Nakh-Daghestanian; Russia), Jakaltek (Mayan, Mayan; Guatemala), Japanese (Japanese, Japanese; Japan), Kannada (Southern Dravidian, Dravidian; India), Kayah Li (Eastern) (Karen, Sino-Tibetan; Myanmar, Thailand), Kayardild (Tangkic, Tangkic; Australia), Kewa (Engan, Trans-New Guinea; Papua New Guinea), Khalkha (Mongolic, Altaic; Mongolia), Khoekhoe (Khoe-Kwadi, Khoekwadi; Namibia), Kiowa (Kiowa-Tanoan, Kiowa-Tanoan; United States), Koasati (Muskogean, Muskogean; United States), Kobon (Madang, Trans-New Guinea; Papua New Guinea), Korean (Korean, Korean; Korea), Koyra Chiini (Songhay, Songhay; Mali), Kutenai (Kutenai, Kutenai; Canada, United States), Kyuquot (Southern Wakashan, Washakan; Canada), Lakhota (Core Siouan, Siouan; United States), Lango (Nilotic, Eastern Sudanic; Uganda), Lavukaleve (Lavukaleve, Solomons East Papuan; Solomon Islands), Lezgian (Lezgian, Nakh-Daghestanian; Azerbaijan, Russia), Luvale (Bantoid, Niger-Congo; Angola), Madurese (Malayo-Sumbawan, Austronesian; Indonesia), Malagasy (Barito, Austronesian; Madagascar), Mandarin (Chinese, Sino-Tibetan; China), Mangarrayi (Mangarrayi, Mangarrayi-Maran; Australia), Mapuche (Araucanian, Araucanian; Chile), Marathi (Indic, Indo-European; India), Maricopa (Yuman, Hokan; United States), Martuthunira (Western Pama-Nyungan, Pama-Nyungan; Australia), Maung (Iwaidjan, Iwaidjan; Australia), Maybrat (North-

Central Bird's Head, West Papuan; Indonesia), Meithei (Kuki-Chin, Sino-Tibetan; India), Mixtec (Chalcatongo) (Mixtecan, Oto-Manguean; Mexico), Ngiti (Lendu, Central Sudanic; DR of the Congo), Ngiyambaa (Southeastern Pama-Nyungan, Pama-Nyungan; Australia), Nkore-Kiga (Bantoid, Niger-Congo; Uganda), Nunggubuyu (Nunggubuyu, Guwinyguan; Australia), Oneida (Northern Iroquoian, Iroquoian; United States), Oromo (Harar) (Lowland East Cushitic, Afro-Asiatic; Ethiopia), Persian (Iranian, Indo-European; Iran), Pirahã (Mura, Mura; Brazil), Pitjantjatjara (West Pama-Nyungan, Pama-Nyungan; Australia), Quechua (Imbabura) (Quechuan, Quechuan; Ecuador), Rapanui (Oceanic, Austronesian; Chile), Russian (Slavic, Indo-European; Russia), Samoan (Oceanic, Austronesian; Samoa), Sango (Ubangi, Niger-Congo; Central African Republic), Sanuma (Yanomam, Yanomam; Brazil, Venezuela), Semelai (Aslian, Austro-Asiatic; Malaysia), Slave (Athapaskan, Na-Dene; Canada), Spanish (Romance, Indo-European; Spain), Supyire (Gur, Niger-Congo; Mali), Swahili (Bantoid, Niger-Congo; Tanzania), Tagalog (Greater Central Philippine, Austronesian; Philippines), Thai (Kam-Tai, Tai-Kadai; Thailand), Tibetan (Bodic, Sino-Tibetan; China), Tiwi (Tiwian, Tiwian; Australia), Tukang Besi (Celebic, Austronesian; Indonesia), Turkish (Turkic, Altaic; Turkey), Una (Mek, Trans-New Guinea; Indonesia), Vietnamese (Viet-Muong, Austro-Asiatic; Vietnam), Warao (Warao, Warao; Venezuela), Wari' (Chapacura-Wanham, Chapacura-Wanham; Brazil), Wichí (Matacoan, Matacoan; Bolivia, Argentina), Wichita (Caddoan, Caddoan; United States), Yagua (Peba-Yaguan, Peba-Yaguan; Peru), Yaqui (Cahita, Uto-Aztecan; Mexico), Yoruba (Defoid, Niger-Congo; Benin, Nigeria), Zulu (Bantoid, Niger-Congo; South Africa)