Demonstratives and directionals: summing up

Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald and everyone else

1 Demonstatives and directionals
Major means of expression cover:
• shifters with deictic reference to a person or a thing other than speaker or addressee, that is, demonstratives;
• directional morphemes, and affixes to verbs;
• serial verb constructions with directional meanings, and also inherently directional verbs, oblique noun phrases and adverbs.

SIXTEEN LANGUAGES discussed at the Workshop are:
Katarzyna Wojtylak  Witoto Murui (Witotoan, Colombia)
Hannah Sarvasy   Nungon (Finisterre-Huon, PNG)
Sibong Zhang   Ersu (Tibeto-Burman, China)
Elena Mihas   Asheninka Perene (Arawak, Peru)
Simon Overall   Aguaruna (Jivaroan, Peru)
Mikko Salminnen   San Dionisio Huave (isolate, Mexico)
Angeliiki Alvanoudi   Greek (Indo-European)
Azeb Amha   Wolaitta (Omotic, Ethiopia)
Bob Dixon   Jarawara (Arawá, Brazil)
Alexandra Aikhenvald  Manambu (Ndu, PNG)
Valérie Guérin   Mavea (Oceanic, Austronesian, Vanuatu)
Knut Olawsky   Miriwoong (Australian)
Diana Forker   Hinuq (North-east Caucasian, Daghestan)
Juliane Böttger   Lele (Oceanic, PNG)
Grant Aiton   Eibela (Papuan area, PNG)
John Kerby   Sedeq (Formosan, Austronesian, Taiwan)

1 Types of demonstratives, and systems encountered
1.1 Nominal demonstratives — types of systems and semantic distinctions
1.1.1 Systems discussed

(A) TWO-TERM SYSTEMS:
Nungon near distance -o, far distance -u combine with three sets of elevational markers (Sarvasy, pp. 2-3): these are used as locationals, and also (sometimes: p.1) as modifiers

(1) Proximal series  
\[
\begin{align*}
on-o & \quad \text{downhill-PROX} \\
og-o & \quad \text{level-PROX} \\
on-o & \quad \text{uphill-PROX}
\end{align*}
\]
'that, down there (near)' 'that, over there (near)' 'that, up there (near)'

Distal series  
\[
\begin{align*}
on-u & \quad \text{downhill-FAR} \\
og-u & \quad \text{level-FAR} \\
on-u & \quad \text{uphill-FAR}
\end{align*}
\]
'that, down there (far)' 'that, over there (far)' 'that, up there (far)'

(2) Proximal series ng-, distal w-: function as arguments (as modifiers?), and as locationals.

Lele oko 'proximal', aka 'distal'
Eibela wti/wabena 'proximal', wa 'distal'
Hinuq hado 'proximal' (masc.sg abs), hago 'distal' (masc.sg abs)
Sedeq (?) ni 'proximal', wa(y) 'distal'
(b) THREE-TERM SYSTEMS

• Ersu (Zhang)

(3) PROXIMAL DISTAL REMOTE — note iconicity!

\( thE \quad a-thE \quad a:-thE \)

• ASHÉNINCA PERÉNÉ (Mihas): formed on third person sg pronouns \( iri \) 'he', \( iro \) 'she'; also used as bound forms

(4) PROXIMAL FURTHER AWAY FROM SPEAKER FURTHER AWAY, IMPRECISE REFERENCE

\( iro-ka \quad iro-ra \quad iro-nta \)

• AGUARUNA (Overall)

(5) PROXIMAL MEDIAL(CLOSE TO ADDRESSEE; EMPATHY?) DISTAL

\( hu \quad (a)anu \quad au \)

Cf. North-east Caucasian Kryz, Hunzib, Bezhta:
close to speaker, close to addressee, far from both (Forker, p. 9)

• SAN DIONISIO HUAWE (Salminen) - modifiers in (6), heads in (7)

(6) PROXIMAL MEDIAL(NOT FAR; KNOWN TO SPEAKER AND ADDRESSEE...) DISTAL

\( kam \quad kej \quad kien \)

(7) \( gui \quad gey \quad gien \)

• MODERN GREEK (Alvanoudi)

(8) Proximal 'Very near' Far

\( Alpha; \quad to; \quad ekeino; \)

• MIRIWOONG (Olawsky)

(9) CLOSE 1 (THE ONE RIGHT HERE) CLOSE 2 (THIS ONE NEARBY/BESIDE) - DISTAL (THAT ONE)

\( ngenjayi \quad (masc.sg) \quad ngenjing \quad (masc.sg) \quad ngenjang \quad (masc.sg) \)

• WOLAitta (Azeb Amha)

(10) PROXIMAL DISTAL MORE DISTAL

\( ha \quad he \quad hin\(ii\) \)

Cf. Nakh-Daghestanian Ingush 'this', 'that', 'that way over there' (Forker, p. 9)

(C) A FOUR-TERM system

MAVEA (Valérie Guérin)

(11) PROXIMAL (TO SPEAKER) PROXIMAL (TO ADDRESSEE) MEDIAL DISTAL

\( konaro \quad konaine \quad kon(a)le \quad konatu \)

(D) A FIVE TERM system encoding (a) visibility), (b) audibility, (c) distance in space (close to speaker, close to hearer, distant from both):

| Table 1. Witoto Murui — Table 1, Wojtylak, p. 2 |
|---------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| Perceivable | Visible | Audible | Non-perceivable |
| close to speaker | bi- | a'ki- | — |
| close to hearer | ja'dli- | - | — |
| distant from both | hai- | - | nai- |

North-east Caucasian: distance + directionality:

Avar 'close to speaker; 'close to addressee (visibility plays a role'); 'that far from speaker, not immediately mentioned, same level as speaker'; 'that, higher than speaker'; 'that, lower than speaker'

Lak 'close to speaker; 'close to addressee'; 'that (neutral)', 'that, higher than speaker'; 'that, lower
than speaker' (Forker, p. 9)

Sanzhi Dargi 'close to the speaker', 'close to the addressee', 'not close to either speaker or addressee', 'above or in the North', 'below or in the South'

(E) MANAMBU - a multiterm system, with three basic terms and additional 2/3 distance distinctions:

Table 2. Nominal demonstratives in Manambu

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STEM</th>
<th>GENDER/NUMBER</th>
<th>DISTANCE</th>
<th>OTHER USES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kE- 'proximal' (close to speaker)</td>
<td>fem.sg -ø/-l-; masc.sg -d, dual -bE; pl. -dl</td>
<td>ø 'proximal'</td>
<td>time and substitution anaphora</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fem. sg -l-; masc.sg -d-; dual -bE; pl. -dl</td>
<td>-ay 'further from speaker'</td>
<td>time, anaphora</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-awi 'even further from speaker'</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wa- 'proximal to addressee' (close to addressee)</td>
<td>fem.sg -ø; masc.sg -d, dual -bE; pl. -dl</td>
<td>ø 'proximal to addressee'</td>
<td>detachment or empathy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fem.sg -l-; masc.sg -d-; dual -bE; pl. -dl</td>
<td>-ay 'further from hearer'</td>
<td>to address an interlocutor; proximity in terms of clan allegiance, anaphora?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a- 'distal' (far from both speaker and addressee)</td>
<td>fem.sg -ø; masc.sg -d, dual -bE; pl. -dl</td>
<td>ø 'far from speaker and hearer'</td>
<td>substitution and textual anaphora; time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fem sg -l-; masc.sg -d-; dual -bE; pl. -dl</td>
<td>-ay 'further from speaker and hearer'</td>
<td>time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-awi 'very far'</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other largeish systems (Forker, p. 9) — Six distinctions:

Lezgian: 'this', 'that', 'yonder', 'the aforementioned', 'that up there', 'that down there'

Godoberi: 'close to speaker; 'close to addressee'; 'that (at some distance from speaker)'; 'that (at some distance from hearer)', 'that down there, aside', 'this/that (aforementioned)'

1.1.2 Special features of nominal demonstratives

(A) 'Split' systems — that is, different systems in different morphosyntactic contexts

(i) San Dionisio Huave has a three-term system in modifier-only nominal demonstratives and head-only nominal demonstratives (see (6)-(7) above). There is (a) ajk 'that' used as predicate head and as modifier to verb (also as relative clause marker) (one-term system?); (b) achiw 'that, this' (pejorative connotations)

(ii) Jarawara has a two-term system of nominal demonstratives in a post-predicate position: haaro/haari, haa 'this one (visible)'
| faaro/faari, faa 'this/that one (non-visible; distal)'

There is just one demonstrative in pre-predicate NP: haaha/haahi, haa 'this/that'

(iii) Eibela has a form wi 'proximal demonstrative' used as predicate head, modifier and head of NP, wiben as proximal demonstrative used as modifier and head, but not as predicate head, and one distal form.

(B) Three series of nominal demonstratives in Hinuq are

(i) neutral/default; (ii) 'reference is presented as immediately given', e.g. involving pointing, or just mentioned; (iii) the referent is clearly identifiable.
1.2 Local adverbial demonstratives
1.2.1 Systems discussed

TWO TERMS:

**Nungon** (the system is the same as that of nominal demonstratives)
- Proximal vs distal with three elevationals: Nungon; the forms are derived from nominal demonstratives with the suffix *-ndo*
- Plus an additional series of nominal demonstratives *ng-* 'here'; *w-* 'there' can occur with the adverbializing *-ndo*

**Lele**: same as nominal demonstratives in form and in meaning (*oko 'this, here', *aka 'that, there*)

**Hinuq**: same as nominal demonstratives (Forker, p. 5)

**Modern Greek** has two local adverbial demonstratives (in contrast to three nominal demonstratives: see Table 3): *ἐδώ 'here' and ἕκει 'there'*

THREE TERMS:

**Witoto Murui** (no visibility/audibility, in contrast to a four-term system in nominal demonstratives)
- *-aki 'here: near speaker'*
- *-jadi 'here: near hearer'*
- *-bais 'there: far from speaker'*

**San Dionisio Huave**: locative adverbial demonstratives *ñin-güy/ñin-gey/ñin-gey - see (7)*

**Wolaitta**: *háa-yáa-hini(iii) — see (10) (but note that the distal form is not the same; it is the one used for verbal demonstratives).*

FOUR TERMS:

**Mavea**: same as in nominal demonstratives:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proximal (to speaker)</th>
<th>Proximal (to addressee)</th>
<th>Medial</th>
<th>Distal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>aro</em></td>
<td><em>aine</em></td>
<td><em>ale</em></td>
<td><em>atu</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Ashéninka Peréné**: same distinctions as in nominal demonstratives; plus boundedness distinction:
- *(j)aka 'here, close to the speaker', (j)ara 'not here', (j)anta 'far from the speaker, bounded', (j)anto 'far from the speaker, unbounded'*

A LARGER SYSTEM:

**Manambu**: same as nominal demonstratives, formed with case markers (like in Aguaruna).

1.2.2 Further features

**Miriwoong**: has a three-term system, *ngen-avi-m/ngen-i-m/ngen-a-m — see (9)*; there are however additional demonstrative adverbs which do not enter into the same paradigm: *matham/mathiyam 'there' (specific/unspecific), plus a set of locational adverbs including 'crossways, outside…)*

**Eibela** has a two-term system of adverbial demonstratives (with three degree elevation in the distal system?), and also three directional adverbs: *hogo 'downwards', kodula 'down', and tomulu 'in front, ahead' (with temporal overtones).*

**Witoto Murui** has a number of deictic adverbial expressions, including a set of six locational adverbs:
- *(i) distance: *uni 'near'; *are 'far'*
- *(ii) direction with respect to the river: *afai 'upstream', *fuiri 'downstream'*
- *(iii) spatial/temporal distance: *bene 'here', *dine 'there, then'*
A SPLIT SYSTEM:
• Jarawara has a two-term system of adverbial demonstratives in a clause final position:
  ahi 'here (visible)'
  fahi 'here/there (non-visible)'
  There is just one demonstrative in clause-initial position aja 'here/there'

1.3 Manner adverbial demonstratives
SD Huave: same as nominal demonstratives at-kiy/-key/-kien (also/and.NOMINAL.DEM)
Aguaruna: manner demonstratives formed on nominal demonstratives with the allative case -ni
  (which takes us into a rather different issue of case syncretism: allative/manner…)
Hinuq: 'like this' versus 'like that' (same as nominal and locative demonstratives), also with the
  three series (but in addition, there are two series of 'such'; the difference is unclear: Forker, p. 5); in
  addition, there is 'a great number of manner adverbs and adjectives' based on demonstrative
  pronouns.
Miriwoong: wani/wayni 'like that' (which may be used as a derivational marker with coverbs and
  nominals) (see (d)).
Lele: aka 'that, there' can be used as a manner demonstrative; special form teie 'like that'
Manambu: 'like this' versus 'like that' (fewer distinctions than in nominal demonstratives)
Mavea: 'like this' versus 'like that' (fewer distinctions than in nominal demonstratives)

1.4 Verbal demonstratives 'do it like this/that'
SINGLE-TERM SYSTEM
Wolaitta has one verbal demonstrative with an intransitive form yaän- (locative distal
  demonstrative+verbalizer/monosyllabic root:be/happen) and a transitive form yaät-
  (locative distal
demonstrative+verbalizer/monosyllabic root:do).
  Demonstrative verbs in Wolaitta can be used anaphorically. They parallel interrogative
  verbs and quotative verbs.

TWO-TERM SYSTEMS
Aguaruna hu-ni- (PROX-verbalizer:intransitive) 'be like this'; hu-tika (PROX-verbalizer:transitive)
  'do like this'; aa-ni- (THUS-verbalizer:intransitive) 'be like that', a-ika- (THUS-verbalizer:intransitive)
  'do thus'
  Anaphoric nu-ni- (ANAPHORIC-verbalizer:intransitive) 'be like that (mentioned in text)'; nu-
  tika (ANAPHORIC-verbalizer:transitive) 'do like that (mentioned in text)'
Mavea (and many Oceanic languages…)
  pelmel 'be like that', po(l)mor(o) 'be like this' — used for pointing and for anaphora and cataphora...
Eibela (Aiton, pp. 9-10)
  wiwogu "do' like this' (referring to a topical or accessible referent) versus wogu "do' like that'
  Unlike in other languages within the Workshop (bar Aguaruna), they are ONLY used anaphorically.
Miriwoong manner demonstrative may in principle be considered as a kind of verbal demonstrative
  (it can be used to derive a coverb):
(13) ngoowa wani-be
    not like.that-IMPERFECT
    'Don't do it like that!'
A relative simplicity of verbal demonstrative systems agrees with Guérin (forthcoming).

Box 1 Nominal and other demonstratives

A TENTATIVE GENERALIZATION:
there tend to be the same number, or fewer, distance distinctions in manner demonstratives and in
adverbial (locational) demonstratives than in nominal demonstratives
Table 3 Comparison of distinctions in nominal and other demonstratives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Distinctions</th>
<th>Nominal demonstratives</th>
<th>Adverbial demonstratives</th>
<th>Manner demonstratives</th>
<th>Demonstrative verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jarawara</td>
<td>2/1</td>
<td>2/1</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Witoto Murui</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ersu</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nungon</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ashêñina P</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SD Huave</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>?1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miriwoong</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>?1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modern Greek</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wolaitta</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>see verbal dem</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mavea</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manambu</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eibela</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>see verbal dem</td>
<td>2?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hinuq</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2/1</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.5 Further functions and meanings

1.5.1 'Demonstrative-identifiers' (heads of predicate):
- one term: Ashêñina Perenê niri/hiri (masculine), niro/hiro 'non-masculine' 'here it is/they are'
- three terms, like nominal and adverbial: SD Huave ju-güy/ju-gey/ju-gien

1.5.2 Topographic deixis

Mavea: distinguished only in distal demonstratives, derived from atu 'distal' plus a motion verb with directional meanings: atu 'distal locational demonstrative' + si(vo) 'go down', sa 'go up', va 'go across'; additional longer distance: lengthening ! (Note the iconicity!)

(14)  
atisi(vo)/konatisi(vo) 'far away from speaker and addressee, down'  
atisa/konatisa 'far away from speaker and addressee, up'  
ativa/konativa 'far away from speaker and addressee, across'

Manambu: five directions (up, down, across, outwards, off the Sepik river/inwards) are distinguished for three basic stems ('close to speaker', 'close to addressee', 'far from both'). Directionals (some also used on verbs; two of them overlapping with inherently directional verbs) do not combine with additional distance markers.

Eibela: Within the paradigm of adverbial demonstratives, three degrees of elevation — same, higher and lower — are distinguished for distal demonstratives only (there are separate forms for anaphors, and for proximate and for distal without elevation)

In Avar and Lak (with a five term demonstrative system each) and Lezgian and Godoberi (six terms) topographic distinctions are only found for 'that' (see p. 3 above) (Forker, p. 9)

There is thus a dependency between distance and directionality — to be looked into.

In Nungon, however, 'elevation' is distinguished for proximal and distal demonstratives — see (1).

1.5.3 Further possibilities

Modern Greek has a qualitative demonstrative τέτοιος (masc.sg. plus gender/number/case forms) 'such a, this/that sort of'; and a quantitative demonstrative τόσος 'so much/many, that much/many'

Hinuq has quantity adverbs 'so much' (three series)

2 Functions of demonstratives

Normally, demonstratives are used for pointing.

2.1 Anaphoric functions for nominal demonstratives

In the following languages, nominal demonstratives have anaphoric functions:
- participant anaphora in Witoto Murui (Wojtylak, pp. 3-5)
• only w- 'distal' as participant anaphora in Nungon
• the proximal demonstrative hu can also be used for textual anaphora in Aguaruna
• participant anaphora in Miriwoong (examples are only with proximal demonstratives)
  (In SD Huave, it looks like the medial demonstrative kej 'modifier' (6) can also be used
  anaphorically, both for textual and for participant anaphora: Salminen, examples (18-20)).
• in Lele, only aka 'distal demonstrative' appears to be used for textual and for participant anaphora.
• In Mavea, anaphoric functions have been described for proximal and distal demonstratives; distal
demonstratives may also reflect 'psychological distance': Guérin, p. 3).
• in Manambu, all demonstratives (except 'very distant' forms) can be used for text and participant
  anaphora.
• in Hinuq, all nominal demonstratives appear to be used anaphorically (Forker, 3-4)

2.2 Special anaphoric forms
• Witoto Murui i- 'proximal textual and participant anaphora', nai- 'distal textual and participant
  anaphora' (these are bound morphemes accompanied by gender/number markers)
• Jarawara has 'an array of dedicated anaphoric elements' (Dixon 2004: 360-76). Demonstratives
  are not used anaphorically.
• Aguaruna has a dedicated anaphoric form nu (the proximal demonstrative hu can also be used for
  textual anaphora)
• Wolaitta has special anaphoric form for all nominal demonstratives; only distal demonstrative can
  be used deictically and anaphorically
• Mavea has a special anaphoric-only form, sg nel(e), pl neler(e) — cf. Tamambo mwende.
• in Eibela proximate demonstratives wi (all functions), wben (all functions except predicate
  head) can be used for anaphora (at least participant anaphora?); there is an additional form ena
  (absolutive)/eme (ergative) used only anaphorically (participant anaphora).
• it appears (Forker, p. 9) that Lezgian and Godoberi have anaphoric-only forms ('aforementioned')

Anaphora (participant and textual anaphora) can be expressed with third person pronouns, as in
Miriwoong and in Manambu.

2.3 Cataphora: hard to find — this may have to do with the organization of discourse (e.g. a
tendency not to summarise in advance).
• Aguaruna, hu 'proximal demonstrative', used for textual cataphora — but the example is from the
  Bible. Could this be a calque?
• Aguaruna au 'distal' used for textual cataphora in exclamations (Overall, ex. (38))
• Manambu employs manner adverbial demonstratives for cataphora and for anaphora

2.4 Further functions in discourse
• In Jarawara the adverbial demonstratives ahi 'here (visible)' and fahi 'here/there, not visible' have
discourse functions: fahi marks the 'climax' of a segment of discourse; ahi marks the 'lead up'.
• In Modern Greek, non-deictic uses of demonstratives cover emotional or psychological
  proximity/distance; can serve to introduce a referent (§1.3 of Angeliki's paper); especially where
  distance is important for interaction in terms of proximity of mention.
• In Manambu, non-deictic uses of demonstratives include reference to time, detachment or
  empathy; and the distal a- as a discourse sequencing marker, a 'filler' (like English yeah) and a
  conversation sustainer (see also Table 2).
• In Lele, nominal demonstratives can be used to mark distance or closeness of the referents in
  speaker's 'conceptual space'; and for referent tracking. The distal demonstrative aka can have a
temporal meaning 'now' and be used as a 'story-telling device' (Boettger, example (6)).
  This takes us to §2.5.

2.5 Possible functional markedness
How do we define a functionally unmarked term?
Aikhenvald and Dixon (1998: 60): "The idea of markedness applies to some — but by no means all — of the grammatical systems in a language. There is a fundamental distinction between two kinds of markedness — formal and functional. A formally unmarked term will be the only one in its system to have zero realisation (or a zero allomorph).

Functional markedness relates to the situation of use — the marked term(s) may be used each in a restricted, specifiable situation, with the unmarked term being used in all other circumstances. In Portuguese, for instance, a masculine/feminine choice is made when the sex of the referent is known and unambiguous. But when it is unknown, or when there is a mix of referents, of both sexes, then the functionally unmarked term, masculine, is used, e.g. o filho ‘the son’, a filha ‘the daughter’ and os filhos ‘the children’ (also see Aikhenvald 2000: 50, and references there).

Box 2. A summary of criteria relevant for functional markedness

(i) The unmarked value of the form will refer to either value (marked or unmarked one) in certain contexts — e.g. the unmarked term can be used for a supercategory which covers all the terms.
(ii) In certain grammatical environments, only the unmarked value will appear (see below on gender resolution and neutral, or default agreement).
(iii) The unmarked category is the one most frequently used (or the one that is used at least as frequently as each marked one).
(iv) The marked category displays syncretisation of its inflectional possibilities with respect to the unmarked member; that is, there are ‘at least as many distinct forms in the paradigm with the unmarked value as in the paradigm with the marked value’ (Greenberg 1966: 27).
(v) The unmarked category is realised in neutralised contexts, or when one does not wish to be specific.

We expect a functionally unmarked demonstrative
(a) to be used in more contexts that the functionally marked one and
(b) to develop further extensions and meanings, e.g. be used anaphorically, have temporal or discourse overtones, and maybe more.

Here come the candidates:
• Witoto Murui nai- 'distal non-perceivable' (Table 1); cf. nai- 'distal anaphora'
• Nungon w- 'distal' (also used as an anaphoric marker: Sarvasy, p. 4) and to refer to time
• Ashéninca Perene: the mid-distance -ra set is used as a filler, in participant anaphora, in introducing new participants
• In SD Huave, kej 'medial demonstrative: modifier only' (6) can be used as adverbial demonstrative 'there' and have temporal reference.
• In Wolaitta, there are indications that the distal form of nominal and is the functionally unmarked one: (a) it is the only nominal and local demonstrative also used for anaphora (participant and textual), and (b) the distal local demonstrative is the only one used as a base for verbal demonstratives.
• In Hinuq, distal pronoun of the first series ('neutral' ones) occurs 'per default as personal pronouns.
• In Lele aka 'that, there' may be considered functionally unmarked as it has temporal and discourse-marking functions.
• In Manambu a 'distal demonstrative' can be used in many additional functions, e.g. as a connective in discourse and general statements and conversation sustainers.

There is a DISTINCT TENDENCY to use mid-distance or distal nominal (maybe also locative) demonstrative as a functionally unmarked term. This may have to do with:
• distance associated with lack of specificity (a feature of a 'supercategory', or a 'default' value);
• 'cognitive distance' as a meand of establishing a default situation;
• 'saving face' by avoiding a proximal demonstrative which may sound too precise and intrusive…

2.6 Special forms associated with pointing
All demonstratives have a deictic (=pointing) use. We all recall how Hannah described gestures in
Nungon (Sarvasy, p. 3).
   Just in some languages, there are special forms always accompanied with pointing gestures:
   • **Modern Greek** deictic particle *να here!* (§3 of Angeliki's paper)
   • **Sedeq** *kiya*
     cf. **Tariana** gestural deictic *khi-, e.g. khi-pe-yawa-pe* (this.big:showing-PL.CL:HOLE-PL) 'holes this big (showing the shape)'; **American English** *yei high; Russian* *na! 'Take it!*

3 Nominal demonstratives and NP structure

Nominal demonstratives always occur on the edge of the NP (but see below!)
   • In some languages, e.g. **Modern Greek** and **Manambu**, demonstratives occur with definite articles/specifiers. But note that they occur in different orders…

   (15) αυτός o  ἄντρας
   this.masc.sg the.masc.sg man
   'this man'

   (16) dΕ a-dΕ du
   SPECIFIER.masc.sg (=he) that-masc.sg man
   'that (just specified) man'

   • An NP can contain more than one nominal demonstrative
     (i) a sequence of anaphoric and deictic demonstratives in one NP — note the differences in word order within an NP:
     (17) i-e bai-e da-je ri-]:=o
     ANAPH-CL:GENERIC DEM:'that'-CL:GENERIC one-CL:FEM woman-CL:FEM
     'that one woman'… (Wojtylak, p. 4, ex 2.9)

     (18) na-avtai ro na-on male-r nele-r
     1sg-appear here 1sg-look distal-pl anaphoric-pl
     'I came out when I saw these ones'

     (19) a-dΕ kΕ-dΕ tΕp
     DEM.DIST.ANAPHORIC-masc.sg DEM.PROX-masc.sg village
     'this previously mentioned ('that') village: to refer to Avatip which was mentioned before (hence 'that') and where we are now (hence 'this')

   (ii) a sequence of two deictic demonstratives in one NP:
     • to be able to specify direction and additional distance (not compatible in one demonstrative word):
     (20) [a-di-a-wur a-di-ay warag]
     'I will tell a story (focussed) about how) those far away ancestors from up river (fathers, fought and went up')

     • ? maybe topicalization?
     (21) konro ro maro-r noro ra-dae ro
     PROX PROX PROX-pl PROX 3pl-bleed PROX=now
     'These ones here, they bleed now' (Guérin, (18), p. 5)

4 Directionals as a verbal category (part of 'spatial' setting)

4.1 Ventive and andative on verbs
   • **Witoto Murui** -ai*bi- ventive' (motion towards speaker), -ai- 'andative' (motion away from speaker)
   • **Ashénincan Peréné** -an 'source', -ap 'goal'

4.2 Directional affixes on verbs (but not on demonstratives):
   • Ersu has nine directional prefixes on verbs:
Table 4. Directional prefixes on verbs in Ersu

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>upward</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>downward</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>inward-‘</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td>outward-‘</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>away-‘</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kua-</td>
<td>leftward-/away from the speaker-‘</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dzi-</td>
<td>upward-‘</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p-</td>
<td>downward-‘</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **Jarawara** has a set of miscellaneous suffixes related to direction: -tima 'upstream', -(i)misa 'up', -risa 'down(hill)', -kl 'coming', -ma 'back, return'.

- In **Manambu**, directionals on verbs partly overlap with directionals on demonstratives, and have a similar origin.

- In **Eibela**, there is one verbal directional -lo which specifies the direction of movement (Aiton, (60), p. 15)

4.3 Further features:
- Directional affixes may get grammaticalized, as in **Ersu**: e.g. inward+perfective; downward+progressive; upward+imperative
- Directional suffixes with non-motion verbs in **Ashéninca Perené** acquire aspectual overtones:
  - -an 'towards' > inceptive, change of state
  - -ap 'away from' > 'endpoint of an activity'
- Directional suffixes in **Jarawara** acquire 'metaphorical' meanings: -risa 'down(hill)'> 'not fully satisfactory'; -(i)misa 'up' > better; -kl 'coming' > 'getting to be' (change of state); -ma 'back, return' > return to a state; to full health
- Directional suffixes on verbs in **Manambu** can be lexicalised, e.g. wa-saki- 'talk-across', 'tell a traditional story. This does not happen with directionals on demonstratives.
- Similarly, 'spatial adverb+verb' in **Hinuq** may produce semantically unpredictable compounds, e.g. 'upwards be.CONVERB' = 'be insistent, adamant', 'upwards take/keep' = 'promise' (cf. 'I take you up on this'), 'from upwards go down' = 'say sorry'.

4.4 Directional serial verbs
- **Ersu** Serial verbs: la 'come'; 'motion away': verb yi (IMPFV)/duá (PFV) 'go';
- **Mavea** and **Lele** serial verbs involving verbs 'go', 'come', 'go across'
  Directional verbs within serial verb constructions may grammaticalize into directional markers (as in **Toqabaqita**). In **Lele** (Boettger, pp. 6-7) la 'go' grammaticalizes into a marker of change of state ('become'), and also instrument, cause and reason.

5 Further properties of nominal and locational demonstratives
(i) occurrence with classifiers: **Witoto Murui**: this could well be an areal feature, cf. **Tariana**
(ii) agree in gender in **Jarawara**; gender and number in **Modern Greek** and **Manambu**; gender, number and case in **Hinuq**
(iii) occurrence with adjectivising derivational suffix -e to the distal demonstratives in **Nungon**, yielding a set with 'more descriptive overtones' (Sarvasy, p. 1)
(iv) agree in case with the head noun in **Aguaruna** and in **Hinuq** (not in Manambu)
(v) in **Wolaitta**, nominal demonstratives have to be nominalized to be used as heads of NPs;
(v) special meanings:
  (a) temporal overtones:
    • in **Lele aka** 'that, there' can mean 'then';
• in Witoto Murui dine means 'there, then'
  in SD Huave, kej 'medial demonstrative: modifier only' (6) can be used as adverbial demonstrative 'there' and have temporal reference.
• in Mavea, the proximal locational aro may refer to time ('now', ex. (18), Guérin, p. 5)
• in Manambu, kE 'this, close to speaker: present/future' (22) and a 'that: distant from speaker and addressee: past' (23) with the additional distance marker -ay:

(22) kEwik (DEM.PROX+fem.sg week) 'this week now'
kE-dE kiya-dE nabi (DEM.PROX-masc.sg die-masc.sg year) 'this year (which is finishing)'
kE-l-ay wik (DEM.PROX-fem.sg-DIST week) 'next week'
kE-l-ay bap October 'this coming October' (said on 12 September)
kE-d-l-ay nabi (DEM.PROX-masc.sg-DIST year) 'next year'

(23) awik (DEM.DIST+fem.sg week) 'last week'
a-l-ay wik (DEM.DIST-fem.sg-DIST week) 'week before last'
a-d-ay nabi (DEM.DIST-masc.sg-DIST year) 'year before last'.

• in Nungon, nominal demonstratives with elevationals may refer to time: 'past' is downhill; future is 'uphill'; present is unmarked as for elevation and referred to as 'here' (from 2013):

(24) yara om-u   2011, 2012
year downhill-DISTAL
yara ng-o   2013 (current)
year HERE-PROX
yara on-o   2014
year UPHILL-PROX
yara on-u   2015
year UPHILL-DIST

The distal locational w-ondo (DISTAL-ADVERBAL) 'there' in Nungon anaphorically refers to 'time'.

(b) overtones of familiarity, endearment, pejorative overtones, and empathy, e.g.
• Modern Greek: demonstratives are relevant to participants' epistemic status and discourse relevance (esp. Alvanoudi, p. 9).
• Aguaruna medial demonstrative;
• Hinuq proximal demonstrative ('this democracy': not so good),
• Manambu 'close to addressee' demonstrative (pejorative overtones or overtones of endearment depend on the context);
• probably Miriwoong, Figure 9: expressed with all nominal demonstratives, and especially the distal ngenam.

6 Other means of expressing location and directionality
• Ersu has a rich system of locational nouns. Six partly grammaticalized relator nouns refer to space surrounding a referent (human; nonhuman), 'on', 'beside', 'under', 'in (plane area)', plus over a dozen of specific locational terms which are noun-like; directional terms reflect geographical elevation (Zhang, p.11).
• Jarawara has locational nouns 'near', 'far', 'downstream', 'upstream'.
• Aguaruna has locational nouns 'upriver', 'downriver', 'under'; South has to do with 'downriver', North with 'upriver'

7 'Whatever' and 'what's name': demonstratives and demonstrative-like forms with generic reference and as 'fillers'
• Miriwoong ngoorroo "unnamed one", a certain one': to refer to unknown people, unknown objects, and as part of avoidance; can also replace an unknown verb (and maybe used if the speaker
is searching for a word). It can occur with a demonstrative (forming 2 NPs) (Olawsky, (17)):

(25) ngoorroo-ntha berra gaja-ng
    that-EXISTENTIAL:masc there/those shallow-NOMINAL.SUFFIX

'Those things there (I don't remember their name?), they are those shallows'

- **Sedeq** *kiya*? Cf. generic nouns in MANY languages, e.g. Manambu *ma:gw* 'whatever'
- Demonstratives can be used if one does not remember something, or to 'buy time', that is, as a 'placeholder', e.g. Russian *eto*, Estonian *see* 'this', distal in Japanese, distal and medial in Korean, proximal and distal in Mandarin (Hayashi and Yoon 2010: 38-9); (and maybe Sillamon Salish: Watanabe 2010: 179) (note that a few languages use interrogatives, without interrogative intonation/mood marking, e.g. Udi and Agul: Ganenkov et al 2010, Tariana).

**8 Correlations with the environment**

The meanings of spatial setting correlate with the important environment in which the language is spoken.
- **Witoto Murui** has special locationals 'upstream' and 'downstream'
- **Manambu** is river oriented, and there are hills — this correlates with directional distinctions in demonstratives
- As shown by Diana, Avar, Lak, Sanzhi Dargi, Lezgian and Godoberi have topographic deixis: the languages are spoken in the mountaneous areas (in Hlнуq, topographic meanings are expressed with cases, adverbs...)
- In Nungon, rivers are 'obstacles' and not important for livelihood: upriver and downriver are not distinguished; but there are elevational demonstratives
- **Ersu** is spoken in a mountaneous area; there are numerous directional prefixes on verbs (see Table 3) and an elaborate system of locationals many of which are noun-like.
- In Jarawara, the existence of 'upriver'/'downriver' markers can be associated with the importance of rivers and fish as a means of subsistence (despite the fact the Jarawara currently live away from major rivers...)

**9 Areal connections**

- Ventive-andative in Witoto Murui: shared with Tucanoan languages spoken not so far away;
- Classifiers with demonstratives in Witoto Murui: a feature shared by Tucanoan languages and diffused into Tariana

**10 And now — for our next workshop**

Connections between demonstratives and interrogative words: (i) use as fillers; (ii) correlations between demonstrative verbs and interrogative verbs; (iii) possibly: similar paradigms (interrogatives and demonstratives are closed classes)...

**Additional references**

Guérin, Valérie. Forthcoming. ‘A cross-linguistic typology of demonstrative verbs’.
Watanabe, Honoré. 2010. 'Fillers and their relevance in describing Sliammon Salish', pp. 139-72 of Amiridze et al (ed).

**Abbreviations**

ABS - absolutive; DEM - demonstrative; DIST - distal; masc - masculine; pl - plural; PROX - proximate; sg - singular.