THE SPANISH POSTNOMINAL DEMONSTRATIVE IN SYNCHRONY AND DIACHRONY

DISSERTATION

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School of the Ohio State University

By

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The Ohio State University 2007

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Approved by

___________________

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Spanish and Portuguese Graduate Program
ABSTRACT

In contrast to languages such as English, Spanish exhibits a dual placement of the demonstrative:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Ese</th>
<th>hombre</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DEM</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>El</th>
<th>hombre</th>
<th>ese</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ART</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>DEM</td>
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‘That man’

I account for the Spanish postnominal demonstrative by investigating data in the synchronic and diachronic corpora to track the source of the demonstrative construction and its textual context. In this vein, a framework that categorizes referring expressions with regards to their information structure better explains the Spanish data and the development of the construction in question. Using an applicable discourse framework, the diachronic data is then compared with synchronic examples in order to elucidate the function of the marked syntax of the demonstrative.

A specific aim of the present investigation is to clarify the role of the post-posed demonstrative in the “pejorative” use frequently commented on in the literature. In fact, the displaced demonstrative is found to encode primarily hearer-old information where the affective or qualitative function is only the most salient part of a larger pattern. This pattern extends from the first attestation of the Spanish postnominal construction in the 14th century up to the present day.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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I would also like to thank Scott Schwenter for his help at the initial stages of my investigation.
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Major Field: Spanish
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<td>[SPEC DP [D [NP N] [DP DEM]]; [DP DEM]]</td>
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<td>Meta-discourse</td>
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INTRODUCTION

Aim of Study

In this study I investigate the Spanish demonstrative and its use in discourse. In particular, the postnominal demonstrative construction and its development toward the synchronic situation where such placement has become conventionalized appearing alongside the more standard prenominal position. This study elucidates the relative function of this special demonstrative placement through the use of discourse frameworks that categorizes referring expressions vis-à-vis their information structure. Informational categories better explain the Spanish data and the development of the construction in question, which exhibits both syntactic and semantic stability from its origins in Late Latin to Modern Spanish usage. These frameworks elucidate not only information structure but also the concrete function of the construction in discourse where the speaker encodes the referent for the addressee as hearer-old and therefore as part of the common ground of discourse. From this core come the main communicative functions of the construction: Anaphoric, Cataphoric. Shared Knowledge, Situationally Accessible and Affective.
A specific aim of the present investigation is to clarify the role of the post-posed demonstrative in the “pejorative” or affective use frequently commented on in the literature (Ramírez Fernández 1951:316, Esbozo 1973:436, Macías 1997). By investigating both synchronic and diachronic data the relevant range of the meanings conveyed by the displaced demonstrative becomes clear, showing that this qualitative function is only the most salient part of a far larger pattern. The Affective use is a meta-discourse function meant to comment on the referent at hand and color the cognitive state of the addressee toward the entity being referred to (Lakoff 1974). In that this use communicates more than ‘what is said’ reveals that the inverted syntax of the postnominal construction is in itself a small portion of the communicative function of the expression within its full discourse context.

Therefore in Chapter 1 Pan-Romance and Hispanic Context the postnominal construction is placed within the context of Spanish demonstratives este, ese, aquel and the system of Spanish deixis where the three term distinction is utilized for communicative purposes beyond that envisioned by traditional accounts. Also other Romance languages such as Rumanian and Catalan are investigated where the post-posed demonstrative occurs; Chapter 2: Syntactic Analysis investigates the derivation of the demonstrative within the Determiner Phrase in various frameworks (see Bernstein 1997, 2001 Brugé 1996, Panagiotidis 2000, Grohmann&Panagiotidis 2004, Roca 1996). In addition, the prenominal vs postnominal demonstrative is also investigated across languages where the prenominal is shown to be properly basic for Germanic and
Romance. The postnominal demonstrative is also compared with adjectival placement in Spanish and Rumanian, which exhibit a mirror image of the demonstrative.

The postnominal is derived from the prenominal position, which is properly basic in the structure. Also the postnominal construction ART-N-DEM is distinguished from the article-less string N-DEM, which is more limited in its distribution, and CP-N-DEM used in exclamations. *Chapter 3: Semantics and Information Structure* investigates the demonstrative as a refering expression in a number of discourse frameworks (see Prince 1981, Givón 1983, Levinson 1987, Ariel 1990, Gundel et al. 1993, Blackwell 2003) from which a core number of informational categories are derived: *Anaphoric, Shared Knowledge, Situationally Accessible* and *Affective*.

After these preliminary sections, which lay the groundwork for the understanding of the postnominal construction, comes the data analysis portion. In *Chapter 4: Synchronic Analysis* the informational categories derived in *Chapter 3* are applied to synchronic data featuring the postnominal construction. Here the demonstratives *este/ese* and *aquel* are distinguished following the discussion of the Spanish demonstrative system in *Chapter 1* where distal *aquel* has the specialized uses of *Meta-discourse* and *Evocative*. These informational categories are then associated with structural categories in order to clarify the syntax-information structure interface. It is important to distinguish genuine tokens of the postnominal construction from alternative constructions N-DEM and CP-N-DEM. In *Chapter 5: Diachronic Analysis* I apply the synchronic informational categories to diachronic data. Here the investigation necessarily relies on a direct knowledge of the synchronic language in order to interpret diachronic tokens.
By first investigating the relevant data in the synchronic corpora I can then reconstruct the function of the demonstrative construction and its (textual) context. Using an applicable discourse framework, the synchronic data can be compared with diachronic examples in order to elucidate the function of the marked syntax of the demonstrative in the past (Chapter 5). This investigation reveals the limits of textual data both in the synchronic and diachronic record in that documents can only strive to imitate actual speech but cannot record it as such.

The diachronic record is fragmentary due to haphazard preservation of texts and the restriction of register whereas synchronic data while more accessible is also incomplete in that the postnominal construction takes place in a complete discourse context that cannot be reproduced in written form. Such elements include spatial and visual clues, shared knowledge as part of a community, etc.

It is important to understand the trajectory of the postnominal construction both from Late Latin to Romance and from Old to Modern Spanish in that the available diachronic record shed light on the syntactic and semantic qualities of the construction that maintain themselves from the origin of the construction into the present language.
1.1 The Spanish Demonstrative System in Context

Deictic elements are those whose interpretation makes essential reference to properties of the extra-linguistic context of the utterance in which they occur. In this vein, Lyons defines deixis as “the location and identification of persons, objects, events, processes and activities being talked about or referred to in relation to the spatio-temporal context created and sustained by the act of utterance and the participation in it” (Lyons 1977 p.637 quoted in Levinson 1983). Spatial deixis refers to a phenomenon whereby the spatial relationships of a discourse context are encoded linguistically with special reference to the speaker and the addressee, the two essential elements needed for any discourse context.

According to one of the original frameworks, Bühler (1937), the speaker forms the deictic center and origo of a discourse from which all other spaces are measured. Deictic terms such as here refer to the general area of the speaker while there refers to the addressee’s region. Other deictic terms include demonstratives this and este in languages such as English and Spanish respectively which refer to an entity in the discourse context as in (1a&b)
Here the relevant deictic element *este* and *this* modify the noun ‘man’. In philosophical terms, deictic determiners, also known as demonstratives, are indexicals in terms of Peirce, which are necessarily context dependent. Yet they differ from other indexicals since they may include a pointing gesture, which is inherent to their deictic character. Demonstrative words are quintessential deictic expressions since they explicitly point out a referent in the deictic field of the discourse (Gutiérrez-Rexach 2002).

These words are called demonstratives in that they show or point out the referent in question. “*Demonstratives are place deictics. They indicate the relative distance of an object, location or person vis-à-vis the deictic center (also called the origo) which is usually the speaker*” (Diessel 1999, p.36)

In Spanish we note a tripartite demonstrative system *este*-*ese*- *aquel* which encodes features [+prox], [+medial] and [+distal] respectively. As traditionally understood the demonstrative *este* encodes a relative proximity to the speaker, *ese* refers to an area nearer to the addressee, and *aquel* points to regions removed from both participants meant to highlight the distance of the referent in deictic space.

In turn, these demonstratives are seen as the counterparts of locative adverbs *aquí-*[+prox]- ‘here allí- [-prox, -dist]- ‘there’ *allá- [+dist]’over there’ respectively within the wider system of Spanish deixis (Hottenroth 1982).
A further tack taken by the grammars is a person-based account whereby proximal *este* corresponds to first person (*yo*), medial *ese* to second (*tú*), and distal *aquel* to third person (*él, ella*). In his review of demonstrative systems in languages of the world Diessel (1999) makes a point of contrasting such person-based systems with distance-based frameworks. However, these two accounts are often combined to yield a description of Spanish demonstratives as both personal and locative in nature (Eguren 1999).

According to Eguren (1999) unlike terms of personal deixis such as *yo*, demonstratives are deictically opaque in that they require gesticular or contextual information. In term of their semantics these terms have an indeterminate content and are therefore incomplete deictic signs. A basic problem arises since this unique status allows for flexibility within the system that the traditional frameworks fail to reflect.

In contrast to the Spanish system, English employs only two terms *this* [+prox] and *that* [+distal] for the same function. In this light, it has long been under debate why demonstrative
systems such as Spanish *este-* *ese-* *aquel* continue to maintain a tripartite distinction while many other Romance languages like French, Brazilian Portuguese and Modern Italian, show a tendency toward two-term systems as evidenced in the decline of medial terms *aqueix* and *codesto* in Catalan and Standard Italian respectively (Jüngbluth 2003, Meira 2003). These two-term systems consist of binary distinctions [+prox] vs [+dist] as in French *ce livre-ci* vs *ce livre-là* on par with colloquial English *this book here, that book there* (Bernstein 2001). Yet the existence of such differing systems in the same language families raises the question: is the spatial deixis properly basic to demonstratives in Spanish? Or rather do discourse factors determine usage?

The flexibility of demonstratives allows them to express not only spatial but emotional content. For example, in Spanish the use of *ese* in place of *este* is seen as a distancing strategy that is in some sense pejorative (Ramírez 1951:316, Esbozo 1973:432, Eguren 1999). However, Gutiérrez-Rexach’s 2002 and Jüngbluth’s 2003 investigations of Spanish demonstratives in discourse reveal that *ese* is not the medial demonstrative but rather an unmarked form which encodes addressee reference. Due to its unmarked status, *ese* has the widest use across temporal, spatial, and discourse deixis (Gutiérrez-Rexach 2002). In this manner *ese* corresponds to the weak locative proform [*áj*] which refers to a non-specific region of space (Gutiérrez-Rexach 2002).

(2)

Por *ahi* [*áj*]
PREP-by LOC[-prox,-dist]
‘Thereabouts’
Notice in (3) that the weak form [áj] is monosyllabic in contrast to bisyllabic [a.í]= allí which receives full stress. In addition [áj] receives a looser meaning rendered by the English translation ‘thereabouts’ ‘around there’ which refers to an unspecified area in the sphere of discourse as represented by the features [-prox, -dist]. That is to say the locative expression is not within the realm of the speaker but neither is it removed from the realm of discourse. Therefore [áj] encodes a location within the shared discourse space shared by speaker and addressee.

In terms of the demonstrative ese, the non-specific discourse use is first alluded to in Salvá’s 1837 grammar in which he contrasts contemporary 19th century Spanish usage to that of the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries:

“Con el adjetivo este señalamos un objeto cercano y con el ese aquel sobre que recae nuestra conversación con alguno; distinción que no conocieron nuestros antepasados (Salvá 1837:p.358)”

‘With the adjective este we point out a nearby object and with ese that which our conversation with someone is concerned about, a distinction that our ancestors were not familiar with.’

According to Salvá (1837) there is a distinction between este and ese appreciable in the modern language whereby ese corresponds to a reference to “our conversation with someone” which is the discourse context proper.

Another peculiarity of Spanish ese is its frequent post-nominal use as in: el hombre ese. However, this use was largely ignored until recently in the literature (Gutiérrez-Rexach 2002). The postnominal is first commented upon in passing by Salvá in his 1837 grammar:
“6a También van delante del sustantivo los adjetivos demostrativos *este, ese, aquel* y sus compuestos: *este taimado, aquese escaño, este guerrero* y solo con un rodeo impropio dicen algunos: *el taimado ese, la quinta aquella* etc. (Salvá 1837:130)”

‘Demonstrative adjectives: *este, ese, aquel* and their compounds *este taimado* (this devil), *aquese escaño* (that seat), *este guerrero* (that warrior) also go before the noun and only some people with an improper twist say: *el taimado ese* (that devil), *la quinta aquella* (that country house).’

Clearly, for Salvá (1837) the post-posed demonstrative is marked and definitively non-normative since it is prescriptively termed ‘improper’. However, this mere aside manages to illuminate the presence of the construction as well as its low register status.

In contrast, Bello (1848), another important 19th century grammar, views the postnominal placement as just a variant of the demonstrative expression that features the definite article in parallel to the pattern seen in possessives in (3a&b) which feature a parallel pattern to demonstratives:

**POSSESSIVE**

*Prenominal*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Poss</th>
<th>N-book</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(3a.) Mi libro</td>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>N-book</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Postnominal*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ART-the</th>
<th>N-book</th>
<th>POSS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(b.) El libro mío</td>
<td>ART-the</td>
<td>N-book</td>
<td>POSS</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘My book’

**DEMONSTRATIVE**

*Prenominal*

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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>DEM-that</th>
<th>N-temple</th>
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<tr>
<td>(c.) Aquel templo</td>
<td>DEM-that</td>
<td>N-temple</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Postnominal
(d.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>el</th>
<th>templo</th>
<th>aquel</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ART</td>
<td>the</td>
<td>N-temple</td>
<td>DEM- that</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘That temple’

In (3a&c)) both the possessive adjective and the demonstrative precede and modify the noun. Whereas in (3b&d)) the definite article heads the construction with the possessive adjective and the demonstrative in postnominal position. Given the variation in the use of the article Bello posits that possessive and demonstrative pronouns are assumed to include articles within themselves when they precede the noun. (Bello 1848:250) Bello (1848) implies that the pre-posed demonstrative and possessive pronouns perform the function of the article.

In other words, these prenominal elements do double duty as deictics and markers of definiteness. So when these same items follow the noun, an article is needed to mark definiteness in its stead. As previously mentioned, this postnominal use is often defined in traditional 20th century literature as emphatic and in some sense derogatory (Ramírez Fernandez 1951:316, Esbozo 1973:432, Macías 1997). However, Gutiérrez-Rexach (2002) defines post-nominal ese as a focalizer of NP’s as shown in the conversation below:

(4)

A: Dame la carta.
A: V-give CL-1\textsuperscript{st}-s ART-the letter
A: ‘Give me the letter.’

B: ¿Qué carta?
B: INTER-what letter
B: ‘What letter?’

C: La carta esa; que te mencioné.
C: ART-the letter DEM-that CP-that CL-2\textsuperscript{nd}-s V-1\textsuperscript{st}-s mentioned
C: ‘That letter I mentioned to you.’

(Gutiérrez-Rexach 2002)
Here in (4) post-nominal *esa* focuses the NP *la carta*, which has become a topic of
discourse. The unique place of *ese* in the system of Spanish deixis is further illustrated by its
status as a default focalizer as demonstrated below:

(5)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>estos/</th>
<th>esos/</th>
<th>aquellos</th>
<th>tres</th>
<th>coches</th>
<th>esos</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DEM[+prox]</td>
<td>/DEM[+/-prox] these</td>
<td>DEM[+dist] those</td>
<td>three</td>
<td>Nears</td>
<td>DEM[+/-prox] those</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Gutiérrez-Rexach 2002)

Notice that while all three demonstratives in (5) are felicitous in prenominal position,
only *ese* is felicitous post-nominally in all three combinations. It can be said that Spanish utilizes
its tripartite system for expressive purposes in addition to a gradation of distance from the deictic
origo (Bühler 1937), which is often neutralized in a discourse context. That is, spatial dimensions
of demonstratives are reinterpreted in accordance with the discourse context.

This neutralization is confirmed in discourse practice as shown by Jüngbluth’s 2003
study of speaker interaction in Toledo (Spain). Importantly, Jüngbluth (2003) envisions a
conversational dyad which takes into account the shared space between speaker and addressee in
contrast to Bühler (1937) who only envisions a single deictic origo centered on the speaker.

In speaker interviews Jüngbluth (2003) finds that the only situation where the tripartite
system is consistently maintained is in *Side-by-Side* communication between speaker and
addressee where the three-part gradation *este- ese- aquel* is used to encode referents and their
relative distance from the discourse agents as shown in Figure 1.2.
In contrast, a *Face-to-Face* context features a binary opposition between *este* and *aquel* to encode shared versus non-shared space respectively between speaker and addressee in Figure 1.3:

While a *Face-to-Back* configuration encodes *ese* as being within the addressee’s sphere as opposed to that of the speaker in Figure 1.4:
Thus the use of the Spanish demonstratives includes a wide range of deictic use from spatio-temporal to discourse deixis. Bühler’s 1937 original framework defined three varied uses: *deixis ad oculos* for spatial usage, *deixis reflexiva* for discourse-anaphoric deixis, and *deixis am phantasma* for metaphorical use.

Lakoff (1974) notes that the English demonstratives *this* and *that* have special pragmatic use in discourse.

(6)

a. How’s *that* throat?

   (Lakoff 1974)

On par with *ese* distal *that* in (6) is seen as the unmarked term given that it establishes a connection between speaker and addressee. Moreover, this use is termed emotional deixis and implies familiarity with the referent. In one case (6a) both speaker and addressee are aware of whose *throat* is being referred to, belonging as it does to the addressee. In (6b) the mention of Henry Kissinger, assumes that this political celebrity’s character forms part of common knowledge.
In Spanish, we also see a shift from the spatio-temporal axis to refer to alternative situations, worlds or context sets. Distal *aquel* can thus be used to evoke a referent seen as belonging to a distant past (Gutiérrez-Rexach 2002).

(7) 

\[ \text{Echo de menos aquellos libros siempre perdidos.} \]

V-1sts-throw PREP-of less DEM-that[-prox] books always ADJ-lost

“I miss those books forever lost.”

Important for Spanish are the contextual presuppositions of the demonstratives where in accordance with presuppositions of proximity and non-proximity ternary opposites are re-categorized as binary in actual usage. In other words, the three-part distinction encoded morphologically in the demonstrative system is reduced to a two-part contrast in most discourse contexts.

In this view, the Spanish demonstrative system can be analyzed accordingly: *este* - refers to entities within the speaker’s sphere; *ese* - corresponds to the addressee’s sphere as well as shared knowledge and is typical of spoken registers; *aquel* - encodes referents not accessible to speaker or hearer and therefore outside of the discourse sphere.

However, given the fluctuation in other three-term systems (ex. Italian, Catalan) it is important to take into account the stability of the Spanish demonstratives over time. To this end an examination of diachronic data is necessary.

1.2 Demonstrative Distribution in Diachrony

The first reliable textual data from the Alphonsine corpus in the mid 13th century shows a three-term system with two variants. The majority pattern comprises terms *este –esse –aquel* while a secondary paradigm with reinforcer ECCU, similar to that found in other Romance
languages such as French and Italian (see (13) below), features *aqueste -aquesse -aquel*.

Diachronic corpora studies (Figure 1.5 below) reveal a steady presence of *este* with an ever-increasing use of *ese* beginning in the late 19th century, both prenominal: *ese hombre* (1886) and postnominal *las operas esas* (1873). Consequently, *ese* begins as a minority pattern in the 1200’s at just .4% eventually rising to 37.6% in the 20th century. The later predominance of *ese* can be partly explained via its association with more colloquial usage coupled with the nature of the 20th century corpora, which feature spoken exchanges in written discourse.

However, Salvá 1837’s observations on the divergence between the uses *este* and *ese* in the Modern language is still pertinent in that *ese* is seen as tied to a discourse function. All of the aforementioned changes are to the detriment of *aquel*, which encodes referents outside the discourse. Therefore, while *aquel* constitutes a dominant form at 57.6% in the 1200’s the same form drops off rapidly in the 20th with a meager 8% as the usage of medial *ese* expands to its present range leaving *aquel* as a minority option. This limited use is confirmed by oral discourse where *aquel* is largely absent, being confined to written or stylized uses.
In the present study I am interested in the communicative use of demonstratives in discourse. Such uses are related to the fact that language is “responsive to the fundamental need of speakers to convey and assess feelings, moods, dispositions, and attitudes. This need is as critical and as human as that of describing events. Interlocutors need to know not only what predication a speaker is making [but also] the affective orientation the speaker is presenting with regard to that particular predication” (Ochs and Schieffelin 1989:9 cited in Finnegan 1995 p.5).
1.3 The Postnominal Demonstrative

In particular, one of these expressive uses involves special syntax such as the post-posed demonstrative shown in (8b).

(8)

\[
\text{a)} \quad \text{Este} \quad \text{hombre} \quad \text{b)} \quad \text{El} \quad \text{hombre} \quad \text{este}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{DEM} & \text{N} & \text{ART} & \text{N} \\
\text{[+def]} & & \text{[+def]} & \text{[+loc]} \\
\text{[+loc]} & & & \text{[+deic]} \\
\text{[+deic]} & & & \\
\end{array}
\]

The main contrast between (8a) and (8b) is that (8a) features the demonstrative in prenominal position: [DEM-N], while (8b) has a postnominal placement for the same element introduced by the definite article: [ART-N-DEM]. At a more basic level (8b) spells out the semantic features of the referring expression: [+def], [+loc], [+deic] independently. The definite article in (8b) identifies the referent via a feature of definiteness [+def] while the post-posed demonstrative expresses a locative [+loc] and deictic features [+deic].

In contrast, prenominal *este* expresses all three features in itself. More importantly, the prenominal demonstrative *este* adds a measure of deictic import that the noun *hombre* does not possess by itself. Prenominal *este*, with its concentration of features in a single term, reinforces the referent introduced by the demonstrative and brings the deictic-locative features to the fore (Eguren 1999) whereas the postnominal construction separates the deictic and locative features from the noun.

Eguren (1999) discusses parallel uses in English (10), which utilize the demonstrative coupled with a locative along with their Spanish counterparts (9):
The Spanish and English examples in (9) and (10) constitute the same basic pattern combining a noun with a locative pronoun be it a pure locative or demonstrative. Spanish in (9) features a noun between a definite and the demonstratives este, ese, and aquel in post-position. In (10) the English demonstratives this and that combine with the corresponding locatives here and there and enclose the noun. However, the English examples exhibit more fluid ordering than the Spanish in (9) whereby the locative can appear alongside the demonstrative before the noun they modify (10c&d). In English the locative element can appear between the noun and the determiner in contrast to Spanish.
Furthermore, such placement is characteristic of a more colloquial informal register in English in a parallel to the Spanish postnominal demonstrative expression in (6b).

Importantly, this English construction and the colloquial variant *This man here/ That man there* are mirrored in other languages such as German: *Dieser Mann da* and French *ce livre-ci*. In addition, a number of differences can be seen in the non-standard demonstrative systems in English. Standard English has a bipartite system of distance from the speaker indicated in the demonstrative, and two numbers, singular and plural in (11) (these example are for British English):

(11)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>near(sg)</th>
<th>near(pl)</th>
<th>far(sg)</th>
<th>far(pl)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Standard</td>
<td>this</td>
<td>these</td>
<td>that</td>
<td>those</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern</td>
<td><em>this here</em></td>
<td><em>these here</em></td>
<td><em>that there</em></td>
<td><em>those there</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td><em>this</em></td>
<td><em>these</em></td>
<td><em>that</em></td>
<td><em>them</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Milroy 1993: 65)

In the South of England (11) ‘reinforced’ forms like ‘this here’ and ‘that there’ are used, alongside ‘them’ for ‘those’. The use of ‘them’ for ‘those’ is a very common feature in lower social registers. However, in the North we find a tripartite division, as exhibited in languages like Spanish (*este, ese, aquel*) or Japanese (*kono, sono, ano*). These Northern systems (12) feature distal terms like ‘yon’ which is archaic in other dialects and ‘thon’ in Scotland. In contrast, in the South-west, the Survey of English Dialects registers forms like ‘thik’ /DIk/. It is of note that the remote forms have no number distinction between singular and plural.
(12)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>near(sg)</th>
<th>near(pl)</th>
<th>far(sg)</th>
<th>far(pl)</th>
<th>remote(sg)</th>
<th>remote(pl)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Northern</td>
<td>this</td>
<td>thir</td>
<td>that</td>
<td>tho</td>
<td>yon/thon</td>
<td>yon/thon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southwest</td>
<td>thease</td>
<td>theys</td>
<td>that</td>
<td>they</td>
<td>thik</td>
<td>thik</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Milroy 993: 214-238)

In a broader context, comparative data reveals the prenominal demonstrative as the default form across Romance and Germanic languages in a sequence of type [DEM + N] exhibited in (13) for the NP “this man”:

(13)

**a. Romance**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>French</th>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Gender</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>este</td>
<td>hombre</td>
<td>French</td>
<td>cet</td>
<td>homme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>DEM</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>DEM</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portuguese</td>
<td>este</td>
<td>home</td>
<td>Catalan</td>
<td>aquest</td>
<td>hom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>DEM</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>DEM</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>quest’uomo</td>
<td>Rumanian</td>
<td>acest</td>
<td>om</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>DEM N</td>
<td>DEM</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**b. Germanic**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>German</th>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Gender</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>this</td>
<td>man</td>
<td>German</td>
<td>dieser</td>
<td>Mann</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>DEM</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>DEM</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Bernstein 2001)

However, the pattern in (13) above is in contrast languages like Indonesian, which while featuring the same basic SVO word order as in English and Spanish it has a different demonstrative distribution as shown in (14)
Indonesian Demonstratives

(14)

a.  *Rumah ini*
N house DEM this
‘This house’

b.  *Rumah itu*
N house DEM that
‘That house’

(Johns 1995)

Thus in (14) the noun *rumah* ‘house’ is modified via demonstrative *ini* ‘this’ and *itu* ‘that’ appear in postnominal position. This placement is significant in that it reveals how Non-Indo-European languages such as Indonesian feature a constituent order different at variance with Indo-European languages like English and Spanish (13).

1.4 Prenominal versus Postnominal Demonstratives

It is essential to note that not only do languages feature a default position for functional items as exhibited for demonstratives in (13) vs. (14) but that said placement has an impact on the grammar. To this end, some Romance languages, such as Spanish, Rumanian and Catalan exhibit a distribution of unmarked prenominal versus marked post-nominal position for demonstratives:

(15)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>a.</th>
<th>b.</th>
<th>c.</th>
<th>d.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td><em>este</em></td>
<td><em>hombre</em></td>
<td><em>el</em></td>
<td><em>hombre</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>DEM N</td>
<td>ART N</td>
<td>DEM</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rumanian</td>
<td><em>acest</em></td>
<td><em>om</em></td>
<td><em>om-ul</em></td>
<td><em>acesta</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>DEM N</td>
<td>N-ART</td>
<td>DEM</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

22
Traditionally, if they are not stand-alone pronouns, demonstratives have been defined as adjectives since they necessarily modify a noun. Similar to demonstratives Spanish adjectives also have default and marked distribution, which has an impact on the interpretation of the Noun Phrase (NP). However, in contrast to the demonstrative the unmarked position is post-nominal as opposed to prenominal:

(16)

a. *El hombre pobre*
ART-the N-man ADJ-poor

b. *El pobre hombre*
ART-the ADJ-poor N-man

‘The poor man.’

Here the emphasis of the adjective is affected, with the prenominal position giving a more qualitative reading beyond the truth-value content of the adjective at hand. This distribution is similar to that of demonstratives; however, here the positions are reversed. That is to say, both the prenominal adjective and the postnominal demonstrative are marked positions that have specialized functions within discourse.

The contrast between adjective and demonstrative positions exhibited in (17a&b) and (16a) respectively seems to indicate that these terms cannot be identical since their distribution in the syntactic string illustrates a different underlying place in the hierarchy.
Therefore, against the traditional view demonstratives are not adjectives as such but have their own unique place within the syntactical structure of Spanish. Said demonstrative position is, in fact, the part of its own projection that heads the Noun Phrase (NP) which is discussed in the following section.
2.1 The Determiner Projection: Articles and Demonstratives

In order to examine the Determiner Phrase (DP) one must define its two main components: articles and demonstratives. Demonstratives have a semantic value crucial for the referential index of the noun phrase yet they lack descriptive content whereas articles have no semantic value and receive a non-specific interpretation (Giusti 1997). In this light, demonstratives have been likened to articles with strong deictic features. Consequently both demonstratives and articles are determiners and appear in the DP where articles and demonstratives are definite and demonstrative determiners respectively.

Another difference between articles and demonstratives is that while articles are phonologically and morphologically dependent, demonstratives can appear as free pronouns as exhibited in English, Spanish, and Italian (Giusti 1997):

(17)

a. this *the   b. ésta *la   c. questa *la

d. an apple   e. el agua   f. las aguas

g. l’amico, lo sport, gli amici   h. an herb/a herb
Notice that the article is infelicitous when appearing on its own in (18a). Articles are prosodically weak elements that seek support on the following noun as evidenced by the morphology of articles in Italian (ex. *l’* before vowel, *lo* before consonant clusters, *gli* before masculine nouns beginning in vowel (18g)) and to a lesser extent in Spanish *el*, an allomorph of the singular feminine article appearing before nouns beginning in a vowel with initial stress (ex. *el agua* (17e)). In addition, Portuguese has a special phonological variation of the article similar to Portuguese clitic pronoun variation (ex. *fazer+lo>*faz-elo, *fazem+lo>*fazem-no). Here the syntactic connection is to the following nominal, but the phonetic variant is determined by the preceding word. Klavans (1985) demonstrates the difference between syntactic and phonological attachment for clitics:

(18)  

```
a.  
\[
\begin{array}{c}
X' \\
\downarrow \\
X \quad \text{clitic}
\end{array}
\]

Syntactic host
/fazer\  o/
V-inf-do CL-3rd-s
‘To do it.’

/b.  
\[
\begin{array}{c}
X' \\
\downarrow \\
X \quad \text{clitic= Y}
\end{array}
\]

Phonological host
/fazem\  o/  [fazem- no]
V-3rd-s-do CL-3rd-s
‘They do it.’

/por\  lo/  [po- lo]
PREP-for CL-3rd-s
‘For it’
```

(Uriagareka 1995)
In (18) a clitic element attaches at two levels: the syntactic and the phonological, which do not directly correspond. Therefore in Portuguese the object clitic o when contiguous to various hosts produces allomorphs lo and no in faze-lo, fazem-no and po-lo respectively. Note that the syntactic and phonological boundaries between words do not directly correspond. In another example (17h) the English indefinite article has a different morphology depending on context. A is the default form of the definite article has an allomorph An appearing before nouns beginning in a vowel (17h). This morphological variation in the definite article depends on the phonology of particular dialects. For example, the noun herb has a glottal fricative “h” in British English a herb whereas American English lacks this initial sound and therefore features the alternate form: an herb.

While articles and demonstratives differ in semantics and exhibit a slightly more varied morphology and prosody, said elements are both related terms in that they are determiners. Furthermore, as evidenced by child language, both articles and demonstratives are often confused with one another and thus used interchangeably (Giusti 1997). In addition these elements are also diachronically and morphologically related in that demonstratives often provide the lexical material for articles (Diessel 1999). An example is the oft-cited case of Latin distal demonstrative ILLE, which gives the article in Romance languages and Spanish el, la, los, las. However, the formation of articles also utilized alternative sources such as the identifier IPSE in an earlier stage of Romance development followed by a later wave of distal ILLE. Therefore languages like Sardinian utilize articles su, sa from IPSE as in sa limba ‘the language’. in addition to Balearic Catalan which features the article salat from IPSE along with the more standard ILLE as shown in (19)
Here the article from IPSE *su, sa* (19a&c) serves as a marker of specificity in which a specific church or hall is being pointed out. In contrast, the article from Latin *ILLE* (19b&c) is used for more generalized uses whereby the church and the hall are identified with the Church, and the City Hall respectively.

This development is paralleled by many other languages such as the Modern Finnish demonstrative system: -*tama* ‘this’ -*se* ‘that’ -*tuo* ‘that’ where the demonstrative *se* is presently taking on article-like functions. The Finnish demonstrative *se*, which encode referents in the speaker and addressee sphere have developed what is termed an ‘articloid’ function (Aebischer 1948), which involves the use of demonstratives as markers of definiteness (Laury 1997).

According to Diessel (1996) this change involves a change whereby a term featuring a pointing gesture (deictic) becomes used for textual reference (anaphoric) and then to encode a definite referent as identifiable by the addressee (definite). In the case of Spanish and other Romance languages, the articloid phase surfaces in Late Latin texts.
These developments eventually give way to two orders within the DP, one marked for definiteness [+def] (i.e. definite articles) and another marked with locative [+loc] and deictic [+deic] features (i.e. demonstratives).

The connection between articles and demonstratives is further laid bare in the English [+the] series: The, this, that, these, those where both articles and demonstratives shares a common morphological feature despite not being diachronically related in the Romance examples above. Therefore while demonstratives and articles both communicate definiteness; the article is deictically weaker and lacks semantic content. These factors are important given that the postnominal construction involves a combination of these terms.

Abney 1987

A major premise of generative syntactic analyses of demonstratives since the late 1980’s has been the DP hypothesis put forth by Abney (1987). In this view DP’s are considered syntactic heads parallel to CP’s except that they are located in the nominal, not the verbal domain. However, prior to Abney (1987) articles and demonstratives were considered part of the Noun Phrase (NP) in that they qualify nominal referents.

(20) \[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{NP} \\
\text{DET} & \text{N} \\
\text{“This book”}
\end{array}
\]

Notice in this structure that the noun is analyzed as the head with a determiner complement. However Abney (1987) defines determiners as heads of a projection called the Determiner Phrase (henceforth DP). He bases this conclusion on Hungarian data:
Following Abney (1987), in Hungarian the determiner heads a complex NP, including personal pronoun reference and agreement. Therefore in (21a) the first person pronoun *en* appears independently and then as an agreement suffix attached to the noun. This agreement field is important in that it extends throughout the DP, which is a head and a super-projection above the noun phrase.

In addition to the Hungarian data above, Abney 1987’s analysis is based on concerns of learnability, especially child language acquisition, which is a hallmark of the Generative Framework. Structural parallelism is observed as much as possible in the interests of the Language Faculty, in this case Universal Grammar and its constraints following Chomsky (1995). Previous examples include Pollock 1989’s Split INFL and N’ which are based on a double branching tree which is though easier to learn. In this instance Abney (1987) calls for the Nominal and Verbal domains to have the same hierarchical structure. Therefore an NP like a VP also has a clausal partition akin to the CP. The new maximal projection DP is similar to CP and INFL in the VP.
Another consideration is the fact that functional elements such as determiners are closed classes requiring a single complement. DP’s are projections of determiners with an NP as complement. In other words, the NP supplies the descriptive content which a determiner lacks thereby creating a definite referring expression. However, the relationship between articles and demonstratives within the DP remains to be seen.

In order to illuminate this state of affairs it is helpful to focus on a construction that features both of these elements, namely an article as well as a demonstrative. Spanish like English features a prenominal demonstrative system (ex. *This book, Este libro*). However, a further option is available in Spanish where the demonstrative appears in post-nominal position:

(24)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{El} & \quad \text{libro} & \quad \text{este} \\
\text{ART-the} & \quad \text{book} & \quad \text{DEM-this}
\end{array}
\]
Given that both elements, the definite article and the demonstrative in the above example appear together, it is unlikely that they occupy the same position in the syntactic structure (Cornilescu 1994). Yet in order to elucidate the structure of the DP it must be determined where said elements are generated within the projection, in addition to what derivation or movement is needed to constitute the present string.

Along these lines it is interesting to note a parallel construction to (24) which involves the possessive

(25)

a. \textit{Mi/tu/su \_ libro}  \\
   POSS N-book
b. \textit{El \_ libro \_ mio/tuyo/suyo}  \\
   ART N-book ADJ-poss

Here in (26b) the article head construction involves a noun modified by a postnominal possessive adjective. In contrast the article does not appear in the prenominal placement in (25a).

The history of Spanish as well as other Romance languages exhibits a construction wherein the article and possessive adjective are contiguous in a string: ART-POSS-N.

(26)

a. \textbf{Old Spanish} \hspace{1cm} b. \textbf{Italian} \hspace{1cm} c. \textbf{Portuguese}

\begin{align*}
\text{La} & \text{ su casa} & \text{la} & \text{sua casa} & \text{a} & \text{sua casa} \\
\text{ART} & \text{POSS N} & \text{ART} & \text{POSS N} & \text{ART} & \text{POSS N}
\end{align*}

This type of construction illustrates the position of elements within the DP where the article heads the projection. In an earlier stage of Spanish in addition to many Modern Romance language such as Italian and Portuguese allows for more elements within the DP than Modern
Spanish which has more constraints whereby an intervening element cannot appear between the article and the noun. This same phenomenon applies to the Spanish postnominal demonstrative construction where the relationship between the article and demonstrative in addition to the site where these elements are generated in the structure needs to be clarified.

Literature dealing with the Spanish demonstrative and similar constructions has arrived at varying solutions. The theoretical frameworks used to analyze the post-nominal construction can be divided roughly into two groups: noun raising and demonstrative moving models. Within this second group demonstratives are generated either nominally or post-nominally and then moved accordingly.

**Brugé 1996**

The first of these accounts, Brugé (1996) derives post-nominal demonstratives via noun-raising. For example, Brugé (1996) generates the demonstrative in situ and later moves the noun to the left to give the post-nominal construction:

(27)

a. *Este libro*

b. *El libro* _este_ ___i

c. *El libro* _interesante_ ___i

Importantly, Brugé 1996’s analysis treats the demonstrative on a par with the adjective in that both these elements remain in situ while the noun is generated in post-demonstrative and adjectival position and then can be moved into a higher position. In addition, the author argues that demonstratives are encoded with both [+ref] and [+deic] features. Those with a strong [+ref] feature check in Spec, DP before spell-out, moving overtly. In contrast, demonstratives with a
weak [+ref] move covertly after spell-out. Therefore elements must move obligatorily by Logical Form. However, it remains to be seen whether the demonstrative behaves like an adjective or remains in situ while the noun raises in order to give the postnominal position.

**Bernstein 1997, 2001**

Other accounts call for wholesale movement from a projection located in a lower projection than the DP. Bernstein (2001) has the demonstrative generated prenominally in specifier position below DP. Prenominal demonstratives are then raised up to a position in D along with the noun.

(28)

\[
[\text{DP} [\text{D} [\text{D'} \text{este}_i ]] \ldots [\text{Ypt}_i [\text{Y''}]] \text{libro}_j \text{interesante} [\text{NP} [\text{N'} \text{t}_j]]
\]

(Y(P) are unidentified constituents)

In order to derive the post-nominal position Bernstein (1997, 2001) strands the demonstrative via a process of scrambling and noun left—movement, which leads to phrase-final DP focus. In this context the right-most element within the DP is a locus of final (informational/pragmatic) focus for Bernstein. Therefore this special placement is also accompanied by a corresponding prosodic weight in what she sees as a parallel to constructions such as French *ce livre-ci* where two deictic terms enclose a noun. This construction is found in French *ce livre-ci* and *ce livre-là* which are composed of the string [DEM+N+LOC].

Additionally, Bernstein (2001) posits that *el libro ese* and *ce livre-là* exhibit structural similarities given the fact that both types of referring expression cannot appear in the same language. That is to say, post-nominal demonstratives are in complementary distribution with demonstrative reinforcers across languages.
These structures consist of a main core made up of an NP, headed by a DP followed by a demonstrative or locative expression. These two-tiered constructions exist alongside canonical prenominal demonstrative expressions. The prenominal demonstratives express semantic features of definiteness, deixis and location in a single term whereas the two-tiered post-nominal expression assigns [+def] to the definite article and [+deic] and [+loc] are hallmarks of the demonstrative in a parallel to French *ce livre-ci* as illustrated previously discussed in (8) from the previous Chapter shown below:

(see (8), Chapter 1)

a.  *Este libro*  
    DEM N ART N DEM  
    [+def] [+def] [+loc]

b.  *El libro ese*  
    ART N DEM  
    [+deic] [+loc]
In addition, Bernstein (2001) posits that the article in the post-nominal construction is an expletive that licenses the DP projection itself. A problem with Bernstein 1997&2000’s account is that while structurally parallel to *ce livre-ci* the Spanish *el libro ese* the postnominal demonstrative is prosodically weak (contra Bernstein 2001) as opposed to the locative portion of the French and Italian constructions in (29).

**Panagiotidis 2000**

Panagiotidis (2000) bases himself on Modern Greek, which features co-occurring articles and demonstratives:

(30)

a. \( Afta \ ta \ nea \ fenomena \)
   DEM-this ART-the new phenomenon

b. \( Ta \ nea \ afta \ fenomena \)
   ART-the new DEM-this phenomenon

c. \( Ta \ nea \ fenomena \ afta \)
   ART-the new phenomenon DEM-this
   ‘This new phenomenon.’

While not strictly parallel to Spanish, Panagiotidis points out that in Greek the article is also obligatory with the post-nominal demonstrative. Therefore he base-generates the demonstrative in post-nominal position, which is then moved into SPEC DP:

(31)

\[ [\text{SPEC DP } aftosi \ [D^c \text{ to } \text{NP andras } t])}\]
An analysis, which he then extends to Spanish in 14):

(32)

a. \[ \text{SPEC DP e [D' el [NP hombre este]]} \]

b. \[ \text{SPEC DP este i [D' e [NP hombre i]]} \]

In said analysis the post-nominal position is properly basic whereas the default pronominal placement is derived via raising the demonstrative. Following Brugé (1996) he posits that features [+deic] and [+ref] are involved in the raising process. To this end, Panagiotidis (2000) notes that only the pronominal construction is felicitous in an expressively deictic context.

(33)

a. \text{Thelo afto to apaho butaki}  
V-1sts-want this the lean joint

b. \text{*Thelo to apaho afto butaki}  
V-1sts-want the lean this joint

c. \text{*Thelo to apaho butaki afto}  
V-1sts-want the lean joint this

“I want this lean joint.”

The example he gives in (34) takes place in a butcher shop where the customer literally points to a particular cut of meat he or she wishes to purchase with a gesture.

In this context only the pre-adjectival form of the demonstrative is felicitous. This difference lies in the deictic import communicated by the expressions at hand, where the pre-adjectival placement in (34a) is the only constructions encoding a strong deixis [+deic], which involves a pointing gesture. On the other hand, the post-adjectival and post-nominal positions have features of weak deixis used for referential purposes and identifying discourse antecedents where no overt pointing is needed.
This distinction is important in that the same analysis can then applied to the prenominal vs. postnominal alternation of the demonstrative in Spanish. Where the prenominal variant features a deictic feature in first position [+deic] as shown in (31) in contrast to postnominal where this content appears later. Thus the deictic import [+deic] is emphasized in the prenominal position as opposed to the prenominal, similar to the Greek example in (33).

According to Panagiotidis 2000, in Spanish when a strong deictic feature [+deic] is present it attracts the demonstrative to SPEC of DP. Otherwise an operator licenses the D head as an article which remains phonologically null if the demonstrative is moved to SPEC of DP:

(35)

a. \( \text{OP}_{\text{exp}} \ el \ hombre \ este \)
b. \( \text{Este}_i \ e \ hombre \ ti \)

[+deic]

In the spirit of syntactic parallelism of Abney (1987), Panagiotidis (2000) likens demonstrative movement within the DP to wh-movement within the CP. In Panagiotidis 2000’s account the demonstrative is originally generated in post-nominal position and then moved: \( \text{Este}_i \ e \ hombre \ ti \). Panagiotidis 2000’s account that the demonstrative is the element that undergoes movement seems the most probable option (contra Brugé 1996). In addition, the use of deictic and referential features to explain demonstrative placement.

However, assuming that the post-nominal position is marked it would not be a natural place for the derivation to begin (contra Panagiotidis 2000).
**Grohman & Panagiotidis 2004**

A revised version of this framework, Grohman&Panagiotidis (2004), further elaborates on Abney’s (1987) DP-Hypothesis and emphasizes relation of the DP projection with clausal CP-structure. In their framework $D^0$ exhibits the “nominal role” of $C^0$, (Bernstein 2001 and Haegeman 2001). In order to illustrate the parallel structure of the clausal and nominal domains the authors posit a light verb in the Clausal Domain corresponding to a light noun $n$ in the DP domain (Radford 1999, Adger 2003: 266-269):

(36)

a. CP$>$AgrP$>$vP[clausal structure]
b. DP$>$AgrP$>$nP[nominal structure]

In (36a)&b)) both the CP and DP have a tripartite structure. However, Grohmann & Panagiotidis (2004) carry clausal syntax in the nominal domain a step further calling for Prolific Domains, which are Extended Projections in a clausal tripartition. First they posit a thematic layer consisting of VP shells in which thematic relations are created, along with an Agreement layer where Split INFL, IP/TP, AGR and INFL properties are licensors in addition to a Discourse domain which features Split COMP, topics, foci and operators. vP denotes the domain of thematic relations (denoted with the symbol $\Theta$), AgrP agreement properties ($\Phi$), and C/DP refers to discourse information ($\Omega$):

(37)

a. CP$_{\Omega\Delta}$>>AgrP$_{\Phi\Delta}$>>vP$_{\Theta\Delta}$
b. DP$_{\Omega\Delta}$>>AgrP$_{\Phi\Delta}$>>nP$_{\Theta\Delta}$
Overall, it is important to note that the tripartite composition of DP mirrors the tripartite structure of CP (the clause). However, the main thrust of their analysis is the relational ordering of projections and the consequences for the syntax of demonstratives. Following Stavrou & Horrocks (1989), they take demonstratives to be maximal projections within an articulated DP, alongside adjectives, as opposed to heading their own projection; this is shown in (38).

(38)
[DP Spec D[^0] [AgrP Spec Agr[^0] [NP Spec N[^0]]]]

Grohman & Panagiotidis (2004), following Panagiotidis (2000), posit two positions within the AGR layer of the DP for the demonstrative: DemHi marked as [+deic] and DemLo marked as [+discourse-anaphoric] to account for prenominal versus post-nominal demonstratives. This account further elaborates the DP/CP parallel as well as the particular function of each layer detailed in (37). Also it refines the prenominal and postnominal distinction positing two areas for demonstrative placement along the lines of Greek and Spanish data. However it remains to be seen how said features determine actual demonstrative placement in practice. This concern is taken up by Cornilesescu (1994) and Roca (1996).

Roca 1996 and Cornilesescu 1994

Given that both the article and the demonstrative co-occur they cannot be structurally equivalent. On the other hand, both elements express the feature [+def] and must be part of the DP. Following Cornilesescu (1994) and Roca (1996) it is clear that arguments calling for restrictions along the lines of a doubly filled COMP filter applied to DP’s (Campbell 1996) are inadequate. One element must be located in SPEC of DP while the other remains within D’ as
suggested by Cornilescu (1994). In this regard, both authors call for the article to appear in SPEC of DP (39a).

(39)

a. \[\text{SPEC DP } el \ [D' \ [NP \ \text{libro}]]]\]
b. \[\text{SPEC DP } \ [D' \ este \ [NP \ \text{libro}]]]\]

In this schema the definite article and demonstrative appear in different layers of the DP, the article as a licenser in SPEC DP and the demonstrative lower in the structure in D’. Roca (1996) generates the demonstrative prenominally contra Panagiotidis (2000). In this regard the prenominial is the default position for demonstratives not only in Spanish, but in a number of Romance and Germanic languages.

(see (13), Chapter 1)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Romance:</th>
<th>French</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>French</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Este</em></td>
<td><em>hombre</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portuguese</td>
<td>Catalan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Este</em></td>
<td><em>home</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>Rumanian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Quest’uomo</em></td>
<td><em>Acest</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM-N</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germanic:</td>
<td>German</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>This</em></td>
<td><em>man</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Bernstein 2001)
To further illustrate this point, other non-Indo-European languages such as Indonesian exhibit the opposite pattern where post-nominal is the unmarked position as mentioned in Chapter 1:

(see (17), Chapter 1)

**Indonesian Demonstratives**

a. *Rumah* \(^{\text{ini}}\)  
   N-house DEM[+prox]-this  
   ‘This house’

b. *Rumah* \(^{\text{itu}}\)  
   N-house DEM[+dist]-that  
   ‘That house’

(Johns 1995)

The case of Romance and Germanic in (39) contrasted with Indonesian in (17) demonstrate how the default demonstrative position plays an integral role in the language system in which it appears. Given the state of affairs present in the Romance and Germanic data in (39) where the demonstrative appears prenominally it is more plausible to assume that the demonstrative originates in unmarked prenominal position in Spanish along the lines posited by Roca (1996).

However, a peculiar Romance case of default post-nominal is that of Rumanian where the definite article is cliticized onto the noun:

(40)

*Lupu* \(^{\text{l}}\)  
N-wolf ART-the  
‘The wolf’
Rumanian is different from other Romance languages in that it has the article appear categorically in postnominal position similar to Balkan languages such as Bulgarian and Macedonian as shown in (40). In this case it makes the most sense to generate the article clitic in-situ after the noun rather than move it into position from another generation site.

Similarly, the fact that the Spanish demonstrative has its own default position within the language lends credence to the fact that the marked post-nominal must be derived from overt movement of the demonstrative from pre to post-nominal position rather than base generated and later moved into SPEC DP. Therefore, the language specific distribution of functional terms as evidenced in (13) vs. (14) is related to the derivation of these same terms in syntactic structure. Here the normative position is properly basic in that it provides the underlying generation site from whence the special position is derived via movement.

2.2 Demonstratives, Articles, and Adjectives

Not only do elements in the DP have a default position within a given language said elements interact in different ways to form a syntactic chain as is exemplified in the contrast between Spanish and Modern Greek.

(41)

a. Afta ta nea fenomena
dem art adj n
e. El hombre este
art n dem
b. *Este el hombre
dem art n
f. Ta nea afta fenomena
art adj dem n
c. *El este hombre
art dem n
g. Este hombre
dem n
d. El hombre
art n
h. Ta nea fenomena afta
art adj n dem
When in a deictic pointing expression Greek *afta* is found in first position as in a) which is akin to *este* in Spanish *este hombre*. In contrast, referential uses are restricted to post-adjectival and post-nominal position in Greek (33).

Whence Panagiotidis 2000’s argument for the post-nominal generation of the demonstrative. However, the Spanish data discount for such an analysis in (42) &(43).

(42)

a. *Este nuevo fenómeno.*  
DEM ADJ N

b. *El nuevo fenómeno este*  
ART ADJ N DEM

(43)

a. *El nuevo libro ese*  
ART ADJ N DEM

b. *El libro nuevo ese*  
ART N ADJ DEM

In Spanish the “referential position” is post-nominal and allows for an interceding adjective in default position. The adjective can then be moved to marked prenominal position. Notice in (44) that the adjective can appear in both prenominal and post-nominal position. This is significant in that the distribution of adjectives is roughly parallel to demonstratives; the marked position is the reverse being prenominal instead of post-nominal (Bernstein 1999). Similar to demonstratives, adjectival placement is also pragmatically significant.

(44)

a. *El lenguaje poético de Lorca* (Factual)  
ART-the N-language ADJ-poetic of Lorca

44
b.  *El poético lenguaje de Lorca* (Aesthetic Judgment)

ART-the ADJ-poetic N-language of Lorca

‘Lorca’s poetic language.’

According to Butt and Benjamin (2000) the default post-posed adjective above is more matter of fact relating to Lorca’s poetic language while a prenominal use signals a subjective assertion that Lorca’s language is in fact poetic. On par with the post-nominal demonstrative, the marked adjectival position is used for emotional effect and signals the speaker’s point of view. Therefore the syntax is marked allowing for its use in discourse. Subsequently, the prenominal/post-nominal distinction has become conventionalized in a number of adjectives as shown in (45) and (46):

(45)

a.  *Un amigo viejo*  
ART-A N-friend ADJ-old

b.  *un viejo amigo*  
ART-an ADJ-old N-friend

(46)

a.  *El hombre pobre*  
ART-the N-man ADJ-poor

b.  *El pobre hombre*  
ART-the ADJ-poor N-man

In (45a) the adjective *viejo* is attributive and modifies the noun in terms of age whereas pronominal *viejo* in (45b) encodes the qualitative length of a friendship. This use is now standard as attested by the grammars (Butt and Benjamin 2000). On the other hand, (46b) demonstrates a similar use, which renders a pejorative reading. Therefore default post-nominal *pobre* encodes the canonical meaning of ‘poor’ as lacking wealth and resources whereas pronominal *pobre* gives the evaluative meaning of ‘poor’ as wretched which is in turn a qualitative judgment.

While English equivalents: *An old friend* and *The poor man* contain both readings they can only be disambiguated via context. Therefore, Spanish employs a range of marked and
unmarked adjective options for pragmatic purposes. Furthermore, adjectives in the marked pronominal position are parallel to post-nominal demonstratives in that they are pragmatically salient and encode qualitative and affective content. These are part of a discourse technique whereby the speaker encodes his/her attitude toward a referent via special syntax.

The interaction between elements in the DP varies across languages. For instance, an analysis of Rumanian reveals similar fluctuations:

(47)

a. *Omul* acela *biet*
   Man-ART DEM poor

b. *Bietul om acela.*
   poor-ART man DEM

c. *Acel om biet.*
   DEM man poor
   ‘That poor man.’

Here the article in (47b), which normally attaches as a nominal suffix, can cliticize onto the adjective when the ADJP is moved into SPEC position. This adjective position is the equivalent of the marked prenominal position in Spanish which has qualitative overtones as shown in (46)&(47) (Agard 1958, Cornilescu 1995). Therefore *biet* meaning ‘poor’ has two readings depending on where it appears. The adjective gives a literal reading in postnominal positioning and a qualitative interpretation in prenominal position as in the Spanish examples ((45)&(47)). Another parallel with Spanish involves the placement of the demonstrative, which can appear in prenominal and post-nominal position (48). In Spanish post-nominal placement is related to the complementary distribution of AP’s, PP’s along with the demonstrative.
(48)

Postnominal Demonstrative

a.  El libro (ese) de sintaxis (ese)
    ART-the book (DEM-that) of syntax (DEM-that)

b.  el (nuevo) libro (nuevo)
    ART-the (ADJ-new) book (ADJ-new)

c.  el libro (de sintaxis) nuevo (de sintaxis)
    ART-the book (PREP-of syntax) new (PREP-of syntax)

d.  el (nuevo) libro (nuevo) (de sintaxis) ese (de sintaxis)

Prenominal Demonstrative

e.  ese (nuevo) libro (nuevo) (de sintaxis) ((nuevo))
    (Gutiérrez-Rexach 2002)

Following Roca (1996), prenominal adjectives are derived from the default post nominal position within the DP. In contrast PP’s such as de sintaxis are adjuncts that join to the DP, which can then move to a higher position within the structure as shown in (49).

(49)

[\text{SPEC DP} [D' (AP)\textsubscript{i} \text{NP N (AP)\textsubscript{i} (XP)\textsubscript{j} DEM [D' (XP)\textsubscript{j} \ldots ]}]])

The structure in (49) above is headed by a SPEC DP with an NP followed by DEM D’, which is equivalent to Grohman&Panagiotidis 2004’s DEMlo. The structures in parentheses parallel the optional adjectives (AP) (i.e. nuevo) or adjuncts (XP) (i.e. de sintaxis) as shown in (48). An XP is generated as an adjunct below the DEM D position which can then move into a site above this position. This is in contrast to AP (ADJP), which is generated higher up in the structure than the adjunct XP (i.e. above DEM D’) and can move into prenominal position just
below the DP. Both DP and AP are extended projections while PP’s are XP adjuncts. Thus the
demonstrative is generated in prenominal position as opposed to the adjective, which is
generated post-nominally.

While the demonstrative can move into a $DEMlo$ position (Grohman&Panagiotidis 2004)
an adjective must move into prenominal position in order to be marked and elicit a qualitative
reading.

2.3 DP and Phonetic Form within the Nominal Domain

Also of note is the morphological variation between prenominal and post-nominal
position in demonstratives such as Rumanian $acel$ vs. $acela$ (47). On par with Italian, Rumanian
features special prenominal forms (Quest’uomo). Yet Italian goes further:

(50)

a. Quegli $amici$
   DEM-those friends

b. Quei $ragazzi$
   DEM-those boys

c. Quelle $macchine$
   DEM-those cars

d. Quello $sport$
   DEM-that sport

Here the distal demonstrative $quello$ undergoes alterations similar in form to the article,
which is diachronically related. To wit, Latin $ILLE$ results in Italian $quello$ via a compound
construction consisting of the Latin presentative particle ECCE, which is on par with English *behold* or *look here*, French *voilà*, *voici*, Italian *ecco* and Spanish *he*. (*ECCU+ILLU > quello*)

It can be said that when the derivation reaches Phonetic Form (PF) the DP forms a single prosodonic unit headed by a determiner be it an article or a demonstrative.

While the DP exhibits a behavior on par with those in the CP phenomena such as wh-movement and left-dislocation are not exactly parallel to demonstrative movement within the DP or the alternative option for post-nominal placement via leftward noun movement (Brugé 1999) respectively. That is, the nominal domain has its own singularities not shared by the clausal level of syntax as exhibited by article and demonstrative placement and the interaction of referential and deictic features as well as adjectival position. In other words, languages feature a default position for functional items (i.e. demonstratives, adjectives) that has an important impact on the grammar.

Thus there are languages such as Rumanian where an element, say the definite article, can only be placed after the first element, postnominally or postadjectivally if the adjective is prenominal (see (40)&(47)). However any placement in first position is strictly infelicitous and ungrammatical. Other elements allow for several placement options such, as is the case for adjectives or demonstratives, which appear pre- or post-nominally.

However, one of these placements is more functional while the other has meta-discourse content. In the adjective the postnominal position encodes truth-value information that modifies the noun as in (45)&(46) whereas the prenominal placement communicates more than the literal meaning. In the same way the prenominal demonstrative serves to identify a referent in discourse and its relationship vis-à-vis the addressee which is accomplished through the choice of demonstrative: *este, ese*, or *aquel*. When following the noun in the postnominal construction
much of the demonstrative’s deictic import is lost. A speaker uses this particular position in a more referential manner to encode older or shared information.

The importance of these observations is to determine from where these elements are derived. In order to find out one must identify the normal place for said element to appear in a given language. The identity of the element in question, be it an adjective or demonstrative, is also important in that the interpretation given by each placement must be considered alongside the core function or meaning of the element at hand.

The semantic import of the element must be analyzed so as to identify the basic placement in the structure from which the alternative position ultimately derives syntactically. Therefore, the syntactic position that elicits the interpretation closest to the core meaning of the term in question should be the basic derivational position.

The analysis first takes into account the nature and function of adjectives. At base, adjectives are descriptive markers that modify nouns. The simple truth-value description given by the postnominal adjective (45&46) would seem the most likely interpretation to coincide with the genesis of the adjective in the syntax. Therefore the adjective can be said to be generated in postnominal position and can then be moved before the noun within this context the two different adjectival placements have acquired specialized uses. In addition, certain adjectives such as pobre and viejo (shown in (45&46)) have become conventionalized as per their pre- vs. postnominal interpretation.

I now apply the analysis to demonstratives. The demonstrative can be defined as a deictic determiner, which identifies, and points out an entity in discourse (see Chapter 2; Chapter 4). Along these lines the prenominal position, which can refer to so-called ‘present’ or ‘at hand information’ (see Chapter 2; Chapter 4) appears to be closest to the core function of the
demonstrative. On the other hand, the postnominal demonstrative tends to refer to information already familiar to both speaker and addressing without explicitly pointing it out. It makes the most sense to posit a prenominal generation for the demonstrative, which can undergo movement to the right periphery, thus creating the postnominal construction.

Since the demonstrative is a functional term the difference is less striking than in the adjective. Nevertheless, the pre- and post-nominal contrast is not in free variation but has undergone conventionalization in the grammar of the language whereby the postnominal demonstrative is used for previous mention, and common ground. In addition, this postposition has a qualitative content similar to that seen with adjectives such as pobre. The reading of the demonstrative can be pejorative depending on the context as found in both Spanish and Rumanian in (51).

(51)

a. *Omul* ăla e de *necrezut.*
   Man-ART-the DEM-that COP PREP-of unbelievable
   ‘That guy [Bush] is unbelievable.’
   (Calude 2002)

b. *Es increíble el hombre ese.*
   COP incredible ART-the man DEM-that

(52)

a. *El hombre ese*
   ART-the man DEM-that

b. *Omul acela*
   Man-ART-the DEM-that

Here the speaker is talking about Bush in the context of his administration’s foreign policy and the Iraq War. The speaker is commenting on a known entity (president Bush) with a disparaging tone via the placement of the demonstrative after the noun in the syntactic string. The adjective *increíble* also serves to reinforce this pejorative connotation.

### 2.4 A Synchronic Analysis of the Spanish DP

Along the lines of (Roca 1996) I posit that the article in expressions of type *el hombre ese* can be analyzed as a licenser for DP projections that spell-out features of definiteness when the SPEC of DP is empty via the movement of the demonstrative to post-nominal position. Following Grohman&Panagiotidis (2004) the node D plays the role of C in the DP. In this framework the article in *el hombre este* is only an apparent article, which results from the copy-spell out of the demonstrative operator in D, inserted for PF (Phonetic Form) reasons. Structurally the article serves as a marker of definiteness and identifiability that licenses the whole DP projection. In addition, incorporating the observations of Brugé (1996), Panagiotidis (2000), Grohman&Panagiotidis (2004) on the difference between prenominal and post-nominal constructions the features I posit that the feature [deic] has a role in the derivation of the demonstrative position.

Therefore in referring expressions with demonstratives a strong [+high deic] feature attracts the demonstrative to prenominal position into SPEC of DP. A lack of such a feature signals a weak deixis [-high deic], which is referential in character [+ref] allowing the demonstrative into marked post-nominal position. The trace of this movement is linked in a chain with SPEC of DP which in order to license the projection spells out the number and gender of the referent as an article.
The post-nominal demonstrative is prosodically weak and therefore does not receive stress (contra Bernstein 2001) and in this way it is distinct from constructions such as French *ce livre-ci* which otherwise exhibit structural parallels.

(53)

a. *Ese hombre*

b. \[ SPEC_{DP} _{(el)} _{i} \ [D' \ ti \ [NP \ hombre \ [DEMLo \ DEM \ ese_i]]]]\]

The postnominal use is strictly referential in origin, meaning that it refers back to entities within a discourse. Therefore it does not specifically point out a referent with a gesture as in (33) but relies on the addressee to identify the entity being referred to. Thus this referential use is marked by a weak deixis [+low deic] as opposed to strong deixis [+high deic].

The lack of a strong [+high deic] feature (here represented with [+ref] or [+low deic]) in the structure above (53a&b) is significant in that the post-nominal demonstrative is not emphatic contra Fernández Ramírez (1951): 316, Esbozo (1973): 436, Macías (1997) but deictically weaker than the prenominal position. Yet this use lend itself to qualitative functions whereby the speaker signals his or her attitude toward a referent to the addressee.
This communication of speaker-hearer familiarity can involve a measure of derogatory content depending on the semantics of the noun and the discourse context.

The article in this construction is a mere copy of the spell out features of the demonstrative. In contrast to *el hombre* where the article is a lexical element and not a default spell-out able to license the DP by itself without an overt link to a demonstrative. Here the combination of definiteness and referentiality helps give the post-nominal construction its peculiar meaning.

### 2.5 The Determiner Phrase and the CP

It has been observed that both the DP and CP are structurally similar in that the DP functions much like a CP only in the nominal rather than the clausal domain (Abney 1987, Grohmann Panagiotidis 2004). Furthermore, the projections DP and CP are historically related as evidenced by the trajectory of Germanic demonstratives English *that* and Germanic *das*, while originally deictic they later took on a complementizer function. In addition, relative clauses and demonstratives are both instruments of reference. That is to say, a relativizer has the function of a short-distance referring expression while a demonstrative pronoun can refer across a much longer distance. This is in contrast to the Romance pattern of development (Diessel 1999) which utilizes WH- words for complementizers such as QUID>* que*.

In fact, clausal phenomena directly relate to the post-nominal construction in Spanish as in:

(54)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>La</th>
<th>televisión esa</th>
<th>[CP que tenemos.</th>
<th>ART-the</th>
<th>television</th>
<th>DEM-that</th>
<th>COMP-that</th>
<th>V-1st-pl-have</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
Since the demonstrative lacks a descriptive content as such it is specially qualified via a relative clause in order to be as informative as possible (following Grice’s first Maxim of Quantity (see (71), Chapter 3)(Grice 1975). However if the discourse context is explicit as to the content of the referent the post-posed construction can stand-alone:

(55)
\[
\text{SPEC DP (la)I [D'}_{-i} \text{NP [N tía [DEM esai I]]]] [CP∅]}
\]

Here both speaker and addressee know to whom the referent refers. Yet another clausal phenomenon involves exclamations headed by a wh-word.

(56)
¡Qué chica (es) esta!
INTERJ girl (COP) DEM-this

‘What a girl this one is!’
(Habla Culta: Buenos Aires M27 B) (Corpus del español)

In this example chica refers to an entity in the immediate context, which is uniquely qualified via the co-referential demonstrative pronoun esta. So while it may appear that C licenses the projection, this is not the case. Notice that while a prenominal placement of the demonstrative is infelicitous, a copula can be inserted between the noun and demonstrative.

In this construction the ellipsis of the copula ser results in an exclamation featuring a noun followed by a co-referential deictic pronoun, namely a demonstrative, which is disambiguated via the discourse context.
2.6. The Article-less Post-nominal Demonstrative Construction

This last CP construction appears, in turn, to be related to a post-nominal construction, restricted to certain registers, which lacks the definite article all together (see Chapter 5 for the diachronic relationship with CP):

\[(57)\]

\[
\text{el corresponsal comenzó diciendo que: } "\text{Es difícil hacer un cálculo, }\text{cosa esta a la que debíamos estar más que entrenados.}"
\]

‘The correspondent began by saying: “It’s difficult to make a calculation, a thing which we should be more than prepared for.”’

\(\text{(Noticia: Cuba:CubaNet:Febrero 4, 1998)}\) (CREA)

According to Roca (1996), in contrast to the post-nominal demonstrative headed by an article this other construction can only appear as an appositive or a complement. So without a licenser in SPEC of DP this construction cannot properly be a Determiner Phrase and therefore it receives a very limited distribution. A DP must necessarily be licensed in order for it to function as a definite referring expression in the grammar. Therefore the more canonical post-nominal construction the article and the article-less variants are not structurally parallel.

\[(58)\]

\[\begin{align*}
\text{a. } & [\text{SPEC DP (la)}][D'_{-i} [\text{NP televisión}][\text{DEMlo esa}][\text{CP que}]
\text{b. } & [\text{SPEC DP [D'_{-i} [\text{NP cosa }]}]][\text{DP esta}][\text{PP a}]
\end{align*}\]
The definite article within SPEC of DP in (58a) is a member of a chain involving D’ and the post-nominal demonstrative, which spells out the number and agreement features within the DP. In addition, as a specifier of the DP, the article licenses the DP projection as a whole.

In contrast, the article-less variant has no licenser in SPEC DP. The article-less construction (58b), heretofore described structurally as N-DEM, is parallel to a deictic expression in British English which features a post-posed demonstrative preceded by an adjective and a noun:

(59)

a. A very impudent fellow this.

ART-a ADV ADJ N DEM

(Goldsmith, Oliver. *She Stoops to Conquer*, 1773)

b. Careless fellow that.

ADJ N DEM

(Waugh, Evelyn *Brideshead Revisited*, 1945: p.117)

The above construction (59a&b) involves syntactic inversion which consists of a prosodically weak element following the verb: *Careless fellow . . . that*. However, the English right-lying demonstrative is set off by a pause and is akin to an afterthought not fully integrated into the syntactic regime. Similarly, the construction of the Spanish article-less construction is distinct from the full-fledged postnominal construction with a two-tiered structure (58b) instead of a single unbroken string (58a).

Consequently, both articles and demonstratives are fundamental elements within the DP, a projection encoding features of definiteness and deixis that serves to introduce referring expression like NP’s as per Abney (1987).
However, such a framework does not take into account the complex interaction between default versus marked positions of articles and demonstratives within the grammar as evidenced across languages such as Rumanian and Indonesian. The question remains whether the DP generates determiners (ex. articles and demonstratives) uniformly across languages, which then are moved into position via feature checking and how language specific constraints control such outcomes.

2.7 Overview of Synchronic Syntax

For Spanish I recognize the following constraints: 

1) Demonstratives are generated prenominally in D’, thus the marked post-nominal construction is derived via movement to a lower DEM position. Agreement features are then realized through copy spell-out in SPEC DP as a definite article via a chain involving SPEC DP, D’, and DEMlo positions. A minority pattern also exists in which there is no operator occupying SPEC DP but rather a two-tiered structure $[[SPEC\ DP\ [D’\ [NP\ N]]]…[DP\ DEM]]$. The default prenominal position results from a strong [+deic] feature wherein the demonstrative moves from D’ into SPEC DP to license the projection. 

2) Adjectives are generated post-nominally in AP which then can move into marked prenominal position (but below D’) in a direct opposite to the demonstrative. 

3) PP’s are adjuncts to the DP, which can then be moved higher up the structure above DEMlo. 

4) CP’s are parallel to DP’s in structure. In addition, CP’s can appear as adjuncts.

In the Exclamative construction (see 67, Chapter 5) a CP subordinated NP with a postnominal demonstrative has neither an overt or covert licenser in SPEC DP. The minority article-less pattern N-DEM syntactically mirrors CP constructions such as the Exclamative CP-N-DEM and not the full postnominal paradigm, a relationship, which is discussed in Chapter 5.
The Exclamative construction also features a disjointed pattern that contains a syntactic break between the noun and the following demonstrative pronoun: \([CP \ COMP [NP N]_i \ldots [DP DEM]_i\) as exhibited by optional copula placement between these elements: \([CP \ COMP [NP N]_i \ COP [DP DEM]_i\) in example (68) discussed in Chapter 5.

One parallel still exists; however, in the so-called NP-shift construction encountered in the Diachronic Analysis Section which consists of sequences of type: \([NP N]_i \ldots [DP DEM]_i\) (see (120), Chapter 5) where a copula introduces a noun followed by a demonstrative pronoun.
3.1 The Semantics of Demonstratives

As mentioned previously, the focus of the present study are deictic determiners, also known as demonstratives. These terms are indexicals in terms of Peirce (Gutiérrez-Rexach 2002), which are necessarily context dependent. That is to say, these terms can only be disambiguated via discourse context. For example, the referring expression *that man* encodes a different referent depending on the speech situation. In formal semantics this dependence is stated using variables such as time of utterance, speaker, and addressee. In this way the demonstrative is bound to the context in which it appears. Gutiérrez-Rexach (2002) characterizes the Spanish demonstratives as follows:

\begin{align*}
\text{este} (A)(B) &= 1 \text{ iff } \text{Demonstrated}_{utt}(C) \land \text{Proximal}(C, \text{speaker}_{utt}) \land \text{Card}(C) = 1 \land (C \cap A) \subseteq B \\
\text{ese} (A)(B) &= 1 \text{ iff } \text{Demonstrated}_{utt}(C) \land \text{Proximal}(C, \text{addressee}_{utt}) \land \text{Card}(C) = 1 \land (C \cap A) \subseteq B \\
\text{aquel} (A)(B) &= 1 \text{ iff } \text{Demonstrated}_{utt}(C) \land \neg \text{Proximal}(C, \text{participant}_{utt}) \land \text{Card}(C) = 1 \land (C \cap A) \subseteq B \\
\end{align*}

(Gutiérrez-Rexach 2002: 219)
The above formulas in (60) illustrate the intersection between the noun argument A; the context set C and the predicate argument B, which allows for the demonstrative to associate with definiteness. Here the feature *proximal* relates the demonstratives to participants in a discourse. In the case of *este* it relates the speaker to the context set. Whereas *ese* associates with the addressee. In contrast the demonstrative *aquel* is defined negatively as non-proximal and involves something or someone other than the speaker or addressee. Yet deictics differ from other indexicals since they commonly include a pointing gesture, which is inherent to their deictic character (Gutiérrez-Rexach 2002). However, in contrast to personal pronouns *tú* and *yo* demonstratives have an indeterminate content and are therefore incomplete deictic signs (Eguren 1999).

A demonstrative contains definite, locative and deictic features. That is to say, a demonstrative refers to a definite referent, which it points out in an area within the deictic sphere. (see (1), Chapter 1)

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
a & Este & hombre \\
& DEM-this & N-man \\
\end{array}
\]

Therefore in (1a) the demonstrative *este* encodes the noun *hombre* for definiteness [+def], placing said referent as proximal within the speaker’s sphere [+prox], and deictic [+deic] in that the expression points the entity out to the addressee.

The placement of the demonstrative stems from discourse techniques meant to encode the cognitive status of a referent. This involves not only a syntax-semantic interface but the relationship between syntax and *Information Structure* as defined by Lambrecht (1994) in (62) below:
(62)

**Information Structure:**

*That component of sentence grammar in which propositions as conceptual representations of states of affairs are paired with lexicogrammatical structures in accordance with mental states of interlocutors who use and interpret these structures as units of information in discourse contexts* (Lambrecht 1994:5)

Thus, information structure can be regarded as the manner in which interlocutors package their cognitive representations within linguistic structures. One of the basic elements of language is the structural or syntactical relationship between the constituents that make up an utterance. The interface between information structure and syntax is significant that Spanish, Catalan, and Rumanian feature both prenominal and post-nominal positions for the demonstrative.

(see (15) Chapter 1)

**Spanish:**

a. *Este hombre*  
   DEM N

b. *el hombre este*  
   ART N DEM

**Rumanian:**

c. *Aceast om*  
   DEM N

d. *omul acesta*  
   DEM-ART DEM

**Catalan:**

e. *Aquest hom*  
   DEM N

f. *el hom aquest*  
   ART N DEM

As has been previously discussed on the syntactic portion of my analysis, although it varies across languages generally speaking the prenominal is the unmarked position of the demonstrative Romance languages. Therefore the post-nominal demonstrative construction is a marked construction as defined by Horn (1984):
Horn’s Division of Pragmatic Labor

The use of a marked (relatively, complex and or prolix) expression when a corresponding unmarked (simpler, less effortful) alternate expression is available tends to be interpreted as conveying a marked message (one which the unmarked alternative would not or could not have conveyed).


The postnominal construction $[SPEC\, DP\, ART\, [D'\, [NP\, N\, [DEMlo\, DEM]]]]$ is relatively more complex than it prenominal counterpart $[SPEC\, DP\, DEM\, [D'\, [NP\, N]]]$. Thus the underlying status of a referent encoded in Spanish post-nominal constructions is marked. Moreover, such markedness involves the interactions between different parts of the grammar, which are motivated within the language. The placement of the demonstrative is determined by the model the speaker has of the addressee’s access to possible referents. Yet according to Chafe (1994) there is a limited amount of active referents in a discourse.

This situation is due in part to the limits of short-term memory. So in the speaker’s point of view some referents are more active than others. But in order to remain active a referent must be constantly refreshed and actualized. Again following Chafe (1994) activeness measures the focus of attention in terms of the speaker’s discourse model. This involves what the speaker believes the status of the referent to be in the addressee’s mind within the immediate linguistic and extra-linguistic context. Referents range from more active to less active (semi-active), which are termed given and accessible respectively. Therefore the cognitive status of a referent can be encoded via a referring expression that serves as a processing cue to the addressee.
In fact, a number of frameworks in the literature attempt to construct a continuum of these referring expressions. One of the first attempts Givón (1983) called for a gradation of referring expressions tied to discourse and topic continuity:

![Figure 3.1 Topic Continuity (Givón 1983)](image)

Topic continuity in (64) is shown as being tied to the accessibility of a referent in a cognitive sense. Therefore null subject expression in Spanish via verbal morphology is an example of zero anaphor:

(64)
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\hline
\text{Ø} & \text{Vienen ahora.} \\
\text{Pro} & \text{V-3rdpl-come now} \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

“They’re coming now.”
Presumably both discourse participants are aware of the referent, which is highly accessible in the discourse. Also of import are discourse strategies that highlight an entity via dislocated constructions.

But this framework does not cover demonstratives, which are quintessential referring expressions in any discourse in that they encode referents within the deictic sphere. Ariel (1990) bases herself on corpora studies of English, Hebrew and other languages. Along these lines, Ariel (1990) calls for a scale based exclusively on cognitive accessibility.

![Figure 3.2 Scale of Accessibility (Ariel 1990)]

Similar to Givón (1983), Ariel (1990) identifies zero anaphors as the most highly accessible referents. However this hierarchy also includes a wider variety of referring expressions such as demonstratives, names, and full names. In this framework demonstratives have a relatively high accessibility above first names and last names but below weak pronouns and zero anaphors. So demonstrative can be seen as encoding referents with mid to high level of
cognitive accessibility. In the same way, a first name introduced by a demonstrative: *Esa Lola* (DEM-N) and a variant with a post-nominal demonstrative *La Lola esa* (ART-N-DEM) are more salient referents than unmodified *Lola* (N).

A later framework, Gundel et al. (1993) derives a taxonomy for the cognitive status of referring expressions, which fall out due to Grice’s Maxim of Quantity (Grice 1975). The forms that make up this *Givenness Hierarchy* serve as processing signals to the addressee to retrieve the referent. Also of note is that the statuses of Givenness indicated below are not separate but related via a Horn scale in which each member is implicationally related to the other (Horn 1984). That is to say each status entails all lower statuses from most restricted (in-focus) to less restricted (type identifiable):

- **Type identifiable**  a N
- **Referential indefinite**  this N
- **Uniquely identifiable**  the N
- **Familiar**  that N
- **Active**  that, this, this N
- **In-Focus**  it

Figure 3.3: Givenness Hierarchy (Gundel et al. 1993)

According to the Givenness Hierarchy (67) demonstratives are active and familiar as well as encoding various degrees of identifiability. That is to say demonstrative expressions encode referents that constitute shared information within a discourse. Said discourse entities are represented in current short-term memory. In terms of Gundel et. al (1993) English “that” means
‘you are familiar with this, and therefore can identify it’. In a related case, Lakoff (1974) investigates the use of English demonstratives, especially that, in a use she terms Emotional deixis.

(see (6) Chapter 1)

a. How’s that throat?

b. That Henry Kissinger really knows his way around Hollywood.

Here in (6b) that encodes a referent, which forms a part of world knowledge. Therefore the referent, Henry Kissinger, is familiar to both speaker and addressee given the discourse and temporal context (circa 1974). The demonstrative serves as a marker of solidarity and shared knowledge whereby an opinion is shared between speaker and addressee.

Being able to distinguish between knowers and non-knowers of a piece of information is a precondition to being able to obey the maxim “Don’t tell people what they already know,” a special subcase of which is the rule “Don’t tell people what you’ve already told them.” (Sacks 1971, Oct. 19:9 cited in Levinson 1987:82). This observation is important in that it pertains to referring expression produced in the course of a discourse whereby demonstratives are used to encode entities already introduced into the discourse via previous mention or common knowledge.

This use is mirrored in Spanish with the post-nominal demonstrative. Therefore la pasión esa in (65) encodes the identifiable commonplace of the passion of newly married couples.

(65)

La pasión esa del principio te dura muy poco.

ART-the passion DEM-that of-ART-the beginning CL-2ndS-you V-3rdS-lasts very little
‘That beginning passion lasts a very short while.’

(Informe Semanal 27/05/95 TVE1) (CREA)

The nature of the ‘passion’ alluded to is never specified given that the speaker assumes the hearer already has access to this information via previous mention or common knowledge. Blackwell (2003) bases her study on Neo-Gricean pragmatic principles following Levinson (1987, 2000) and Huang (2000). In Logic and Conversation, Grice (1975) had stipulated guidelines for any conversation. The most important of these premises are the Maxims of Quantity and of Manner:

(66)

**Quantity:**

*Make your contribution as informative as is required for the current purposes of the exchange, but no more informative than is required.*

**Manner:**

*Be perspicuous, specifically, avoid obscurity and ambiguity, be brief (avoid prolixity), and be orderly.*

(Grice 1975, Blackwell 2003: 13)

Participants in a discourse must therefore balance informativeness with efficiency. If a speaker is not explicit enough the addressee cannot identify a referent. On the other hand, if the speaker produces too extravagantly then the discourse loses its coherence. The tension between these two premises of conversation allows for what Grice (1975) calls *conversational implicatures* in which the speaker communicates “more than what is literally expressed by the conventional sense of the linguistic utterance” they produce. Blackwell (2003) argues that
discourse anaphora can be subsumed under this same process. She follows revisions made by Levinson (2000) and Huang (2000) to the original Gricean maxims:

(67)

**Principle of Informativeness (I):**

Speaker’s maxim of minimization: say as little as possible. Addresssee’s maxim of inferential maximization: find the most specific interpretation possible.

**Quantity Principle (Q):**

Speaker’s Maxim: Do not provide a statement that is weaker than your knowledge of the world allows unless the strong statement contravenes I.

Addresssee’s Corollary:

Take it for granted that the speaker makes the strongest statement allowed.

**Manner Principle (M):**

Do not use a prolix, obscure or marked expression without reason.

If the speaker uses a prolix, marked expression then the speaker does not mean the same as if he had used an unmarked utterance. He is avoiding the I-implications of the unmarked form of the utterance.

(Blackwell 2003: 25; 26; 29)

The advantage of the Neo-Gricean framework as outlined by Levinson (1987) is that it acknowledges the interaction between the point of view of the speaker as well as the addressee. In addition, Huang (2000) calls for background information to be taken into account in that shared information can cancel an M-implication. That is to say, both a zero anaphor and an overt pronoun can be seen as co-referential as evidenced in languages like Chinese (Huang 2000) and Spanish (Blackwell 2003). More specifically, Blackwell 2003’s study of Spanish conversation
elicited by the Pear Stories of Chafe (1980) finds that Spanish demonstratives are often co-
referential, referring back to previously mentioned discourse entities. This function is in contrast
to Levinson’s M-principle in that these are defined as “prolix” referring expressions, featuring a
noun modified by a demonstrative instead of a more reduced form as predicted by Levinson
(1987) (i.e. a zero anaphor). The M-principle as revised by Blackwell (2003) predicts that overt
pronoun and prolix terms (such as a demonstrative NP) will yield a less stereotypical
interpretation than that implicated by a minimal unmarked expression.

A prenominal demonstrative serves to encode antecedents that are not currently in focus.
Demonstrative NP’s are appropriate when the referent has been referred to previously in the
discourse so that the addressee has access to the referent in short-term or long-term memory. In
terms of Chafe (1994) these forms encode active to semi-active referents.
These referring expressions also assume a common background knowledge shared between
speaker and addressee.

(68)
Y eso era para dentro no para fuera. El pirulín ese
CONJ DEM-that V-was for inside NEG for outside. The thing that
‘And that was on the inside, not the outside. That thingy
era para darle así cuerpo.
V-was PREP-for V-inf-give CL-3rds-it so body
was supposed to give it some body.’

(Blackwell 2003: 119-120)

Via Levinson’s I-principle and the Speaker’s Maxim of Minimization eso can be used to
refer to pirulo since both the speaker and addressee are aware of the immediate discourse context
involving a hat with an object on it. Here the demonstrative pronoun indicates reference with a less salient referent *pirulo*, earlier in the discourse. Significantly, the referent is referred to again with a post-nominal demonstrative. So the referent is upgraded to a full NP to make sure the addressee can identify the referent. The speaker switches from an application of the I-principle whose aim is to say as little as possible (*eso*) to Q, which calls for a more explicit reference (*el pirulín ese*). This is an example of backward anaphora (Blackwell 2003) or cataphora whereby a speaker uses a pronominal expression to refer ahead textually to an entity appearing later on in the discourse. Shifts in referring expressions as found in (68) are characteristic of oral registers where the speaker changes the type of referring expression in an attempt to accommodate the assumed cognitive status of the entity in the addressee’s mind.

While the prenominal demonstrative in (69) signals to the addressee that both speakers are already familiar with the friends they are talking about. So one could paraphrase as follows: *Those friends of ours. You know the ones who were here yesterday.* That is to say the discourse participants have mutual knowledge of the referent in question.

(69)

Precisamente en casa de *estos amigos* de *los*

Precisely in house of DEM-those friends of ART-the

que estuvieron ayer.

CONJ-that V-were here

‘Precisely at the house of those friends who were here yesterday.’

(Blackwell 2003: 131)
Another use of the marked post-nominal expression is analyzed in conjunction with the Pear Stories in (70):

(70)

Entonces aparece un hombre por un camino con su cabra.

Then V-3rds-appear a man by a road with his goat

¿Le-le dice algo el hombre ese o?

CL-3rds CL-3rds V-3rds-say anything ART-the man DEM-that or?

‘Then a man appears on the road with his goat. Does the man say anything to him?’

(Blackwell 2003: 228)

Here the referent hombre is introduced as an indefinite expression un hombre. According to Levinson (1987) one would expect a more minimal unmarked expression for subsequent reference as per the I-principle. Instead the interlocutor produces el hombre ese which is co-referential with the previous referent un hombre. Blackwell (2003) suggests that this marked expression is due to the thematic prominence of the referent hombre as well as a tracking use. Thereby hombre is contrasted with another referent encoded with the clitic le. So in the text there is a man picking pears who is referred to with le as opposed to the man with the goat encoded with el hombre ese.

In addition, Himmelmann (1996) refers to such tracking use as immediate anaphora after first mention. Whereby thematically salient referents are introduced into discourse and then referred to again via a full lexical NP. This discourse technique is often used at the beginning of stories. For example: Once upon a time there was a king. This king had . . (Himmelmann 1996). Here the referent a king is introduced and immediately referred to again via the demonstrative
NP *this king*. In this light the Spanish the post-nominal demonstrative has a recognitional use, which encodes a prominent theme in the discourse context proper.

While she does explore the discourse use of demonstrative expressions Blackwell (2003) does not concentrate on the main difference between prenominal and postnominal demonstrative use. In her analysis both *estos amigos* and *el hombre ese* denote referents that are part of mutual knowledge. Perhaps the only distinction would be that the post-nominal demonstrative signals more prominence in the discourse.

Brizuela (1999), another study examining Spanish referring expressions, finds that post-nominal determiner (*el coche ese*) is a marker of high accessibility in comparison to pronominal demonstratives (*ese*) and noun with articles alone (*el coche*). In this light, post-nominal demonstrative placement is used as a means of grounding discourse referents with the addressee in mind (Traugott 1995). Though not exhaustive these hierarchies are importance since they demonstrate how the form of a referring expression depends on the assumed cognitive status of a referent, which the speaker wants to communicate to the addressee (Gundel et al 1993).

I argue that the post-posed demonstrative is a marker of high accessibility and shared knowledge in addition to speaker attitude and involvement. This use is part and parcel with discourse factors such as speaker-hearer solidarity and shared knowledge (Lakoff 1974’s *emotional deixis*), which go well beyond the taxonomy presented by Ariel (1990), Gundel et al. (1993), and Blackwell (2003). That is to say, it is important to take into account not only conversational implicatures in the traditional sense but the affective content of a referring expression as such. In fact, much of the literature on Spanish sees the post-nominal demonstrative construction as pejorative in nature (Ramírez 1951:316 Esbozo 1973:436, Macías 1997).
However, I argue that the pejorative meaning is not properly basic but rather a side effect of discourse factors. The discourse context involves both the speaker and addressee’s sphere. The center of the discourse, the deictic origo per Bühler (1931), is the speaker’s point of view. Thus the speaker’s model of the discourse largely determines which referents are in play and which are not. This model in turn involves what is termed a Semantic Frame by Fillmore (1982):

(71)

**Semantic Frame**

*By the term “frame” I have in mind any system of concepts related in such a way that to understand any of them you have to understand the whole structure in which it fits; when one of the things in such a structure is introduced into a text, or into a conversation, all of the others are automatically made available* (Fillmore 1982: 111).

The mere introduction of a particular referent within a discourse has immediate pragmatic entailments that include a list of concepts related in a cognitive network that essentially Frames the discourse, delimiting the boundaries of relevant information. Chafe (1987) further elaborates via his concept of Schema:

(72)

**Schema**

*A schema is usefully regarded as a cluster of interrelated expectations. When a schema has been evoked in a narrative, some if not all of the expectations of which it is constituted presumably enter into the semi-active state. From that point on, they are more readily available to recall than they would have been as in active concepts* (Chafe 1987:29)
Chafe (1987) illustrates by discussing the context of a typical College undergraduate course in which one anticipates the following concepts: student, instructor, TA, classroom. These concepts are all made available following the establishment of a classroom setting. Furthermore, certain propositional content can exhibit a strong association with certain discourse contexts and vice versa (Chafe 1987, Lambrecht 1994).

For this reason it is important to know what is within the current sphere of discourse as well as the speaker’s attitude toward the referent in question. The basic function of the postnominal demonstrative encodes a referent of given information. Although the literature features a variety of frameworks to explain the cognitive status of a referring expression as in Ariel 1990’s Accessibility Scale, Gundel et al. 1993’s Givenness Hierarchy, and Blackwell 2003’s Neo-Gricean approach to Spanish discourse, none of them addresses the distribution of demonstrative placement head on.

In fact, as the data illustrates the post-posed demonstrative serves to encode Previous Mention, Mutual knowledge, Deixis ad oculos (wherein the demonstrative points out visually accessible referents), Referential problems, and Affective content. This last use is tied into speaker attitude and involvement whereby the discourse presuppositions together with the semantics of the referent serve to give a pejorative connotation. In that it is unique this pejorative use is by far the most noted in the literature although it represents a small part of the overall pattern.

According to Ariel (1990), Gundel et al. (1993), Blackwell (2003), and Brizuela (1999) the post-nominal demonstrative encodes a referent of high accessibility. Such cognitive accessibility then lends itself to an affective use in a change documented by Traugott (1995) as
Referential > Affective. Thereby a referential use encoding old information then develops accordingly as a way to communicate meta-referential information about the discourse entity at hand.

This is a discourse strategy whereby a speaker communicates a qualitative judgment about a referent via a marked position as further evidenced by adjectival placement in (46). A postnominal adjective is the default position whereby a post-posed adjective communicates a more nuanced subjective comment about the noun it modifies.

(see (46), Chapter 2)

a. \( El \ pobre \ hombre. \)
   ART-the ADJ-poor N-man
   ‘The poor man.’

b. \( El \ hombre \ pobre. \)
   ART-the N-man ADJ-poor
   ‘The poor man.’

Prenominal \textit{pobre} denotes poor’s canonical meaning as lacking in wealth and resources while post-nominal \textit{pobre} encodes the qualitative sense of unfortunate and miserable. Significantly the second reading is implicated by the first since certain attributes are associated in the mind with a condition of poverty. In English these two meanings are disambiguated via context whereas Spanish has conventionalized pre vs. post-nominal use for some adjectives.

Similarly, by post-posing a demonstrative the speaker implicates a certain cognitive status of a referent as well as their affective stance vis-à-vis the object in question. Taxonomies dealing with information status of referring expressions need to take into account the dyadic structure of a discourse including speaker and addressee along the lines of the Neo-Gricean
Framework. However, care should be taken to investigate phenomena such as the post-posed demonstrative in Spanish, which has a parallel use in Rumanian, and Catalan.

As evidenced by the Spanish data, post-nominal demonstrative placement does not have a clear-cut status but tends to encode accessible, salient entities within the discourse, which interact with the semantics of the referent, the speaker’s model of the addressee’s sphere, as well as the discourse context proper. Therefore both marked and unmarked positions in the syntax interact to encode discourse referents and the speaker’s attitude towards them. These type of phenomena need to be taken into account in future frameworks in order to capture the dynamic nature of referring expression within the discourse dyad of speaker and addressee.

One of the first proposed frameworks, Prince (1981), has a direct bearing on the Spanish data:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Evoked Textually} & \quad \{ \text{ unused } \quad \text{ inferable } \quad \text{ brand new } \\
\text{Evoked Situationally} & \quad \}
\end{align*}
\]

Figure 3.4 (Prince 1981)

Here she draws a crucial distinction between textually and situationally evoked status. That is to say a referent is introduced in the discourse and is either brand new or inferable from previous mention. In contrast, the discourse situation also includes referents, which are directly accessible in a physical sense termed *deixis ad oculos* by Bühler (1937).

In addition, for Prince (1981) Givenness is important in that it is based on the relaying of information that the speaker estimates the hearer can interpret felicitously; that is: retrievable from previous context, in consciousness of hearer, and as a part of shared knowledge.
Along these lines, Clark and Marshall (1981) elaborate on Prince 1981’s Givenness framework to give a taxonomy of types of mutual knowledge:

(73) **Mutual Knowledge**

a. Community membership mutual knowledge
   Assumed knowledge plus a system of inference.
b. Physical co-presence mutual knowledge
   Knowledge speakers have by attending to physical situation they are in.
c. Linguistic co-presence mutual knowledge
   Previous mention in discourse.

Givón (1983) further refines types of shared information of shared information available to speaker and addressee.

(74)

**Givón 1983’s Definition of Discourse Context**

a. Generally shared knowledge coded in the culturally shared lexicon and known semantic likelihoods.
b. Specifically shared knowledge of the particular discourse, what was said earlier and various inferences thereof including verbal and non-verbal feedback.
c. Specifically shared knowledge of the particular speaker and hearer, what they know or tend to assume about each other, their respective knowledge, motivation, and propensities, not excluding possible telepathy, however unlikely on general grounds.

(Blackwell 2003: 71)

Lambrecht (1994) subsumes these referents under the header of Identifiability. Under this are those referents, which are identifiable. Identifiable referents can said to be inactive, active, or merely accessible. In which case they are accessible textually, situationally, and inferentially.
Similar to Lakoff 1974’s observations on the Emotive Deixis of English *that* (see (6), Chapter 1), in Spanish the postnominal demonstrative can also communicate affective content vis-à-vis the referent in addition to hearer-old status.

(75)

\[ \text{Policía: } \text{Que la tía esa, la colgada,} \]
\[ \text{¿no lleva mucho tiempo ya?} \]
\[ \text{Policeman: That gal there, the one that’s hung over. She hasn’t been here long, right?} \]

(Sastre, Alfonso. *Análisis de un comando*. 1979) (CREA)

However, given that demonstrative are functional deictic terms they are characterized by an indeterminate content. It is easier to see such affective import in marked adjectival placement in contrast to demonstratives adjectives communicate lexical content (48a&b).

(76) **Adjectives**

a.  *¡Bonita casa!*  c.  *El cochino dinero.*

Pretty house  ART-the dirty money

‘Nice house!’  ‘The damn money.’

b.  *¡Casa bonita!*  d.  *El dinero cochino . . .

79
Notice that the phrase in (87a) is an ironic remark that not only takes a qualitative reading of the adjective *bonita* ‘pretty’ but implies it’s very opposite ‘ugly’. This same adjective is infelicitous; however, in postnominal position. Similarly, *cochino* ‘relating to a pig, dirty’ an adjective with an already affective content can only appear before the noun. (81a&c) represent specialized uses beyond even that of prenominal *pobre* in (46) in that such adjectives are qualitative by nature and are therefore barred from the unmarked postnominal position. Dialectally, Mexican Spanish features prenominal *pinche* which is used as an all purpose derogatory marker on par with English ‘damn’, but only in marked position.

Although more undetermined in its impact, the postnominal demonstrative can convey a specialized affective connotation comparable to prenominal adjectives as illustrated in (81). The frameworks Prince (1981), Clark & Marshall (1981), Givón (1983) Lambrecht (1994), Lakoff (1974) and Blackwell (2003) can then be reorganized into the following categories in *Figure 3.6*:

**Cataphoric**- Blackwell (2003)- Backward Anaphora  

*Figure 3.6: Informational Categories*
Figure 3.6 (continued)


**Affective**- Lakoff (1974)- Emotive deixis

In turn these categories can serve as the basis of a taxonomy covering the uses of the post-posed demonstrative construction. A taxonomy along these lines will be elaborated on the basis of synchronic data in the following section.
CHAPTER 4
SYNCHRONIC ANALYSIS

4.1 Methodology

I carry out the investigation via CREA an online corpus of synchronic Spanish data from Spain and Latin America accessible via the Real Academia Española (The Spanish Language Academy) website www.rae.es. The 20th to the 21st century texts found in CREA range from novels (see (88)), newspapers, television (see (65)), radio (see (90)), in addition to speaker interviews (see (92c)) and transcriptions of conversations (see (82)). As such CREA consists of a wide birth of both oral and written material. Another source of synchronic data is the much smaller database www.corpusdelespanol.org by Mark Davies, which includes data up to the year 2003.

In addition, diachronic tokens are provided via CORDE a diachronic counterpart of CREA also available from the Real Academia website: www.rae.es that features texts from the 13th to the 19th century. The alternative corpus www.corpusdelespanol.org also includes range of texts from the same period. The character and range of these texts is discussed in Chapter 5 in Diachronic Analysis portion of the dissertation.

In terms of their use interface the corpora CORDE and CREA allow for search options determined by: country of origin, text genre, and century. However, in order to search for a particular construction one must enter the query exactly (i.e. el señor este.)
The drawback to this search engine is that one cannot search for a construction in more general terms via grammatical categories. Also the absence or presence of an accent can yield completely different results. Take, for example, *este* vs. *éste*, which are two forms of the demonstrative. Here the more sophisticated search engine in www.corpusdelespanol.org offers an advantage in that it allows for the user to input wild-card codes for parts of speech: *N-* noun, *V-* verb etc. In conducting a search for tokens of *el señor este* one has the option of inputting: *.*.DET_ART_DEF *.*.N *.*.DET_DEM. A drawback in Corpus is that it provides very little textual context in data results. Therefore one gets the following result after conducting a search:

(77)

\[ o \quad no\quad me\quad acuerdo\quad ya\quad bien\quad cómo\quad estaba\quad el\quad asunto \]

or \[ NEG\quad REFL-1^{st}\quad V\quad remember\quad already\quad well\quad how\quad V\quad was\quad ART\quad the\quad situation \]

‘I don’t remember how the situation was

\[ el\quad caso\quad fue\quad que\quad ella\quad mató\quad a\quad sus\quad hijos\quad para \]

ART\quad the\quad case\quad V\quad was\quad COMP\quad that\quad PRO-3^{rd}\quad V\quad killed\quad PREP\quad to\quad POSS-3^{rd}\quad s\quad children\quad PREP\quad of

It turned out that she killed her children

\[ que\quad no\quad le\quad estorbaran\quad digamos\quad para\quad sus\quad relaciones \]

COMP\quad that\quad NEG\quad CL\quad 3^{rd}\quad s\quad V\quad thwart\quad V\quad say\quad PREP\quad for\quad POSS\quad 3^{rd}\quad s\quad relations

So that they wouldn’t get involved with her relationship

\[ con\quad [el\quad señor\quad este] \]

CONJ\quad with\quad ART\quad the\quad man\quad DEM\quad that

With this man.

Enc. \[ El\quad caso\quad de\quad Medea. \]

Enc. \[ ART\quad the\quad case\quad PREP\quad of\quad Medea \]

Surveyer: Like Medea.

Inf. \[ --Y\quad entonces,\quad los\quad mató\quad y\quad los\quad echó\quad a \]

Inf. \[ CONJ\quad and\quad then\quad CL\quad 3^{rd}\quad pl\quad V\quad killed\quad CONJ\quad and\quad CL\quad 3^{rd}\quad pl\quad V\quad threw\quad PREP\quad to

Informant: And then she killed them and threw them

\[ una\quad canasta. \]

ART\quad indef\quad basket
...into a basket.

Enc. --El **mismo caso de Medea, que**
Enc. ART-the same case PREP-of Medea COMP-that

Surveyor: Just like Medea.’

(Habla Culta: Mexico) (Corpus del español)

In the example (77) above the reference and function of the postnominal expression *el señor este* is difficult to determine in that much of the context is absent. This problem can only be remedied by searching for the same token in CORDE and CREA, which provide a far larger context. This search is feasible given that Corpus, CORDE and CREA draw largely from the same set of data as exhibited in (78):

(78)

La **Llorona es una leyenda del tiempo de la**
ART-the Llorona COP ART-indef legend PREP-of ART-the time PREP-of ART-the

‘The Crying Woman is a legend

**colonia completamente, ¿no? Entonces, dicen que era una señora**
colony completely no then V-say COMP-that V-was ART-indef lady

do colonial times. No? Well they say there was a woman

**que era una señora casada, ¿no? Entonces, no me**
COMP-that V-was ART-indeflady married no then NEG REFL-1st-s

A married woman. Right? I don’t remember

**acuerdo yo si ella quedó viuda o, estando casada,**
V-1st-s-remember PRO-1st-s if PRO-3rd-s V-remained widow or GER-being married

If she was widowed or being married

**ella se enamoró de otro individuo. Entonces pero se**
She fell in love with another man. Then

*enamoró* a tal punto la pobre, ¿verdad?, que no le

The poor thing, she fell in love to such an extent Righ? She didn’t

*importó* ya nada en el mundo más que el señor

Care about anything but that man

*aquel*. Entonces *sus* hijos, que tenía tres, haz de cuenta

Her children of whom she had three. They say

*que* no los tuviera, no le importó nada absolutamente

She didn’t care one bit if she no longer had them.

*Y* llegó a tal punto de enloquecimiento por [el

She came to such a state of madness on account of this man

*señor]*, que en un momento dado, quién sabe por qué,

that at a certain, who knows why

*le* convendría así, o no me acuerdo ya bien cómo

It was best for her. But I don’t remember

*estaba* el asunto, el caso fue que ella mató a sus
Exactly how the situation was. The case was that she killed her children so they couldn’t get in the way, let’s say,

*relaciones con [el señor este], El caso de Medea.*

With her relations with this man. Just like the story of Medea

*Y entonces, los mató y los echó a una canasta.*

And then she killed them and threw them into a basket.

*El mismo caso de Medea, que los echó en una fuente.*

The same thing as in Medea who threw them into a fountain.

*Bueno, el caso fue que ella se deshizo de sus* right? She killed them and to top it off the man left her.

*o no se volvió a aparecer, y ella se volvió* or disappeared and she went

*loca, y dicen que desde entonces, de remordimiento*
This woman’s soul goes about suffering from regret.

Up to our time. And she yells: My children! Now why do they call women “the one that crying’ in songs?

Crying ones?. Well it’s because they say: Crying woman, crying woman.”

The additional context helps to identify *el señor este* – ‘this man’ with the anaphor *el señor* – ‘the man’ as well as provide the subject matter of the text where the individual in question forms part of a Mexican legend *La Llorona*– about a ghostly apparition of a crying woman.

A weakness that both corpora and search engines share are the misleading results elicited by even the most detailed of searches. Therefore:
And to honor and celebrate this grandson of his the lord had a feast on this day.

Here a lot of meat was gathered according to their custom.

In contrast to the search result in bold, the demonstrative *este* in (85) is not co-referential with *el señor* but modifies *día*. Here mere surface linearization is not sufficient for an accurate culling of data. The relevant data can only be isolated via manual revision of search engine results to weed out random sequences from legitimate ones.

For the Synchronic investigation I investigate the demonstratives in groups *Este*/*ese* and *aquel*. This grouping stems from the deictic import of the demonstratives in question. Proximal *este* and medial *ese* are characterized as referring to elements within the sphere of discourse while *aquel* encodes information outside this sphere (see Figure 1.1 Chapter 1). This contrast in turn affects the interpretation of the demonstrative expression in discourse. In this regard *este*/*ese* share a similar distribution, which is studied via Informational Categories in 4.2 followed by Structural Categories in 4.3.
4.2 Synchronic Informational Categories: *este/ese*

One of the basic functions of demonstratives in Spanish is referential in nature. That is to say, demonstratives such as *este, ese* are used to encode direct reference to entities in discourse as shown in (80).

(80)


‘Imagine a car that consumes a half liter every billion kilometers. A car with a soft contour. A comfort and a perfect finish. Moveable seets With cushions included, an on board computer and brakes. Let’s see, suspension that, suspension V-3rd-imagine PREP-at+ART-the steering-wheel of DEM-this N-car. Imagine yourself at the wheel of this car.’

*(Canela en rama, Punto de mira, Madrid, 12/06/91, Radio Vallecas B) (CREA)*

In the example (80) the referent *coche* is introduced as *un coche* and then later referred to as *este coche*, in which the demonstrative *este* accompanies the noun *coche*. In this way, speakers use a demonstrative referring expression to refer back to discourse-old entities via anaphora. In this case, the referring expression *este coche* involves a prenominal demonstrative in a sequence of type *[SPEC DP [D' [NP N]]], [DP DEM]*.
However, Spanish has a further communicative technique, which involves the marked placement of the demonstrative (see (18), Chapter 1). Therefore, in contrast to the previous example, the demonstrative appears postnominally in a sequence of type \[\text{SPEC } \text{DP } \text{ART } [\text{D } [\text{NP } \text{N} [\text{DEMlo } \text{DEM}]]]]\].

(81)

Pero el Pío IX estaba mal informado por los brasileros y ‘But Pius IX was badly informed by the Brazilians and

entonces lo llamó al padre Fidel Maíz «sacrilego nefario». then so he called Father Fidel Maiz nefarious and sacriligious.

Eso porque después el vicario o encargado para el That was because after the vicar or the one in charge for the

Paraguay vino a ser [el cura brasilero Fidelis D'Avola]. Paraguay came to be the Brazilian priest Fidelis D’Avola

que había sido capellán del ejército brasilero, y who had been the chaplain of the Brazilian Army.

[el hombre ese] le dió su versión lo acusó a When this man gave his version of the events he accused

Maíz de haberlo matado a su obispo, Maíz of having killed his bishop

que no es cierto -ese fue Marcó, que dirigió Which was not true. It was Marcó who had engineered
The referent el hombre ese ‘that (aforementioned) man’ encodes a referent previously introduced into discourse, namely el cura brasiler D’Avola ‘the Brazilian priest Fidelis D’Avola’.

An examination of synchronic corpora (CREA and www.corpusdelespanol) reveals a series of informational uses for this postnominal construction: Anaphoric, Assumed Knowledge [(a) Shared Knowledge (b) World Knowledge], Cataphoric, Discourse Topic, Situationally Accessible, Retrieval-Repair, Affective, and Exclamative. These uses are not fixed categories but continuous since synchronic examples often share more than one characteristics belonging to these categories. However, the postnominal construction generally corresponds to categories of mid to low deixis, in which no overt pointing gesture is needed.

4.2.1. Anaphoric

Anaphoric reference involves entities introduced earlier in the discourses, which are then referred to at a latter stage. In terms of deixis, Anaphoric reference is marked with a mid [-low, -high] deixis in that it textually refers to a specific entity previously introduced into discourse short of overtly pointing it out.

The referent la calle mayor ‘main street’ in (88) is referred to subsequently via the expression the postnominal expression la calle esa. So the prenominal sequence esa calle while not ungrammatical is nevertheless infelicitous in this context.
Also, while not strictly necessary *la calle (esa)* the postnominal demonstrative appears to ground the referent in the discourse. Here I am arguing that the speaker signals to the addressee that said entity is discourse-old via the placement of the demonstrative. Thereby the hearer can more easily identify the referent. Similar techniques in English include: *that street I was just talking about, that same street.*

(82)

```
lo que pasa que siempre [la calle mayor] parece
```

‘What happens is main street always seems always …

```
que siempre Entonces, estaba más animada [la calle esa]
```

Then that street there was more animated

```
porque había más tiendas por ese lado
```

because there were more stores on that side.’

(Conversación 4, Universidad de Alcalá de Henares, España) (CREA)

However, anaphoric references can also involve the use of world knowledge in order to infer a previously mentioned discourse entity. *World knowledge* consists of general world knowledge accessible to both speaker and addressee as members of a speech community (see (72), Chapter 3) (Clark and Marshall 1981).

That is to say, the speaker takes for granted that the hearer is familiar with the information because both interlocutors are members of the same speech community. This effect is combined with previous mention results in the use of the postnominal demonstrative. Sharing aspects of Anaphoric and World Knowledge the inferential qualities of tokens (89)&(90)&(57)
make them less dependent on a single textual reference as in (88) and more akin to examples (68)&(91) which feature [-low] deixis.

More concretely, the speaker in the (83) below discusses *estudios* - ‘studies (about preschool education)’ and then reintroduces this same theme by discussing specific studies such as Summerhill’s: *el libro ese de Summerhill* ‘That book of Sumerhill’s’ Here the assumption is that the addressee understands that studies often appear in book form. Therefore the proper noun *libro* is inferred from the broader term *estudios*.

(83)

\[
\begin{align*}
Y & \text{ en muchos estados de los Estados Unidos} \\
\text{CONJ-and} & \text{PREP-in many states PREP-of ART-the United States} \\
\text{‘And in many states in the United States} \\
\text{se} & \text{ han hecho cosas muy importantes y} \\
\text{REFL-3rd-s AUX-have PAST-P-done things very important CONJ-and} \\
\text{Very important things have been done} \\
\text{educación pre-escolar y en grupos marginales} \\
\text{education preschool CONJ-and PREP-in groups marginal} \\
\text{in preschool education and in marginal groups} \\
\text{se} & \text{ han hecho estudios muy importantes} \\
\text{REFL-3rd-s AUX-have PAST-P-done studies very important} \\
\text{Important studies have also been conducted} \\
\text{también al mismo nivel.} \\
\text{CONJ-also PREP-to-ART-the same level} \\
\text{At the same level.} \\
\text{¿Ha leído la la el libro ese de Summerhill,} \\
\text{AUX-have PAST-P-read ART-the book DEM-that PREP-of Summerhill} \\
\text{Have your read that book by Sumerhill}
\end{align*}
\]
Beyond the standard postnominal sequence \([\text{SPEC} \text{DP} \text{ART} [D [NP N [\text{DEMlo} \text{DEM}]]]]\) a limited variant surfacing in synchronic corpora has a syntactic string of type: \([\text{SPEC} \text{DP} [D [NP N]]]_i [\text{DP} \text{DEM}]_i\), where the article is conspicuously absent. I argue that in the modern language this phenomenon is restricted to higher registers tied to stylized discourse found in grammars, newspapers, political speeches, etc.

For example, a section of Eguren 1999’s discussion of demonstratives in Chapter 14 of the first volume of the *Gramática Descriptiva de la Lengua Española*. Here in (84) the author is highlighting the special uses of *lo* versus neutral pronoun *eso*. In making this contrast he utilizes the expression *posibilidad esa* ‘that possibility’ to refer to the range of *lo* usage mentioned previously in the text, which he juxtaposes *eso*’s more limited functions. The text below is representative of this type of highly stylized language appearing as it does in a Grammar from the Real Academia.

(84)

\[
\begin{align*}
(84) & \quad \text{El } \text{lo individuativo puede también denotar momentos, lugares o} \\
& \quad \text{The individuative "lo" can also denote moments, places or} \\
& \quad \text{maneras (cf. Bosque y Moreno 1990), posibilidad esta que les} \\
& \quad \text{manners (cf. Bosque y Moreno 1990), possibility DEM-this COMP-that CL-3rdpl} \\
& \quad \text{está vedada a los demostrativos neutros. V-was prohibited PREP-to ART-the demonstratives neuter.}
\end{align*}
\]
is prohibited for neuter demonstratives.’
(p.948 14.3.5 Eguren 1999)

The news media also employ their own jargon known as journalese, which is highly rhetorical in nature. The expression *cosa esta* in (57) refers to the state of affairs that has just been enumerated, that is: ‘the difficulty of making a calculation’. Be that as it may, postnominal *esta* is largely redundant with the following relative clause.

(see (57), Chapter 2)

\[ \begin{array}{ll}
El & \text{corresponsal comenzó diciendo que: } "Es difícil hacer} \\
& \text{ART-the correspondent V-began saying COMP-that: COP difficult V-inf-make} \\
& \text{‘The correspondent began by saying: It’s difficult to make} \\
un & \text{cálculo", cosa esta a la que debíamos} \\
& \text{ART-a calculation, thing this PREP-to ART-the COMP V-1\textsuperscript{st-pl}-should} \\
& \text{a calculation, which is something we should} \\
estar & \text{estar más que entrenados.} \\
& \text{V-inf-was more than prepared.} \\
& \text{be more than prepared for.’} \\
\end{array} \]

(Noticia:Cuba:CubaNet:Febrero 4, 1998) (Corpus del español)

Modern Spanish the postnominal construction without the article is characteristic of a specifically cultivated register. Therefore it is a minority pattern that does not represent the majority of language use, in contrast to the counterpart construction headed by the article tied to more spontaneous colloquial speech: \([SPECDP ART [D [NP N [DEM|lo DEM]]]]\) wherein the article serves as a licenser of the DP projection which is covertly licensed in the article-less construction: \([SPECDP [D [NP N]]], [DP DEM], as explained in Chapter 2.\]
4.2.2. Mutual knowledge

When they communicate, participants in a discourse not only encode new entities but also make direct reference to entities belonging to mutual knowledge. Mutual knowledge being defined as the membership the interlocutors share in a common linguistic, and cultural community. Mutual knowledge can be further subsumed under specific information shared by speaker and addressee in addition to more general information about the world (see (77), Chapter 3) (Clark and Marshall 1981). In contrast to Anaphoric reference as in (88) Mutual Knowledge does not involve direct textual reference of an individual referent but more general information beyond the direct discourse context. As such, the speaker need not directly refer back to or point to a referent but instead accesses a piece of shared information. Tokens (65) and (85) are thus carriers of [+low] deixis.

Upon discussing a particular topic, members of a speech community assume certain properties about it. This is because membership in said community involves shared information. To this end, a discussion newly weds can evoke the common place of the short-lived passion of newly weds as in the following example. A commonplace being a stereotypical example or state of affairs, which is shared by members of a speech community. This communicative act is achieved via the dislocation of the demonstrative in a marked postnominal position making *la pasión esa* refer to ‘that passion in the beginning (of marriage) that we all know so well’. Notice that the referent surfaces not via previous mention but through the mere mention of the discourse topic of marriage.

(see (65), Chapter 3)

La pasión esa del principio te dura muy poco

*La pasión esa* (the passion) *del* (of) *principio* (the beginning) *te* (you) *dura* (lasts) *muy poco* (very little)
‘That beginning passion lasts a very short while.’

(Informe Semanal 27/05/95 TVE1) (CREA)

Shared knowledge can also involve more immediate information such as news items or current events such as the conflict in Kosovo and the UN intervention in 1998. Here this crisis is referred to euphemistically as *los problemas estos* with the PP *de Kosovo*, which can be rendered into English as ‘these problems in Kosovo (that everyone knows about)’. Such information is pertinent to current events and the news cycle. Therefore the example below can only be uttered felicitously in a certain temporal context- circa 1998.

(85)

\[
\text{Yo creía que con } \textbf{los problemas estos } \text{de } \text{Kosovo}
\]

‘I believed that with these problems in Kosovo

\[
\text{nadie se iba a enterar de la Cumbre.}
\]

nobody was going to find out about the Summit.’

(Oral, Entrevista de prensa en el lobby del hotel Porto Palacio, en Portugal, el día 16 de octubre de 1998) (CREA)

4.2.3. Cataphoric

A pure *Cataphoric* reference is also possible whereby an entity is encoded as discourse-old and then referred to specifically without relying on background knowledge. Cataphoric reference refers textually to a referent further ahead in the discourse the opposite direction of Anaphoric in (88). Given that it involves a concrete referent this use is characterized as having a mid [-low, -high] deixis.

Here in (88) *el animal ese* ‘that animal’ refers cataphorically to *la culebra*, ‘the serpent’. The referent can be evident from context but it is possible the speaker encodes the reference with
the postnominal demonstrative on the assumption that his audience is already familiar with the topic in question. However, the speaker then switches to a more specific term, presumably because the initial referring expression was not familiar to the addressee. Thus the speaker must reincode the referent to make it identifiable. In (88) a thematically salient referents are introduced into discourse and subsequently referred via a full lexical NP. Adjustments of this type are common in oral registers that feature speaker-hearer accommodation strategies meant to insure communication during the ebb and flow of spontaneous discourse.

(88)

A quien se le ocurre, ni que fuera tan fino
To who CL-REFL CL-3rds occurs NEG COMP V-were so fine
‘Who would have thought that, that there animal would be so fine,
el animal ese, la culebra digo.
ART-the animal DEM-that ART the snake V-1st-say.
the snake, I mean.’

(Karlik, Sara. *Entre ánimas y sueños*) (Corpus del español)

This example shares features of mutual knowledge and cataphoric reference. Since commonplaces, which form part of world knowledge such as celebrities and famous artists, are self-evident to both speaker and addressee they can be referred to after the fact. The referents in (92)&(93) are of [+low] deixis, depending as they do on shared information.

The fact that the speaker in (86) refers to the well known Renaissance artist El Greco cataphorically with *el hombre este de Toledo*, poses no problem for comprehension since when placed within the context of the Prado art museum and the city of Toledo, the referent El Greco is uniquely identifiable.
Me encantó ver a mí, por ejemplo, me gustó más
‘I loved seeing, for example, I liked
el Museo de Prado que el Louvre. A mí el Louvre
The Prado Museum more than the Louvre. To me the Louvre
me irritaba tan grande que era. Por ejemplo a mí me
was irritating since it was so big. For example,
gustó el hombre este de Toledo. El Greco.
I liked the man from Toledo, El Greco.’
(Oral, Paraguay, Encuesta 93, María Helena Jiménez) (CREA)

Referents belonging to daily life such as Social Security can also be so encoded this way.
The referent in (87) is introduced by el sistema ‘the system’ followed by postnominal este ‘this’
as an afterthought which is then qualified via a prepositional phrase de la seguridad social ‘of’
social security’.

(87)
Y el sistema este de la seguridad social es
And this here social security system is
de lo más in...humillante.
the most humiliating.
(Habla culta, Gran Canarias) (Corpus del español)
4.2.4 Discourse topic

The theme or topic of a discourse is the entity or group of entities that speaker and addressee refer during the course of a particular exchange. However, during the course of discourse several topics can be discussed and then abandoned. These topics can later be recalled and brought back in the limelight. Since a Discourse Topic does not pertain to the concrete spatio-temporal or textual discourse situation to an overarching idea the speaker need not refer to it with a strong deictic expression since the topic is already apparent to both participants. Referents with a Discourse Topic function are thus encoded with [+low] deixis.

In referring to several Intelligence Agencies the speaker then reintroduces an earlier that of the Israeli Intelligence Agency called the Mosad. This topic is introduced with the meta-discourse term tema in el tema este ‘this theme’ Here the reaccessing of a previous discourse topic is directly referenced within the discourse itself.

(89)

En el decurso de los años, uno va
PREP ART-the N-passing PREP-of ART-the N-years, ART-one V-go
‘With the passage of time, one gets

Conociendo el aparato de inteligencia para el cual está
V-GER-know ART-the aparatus PREP-of N-intelligence PREP-for ART-the which V-is
to know the intelligence agency one is

Trabajando y lo va comparando con otros
V-GER-work CONJ CL-3rds V-AUX V-GER CONJ ADJ-other
working for and compares it with others

que conoce y con el propio y aquí retomando
COMP V-know CONJ CONJ ART-the N-own CONJ LOC-here V-GER-re-take
one knows about and with one’s own, And taking up

el tema este de del mosad, y de la CIA
ART-the N-theme DEM-this PREP-of mosad, CONJ PREP ART-the CIA

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the topic of the Mosad and the CIA again

y de los de los aparatos de inteligencia

and of intelligence agencies in general.’

(Oral, El Espejo 30/08/91, TVE2, España)(CREA)

Other examples are less overtly stated and involve a topic which is then continually referred to. For example, a speaker can refer to an exterminator via a singular and then a plural term. In the direct context there is a problem with a wasp’s nest that even el señor (the exterminator) cannot deal with it. The past referent is then generalized to los señores estos to describe members of his profession. This description follows the formula: ‘the man, one of these men who do X’. The referent ‘the exterminator’ forms part of a larger group of people that engage in a given profession which is the topic of conversation.

(90)

Hasta el señor de la casa de desinsectación,

‘Even the man from the exterminators,

los señores estos, que están acostumbrados a ver

those men who are used to seeing

avisperos, pero dicen que no han visto

wasp nests, yet they say they’ve never seen

una cosa semejante.

the like.’

(Oral, por fin Madrid, 3/11/96 Cadena SER) (CREA)
4.2.5 Situationally accessible

In her 1981 Givenness Framework, Prince draws a crucial distinction between textually and situationally evoked status. Normally a referent is introduced in the discourse is either brand new or inferable from previous mention. In contrast, the concrete discourse situation includes referents, which are directly accessible in a physical sense termed *deixis ad oculos* by Bühler (1937).

Such entities are available to both speaker and addressee in the direct context of discourse. This availability is mediate through the five senses: sight, sound etc. Therefore *Situationally Accessible* encodes [+low] deixis.

In the following example (91) a noise coming from a thermostat is available in the immediate context and is referred to with the postnominal expression: *el ruido este*, which is the only felicitous placement in this context.

(91)

Ahora va a saltar, ¿ves? El *ruido este*. Acaba de

‘Now it’s going to jump, see? This noise here.

*saltar el, el termóstato*

The thermostat just jumped.’

(Domicilio particular, conversación, Madrid, 26/01/92) (CREA)

4.2.6 Retrieval and Repair

In discourse a speaker accesses referents and then encodes them so as to make them identifiable by the addressee. Yet during the flow of normal conversation a certain amount of stopping and starting occurs. These fluctuations are combined with failures of memory where the
speaker has trouble accessing the referent. Here the postnominal determiner refers to an entity that the speaker is trying to access. As per Auer (1984) such hesitation forms involve short pauses, repeated onsets, and the repetition of articles, all evidenced below (98a)b)c)d). These are means of “showing hesitancy” in speech whereby the speaker communicates to the addressee that there are problems in the retrieval of a referential item.

The uses of the postnominal demonstrative mirror the tracking function of Himmelmann (1996) where there is immediate anaphora after first mention. The Spanish the postnominal demonstrative has a recognitional use, which encodes a prominent theme in the discourse context proper.

So the speaker wishes to qualify the referent *la televisión* but gets tongue-tied in the processes and has to refer back to the same referent. In contrast to the previous examples postnominal *esta* is optional as shown in (92ai) and borders on spurious on par with the common hesitation found in speech: *este*. Yet the prenominal demonstrative position is also felicitous as shown in (92a(ii)).

(92a.)

\[
A \text{ mí que la televisión a mí que la tele a}
\]

To me that ART-the television to me that ART-the tele to
‘To me the television, to me the telly, to

\[
mí que \text{ la televisión esta que tenemos}
\]

Me that ART-the television DEM-thisCOMP-that V-we-have
me this here television that we have’

(*Si yo fuera presidente, 08/11/83, TVE 2, España*) (CREA)

i)La televisión (esta) ii)Esta televisión

ART N (DEM) DEM N
In (92b) the speaker attempts to get the hearer’s attention and utilizes a pair of hesitation forms including a postnominal demonstrative. Here the speaker actually begins the utterance before being able to properly access the referent at hand therefore the use of the cover term: *una cosa* ‘a thing, something’ which is then followed by the hesitation form *este* as the speaker accesses the correct referent which is encoded via a postnominal demonstrative expression.

(92b.)

Oyeme una cosa este y el asunto este
V-hear-CL-1ª-s ART-a thing DEM-this CONJ-and ART-the matter DEM-this
‘Listen to me about something, umm, about this matter

de los cuentos de aparecidos ¿hay muchos por México?
PREP-of ART-the stories PREP-of appeared EXIST many PRE-by Mexico
concerning stories of appearences. Are there many in Mexico?’

(Habla Culta, México) (Corpus del español)

The example (92c) below is a conversation between two informants about a movie where the plotline is discussed as a means of recalling the title of the film. However Informant B indicates that he does not remember the name of the film being talked about. This utterance, marked as it is by lack of recollection, features a postnominal expression with name- *el nombre ese* ‘that name’ as the informant tries to access the movie title but is unable to do so at speech time.

(92c.)

INF B: Es una lucha entre un destroyer y un submarino.
INF B: COP ART-a fight PREP-between ART-a destroyer CONJ-and ART-a submarine.
‘Informant B: It's a fight between a destroyer and a submarine.

INF A: Sí.
INF A: Yes.
‘Informant A: Yeah.’
INF B: Y no me acuerdo
INF B: CONJ-and NEG REFL-1º-s V-remember
Informant B: And I can’t remember

el nombre ese ahora
ART-the name DEM-that now.

INF A: Debe estar en el motivo de la película.
INF A: V-should V-inf-be PREP-in ART-the motive PREP-of ART-the movie.
Informant A: It should be in the subject of the movie.’

(Habla Culta, Habana) (Corpus del español)

Failures in memory characterize the utterance in (92d) where the speaker utilizes hesitation strategies such as the repetition of the definite article (el . el . el) followed by wh-interrogation (¿El qué?). In (92d) the postnominal demonstrative appears as part of the cover-term for the referent the speaker is struggling to access and identify by name: la cosa esta- ‘this here thing’. Then the speaker indicates that they do not recall the name of the referent followed by neutral demonstrative esto and finally a hesitant identification (i.e. ¿el cartón?– ‘cardboard?’).

(92d.)
Mira, hay que poner el el el ¿El qué? Mira, ponemos
V-look EXIST COMP V-inf-put ART-the ART-the INTER-wh V-look V-1º-pl-put
la cosa esta que no me acuerdo cómo se llama.
ART-the thing DEM-this COMP-that NEG REFL-1º-s V-remember how REFL-3º-s V-call
A ver. Esto ¿El cartón?
PREP-to V-inf-see DEM-this ART-the cardboard?

(España Oral) (Corpus del español)

In general (92a)&b)&c)&d) exhibit the Repair and Retrieval function of the demonstrative as it occurs in actual discourse. These examples have a tracking function (Himmelmann 1996) by which the speaker attempts to access a particular referent in real time.

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Therefore, the above examples contain a range of oral phenomena including: stopping and starting, the hesitation form *este* (92c) as well as the postnominal demonstrative. These features characteristic of spontaneous broken speech serve to indicate hesitation. In this context, a speaker is actively trying to find the appropriate referring expression to encode the referent for the addressee. In this way the discourse entity can be most easily identified.

### 4.2.7 Affective

One of the most popular notions about postnominal demonstratives in Spanish is the so-called ‘pejorative’ use which is incidentally the least understood phenomenon involving the postnominal demonstrative. I argue that beyond pejorative this reading is an example of a meta-referential function whereby the speaker comments on the referent in question in an attempt to influence the addressee’s attitude toward the referent. This constitutes what I call an *Affective* use which subsumes all qualitative readings including the pejorative. In English a similar phenomenon is seen with the distal demonstrative *that* in what Lakoff (1974) terms ‘emotional deixis’ (see (6); Chapter 1). Since the *Affective* involves a meta-discourse function it is marked as [+low] deixis.

I further argue contra Ramírez Fernández 1951:316, Esbozo 1973:436, and Macías 1997 that the *Affective* use is not the core of the postnominal construction but a side effect of the semantics of the noun, discourse presuppositions, and context. Here, for example, *tía*, a noun used to identify an unspecified female takes on a derogatory tone given the context of public drunkenness.
Uno: ¿Qué hay?
One: INTER-what EXIS-3rdS-there
‘One person: What is it?’

Policía: Que la tía esa, la colgada,
Policeman: COMP-that ART-the gal DEM-that, ART-the drunk,
¿no lleva mucho tiempo ya?
NEG V-3rdS-spend much time already
‘Policeman: That gal there, the one that’s hung over. She hasn’t been here long, right?’

Otro: Es verdad, tío. La tía esa, o sea, ¿no? lleva
Another: V-3rdS-is truth, guy. ART-the gal DEM-that, or whatever, NEG V-3rdS-spend
Another person: It’s true guy. That gal there, ummm, Right? She’s been
Un rato de tiempo colgada y no dice ni mu. O sea.
ART-an amount of time hungover and NEG V-3rdS-say nor mu. Or whatever
hungover a little while and she isn’t saying a thing.’

(Sastre, Alfonso. Análisis de un comando.1979) (CREA)
i) que la tía (esa) ii) que esa tía
iii) la tía (esa) iv) #esa tía

While the noun tía may be pejorative, it is not necessarily so. In contrast, the addition of an adjective like loco ‘crazy’ can give a thoroughly negative reading.

(94)

Soy su tío Carlos de Nueva York. Bueno, <<el loco ese
I am their uncle Carlos PREP-of New York Good ART-the crazy DEM-that
I am their uncle Carlos from New York. Well, “the crazy one
de Nueva York>>. Es que la familia habla muy mal de uno.
PREP-of New York. COP COMP-that ART-the family speaks very bad PREP-of one.
from New York”. Family tends to speak very badly about you.’

(Ott, Gustavo. Fotomatón) (Corpus del español)
Apart from the semantics of the noun and the discourse context, adjectives are fundamental in modifying the pragmatic import of postnominal determiners. In (101) the adjective estúpido combines with the noun extremismo to give a pejorative sense to the expression.

(95)

Lo iban a empezar a bombardear con todo tipo de imputaciones, va y lo acusan hasta de comunista, a un hombre que es del partido republicano, con el extremismo este estúpido de que hacen gala.

‘They were going to begin to bombard him with all types of imputations, they went and even accused him of being a Communist, a man of the Republican Party, with that stoop extremism that they show off about.’  
(Fidel Castro, 01/11/94) (Corpus)

4.2.8 Exclamation

In contrast to the article-less phenomenon commented on above ((57)&(84)) which is representative of higher registers the examples below ((96a)b)c)) are of an exclamatory nature. In fact, they are exclamations preceded by a requisite CP or ADJP. As such the identifying demonstrative pronoun serves to point out the co-referential noun to the addressee in an expression of [+high] deixis in contrast to other postnominal expressions. These type of exclamative expressions also allow the interpolation of the copula ser between the noun and the demonstrative pronoun: ¡Qué chica (es) esta!
(96a.)

¡Qué *chica* *esta*! Nos ha engañado completamente

EXCLAM-wh girl DEM-this CL-1"-pl AUX-has fooled completely

What a girl! She’s completely fooled us.

(Habla Culta: Buenos Aires M27 B) (Corpus del español)

¡Qué *chica* (esta)! *¡Qué esta chica!* ¡Qué chica (es) esta!

(96b.)

¡Gran *arte* *este* de sujetar, afinar y enclavijar

Great art DEM-this PREP-of V-INF-fix V-INF-tune CONJ-and V-INF-key-up

‘What a great art fixing, tuning and keying up

*las* galgas!

ART-the calibrators

calibrators is!’

(Eguren 1999) (Gómez de la Serna. *Elucidario de Madrid*: 222)

(96c.)

¡Pobres *niños* esos a los que dejan ir

poor children DEM-those PREP-to ART-the COMP-that V-let V-inf-go

Poor children these who are left alone

*solos* a la muerte!

alone PREP-to ART-the death

to face death.’

(Eguren 1999) (Gómez de la Serna. *Greguerías*: 98)

4.3 Synchronic Structural Categories: *este/ese*

4.3.1 *[SPEC DP ART [D. [NP N [DEMLo DEM]]]]*

The postnominal demonstrative construction in Modern Spanish typically has a structure with a definite article in SPEC of DP followed by an NP with a post-posed demonstrative.

However, as noted by Eguren (1999) and Gutiérrez-Rexach (2002), taken together the
prenominal article and postnominal demonstrative are equivalent to the prenominal
demonstrative in terms of semantic features.

(see (8) Chapter 1)

a.  *Esta televisión*

  [+def]

  [+loc]

  [+deic]

b.  *La televisión esta*

  [+def]  [+loc]

  [+deic]

The features expressed in a prenominal demonstrative (*esta*) are split into two parts when
a demonstrative appears in postnominal position. There the definite article (*la*) expresses [+def]
while the post-posed demonstrative (*esta*) spells out [+loc] and [+deic] features..

In a more structural sense, as the specifier head of the Determiner Phrase the article
heading the construction serves as a DP licenser which agrees in number and agreement features
with the post-posed demonstrative. The article can therefore be said to be the result of the spell-

This pattern is further nuanced by subcategorization. The first of these modifications
involves the adjoining of a relative clause which further modifies the referring expression in the
DP. Thus the DP sequence *la televisión esta* is joined with the CP *que tenemos*, featuring a
subordinate clause with an inflectional node. This clause contains information used to further
identify the referring expression at hand (as per Grice 1975’s Maxim of Quantity).
[SPEC DP ART [D' [NP N [DEMlo DEM [CP COMP ]]]]]
(see (92a))

A mí que la televisión a mí que la tele a
To me that ART-the television to me that ART-the tele to
‘To me the television, to me the telly, to

mí que la televisión esta que tenemos
Me that ART-the television DEM-thisCOMP-that V-we-have
me this here television that we have’
(Sí yo fuera presidente, 08/11/83, TVE 2, España) (CREA)

In addition to complementizers, the postnominal demonstrative construction can be modified with prepositional phrases. In (68) la pasión esa is further specified with PP del principio. While the DP projection featuring the post-posed demonstrative signals an entity in discourse familiar to the addressee it must be further clarified by a modifying clause, be it a CP or in this case a PP. Yet a post-posed demonstrative modifying the full DP would be awkward with the intended meaning in this context: ?la pasión del principio esa, belonging to another style. Cf. also la pasión inicial esa vs. ?la passion esa inicial.

[SPEC DP ART [D' [NP N [DEMlo DEM [PP PREP ]]]]]
(see (65))

La pasión esa del principio te dura muy poco
ART-the passion DEM-that of-ART-the beginning CL-2ndS-you V-3rdS-lasts very little
‘That beginning passion lasts a very short while.’
(Informe Semanal 27/05/95 TVE1) (CREA)

If circumstances permit that the referent is accessible ad oculos in the immediate situation, no further subcategorization may be needed. So a postnominal demonstrative can
appear unmodified by an XP as in *el ruido este*. In this example the construction headed by the article in SPEC DP constitutes an independent, stand-alone construction.

\[
[\text{SPEC} \text{ DP} \text{ ART} [D' [\text{NP} N]_{\text{DEM}0} \text{ DEM}]] \text{ w/o XP}
\]

(see (91))

Ahora va a saltar, ¿ves? *El ruido este*. Acaba de el, el termostato. The thermostat just jumped.’

(Domicilio particular, conversación, Madrid, 26/01/92) (CREA)

4.3.2 \([\text{SPEC} \text{ DP} [D' [\text{NP} N]]]_{i} [\text{DP} \text{ DEM}]_{i}\): A minority pattern appears in the synchronic record where the licenser article in SPEC DP is absent. Appositional in nature, this article-less construction is typical of stylized written registers. While not strictly identical the string \([\text{SPEC} \text{ DP} [D' [\text{NP} N]]]_{i} [\text{DP} \text{ DEM}]_{i}\) is similar to the Exclamative construction \([\text{CP} \text{ COMP} [\text{NP} N]_{i} [\text{DP} \text{ DEM}]_{i}\) exhibited below, in that both allow for the interpolation of the copula *ser*: \([\text{NP} N]_{i} (\text{COP}) [\text{DP} \text{ DEM}]_{i}\). Also, in direct parallel to the dominant paradigm with an overt licenser in SPEC DP the pattern without a licenser exhibits a range of subcategorizations. Therefore, a relative clause with a complementizer phrase modifies *posibilidad esta* below in which *esta* serves as a proximity marker to encode a nearby textual referent:
El *lo* individuativo puede también denotar momentos, lugares o
maneras (cf. Bosque y Moreno 1990), *posibilidad* *esta* *que* *les*
está vedada a los *demonstrativos* neutros.

A referring expression with the article-less variant of the postnominal demonstrative
construction can also feature an adjoined prepositional phrase used to elucidate the referent at
hand.

The variant without a licenser in SPEC DP does not appear in stand-alone constructions.
In this vein, Roca 1996 posits that without the spell-out of agreement features in SPEC DP this
projection cannot be a complete argument since it has no licenser.
4.3.3 \( [CP \ COMP \ [NP \ N]]_i \ldots [DP \ DEM]_i \)

A construction typical of exclamations features a complementizer which heads a CP clause containing an NP followed by a demonstrative pronoun. The copula *ser* can be interpolated between the noun and the demonstrative adjective: ¡*Que chica* (es) *esta!* wherein the noun *chica* ‘girl’ is linked to a deictic identifier the demonstrative pronoun *esa* ‘this (one)’. It can be argued that this is the deep construction from which the postnominal demonstrative in Exclamative expression is derived. The surface structure results from the elision of the copula in the string: \([CP \ COMP \ [NP \ N]]_i \ldots [DP \ DEM]_i\)

\( [CP \ COMP \ [NP \ N]]_i \ldots [DP \ DEM]_i \)

(see (102a))

¡*Qué chica esta!* *Nos ha engañado completamente.*

INTERJ girl DEM-this CL-1st-pl AUX PAST-P-tricked ADV-completeley

‘What a girl this one is! She’s completely tricked us.’

(Habla Culta: Buenos Aires M27 B) (Corpus)

4.3.4 \( [NP \ ADJ \ N]_i \ldots [DP \ DEM]_i \)

The postnominal demonstrative can also appear in an Exclamative/Evocative construction headed by a prenominal adjective which is characterized by its qualititative connotations (see (47)&(48); Chapter 2). Similar to the CP construction the demonstrative is found on the right periphery after the noun: an optional copula can be inserted between the noun and the demonstrative: *Gran arte* (es) *este*.

(see (96b.))

¡*Gran arte este* . . .

Great art DEM-this

What a great art

(Eguren 1999) (Gómez de la Serna. *Elucidario de Madrid* : 222)
Postnominal examples of the demonstratives *este/ese* exhibit a function in discourse akin
to its core referential function exhibited by the categorical prenominal use 86). Thus the
informational content of the postnominal expression ranges from *Anaphoric* where a reference is
referred back to textually; *Deixis ad Oculos* which constitutes a more concrete case of anaphoric
reference; *Mutual Knowledge* which constitutes hearer-old information, including *Discourse
Topic* which corresponds a special case of the former; *Cataphoric* and *Retrieval and Repair*
which involve tracking uses that operate according to the speaker’s assessment of the hearer’s
knowledge of the referent at hand.

A use especially commented on in the literature is *Affective* (termed ‘pejorative’ by
Fernández-Ramírez 1951:316, Esbozo 1973:432, Macías 1997) which is a hearer-old use
whereby the speaker comments on a referent at hand similar to the use described in English by
Lakoff (1974) as ‘emotive deixis’. The concrete pragmatic reading of the Spanish construction
stems from a variety of factors including the specific lexical content of nouns, adjectives, and
discourse presuppositions apart from the placement of the demonstrative itself. The Spanish
construction involves functional components such as the definite article and the demonstrative
which are largely opaque due their under-determined content in contrast to full lexical items.
Since the postnominal demonstrative is involved in a concrete discourse context, the expression
necessarily communicates more than ‘what is said’ by the functional components themselves.
The expression at hand can only be successfully utilized in spoken discourse which involves a complex dynamic of shifting Discourse Frames (see (73), Chapter 3) and depends on the communicative goals of the speaker and addressee.

In terms of structure, postnominal *este/ese* most commonly appears in a string headed by the definite article of type: 

\[ [\text{SPEC DP} \ ART \ [D \ [NP \ N \ [\text{DEMlo DEM}]]]] (87) \& (88). \] 

This referring expression is further modified by a relative clause or another XP in the variety of pragmatic uses. However, a stand-alone construction without further categorization is only required in special deixis ad oculos constructions where the context is explicit. The licensing article can be omitted in a stylized register characteristic of written language: 

\[ [\text{SPEC DP} \ [D \ [NP \ N]]]_{i} \ldots [\text{DP DEM}]_{i} (57) \& (90), \] 

a construction found in anaphoric constructions which appear to allow for the interpolation of the copula *ser*. Another article-less construction features a string headed by a complementizer: 

\[ [\text{CP COMP} \ [NP \ N]]_{i} \ldots [\text{DP DEM}]_{i} (102a) \] 

is relegated to a special Exclamative use along with the string: 

\[ [NP \ ADJ \ N]_{i} \ldots [\text{DP DEM}]_{i} (106b\&c). \] 

On the surface these Exclamative expressions parallel the article-less paradigm for the postnominal demonstrative (i.e. N-DEM) in that they allow for the copula *ser* between the noun and the demonstrative.

*Figure 4.1* below details the Informational Categories featuring the postnominal demonstrative, the majority of which feature the string 

\[ [\text{SPEC DP} \ ART \ [D \ [NP \ N \ [\text{DEMlo DEM}]]]] \] 

and in some cases the article-less variant 

\[ [\text{SPEC DP} \ [D \ [NP \ N]]]_{i} \ldots [\text{DEMlo DEM}]_{i}. \] 

These postnominal strings encode referring expression with mid to low deictic content such as *Anaphoric* and *Shared Knowledge* etc. Such expressions refer to an entity already at play in discourse and therefore the speaker need not point it out overtly to the addressee. Exclamative and Evocative have a higher deictic import as well as a disjointed syntactic structure 

\[ [NP \ N]_{i} \ldots [\text{DP DEM}]_{i} \] 

in contrast to the full postnominal construction 

\[ [\text{SPEC DP} \ ART \ [D \ [NP \ N \ [\text{DEMlo DEM}]]]]. \]
### Informational Categories

**Anaphoric**

Deixis [-low, -high]

Deixis [+low, -high]

**Cataphoric**

Deixis [-low, -high]

**Mutual Knowledge**

Deixis [+low]

**Retrieval and Repair**

Deixis [+low]

**Discourse Topic**

Deixis [+low]

**Situationally Accessible**

Deixis [+low]

**Affective**

Deixis [+low]

**Exclamative**

Deixis [+high]

### Structural Categories

- [SPEC DP ART [D’ [NP N [DEMlo DEM]]] w/o XP]
- [SPEC DP ART [D’ [NP N [DEMlo DEM] [PP PREP]]]
- [SPEC DP ART [D [NP N ]]]i…[DP DEM]i [CP COMP]/[[PP PREP]]
- [SPEC DP ART [D’ [NP N [DEMlo DEM]]].]
- [SPEC DP ART [D’ [NP N [DEMlo DEM]] [PP PREP]]]
- [SPEC DP ART [D’ [NP N [DEMlo DEM]] [CP COMP]]/[[[PP PREP]]]
- [SPEC DP ART [D’ [NP N [DEMlo DEM] [CP COMP]]/[[[PP PREP]]]
- [SPEC DP ART [D’ [NP N [DEMlo DEM]]] w/o XP]
- [SPEC DP ART [D’ [NP N [DEMlo DEM]] [PP PREP]]]
- [SPEC DP ART [NP ADJ N]i…[DP DEM]i,]

Figure 4.1 Informational and Structural Categories for Synchronic Este/ese

### 4.5 Synchronic Informational Categories *aquel*

The use of the demonstrative *aquel* while limited in use in comparison with este, or *ese* also appears in postnominal position. However, the semantic import of *aquel* as the distal term gives a more specialized pattern of use. An analysis of *aquel* is carried out via Informational Categories in 4.5 followed by Structural Categories in 4.6.
Postnominal *aquel* exhibits the following functions: *Evoking Past Events, Meta-discourse, Affective, Exclamative and Evocative.*

### 4.5.1 Evoking past events

Here the deictic import of *aquel* [+dist] which refers to an entity removed from the conversational space is transferred onto a temporal plane. Thus it is used in order to evoke past events with a [+low] deictic import.

(97)

> ¿Cómo te fue el día aquel que me hiciste
> How did that day go when you did

*el favor de llevarme hasta la plaza Venezuela?*  
*me the favor of taking me to Venezuela square?*

(Habla Culta, Caracas) (CREA)

### 4.5.2 Meta-discourse

An allied use expands the sense of distance in time to distance from the actual discourse context with [+low] deixis. Thus postnominal *aquel* can refer to a character in a work of art being discussed. In (98) *el rey aquel* ‘that king’ refers to a king in a play, which is assumed to be known from the context.

(98)

> Luego vi al maestro sentado en una butaca,  
> ‘Then I saw the teacher sitting in a chair

*con un batín morado, como el rey aquel*  
*with a purple robe, like the king that*
Wearing a purple robe, like that king in the

 obra, [el rey aquel], que se muere.

work, ART-the king that COMP-that REFL-3rds V-dies

play, I mean the one that dies.’

(Entrevista ABC, Semprún Maura Carlos) (CREA)

A reference in a work of fiction can also use aquel where a character references what another character has said. Here in (99) el tipo aquel ‘that (aforementioned) guy’ is a stylized way of referring to someone whose name the character cannot remember.

(99)

\[
\text{Me mira sin mirarme, trata de iniciar} \\
\text{CL-1ª-s V-3rd-s-looks without V-inf-look CL-1ª-s V-3rd-s-try PREP-of V-inf-initiate}
\]

‘He looks at me without looking and tries to start up

 una conversación y empieza con la serie de

 ART-a conversation CONJ-and V-begin CONJ-with ART-the series PREP-of a conversation. He begins with a series of things such as

\[
\text{supiste sobre Alberto, Diana, Emilia, José, el tipo aquel cuyo} \\
\text{V-you-knew PREP-over Alberto Diana Emilia José ART-the type DEM-that REL-whose}
\]

Did you know about Alberto, Diana, Emilia, José and that guy-

\[
\text{nombre no recuerda.} \\
\text{name NEG V-1ª-s-remember.}
\]

what’s his face.’

(Sábato, Ernesto. Sobre héroes y tumbas) (Corpus)

A commonplace such as the 50/50 outcome of a coin toss is a discourse figure and is therefore removed from the immediate context by definition. In (100) el ejemplo aquel evokes a stock theoretical example.
‘Infinite populations are those which are capable of finding out how many elements of the population you want.

Por ejemplo, el ejemplo aquel de la moneda de

So, take the example of flipping a coin, getting head or tails.

Teóricamente la moneda se puede tirar un número infinito de veces.

Theoretically you can flip the coin an infinite number of times.’

(España Oral) (Corpus del español)

4.5.3. Affective

The combination of semantics of the noun, and discourse presuppositions can give an Affective reading for postnominal aquel. Here bendito—‘blessed’ is taken in an ironic sense and thus means the opposite of its truth-value semantics. Thus it is an equivalent of maldito meaning ‘damned’. The concept of exams an all the presuppositions that implies in an academic context combines with postnominal placement and the ironic adjective to give an Affective connotation. Importantly, it is not the mere placement of the demonstrative that creates the reading in question.
Estuve tres días haciendo el test aquel bendito;

For three days I was doing that darn test;

tuvo mucha gracia.

it was very funny.

(Habla Culta, Caracas) (CREA)

4.5.4. Exclamative

Aquél is unique among referring expressions in Spanish since it is typically employed in an evocative function in the modern language as mentioned by Gutiérrez-Rexach (2002). Given the deictic value of aquél that points outside the sphere of discourse, it can naturally evoke referents that are remote from the discourse at hand. In Bühler 1937’s sense these are termed Deixis am Phantasma where the speaker refers to non-present entities. Both temporal and emotional deixis play a role in the demonstrative construction with aquél as evidenced by the example below where the speaker utilizes the prenominal form of the demonstrative to reminisce about books forever lost to time.

(see (7), Chapter 1)

Echo de menos aquéllos libros siempre perdidos

‘I miss those books forever lost.’

(Gutiérrez-Rexach 2002)

This evocative use also appears with postnominal aquél involving the evocation of a discourse referent via the demonstrative and not an exclamation.
In (102) the speaker is referring to a house in the past via distal *aquel* where the adjective *hermosa* ‘beautiful’ which serves to qualify the referent being evoked.

(102)

¡Hermosa casa aquella en la que todos se esforzaban por hacerse simpáticos!

Beautiful house DEM-that[dist] PREP-in ART-the COMP-that all REFL-3rd-pl V-tried PREP-for V-INF-make REFL-3rd-s nice tried to be nice!’

(Eguren 1999)

The exclamative use of *aquel* is often involved with expressions in which the speaker evokes the past as in (103). The main thrust of such exclamations is to communicate the temporal distance involved thus evoking the sense of a time long ago, never to be experienced again. The post-nominal construction also allows for the interpolation of the copula *ser*.

(103)

¡Qué tiempos aquellos en que se era tan feliz!

EXCLAM-wh times DEM-those[+dist] PREP-in COMP-that REFL-3rd-s V-was so happy ‘What times those were when we were so happy!’

(Gutiérrez-Rexach 2002)

4.6 Synchronic Structural Categories: *aquel*

On the whole, *aquel* exhibits a structural distribution comparable to demonstrative *este*, *ese* in Modern Spanish.
4.6.1 [SPEC DP ART [D’ [NP N [DEMlo DEM]]]]

The synchronic data demonstrate that distal *aquel* when appearing in the postnominal construction appears in a DP projection with a definite article at its head in a direct parallel to *este*, *ese*.

[SPEC DP ART [D’ [NP N [DEMlo DEM] [CP COMP]]]

Similarly, a referring expression with post-posed *aquel* can be modified with the same variety of adjuncts as *este*, *ese*. A relative clause further elucidates the referent in question so as to make the referring expression more easily identifiable by the addressee. Here the DP *el día aquel* ‘that day’ is accompanied by the subordinating CP *que me hiciste*.

(see (97))

¿Cómo te fue el día aquel . . . .

INTER-how CL-2nds V-go ART-the day DEM-that

How did that day go . . .

(Habla Culta, Caracas) (CREA)

[SPEC DP ART [D’ [NP N [DEMlo DEM] [PP PREP]]]

A prepositional phrase serves in a similar fashion to an adjunct CP, in that it helps to identify the referent in question. Therefore the DP *el rey aquel* is identified with the adjoining PP *de su obra*.

(see (98))

cómo el rey aquel de su obra

like ART-the king DEM-that PREP-of POSS-3rd-s work

(Entrevista ABC, Semprún Maura Carlos) (CREA)
In addition, postnominal *aquel* can appear without a subordinating projection. In parallel to *este, ese* the postnominal construction appears as a completely stand alone construction. The referent *otro individuo* ‘another individual’ is referred to with an anaphoric construction *el señor aquel* ‘that man’. The distal content of the demonstrative *aquel* is utilized in combination with the postnominal pattern to signal hearer-old information in addition to temporal remoteness.

(104)

*ella se enamoró de [otro individuo]. Entonces pero...*  
She fell in love with another guy. Well

*se enamoró a tal punto la pobre --¿verdad?—*  
she fell so hard, the poor dear, you know?

*que no le importó ya nada en el mundo*  
That nothing in the world mattered to her

*más que [el señor aquel].*  
more than that man.’

(Habla Culta México M3) (Corpus)

4.6.2 [SPEC DP [D' [NP N]]][i...[DP DEM]i]

Although not as common as *este, ese* distal *aquel* also appears in the postnominal construction without the leading definite article. Similar to the pattern found in *este, ese* the string N-DEM appears to allow for the presence of an optional copula.
In this case an anaphor of immediate mention in which the compound NP \textit{el año de la gran sequía} (the year of the great drought), is referred to via \textit{año aquel} (that year).

(105)

\begin{verbatim}
Entraba [el año de la gran sequía], [año aquel].
\end{verbatim}

‘The year of the great drought was beginning, a year

\begin{verbatim}
que nadie quiere recordar.
\end{verbatim}

no one wishes to remember.’

(Dimas Aranda, Santiago. \textit{Vida, ficción y cantos}) (Corpus del español)

\textbf{4.6.3 [NP ADJ N]...[DP DEM]}i

An evocative expression headed by an ADJP features a postnominal string without a definite article. Similar to (96a&b) for \textit{este/ese} (102) utilizes the prenominal adjective position in a qualitative sense in combination with postnominal \textit{aquel}.

(see (102))

\begin{verbatim}
¡Hermosa casa aquella . . . . .
\end{verbatim}

What a beautiful house that was . . . .

(Eguren 1999)

\textbf{4.6.4 [CP COMP [NP N]]...[DP DEM]}i

The Exclamative function involves a construction headed by a wh-CP that features \textit{aquel} in postnominal position.

(see (103))

\begin{verbatim}
¡Qué tiempos aquellos . . . . .
\end{verbatim}

EXCLAM-wh times DEM-those[+dist]
‘What times those were when we were so happy!’
(Gutiérrez-Rexach 2002)

4.7 Overview of synchronic aquel

The demonstrative aquel, while exhibiting a limited distribution, features a variety of informational functions which are unique to the construction. Beyond Anaphoric uses aquel makes uses of its local deixis of distance in temporal deixis to evoke Past Reference (103), discourse deixis to encode discourse commonplaces in Meta-discourse (106) in addition to characters in works of fiction (104). In structural terms aquel exhibits a string headed by the article: \([\text{SPEC DP} \ \text{ART} \ [D \ \text{[NP N [DEMLo DEM]]}]\) (103), alongside the article-less string: \([\text{SPEC DP} \ [D \ \text{[NP N]]}]i...[\text{DP DEM}]i\) (111) used for anaphoric expressions. Other uses typical of aquel involve an evocative context in which the speaker calls to mind a particular referent or a string headed by a complementizer in an exclamative capacity: \([\text{CP COMP} \ [NP N]]...[\text{DEM}]i\) (109). This is in addition to a string of type \([\text{NP ADJ N}]i...[\text{DP DEM}]i\) (108) which evokes a past referent. An Affective function also exists whose reading is largely determined by other factors beyond the post-posed demonstrative itself, most notably the discourse context and an accompanying adjective (107).

Postnominal aquel as outlined in Figure 4.2 features the full postnominal pattern: \([\text{SPEC DP} \ \text{ART} \ [D \ \text{[NP N [DEMLo DEM]]}]\) in expressions of low deixis which are particular to the distal demonstrative such as Past Reference and Meta-Discourse. However, Evocative and Exclamative uses feature a higher deixis encoded in a bipartite syntax \([\text{NP N}]i...[\text{DP DEM}]i\) identical to that found in este/ese.
### Informational Categories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Structural Categories</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Past Reference</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deixis [+low]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[SPEC DP ART [D' [NP N [DEMlo DEM] [CP COMP]]]]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Anaphoric</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deixis [-low, -high]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[SPEC DP [D' [NP [NP N]]i...[DP DEM]i [CP COMP]]]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Meta-discourse</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deixis [+low]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[SPEC DP ART [D' [NP N [DEMlo DEM]]] w/o XP]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Affective</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deixis [+low]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[SPEC DP ART [D' [NP N [DEMlo DEM]] w/o XP]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Exclamative</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deixis [+high]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[CP COMP [NP N]]i...[DP DEM]i ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[NP ADJ N]i...[DP DEM]i ]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 4.2: Informational and Structural Categories for Synchronic *aquel*

### 4.8 Synchronic *este/ese vs aquel*

Postnominal *este/ese* center around an anaphoric function, based upon the semantics of proximity inherent in these two demonstratives. This sense is then expanded to include a variety of categories such as *Mutual Knowledge, Discourse Topic, and Situationally Accessible* in addition to a tracking technique proper to discourse such as *Cataphoric, Retrieval and Repair*. One of these categories is the *Affective* function associated with medial *ese* as well as the overall semantic import of the noun, the adjective, and discourse presuppositions.

In contrast, postnominal *aquel* appears in highly specialized functions that utilize the semantics of the demonstrative transferred onto temporal deixis in evoking past events, which then denotes distances in various discourse functions akin to referents removed from the
discourse context (*Meta-Discourse*) such as commonplaces (100) and characters from fiction (98). Along these lines, *aquel* is also involved in an evocative use which “evokes” referents that are deictically distant (102).

Structurally, *este/ese* and *aquel* generally appear in constructions of type: \[ \text{SPEC DP ART } [D' [NP N [DEMlo DEM]]], \] wherein the definite article appears in SPEC DP as a licenser of the DP projection. These referring expression typically appear modified with an XP in the form of a CP or PP (98). The limited range article-less expression: \[ \text{SPEC DP } [D' [NP N]]_{i..[DP DEM]} \] lacks a licenser in SPEC DP for the DP projection. For *este/ese* the article-less variant constitutes a higher register variant which is typically anaphoric ((57) & (84)) whereas for *aquel* this construction is used to evoke a referent in the past (97).

Both *este/ese* and *aquel* appear in Affective referring expressions that comment on the referent at hand. However, the postnominal construction is less involved in the semantics than is the noun, adjective, and accompanying discourse presuppositions.

Apart from these categories *este/ese* and *aquel* both feature an Exclamation function involved exclusively in a construction headed by a complementizer \[ \text{CP COMP } [NP [N]_i (COP) [DEM]_i] \] (96a&102) with an optional copula in addition to a parallel Evocative construction with a prenominal adjective: \[ [NP ADJ N]_{i..[DP DEM]} \] (96bc&103).

At base, the postnominal demonstrative encodes an expression of low deixis in contrast to prenominal uses (see (33), Chapter 2) (Panagiotidis 2000). The core construction involves the string \[ \text{SPEC DP ART } [D' [NP N [DEMlo DEM]]] \] along with a restricted and structurally distinct variant: \[ \text{SPEC DP } [D' [NP N]]_{i..[DP DEM]} \]. While the disjointed syntax \[ [NP N]_{i..[DEM]} \] involved
in *Exclamation* functions is at the margins of the paradigm in that it does not constitute a single unit. These contrasting patterns will be of importance in the trajectory of the postnominal demonstrative in the Diachronic record in the following section.
5.1 Introduction

From a diachronic perspective the Spanish demonstrative system *este, ese, aquel* (as discussed in (16) Chapter 2) has much in common with other Romance languages such as French(106b), Italian (106c), Sardinian (106c), Catalan (106e), and Rumanian (106f) since these all of have Latin (106a) as their base.

(106)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Latin</th>
<th>French</th>
<th>Italian</th>
<th>Sardinian (Logodorese)</th>
<th>Catalan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. <em>HIC ISTE ILLE</em></td>
<td>b. <em>ce cel</em></td>
<td>c. <em>questo (codesto)</em> <em>quello</em></td>
<td>d. <em>custu cussu cuddu</em></td>
<td>e. <em>aquest (aqueix)</em> <em>aquell</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the passage to Romance the original Latin material (106a) is reconstituted in various ways. While Latin proximal *HIC* is universally replaced by *ISTE*, a new middle term is created in Catalan, Sardinian and Spanish incorporating Latin identifier *IPSE* as medial *aqueix, cussu,* and *ese* respectively. It is also of interest that apart from Sardinian, Spanish is the only language above which retains this term up to the present day as discussed previously (see Chapter 2).

In the same way, the postnominal demonstrative construction in Spanish, Catalan, and Rumanian (see (16) Chapter 2) ultimately derives from Latin source material as shown in (107a&b) below:

**The Postnominal Demonstrative in Latin**

(107)

a. Republican Era- 56 B.C.

\[
\text{an sicubi aderit [Gellius], [homo] et fratre indignus,}
\]

Suppose Gellius is present anywhere, a man unworthy of his brother

\[
viro clarissimo atque optimo consule, et ordine equestri
\]

man illustrious also great consul CONJ-and order equestrian

who is a most illustrious citizen and consul and of the equestrian order

\[
cuius ille ordinis nomen retinet, ornamenta confecit, id
\]

whose DEM-that of-order name V-retain ornaments V-make it

of which he retains the title, will his presence make it
erit populare? est enim [homo iste]; populo Romano deditus.

‘A popular assembly. ‘For this is indeed a man dedicated to the Roman people.’
(M. TVLLI CICERONIS PRO P. SESTIO ORATIO LI, 110) (Latin Library)

b. 5th century A.D.

Luke 2:25

Et ecce [homo]; erat in Jerusalem, cui nomen Simeon, et

‘And there was a man in Jerusalem whose name was Simeon and

[homo iste]; justus, et timoratus, exspectans consolationem Israël:

this was a just and God fearing man who awaited the consolation of Israel

et Spiritus Sanctus erat in eo.

and the Holy Spirit was in him.’


The two examples (107a&b) above, which come from the Republican Era and the Late Roman Empire, exhibit that postnominal demonstrative placement was a live option in various stages of Latin. The Republican Era token from Cicero illustrates the syntactic string N-DEM in homo iste ‘this man’ referring back to a certain individual of the name Gellius. The referential string is as follows: Gellius > homo > homo iste. Her Gellius introduces the referent in question while homo ‘man’ is a coreferential expression which is then subsumed under homo iste ‘this man’ later in the speech.
Much the same pattern applies in the later example 5th century A.D. as (115b) homo-‘man’ is introduced as a referent which is then referred to via homo iste with a post-posed demonstrative. This reference technique is similar in capacity to the Spanish construction. Though Latin word order was much freer than in Spanish prenominal placement was the norm (Vincent 1988:54) and postnominal placement was defined as more ‘emphatic’ (Väänänen 1988). Also, medial iste featured in (115b) is often seen as conveying qualitative overtones about a referent vis-à-vis the addressee in a similar capacity to medial ese in Modern Spanish (Keller 1946) (Gutiérrez-Rexach 2002).

Another phenomena of interest are examples of the Latin string N-ADJ whereby an adjective appears in postnominal positions (i.e. (107a): viro clarissimo, ordine equestri) This postnominal position (107a) is defined as being attributive where clarissimo and equestri serve to define viro and ordine so as to contrast them with other referents of a similar type. In contrast, postnominal placement as in egregious consul –‘egregious consul’ and pure means-‘a pure state of mind’ adds descriptive content (Väänänen 1988). This contrast is further developed from Latin to Romance where postnominal adjective placement crystallized as the default position in contrast to prenominal which became marked especially for certain qualitative adjectives (see (45)&(46), Chapter 2). Expressive variations in Latin word order became conventionalized in its Romance daughters, a concrete case of which is the prenominal versus postnominal distinction in the placement of the Spanish demonstrative (see (8), Chapter 1).

However, Latin had additional methods for encoding anaphoric referents besides the use of the demonstrative involving the pronoun qui which in Indo-European *kʷo had a more deictic
function as an interrogative and indefinite pronoun (Fowler 1931, Palmer 1954:333, Vincent 1988:54). The Latin pronoun *qui* existed alongside other anaphoric pronouns such as *is*.

(108)

a. *Nam de Luceio est ita actum, ut auctore Cn. Pompeio*  
   Since PREP-of Luceius-ABL COP so V-done COMP-that author Pompey-ABL
   ‘As regards to Luceius the arrangement come to as suggested by Pompey

   \[\text{[ista pecunia]}_i \text{ in fanoponeretur; id ego agnovi}\]
   DEM-this money PREP-inside temple-ABL V-placed it PRO-erd-s V-acknowledged
   was that the money be deposited in a temple which I acknowledge

   \[\text{meo iussu esse factum: [qua pecunia]}_i \text{ Pompeius}\]
   POSS-1s-s-ABL command-ABL V-inf-be PAST-P-done which money Pompey
   as having been done an my order. Pompey has

   \[\text{est usus, ut [ea]}_i \text{ [quam]}_i \text{ tu deposueras, Sestius.}\]
   COP PAST-P-used COMP-that it which PRO-2nd-s deposited Sestius
   employed this money the same way as Sestiuis employed the money deposited by you,’
   (Cicero, *Litterae ad familiarem*, CCCI (F V, 20) to MESCINIUS RUFUS, outside Rome) (Latin Library)

b. *[Amanus], Syria a Cilicia dividet, [qui mons]_i erat*
   Amanus syria PREP-from Cilicia V-divides which mountain V-was
   ‘Amanus divides Syria from Cilicia, which mountain was full of,
   *hostium plenus*
   GEN-enemies ADJ-full.
   enemy troops.’
   (Caesar, Alt., v. 20, 3) (Gildersleeve 1904:397)

c. *Ostenderunt etiam [petram ingentem], in ipso loco, ubi*
   V-showed also rock-ACC large-ACC PREP-in same place where
   ‘They also showed a large rock in the same place where
descendebat sanctus Moysescum Iesu, filio Nave, Ad [quem
V-descended holy Moses with Jesus, son Nave PREP-to which-ACC
Where saintly Moses went down with Jesus, son of Nave, against which
petram], iratus fregit tabulas quas afferebat.
rock-ACC angry V-broke tablets-ACC which-ACC V-carry stone he angrily broke the tablets which he was carrying.’
(Egeria, Peregrinatio Part one, Chapter V:4, 4th century A.D.) (Latin Library)

Prenominal uses of qui are termed substantive by Fowler (1931) since in contrast to more
common uses the substantive refers back to a specific antecedent and not a general referent. Therefore the sequence qui homo can either indicate ‘whoever, the one who’ or refer back to a
previously mentioned entity ‘the man, that man. the man which’. The anaphoric and appositive
function of expressions of type qua pecunia in (108a) also feature a form of qui with case,
number and gender agreement features. Therefore in (108a) qua pecunia refers back to a specific
refferent ista pecunia ‘this money’ mentioned previously in the discourse and not money in
general. Other anaphoric expression such as ea ‘it’ and quam ‘which’ refer back to this same
entity. While qui mons ‘which mountain’ encodes a further specification of Amanus. The Late
Latin example in (108b) exhibits ad quem petram ‘against which rock’ an object of and a
preposition with accusative cause referring to an antecedent also in the accusative petram
ingentem- ‘a large rock’. Therefore the constructions of type qui homo consist of qui + N to refer
back to an entity introduced into discourse. However, the noun need not appear since a form of
qui can also have an anaphoric function as demonstrated by quam in (108a) referring to pecunia
‘the money and quas in (108c) referring to tabulas ‘the tablets (that Moses had taken down from
the mountain)’. In substantive expressions of type qua pecunia the noun is included to elucidate
the referent being referred so as to be identifiable to the addressee.
The Latin construction *qui N* can be variably translated as English *which N, the N, that N*. This substantive construction is identified by Fowler (1931) as appositive in that it refers directly back to a nearby antecedent. Fowler (1931) contrasts this special function with more common adjectival forms such *homo qui* ‘he who, the man who’ which serve to modify the noun in addition to more relative uses which find their way into Romance as the complementizer *que* in the CP, the counterpart of Germanic *das* and *that* (see Chapter 2). However, the Latin pronoun *qui* only survives in Romance as the relativizer *qui* with none of its appositional substantive uses.

To this end, a general loss of agreement and cohesiveness is attested in Latin Leonese texts which were characterized as being far from the written standard as well as heavily Romance influenced. An example is the phrase: *in uilla quos uocitant Pausata* ‘in the town which they call Pausata’ (Menéndez-Pidal 1936). Here *quos* does not agree in number or in gender with feminine single Pausata. Modern *que* in Spanish is opaque in that it does not reflect the agreement features of the noun. The non-relativizing functions of stand alone *qui* are accomplished via combination with the definite article stemming from the demonstrative ILLE to show the corresponding agreement not accessible in the Romance reflex of QUI: QUA- *la que*, QUAE- *las que*, QUI- *el que*- QUID- *lo que* or via QUALIS- *la cual, el cual* etc (Vincent 1988:54).

However, another technique available in Spanish as a modern equivalent of the Latin substantive *qui homo* construction is the article-less construction \([SPEC\ DP [D [NP N]]] \ldots [DP DEM]_i\), discussed in Chapter 2 and Chapter 4 whereby a string *cosa esta* (57), *posibilidad esta* (84) is set off after its antecedent in an appositive function similar to the English construction illustrated in (65) and the Spanish CP construction \([CP \ COMP [NP N]] \ldots [DEM]_i\). However, in the
Spanish construction the demonstrative is optional as shown in the synchronic analysis (see Chapter 4) and can feature a bare noun.

(109)

a.   \[\text{[Amanus]}, \text{Syria a Cilicia dividet, [qui mons]}, \text{erat}\]

Amanus syria PREP-from Cilicia V-divides which mountain V-was

hostium plenus

GEN-enemies ADJ-full.

enemy troops.’

(Caesar, Alt., v. 20, 3)

b.   \text{Amanus separa Siria de Cilicia, montaña (esta)}

Amanus V-separates Siria PREP-of Cilicia mountain DEM-this

que estaba repleta de huestes enemigas.

COMP-that V-is full PREP-of troops ADJ-enemy

‘Amanus separates Siria from Cilicia, which mountain is full of enemy troops’

Here in the Latin (109a) the mountain Amanus is referred to with \textit{qui mons}. Absent the pronominal use of \textit{qui} this expression becomes the bared noun \textit{montaña} ‘mountain’ to which a following demonstrative \textit{montaña esta} can be added. In this case the demonstrative makes the phrase more felicitous.
The substantive use *qui homo* also existed alongside an the adjectival use *homo qui* in which the noun is followed by a complementizer *qui* that adds descriptive information about the referent. These co-occurring strings caused confusion and gave rise to another Latin sequence involving the copula: *Gaius est (is) qui* ‘Gaius is the one who’ where a referent Gaius is further elucidated via a copula-head construction featuring an anaphoric particle *is* ‘he’ and the pronoun *qui* (Fowler 1931) is a prefiguration of the NP-shift construction found in the Spanish diachronic record investigated below where the resumptive pronoun is eliminated as is typical of Romance (Vincent 1988:54). Many distinct structural categories relative to the postnominal construction were already in place in Latin 1) *the postnominal demonstrative* 2) *the appositional substantive use with qui* and 3) *the construction headed by the copula* all of which have reflexes in Spanish diachronic corpora.

In order to carry out the diachronic analysis of this construction I utilize data from diachronic corpora CORDE accessible via the Real Academia website [www.rae.es](http://www.rae.es) in addition to [www.corpusdelespanol.org](http://www.corpusdelespanol.org). These databases consist of Spanish texts ranging from the 13th to the late 19th century. The nature of the texts characteristic of each century is as follows: 13th century texts consists of notorial documents as well as the considerable Alphonsine Corpus, a series of texts produced under the auspices of Alphonse the Wise of Castile during the second half of the 13th century including chronicles (113), treatises and legal material. 13th and 14th century tokens are often translations into Old Spanish of material from Latin or Arabic as is the case for Biblical translations (see (108))) or scientific treatises, in addition to notorial documents (see (149)).

The 15th century features more translations especially *Al Kuzari* (see (110)) along with . However, the late 15th century features printed versions of earlier medieval translations in
manuscript as in (142) which may differ from the original copy. In addition to these are Libros de Caballerías ‘Knight Errant Novels’ which detail the exploits of knights and chivalry (119).

The 16th century contains so-called Crónicas de Indias ‘Chronicles from the Indies’ which detail the Spanish enterprise in the American continent (see (119)) in addition to religious and doctrinal works, personal letters, theater (see (126)), and narrative works. These narrative works include the nascent picaresque literature as in (127). On a side note, translations in the tradition of Al Kuzari and La Biblia Latina are continued in Sephardic Diaspora texts in (157). These texts are a side note in the 16th century panorama where Spanish is being actively developed as a literary language to rival the traditional place of Latin in parallel to similar vernacular movements in Italy and France.

The 17th century, on the other hand, contains more narrative prose, a vast amount of theatrical texts, letters, poetry and writing about America (see (128)). As well as academic works such as grammars (see (161)) and sermons (see (129)). Generally the 17th century texts are more stylized than before as the literary standard is consolidated. An example of this register shift is the highly rhetorical prose as seen in (129).

The 18th century includes plays, poetry, traveling writing (see (111)) and academic works. In general, the number of available texts for the 18th century is not as numerous as the 17th or the following century. The language is mostly formalized except for some colloquial variants in travel writing and plays.

The 19th century features a large amount of narrative content as part of novels (see (119)). In the second half of the 19th century these texts feature a stylized colloquial language as part of costumbrismo, the Spanish version of the local color movement which aims to reflect regional
folklore and culture in literature (see (119)). The 19th century also includes political speeches, poetry, plays and academic treatises (see (123)). Portions of the 19th century data are less formal in respect to previous centuries in that literature from *costumbrismo* ‘the local color movement’ contains stylistic features that attempt to mirror spoken language.

I apply the Informational Categories from the previous section (see Chapter 4) and track the diachronic trajectory of the construction via a comparison with the informational and structural categories of Synchronic Spanish data. This analysis is carried out in the following sections: 5.1. *Diachronic Informational Categories* & 5.2. *Diachronic Structural Categories*.

5.2 *Diachronic Informational Categories: este/ese*

An examination of diachronic corpora (CORDE and [www.corpusdelespanol.org](http://www.corpusdelespanol.org)) reveals *Anaphoric, Mutual Knowledge, Cataphoric, Situationally Accessible, Affective, and Exclamation* uses.

Spanish postnominal *este/ese* first surfaces in the 14th-15th century in Biblical translations and notorial documents under *Anaphoric, Mutual Knowledge, and Situationally Accessible* categories all of which are characterized by mid to low deictic import as in the Synchronic data (see Chapter 4).

5.2.1 *Anaphoric*

The 14th century example (114) features a referent *la carta esta*– ‘this letter’ used as an anaphora of the previous referent *aqueillas cartas*– ‘those letters’.
14th

(110)

**Ester 8:10**

Et [aunque las cartas], que eran fechas del nombre

\[ \text{CONJ DEM[-prox] letters COMP-that COP made PREP-of-ART-the name} \]

‘And these letters made in the name

Del Rey fueron selladas con el anillo del

\[ \text{PREP-of-ART-the king COP sealed PREP-with ART-the ring PREP-of-ART-the} \]

Of the King were sealed with the King’s ring

Rey y Inbiadas con los mandaderos del Rey. . . .

\[ \text{King CONJ-and sent PREP-with ART-themessengers PREP-of-ART-the king} \]

And send with the kings messengers.’

**Ester 8:13**

La tenor de [la carta(s) esta], fue que

\[ \text{ART-the character PREP-of ART-the letter DEM[-prox]-that COP COMP-that} \]

‘The content of the aforesaid letter was

por todas las tierras y por los pueblos

\[ \text{PREP-for all ART-the lands CONJ-and PREP-for ART-the towns} \]

That throughout the lands and towns

sobre que auia seynnorio el rey assuero souiessen

\[ \text{PREP-ontop REL-that EXIST lordship ART-the king Assuero V-be} \]

Under King Assuero’s dominion

los Judios apareiados pora prender vengança de sus enemigos.

\[ \text{ART-the jews ready PREP-for V-inf-take revenge PREP-of POSS-3rd enemies} \]

The Jews should be prepared to take vengeance on their enemies.’

*(Biblia Latina. 1300-1400) (CORDE)*

(110) follows the Latin Vulgate rather closely where both pre-posed and post-posed demonstrative placement is possible. This order is shown in (111a) below which exhibits the antecedent and the referring expression accompanied with a line by line correspondence with the 14th century Spanish version in (111b).
The antecedent *Ipsaeque epistolae* in verse 10 is referred to later on as *epistolae haec* which the translator/copyist renders *aqueillas cartas* and *la carta(s) esta* respectively. Here the copyist makes an error concerning the number of the noun confusing the genitive affix –*ae* with the plural. Most importantly, the translator makes use of the inventory of referring expressions in Spanish in order to encode the referent as discourse-old.

Yet the post-posed demonstrative is rather rare in the Vulgate save for Exclamative expressions as in (112):

(112)

**GEN 28:17**

a. Pavensque, *quam terribilis est, inquit, locus iste,*

GER-frighten-CONJ-and EXCL-how terrible COP V-say place DEM-this

non est hic aliud nisi domus Dei et porta caeli.

NEG COP DEM-this anything but house GEN-God CONJ-and door GEN-sky

(Latin Vulgate)
b. *Quanto es temeroso el logar este, no es esta salvo*

EXCL-how COP frightful ART-the place DEM-that NEG COP DEM-this but

*puerta de los cielos*

door PREP-of ART-the heavens

*(Libro del kuzari. 1450-1500) (CORDE)*

The Vulgate passage *locus iste* gives *el logar este* in Spanish. In the context of the passage, this expression comes at the end of a long string of referring expressions relating to the place in question: *El logar* ‘the place’ > *aquel logar* ‘that place’ > *aquel logar* ‘that place’ > *del logar* ‘from the place’ > *el logar este.*’this (aforesaid) place.’ The positioning of the demonstrative in postnominal position apart from the Exclamative function serves as an anaphoric reference.

In the 18th century the first modern example with postnominal *este, ese* emerges in the writing of a South American revolutionary Francisco de Miranda on his visit to New York in the late 1700’s. Here a construction with the string *[SPEC DP ART [D' [NP N [DEMlo DEM]]]: la isla esta* refers back to *Long-island* after a long digression describing the lay of the land. This is the first example of the full-fledged postnominal construction with *este, ese* since early in the 17th century.

18th

(113)

*[Long-island], es considerada por los New-Yorks como el*

Long island COP considered PREP-by ART-the New-Yorks as ART-the
‘Long Island is considered by New Yorkers as

*Hesperia de la America, y no se puede negar*

Hesperia PREP-of ART-the America, CONJ-and NEG REFL-3rds V-can V-inf-deny
the Hesperia of America, and one cannot deny

*que la superficie del Pais, caminos, aguas,*
that the topography of the country, roads, waters

cultura, bosques &c, la hacen parecer un jardín ameno
culture, forests etc., make it appear a pleasant and agreeable garden.

durante el verano. La calidad del terreno, productos, etc.
during the summer. The quality of the terrain, products, etc.

terreno, productos &c, es muy similar al de Jerseys

is very similar to those of New Jersey.

Proof of which is the memoir that I received from Coronel William Floyd

y m. Gilston, vecinos nativos de dicho País y sujetos

and Mister Gilston, native residents of said country, and educated men of

de instrucción es incontestable veracidad, es prueba de lo

of incontestable veracity.

La isla tendrá como 140 millas de largo y

The aforementioned island is about 140 miles in length and

9 a 15 de ancho.

9 to 5 miles in width.'

(Miranda, Francisco de. *Viaje a La Habana-New Jersey*. 1783) (CORDE)
This systematic use continues into the 19th century where it also begins to appear in a more formal written context. In a discussion on literature a scene from *El Cid* is brought to attention via the postnominal construction *la escena esta* ‘this (aforesaid) scene’ followed by a modifying relative clause.

19th

(114)

La escena esta que describo llena toda

‘This scene I am describing, chock-full

del temblor de lo que se espera,

of the trembling of anticipation

de la ansiedad de lo desconocido,

and the anxiety of the unknown

es acaso lo mejor de la pieza.

is perhaps the best part of the piece.’

(Nervo, Amado. *La lengua y la literatura*. 1894) (Corpus del español)

Anaphoric reference combined with assumed knowledge is also present in the historical record as in (115) which discusses the Day of Atonement. Here the identification of the referent is highly dependent on cultural knowledge whereby: *[el día honrrado señalado y particular del ayuno y perdonança vnjuersal]* ‘the particular day honored and set apart for fasting and universal pardon’ refers to the Jewish High Holiday, Yom Kippur. This long description is encoded as the postnominal construction: *el día este* ‘this (aforesaid) day’.
Subsequently, the use of this referring expression assumes that the reader has access to the referent and thereby is knowledgeable of Jewish ritual and customs. Due to the shared informational basis of this reference this use is deictically [+low].

15th

(115)

después para [el día honrado señalado y particular
ADV-after PREP-for ART-the day honored signaled CONJ-and particular

‘Afterwards for the particular day honored and set apart
del ayuno y perdonança vnjuersal] i que en
PREP-of-ART-the fasting CONJ-and pardon universal COMP-that PREP-in

For fasting and universal pardon in which
el se alinpia de todo lo ante pasado y
ART-the REFL-3rd-s V-clean PREP-of all ART-the ADV-before passed CONJ-and

One is cleansed of all that was past and came before
cobra todo lo que le fallesce o perdio en
V-gain all ART-theREL-COMP CL-3rd-s V-failed CONJ-or V-lost PREP-in

And regains all that he was lacking or lost at
el fin de las semanas y comjenços de los meses
ART-the end PREP-of ART-the weeks CONJ-and beginnings PREP-of ART-the months

At the end of the week and at the beginning of the month
y en todo el tiempo del año como
CONJ-and PREP-in all ART-the time PREP-of-ART-the year like

And throughout the year
es dicho que en [el día este] sera
COP said COMP-that PREP-in ART-the day DEM[+prox] V-will-be

As it is said: on this day
perdonado a vos et cetera
pardon et CL-2rd-s et cetera

you will be pardoned etc.

(Libro del kuzari. 1450-1500) (CORDE)
A closer examination of the Vulgate reveals that this postnominal construction is indeed original to the Spanish translation and not based on the Latin model.

**15th**

(116)

Leviticus 16:30

a. *en [el dia este] i sera perdonado a vos etc.*  
PREP-in ART-the day DEM[+prox] V-will-be pardoned PREP-to CL-2nd-s etc.

b. *In hac die expiatio erit vestri, atque mundatio ab omnibus peccatis vestris coram Domino mundabimini.*  
PREP-in DEM-this day atonement V-will-be yours CONJ-and cleansing PREP-from ADJ-all sins yours PREP-before Lord V-2nd-pl-be-cleansed  
 (*Latin Vulgate. Lev 16:30*)

Latin *hac die* is rendered *el dia este* with the corresponding article and post-posed demonstrative to denote the entity as hear-old as a function of the membership in a religious tradition and community. Here this is the Jewish community where Yom Kippur is a High Holy day on which cleansing rituals are performed.

In a more modern examples, (117) qualities of `goodness’ *bondad* and `gentlemanliness’ *hidalguía* are referred back to via the overall term: *prendas estas* ‘these (aforementioned) attributes’, which is contrasted with *aquel defecto* ‘that defect’. Notice that this structure appears to allow for the copula *ser* in a parallel to the *Exclamative* construction.

**19th**

(117)

*Pero a pesar de la rudeza de sus maneras*  
CONJ-but PREP-to spite PREP-of ART-the rudeness PREP-of POSS-3rd-s manners

*de su cultura, había [bondad e hidalguía] i en*  
CONJ-and PREP-of POSS-3rd-s culture EXIST goodness CONJ-and gentlemanliness PREP-in
el fondo de su corazón, [prendas estas]; que redimían en gran parte aquel defecto.

(Villaverde, Cirilo. Cecilia Valdés o la loma del ángel. 1853) (CORDE)

5.2.2. Anaphoric- co-referential

Other post-posed instances of este and ese in the corpora involve a coreferential construction where the demonstrative is a pronoun that refers anaphorically to the referent immediately preceding it. This function is different from other Anaphoric uses in that the distance involved in the anaphora is minimal, the referent and the pronoun appearing adjacent to one another in a pure textual reference. Thus this function is higher in deictic force than typical Anaphoric uses being marked as [+high] The construction is then followed by a relative clause in examples (113) and (114) in the 13th and 15th centuries which specifies the referent in question:

13th

(118)

Et son [los privilegios]; [estos]; que diremos agora.

‘And the priviledges are these which I will say now.’

(General Estoria. 13th) (CORDE)

15th

(119)

Mirá, señor condestable si es buen [modo]; [este];

‘See, constable if this isn’t a good solution

que hemos hallado

COMP-that AUX-we-have PAST-P-found.
that we’ve come up with.’
(Barahona, Francisco. Flor de Caballería. 15th) (CORDE)

5.2.3 Mutual Knowledge

The Cuckoo bird, an animal that is a commonplace referring to cuckoldry due to the bird’s penchant for passing its eggs into other birds’ nests to be hatched and raised. Thus the Cuckoo’s call which is readily familiar in this folkloric context is referred to with a postnominal expression: [canto], [este], (this call (or song)). In addition this bit of folklore is germane to the context, which is a book about proverbs. Similarly, cultural knowledge such as this is characterized by [+low] deixis in that the referent need not be pointed out belonging as it does to mutual knowledge.

Here in (118) the demonstrative is shifted to the right of the noun leaving a phrase headed by a copula. This syntactic shift from y este es tan odioso canto to y es tan odioso canto este puts the focus on canto (song), since the bird song in question is shared knowledge belonging as it does to national folklore.

16th

(120)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Y</th>
<th>es tan odioso [canto], [este], que en oyéndolo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CONJ-and</td>
<td>COP so hateful song DEM-thisCOMP-that PREP-in V-GER-hear-CL-3rd-s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘And this call is so odious that whoever hears it</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cualquiera se abomina del porque dizen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whoever REFL-3rd-s V-hate PREP-of-ART-the CONJ-because V-3rd-pl-say despises it because they call</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al cornudo cucu que es canto del cuclillo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PREP-to-ART-the cuckold cucu COMP-that COP song PREP-of-ART-the cuckoo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
the cuckold “coocoo” which is the song of the Cuckoo.”
(Horozco, Sebastián de. *Libro de proverbios glosados*. 1544) (CORDE)

5.2.4 Cataphoric

Being a phenomenon tied to discourse flow and addressee knowledge, such Cataphoric reference is not represented in the historical corpora from the 13th to the 18th centuries. This absence is not surprising given that such processes are more often found in spontaneous speech where the speaker first introduces an entity as hearer-old information but then affects a shift in discourse wherein he or she identifies the referent more at length. Such shifts represent the speaker’s attempt to accommodate the referring expression employed with the knowledge the addressee has about the entity at hand. Along the lines of Anaphoric reference Cataphoric uses entail a mid deixis [-low,-high] stronger than Discourse Topic and Meta-Discourse but weaker than overt pointing as in (124).

The phenomenon of Cataphoric reference actually first appears in 19th century folkloric texts that attempt to recreate more colloquial and spontaneous speech. In (119) the obsession of the character being described is encoded via a postnominal demonstrative construction: [*la manía esa*] ‘that obsession’. This referring expression is soon clarified as ‘the obsession of giving alms to the poor’. Cataphoric reference of this kind is a stylistic device whereby the writer simulates aspects of spoken language. More specifically, the speaker first identifies a referent as hearer-old via the postnominal construction but must later refer to it cataphorically. The technique is a means of giving additional information to the hearer so that the referent can be correctly identified. In this case the speaker clarifies the type of obsession in question: the giving of alms to the poor.
Y el pícaro se conserva sanote como una manzana.

‘And the pícaro is as healthy as a horse.

Y fuerte como un roble. -Gracias a Dios, no tiene ni un dolor de cabeza; y si no fuera por [la manía esa] que le quedó cuando estuvo enfermo hace años. –[¿Manía?]i Ah, ya! [La de gastar cuanto tiene en limosnas.]i

Which he got when he was sick years ago. What obsession?

In this instance a referent present in the discourse context or situation is referred to via the postnominal demonstrative. Since the referent is immediately present to both speaker and addressee this is an expression of low deixis where no overt pointing is needed.

The diachronic corpora exhibit a number of constructions ranging from an independent expression headed by a possessive determiner (124), and a modern-style construction introduced by...
the definite article in a string of type: \([SPEC \, DP \, ART \, \{D: \{NP \, \{DEMlo \, DEM\}\}\}]\) (122). This construction appears in its modern independent form in the 15th century preceded by the definite article in (122): 15th

(122)

Respondio el rrey esto me ha alegrado muncho y
V-respond ART-the king DEM-this CL-1st-s AUX happy much CONJ-and
‘The king responded: This has cheered me greatly and

por cierto ello es grant cabsa de Loor y alabamjento
PREP-for certain COP great cause PREP-of praise CONJ-and praise
is truly a great reason to praise

al Señor que escogio en ellos commo es
PREP-to ART-the Lord COMP-that V-chosen PREF-inPRO-3rd-pl as COP
The Lord that chose them as it

Dicho en las palabras dela profeçia enderesçaste a
said PREP-in ART-the words PREP-of ART-the prophecy V-2nd-s-directed PREP-to
said in the words of the prophecy: “You directed

tu pueblo por fazer a ty nombre y Fermosura
POSS-2nd-s people PREP-for V-inf-do PREP-to PRO-2nd-s name CONJ-and beauty
Your people to give you name and renown.”

y es dicho y feziste a ty nombradia commo
CONJ-and COP PAST-P-said CONJ-and V-2nd-s-made PREP-to PRO-2nd-s nameworthy as
And it is also said: “And you made a name for yourself

el día este(Nehemia 9:10) y otros munchos que ayudan
ART-the day DEM-this CONJ-and other many COMP-that V-help
until the present day”(Nehemia 9:10) and many other things which support

tus razones
POSS-2nds sayings
What you are saying.’

(Al-Kuzari 1450-1500) (CORDE)
In (122) the construction *el día este* refers to ‘this day’ or ‘the present day’ via temporal deixis where the proximal demonstrative *este* encodes a temporal context close to the speaker’s point of reference. Thus the referring expression refers to a period of time within the immediate temporal context giving a reference to the day at the time of utterance. The use in (122) is similar to (91) in Chapter 4 which encodes spatial, not temporal proximity with proximal *este* in postnominal position.

Although this example is a close rendering of the Vulgate the post-posed demonstrative is peculiar to the Spanish text whereby *el día este* renders Latin prenominal *hac die*.

(123)

Nehemiah 9:10

a. *Y feziste a ty nombradia como el día este*

CONJ V-made PREP-to you name like ART-the day DEM-this

(Al Kuzari 1400-1500)

b. *Et fecisti tibi nomen, sicut et in hac die.*

CONJ V-made to you name like CONJ-and PREP-in DEM-this day.

(*Latin Vulgate. Nem 9:10*)

In the token (124) from Cervantes’ Don Quixote the speaker is an innkeeper who is berating one of his servant girls who he suspects is having a midnight tryst with her lover. Here (*tus cosas estas*) refers to the commotion in the inn which are things both visual and audible for the speaker. The unique aspect of this example is that it incorporates the possessive adjective *tus* into the construction. The use of the possessive stems from the fact that the innkeeper is identifying the troubles with his servant whom he is addressing directly uses derogatory epithets such as *puta* ‘whore’.
¿Adónde estás puta? A buen seguro que son [tus cosas]; [estas].

these things are of your doing.’

(Cervantes, Miguel de. Don Quijote. 1605) (CORDE)

The example (125) below appears in an early 19th century philosophical primer which features simulated dialog to illustrate certain concepts or ideas. Here the imagined dialog involves a man on a journey who is asking about towns in the vicinity, all of which are in eyesight. Here the interlocutor encodes a nearby town via proximal este. This expression is then contrasted with an equivalent construction with distal aquel referring to a town that is farther away from the speaker and addressee.

19th

(125)

Era el de anoche cruzando y arreglando las piernas,

He was the man from last night who kept crossing and arranging his legs.

Perhaps he struck up the followig conversation with the gentleman across from him:

la siguiente conversación: -¿Usted conoce el país este?

Do you know this place?

-Un poco. -El pueblo aquél, ¿cómo se llama?

ART-a little. ART-the town that, how REFL-3rd-s V-called?
A little. That town, what’s it called?

-Si mal no recuerdo es N.

If bad NEG V-1\textsuperscript{st}-s-remember COP N.

If memory serves me it’s N.’

(Balmes, Jaime. El criterio. 1829) (CORDE)

5.2.6 Deixis ad oculos

The following example from the 16\textsuperscript{th} century (126) not only refers to objects which are readily visible to the speaker and addressee but said objects are signaled with strong deixis. Therefore in (126) the speaker overtly points out an approaching figure with the demonstrative pronoun este which is coreferential to the preceding noun el rey followed by a relative clause.

16\textsuperscript{th}

(126)

\textit{ANFISO: ¿No es [el Rey] \textit{este} que veo?}

\textit{Anfiso NEG COP ART-the king DEM-this COMP-that V-1\textsuperscript{st}-s-see?}

‘Anfiso: Isn’t this the King I see before me?’

(Vega, Lope de. La corona derribada y vara de Moisés. 1598) (CORDE)

5.2.7 Discourse Topic

(127) features an anaphoric reference concerned with the topic of conversation. Specifically \textit{burlas} – ‘jokes or tricks’ refers back to \textit{un famoso disparate} ‘a famous joke’ which the speaker has shared with the captain, who in turned provides him with otro – ‘another’ colorful anecdote. The speaker in (127) is now ironically decrying such \textit{burlas} as unsuitable. The late 16\textsuperscript{th} century example in (127) below features a freer construction with a prepositional phrase.

Since (127) largely involves a topic of conversation with some anaphoric aspects this use is marked as [+low] deixis along the lines of (128) and (129) below.
16th

(127)

lleguéme por un lado a el capitán y
V-1st-s-arrived-CL-1st-s PREP-by ART-the side PREP-to ART-the captain CONJ-and
‘I came up to the captain’s side and

Díjele a el oído [un famoso disparate]. Él
V-1st-s-said-CL-3rd-s PREP-to ART-the ear ART-a famous joke PRO-3rd-s
Told him a famous joke into his ear.

se rió de lo que le dije y,
REFL-3rd-s V-laughed PREP-of ART-the COMP-that CL-3rd-s V-1st-s-said CONJ-and
He laughed about what I told him and

viéndose obligado a responderme con [otro],
GER-see-REFL-3rd-s obliged PREP-to V-inf-respond-CL-1st-s CONJ-with another
Seeing himself obliged to retort with another joke

me hizo bajar la cabeza para decírmelo a
CL-1st-s V-made V-inf-descend ART-the head PREP-for V-inf-say-CL-1st-s-CL-3rd-s PREP-to
He had me bend down my head in order to tell it to me

el oído . . . . . .
ART-the ear.
in my ear . . . . . . .

No son buenas [burlas], [esas] para un pobre mozo como yo.
NEG COP [tricks], [DEM-those] PREP-for ART-a poor boy like I.
‘Those aren’t good jokes for a poor boy such as myself.’

(Alemán, Mateo. Guzmán de Alfarache. 1598) (CORDE)

As in the modern example, el tema este, the examples from the 16th and 17th centuries
make a meta-referential mention of the discourse topic at hand. These tokens exhibit weak
[+low] deixis in that they refer to aspects germane to the structure of discourse and not temporal
or spatial realities as in (127) above. Therefore materia esta- ‘this material’ in (128) encodes the
entity accessible to both speaker and addressee. In the first example an NP shift has the
demonstrative appear postnominally as in previous diachronic examples.

16th

(128)

En fin siendo [materia]i [esta]i que se
PREP-in end V-GER-be [material], [DEM-this], COMP-that REFL-3rd-s
‘This material being, in the end, one
ha de adivinar.
AUX-has PREP-of V-inf-guess
which must be guessed at.’

(Historia de la conquista de Itzá. 16th) (CORDE)

In contrast, the 17th century example (129) represents an early example of the article-less
construction restricted to more cultivated registers as found in the modern language (see
(57&84); Chapter 4). The postnominal construction appears as an isolated theme on the left-
periphery in a sermon by the notoriously baroque preacher Paravicino.

17th

(129)

Gran indicio de hechicería no extrañar prodigios.
Great sign PREP-of sourcery NEG V-inf-surprise prodigious things.
‘A great indicator of sourcery is not to be surprised by prodigious things.
Así lo notó San Agustín en Balán, que acostumbrado
Thus CL-3rd-s V-noted Saint Augustine PREP-in Balaam, COMP-that accustomed
Thus Saint Augustine noticed it in Balaam, who being used
a ver embelecos, no le asombró el oír hablar
PREP-to V-inf-see trickery NEG CL-3rd-s V-frighten ART-the V-inf-hear V-inf-speak
to seeing trickery, was not surprised to hear a brute speak.
un bruto. Materia esta de que me dicen que
ART-a brute. Material DEM-this PREP-of COMP-that CL-1st-s V-3rd-pl-say COMP-that
A matter about which they tell me

hay gran trabajo en nuestro lugar en no vulgar gente,

EXIST great travail PREP-in POSS-1st-pl place PREP-in NEG vulgar people,

there are great troubles in our area among vulgar

y aun en vulgar también.

CONJ-and also PREP-in vulgar also.

and non-vulgar people as well.’

(Paravicino y Arteaga, Hortensio Félix. Oraciones evangélicas y panegíricos funerales. 1606) (CORDE)

5.2.8 Retrieval and Repair

Oral phenomena of this type are not represented in the diachronic corpora as such since they are written text of a highly unrepresentative character. They do not correspond to transcriptions of spoken language instead the available texts tend to represent the stylized written language of the period.

* * *

5.2.9 Affective

Affective uses of the postnominal demonstrative exist in the diachronic corpora but they are not tied to the postnominal demonstrative as such. Similar to the synchronic situation an Affective reading depends on the semantics of the noun and or adjectives combines with discourse presuppositions. So in the example below, the presuppositions one brings when talking about a people our community considers barbaric are clear. However, the postnominal demonstrative only serves to identify the referent as in play during the present discourse and not the entire commentary meant by the speaker. Additional factors are required for a concrete reading to obtain. Thus the Affective use is a meta-discourse category of weak deixis in that it comments on a referent at hand but does not overtly signal it out.
In contrast to synchronic examples, the proximal demonstrative *este* is used more than *ese* (130). This use corresponds to the distribution of *este/ese* in the synchronic record which reveals *este* as the dominant term that only gives way to *ese* in the Modern period during the late 19th century as shown in (131).

The 16th century example in (130) features an Affective use of postnominal *esta* in which the speaker, a Spanish clergyman, conveys the referent *una gente* – ‘some (indigenous) people’ in a disapproving light due to their religious practices and beliefs.

(130)

\[ \text{Mas es comúnmente [una gente], [esta], que ni se acuerda} \]

But COP commonly a people this COMP-that NEG REFL-3rds V-3rds-remember

‘But these are usually a people that don’t remember

de Dios ni aun de si.

PREP GOD NEG even PREP self

God or even themselves.’

(Mercado, Tomás de. *Summa de tratos y contratos*. 1545)

The late 19th century example below (131) comes closest to the modern use of the Affective or “pejorative” in that it resumes an anaphor with negative content [el indecente de su padre] ‘her indecent father’ with [el hombre ese] ‘that there man’. In addition, the text is far more colloquial in character than (130) in that it recreates vulgarisms such as *toa* for *toda* ‘all’ and *maldá* for *maldad* ‘evil’. The use of medial *ese* instead *este* is also of vital importance since it is a hallmark of Modern colloquial use (see (93),(94),(95); Chapter 4). In (131) the pejorative sense is derived largely by way of the context as well as the attributive construction *el indecente de su padre* mentioned previously which is more akin to the English expression: ‘that indecent father of hers’. Note that this option is far more expressive than a mere postnominal adjective

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since it highlights the failings of this individual in particular. The narrator then finishes the commentary by likening the character in question to the Devil, which serves to cement the negative image of the referent in the reader’s mind.

19th

(131)

que resulte lo que se busca por ese camino

COMP-that V-result ART-the COMP-that REFL-3rd-s V-look PREP-for DEM-that way

‘And it turns out that what their looking or in that way

sin que lo sueñe [el indecente de su

CONJ-without COMP-that CL-3rd-s V-dream ART-the indecent PREP-of POSS-3rd-s

Without that indecent father of hers even dreaming about it

padre], ni pueda estorbarlo con toa su maldá que

father nor V-can V-inf-stop-CL-3rd-s CONJ-with all POSS-3rd-s badness COMP-that or being able to put a stop to it with all his evil

es mucha porque [el hombre ese] es hechura del

COP much because ART-the man DEM-[prox,-dist] COP make PREP-of ART-the Which is a lot because that there man is the Devil’s work

demonio y el demonio le ciega.

devil CONJ-and ART-the devil CL-IO-3rd-s V-blinds

And it’s the Devil that blinds him.’

(Pereda, José María de. La Puchera. 1870) (Corpus del español)

5.2.10 Exclamation

Similar to tokens in the synchronic corpora (see (102) (103); Chapter 4) post-posed demonstratives appear in Exclamative expressions. This pattern is exhibited from the first texts through 15th, 16th centuries, up to the present day. Here a noun appears adjacent to a coreferential demonstrative pronoun (133&134) connected by an optional copula (132).
15th

(132)

¡O quan marauillosa y dulce fruta es esta!
Oh marvelous and sweet fruit
‘What a marvelous and sweet fruit this is!’
(De Capua, Juan. Ejemplario contra los engaños y peligros del mundo. 1493) (CORDE)

15th

(133)

¡O qué lanza esta tan fuerte!
Oh lance this so strong!
Oh what a strong lance this is!
(Ferrer, Vicente. Sermones. 1411-12) (CORDE)

16th

(134)

¡Qué palabras estas tan para temer!
What words to fear are these!
(Granada, Luis de. Guía de pecadores. 1567) (CORDE)

5.3 Structural Categories: diachronic este/ese

5.3.1 [SPEC DP ART [D' [NP N DEMh DEM]]]

The postnominal este headed by a definite article first appears sporadically in the 14th and 15th centuries. This is the full blown modern-style construction in which the string [SPEC DP ART [D' [NP N DEMh DEM]]] forms a single unit in contrast to an earlier 13th century NP-shift construction studied below (115) which involves the copula ser where the noun is followed by a separate pronominal demonstrative.
In (110) the postnominal string first appears in a stand alone construction \([\text{DP} [\text{SPEC ART} [D' [NP N [\text{DEMLo DEM}]]]] w/o XP]\). Used in an Anaphoric capacity that features mid to low deixis.

14\textsuperscript{th}

(see 110)

**Ester 8: 13**

\begin{align*}
\text{La} & \quad \text{tenor de} \quad \text{la} \quad \text{carta(s) esta fue que} \\
\text{ART-the} & \quad \text{tenor PREP-of ART-the letter DEM-this was COMP-that}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
(Biblia Latina. 1350-1400) \ (\text{CORDE})
\end{align*}

While featuring the same string (122) encodes temporal immediacy via proximal *este* to refer to the present day without overtly signaling this proximity with a deictically strong expression.

15\textsuperscript{th}

(see 122)

**Nehemia 9:10**

\begin{align*}
\text{Y} & \quad \text{feziste a ty nombradia como el dia este} \\
\text{CONJ-and} & \quad \text{V-made PREP-to you name like ART-the day DEM-this}
\end{align*}

‘And you made a name for yourself until the present day.’

\begin{align*}
(Al \ Kuzari. 1450-1500) \ (\text{CORDE})
\end{align*}

The middle term *ese* first surfaces in postnominal constructions within Biblical quotations in the 15\textsuperscript{th} century translation of Al-Kuzari (*los dias esos*) (135). Here the medial *esos [-prox, -dist]*’those’ serves to distance the referent from the speakers sphere and place it in a narrative context. Below the 15\textsuperscript{th} century Old Spanish text (135a) is contrasted from the Latin Vulgate (135b) to illuminate the integrity of the post-posed demonstrative:
a. Deuteronomy 17:9

> Y verrnás fasta el Cohén que fuere

‘And you will come to the High Priest

> en los días esos, et cetera”

Who is in place during those days, etc.’

(Al-Kuzari. 1450-1500) (CORDE)

b).

> fuere en los días esos

> fuerit illo tempore

The Vulgate version of this passage (135b)) contains a pronominal distal demonstrative *illo tempore* ‘that time’ whereas the Old Spanish version utilizes the post-posed medial demonstrative *ese* in *los días esos* ‘those days’. This contrast is significant in that it indicates that the postnominal position is not a mere copying of the Latin text but a real structure in the expressive inventory of the Spanish language at the time. This same pattern with *ese* continues in the 16th century Sephardic translations (137c&d&e&f) below.

In contrast, the early but sparse attestations of postnominal *este* are even scarcer in the 16th century. The stand alone construction \( [\text{DP} [\text{SPEC ART} [D [\text{NP N [DEMlo DEM]]}] \text{features} \] postnominal *esta* and encodes Mutual Knowledge between speaker and addressee.
Después aca no tengo nueva del. Venido el verano.

‘After which I don’t have any news from him come summer

porque toda la tierra esta ya contra el no puede

because all the land DEM-this already against him NEG V-can

defenderseme y muerto o preso

V-inf-defend-REFL-3rd-CL-1sts CONJ-and dead or captured

Defend itself against me. And dead or alive

le avré a las manos.

CL-3rds V-will have-1sts PREP-to ART-the hands

I will get him.’

(Pizarro, Francisco. Carta al emperador en agradecimiento del marquesado [Documentos relacionados con Francisco Pizarro]. 1539) (CORDE)

The 16th century record of postnominal *este/ese* predominates in Sephardic Bible translations into Ladino in wrote phrases such as *el tiempo este, la tierra esta*. In addition, postnominal *ese* continues as a rote form into subsequent Ladino texts (*la alma essa, del lugar esse*). However these Ladino texts use a special register of the language which literally reproduces Hebrew syntax including article duplication for adjectives: *la cosa la grande* and demonstratives *el lugar el este* which are unacceptable in Spanish. At best they are indirect evidence of the syntactic options in the Spanish language obscured as they are by a dependence on Hebrew grammar.
In (137a) the referring expression refers to the present day via the proximal deixis of the demonstrative *este* which encodes the referent as being temporarily close in time in reference to the speaker. The expression in (137b) features a self-contained expression [ART-N-DEM] without an adjoining XP.

(137)

a. **El día este**, formulaic- ‘the present day’.

\[
\begin{align*}
Y & \quad al \quad Yebuseo \quad morador \quad de \quad Yerusalaim \quad no \quad desterraron \\
And & \quad PREP-to-ART-the \quad Jebsuite \quad dweller \quad PREP-of \quad Jerusalem \quad NEG \quad V-exile
\end{align*}
\]

And the Jebusites, the inhabitants of Jerusalem were not exiled

\[
\begin{align*}
hijos & \quad de \quad Binyamin, \quad y \quad estuuo \quad el \quad Yebuseo \quad con \quad hijos \quad de \\
sons & \quad PREP-of \quad Benjamin \quad CONJ-and \quad v-was \quad ART-theJebusite \quad CONJ-with \quad sons \quad PREP-of
\end{align*}
\]

by the sons of Benjamin and the Jebusites lived with the sons of

\[
\begin{align*}
Binyamin & \quad en \quad Yerusalaim \quad fasta \quad el \quad dia \quad este. \\
Benjamin & \quad PREP-inJerusalem \quad until \quad ART-the \quad day \quad DEM-this.
\end{align*}
\]

Of Benjamin in Jerusalem until the present day.’

(*Biblia de Ferrara 1553*) (CORDE)

The use of medial *esse* (an archaic spelling of *ese*) is significant in that few uses are recorded in postnominal position during the 15th and 16th centuries. The expression *el lugar esse* ‘that (aforementioned) place’ is an anaphoric expression for the noun *el lugar* ‘the place’ which appears earlier in the text. Medial *esse* is used instead of proximal *este* due to the narrative aspect of the text. However distal *aquel* is not used since the place referred to is within the discourse having been introduced previously.

(137b.) **el lugar esse**

\[
\begin{align*}
E & \quad salyo \quad Yahacob \quad de \quad Beersabah, \quad y \quad anduuo \quad a \quad Haran. \\
CONJ-and \quad V-left \quad Jacob \quad PREP-ofBersheba \quad CONJ-and \quad V-went \quad PREP-to \quad Haran
\end{align*}
\]

And Jacob went out of Bersheeba and went to Haran

\[
\begin{align*}
Y & \quad encontro \quad en \quad [el \quad lugar], \quad y \quad durmio \quad ahi, \quad que
\end{align*}
\]
And he found the place and fell asleep there

The sun set and he took rocks from the place and put them at his head and lied down in that place.’

Similarly, due to issues of temporal deixis medial *esse* encodes the day or hour in (141c.) and (137d.) respectively since they are removed from the speaker’s sphere, having occurred some time ago.

(137c.) *el dia esse*

‘And all the fallen went on that day

Up to twelve thousand men and even women,

All of them men from Hay.’

(137d.) *la hora essa*

*En la hora essa fizo tornar Rezin rey de Arama Elath*
‘On that hour Rezin, king of Aram made Elath return to Aram
a Aram, y desterro a los Judios de Eloth.
PREP-to Aram, CONJ-and V-exiled PREP-to ART-the jews PREP-of Eloth
And exiled the Jews from Eloth.’

(Biblia de Ferrara. 553) (CORDE)

The following century, the 17th, is particularly lacking in article-headed constructions for este/ese giving just one example: la tierra esta from a colonial source in (138). This token appears in a string with a subordinate clause to describe the referent at hand. The postnominal sequence serves to identify a referent already in play- la tierra esta ‘this land (we are presently discussing)’(i.e. colonial Ecuador). As such the expression is encoded via the string ART-N-DEM which features weak deixis as part of the common ground of the discourse context in a Informational Category of type Mutual Knowledge or Discourse Topic.

\[SPEC\ DP\ ART\ [D\ \NP\ N\ [DEMlo\ DEM]\ [CP\ COMP]\]]

17th

(138)

Aprovéchanse también de las recuas de mulas
V-take advantage-REFL-3rd-s also PREP-of ART-the trains PREP-of mules
‘They also use their mule
y caballos, que tienen muchas, así los españoles
CONJ-and horses COMP-that V-have many so ART-the spanish
And horse lines, which they have a lot off. Spaniards and Indians alike
como los indios, y tragan con ellas todo género
like ART-the indians CONJ-and V-load CONJ-with them all kind
use them to transport all manner
de mercadurías de España y de la tierra esta
PREP-of merchandise PREP-of Spain CONJ-and PREP-of ART-the land DEM-this
of merchandise from Spain and this country.
que la llevan al puerto de Guayaquil a
And they take it to the port of Guayaquil
cargarla para otras partes, y la de España
and send it off to other places. The merchandise from Spain
que traen del mismo puerto para esta villa
they bring up from the same port to this city
y para Quito.
and Quito.’

(Descripción de la Villa de Villar Don Pardo [Relaciones histórico-geográficas de la audiencia de Quito. 1605) (CORDE)

The postnominal construction does not reappear until the late 18th century in which the more modern-style forms reappear with este, ese in a genuine stand-alone construction [ART-N-DEM] without a subordinate clause as in la isla esta referring back to Long-island.

\[SPEC \text{DP ART } [D, [NP N [DEMlo DEM]]] w/o XP\]

18th

(see 113)

-La isla esta]- tendrá como 140 millas de largo
‘The aforementioned island is about 140 miles in length’

(Miranda, Francisco de. Viaje La Habana-New Jersey. 1783) (CORDE)

This new systematic use then continues into the 19th century where it even appears in a formal written context as exemplified in Jaime Balmes’ El criterio. Notice here that el país este, which encodes the referent as Situationally Accessible, is deictically weak and therefore features single syntactic and prosodic unit with the demonstrative in postnominal position: [ART-N-
DEM]. This is in contrast to (126) whose stronger deixis features a prosodic and syntactic break between the noun and the demonstrative.

Modern [SPEC DP ART [D' [NP N [DEMlo DEM]]] w/o XP

19th

(see (125))

¿Usted conoce el país este?
You V-know ART-the country DEM-this?
(Balmes, Jaime. El criterio. 1829) (CORDE)

Modern [SPEC DP ART [D' [NP N [DEMlo DEM] [CP COMP]]]

This new systematic use of the string ART-N-DEM continues into the 19th century where it also begins to appear in a formal written context. In (114) a discussion on literature, particularly a scene from El Cid, is brought to attention via the postnominal construction *la escena esta* (this scene):

19th

(see (114)

La escena esta que describo
ART-the scene DEM-this COMP-that V-1st-s-describe
(Nervo, Amado. La lengua y la literatura. 1894) (CORDE)

The 19th century also exhibits the first token (131) of the full fledged postnominal construction with medial *ese* since the 16th century (137b):

[SPEC DP ART [D' [NP N [DEMlo DEM-ese]]] w/o XP

19th

(see (131))

porque el hombre ese es hechura del demonio
because ART-the man DEM-that[-prox,-dist] COP make PREP-of ART-the devil
‘because that there man is the Devil’s work’
(Pereda, José María de. La Puchera. 1870) (Corpus)

\[
\text{COP \{SPEC\} \text{DP \{ART \{D \{NP \} \} \} \ldots \{DEMllo \{DEM \} \}} (NP-shift)
\]

In (112) the postnominal construction comes about as a calque from Latin \textit{locus iste} after an Exclamative wh-word. However, Old Spanish translator constructs the phrase utilizing the full fledged postnominal paradigm: [ART-N-DEM].

\textbf{15th}

(see 112)

\textbf{GEN 28:17}

\textit{Quanto es temeroso el logar este}

How COP dreadful ART-the place DEM-this

‘How dreadful is this place! this is none other

(Al Kuzari. 1450-1500) (CORDE)

\subsection*{5.3.2 NP-Shift}

An alternate postnominal demonstrative construction features a form of heavy NP shift containing a pronominal demonstrative modified by a relative clause. This construction has undergone a shift as the COP moves to the left-periphery thereby shifting DEM to the right and producing: \textit{COP \{SP N\} \ldots \{DEM\}, CP: Es cosa esta [que].} This pattern stems from Latin \textit{Gaius est (is) qui} ‘Giaus is the one who’ whereby a referent is introduced and then referred to again via copula headed construction with an anaphoric pronoun \textit{is ‘he’} followed by the relative \textit{qui}. NP-shift tokens exhibit a broken prosody that signals a syntactic between the noun and the demonstrative pronoun. This construction is made up of two distinct parts: the noun and its corresponding pronominal demonstrative. So in contrast to full postnominal examples such as (121) the NP-shift construction does not constitute a single unbroken string.
In all these NP shift constructions an unshifted variant is possible wherein the copula appears in its original position as the predicate between the demonstrative and the noun. Furthermore, the construction can be followed by an accompanying CP which further specifies the referent in question.

The examples below range from the 13th (116), 14th (118), 16th (130) and 17th (128) centuries respectively wherein the copula heads a construction with a noun and a postnominal coreferential demonstrative pronoun followed by a relative clause.

**NP-shift [COP [CP COMP]]**

(116) below exhibits a copula headed string which introduces a noun followed by a pronominal demonstrative pronoun.

**NP shift COP [SPEC DP [D' [NP N]]]i...[DP DEM]i [CP-full COMP]**

14th

(see (116))

*Mirá, señor condestable si es buen [modo]i [este]i*

Look, Mr. constable whether this way

*que hemos hallado*

we have found is good one.’

(Barahona, Francisco de. *Flor de Caballería*. 15th) (CORDE)

In contrast, (118) and (126) both contain an NP-shift pattern with a definite article before the noun and its postnominal demonstrative pronoun. *los privilegios* ‘the privledges’in (121) is subsumed by the following pronoun *estos* ‘these’ and *el rey* ‘the king’is immediately referred with *ese* ‘this (one)’ in (126).
And the privileges are these which I will say now.'

(General Estoria. 13th) (CORDE)

¿No es [el Rey] i [este] i que veo?

‘Anfiso:Isn’t this the King I see before me?’

(Vega, Lope de. La corona derribada y vara de Moisés. 1598) (CORDE)

This example is unique in that the NP-shift construction headed by a copula is realized via the gerund form of ser.

‘This material being, in the end, one which must be guessed at.’

(Historia de la conquista de Itzá. 16th) (CORDE)
Also, the relationship between the noun *materia* ‘material’ and the demonstrative *esta* ‘this’ in (128) is not as dependent or coreferential as in the previous examples (126). To illustrate the relative dependence of the demonstrative I eliminate the pronoun from above examples (116), (118), (126) and (128) as shown in (139).

(139)

a. #Mirá, señor condestable si es buen modo
   V-look sir constable if COP good way
   que hemos hallado
   COMP-that AUX-we-have PAST-P-found.

b. *Et son los privilegios que diremos agora.
   CONJ-and COP ART-the privledges COMP-that V-1st-pl-we-will-say now.

c. *ANFISO: ¿No es el Rey que veo?
   Anfiso NEG COP ART-the king COMP-that V-1st-s-see?.

d. En fin siendo materia que se ha de adivinar.
   PREP-in end V-GER-be material COMP-that REFL-3rd-s AUX-have PREP-of V-inf-guess

Both (139a&b) are infelicitous since the demonstrative pronoun in (116) and (115) encodes short distance co-referential Anaphoric reference which is deictically strong. In (139c) the strong deictic ad oculos function cannot be carried out without the pronoun *este* which points out the referent *el rey* in space. However, in (139d) the altered version of (128) is still felicitous, demonstrating the lower deixis of (128) which identifies a *Discourse Topic* and not an overt such an object in space. The fact that the demonstrative is optional in tokens such as (128) reveals that the demonstrative is no longer purely pronominal but has a discourse function typified by weak deixis. Otherwise, the loss of the demonstrative would affect the deictic import of the expression. This use is similar to those exhibited by the full postnominal form: \[DP[\text{SPEC} \ ART \ [D [NP \ N \ [\text{DEMIlo DEM}]]]]\] as well as Synchronic examples (see (92) Chapter 4) in which the demonstrative appears spurious.
5.3.3. NP-shift COP PP/CP

The 16th century onwards sees an expansion of the distribution of postnominal este and ese in NP-shift constructions from coreferential CP clauses to include PP’s. In general, the phrase with an adjoining PP involves a heavy NP shift headed by the copular ser. More specifically, (127) utilizes the PP para whereas (120) contains a more complicated string featuring a CP with an internal PP. In parallel to (128) the relationship between the noun and the following demonstrative in the examples (127) and (120) is not as strict as purely coferential uses that feature strong deixis. These syntactic structures are Discourse Topic (127) and Mutual Knowledge (120) uses respectively. Similarly, in (120) demonstrative can be eliminated without resulting in ungrammaticality or a non-compatible deictic reading.

Though similar to the full postnominal [DP [SPEC ART [D [NP N [DEMLo DEM]]]]] in their Informational Categories these structures still feature a break between the noun and demonstrative signaled through prosody in actual speech in contrast to (110).

**NP shift COP [SPEC DP [D’ [NP N]]]...[DP DEM]i [PP PREP]**

16th

(see (127))

No son buenas [burlas]i [esas]i para un pobre mozo como yo.
NEG COP good tricks those PREP-for ART-a poor boy like I.

‘Those are not jests for a poor boy like me.’

(Alemán, Mateo. Guzmán de Alfarache. 1598) (CORDE)

**NP shift COP [SPEC DP [D’ [NP N]]]...[DP DEM]i [CP COMP]/[PP PREP]**

16th

(see (120))

Y es tan odioso [canto]i [este]i que en oyéndolo . . . .
‘And this call is so odious that whoever hears it
(Horozco, Sebastián de. Libro de proverbio glosados. 1544) (CORDE)

5.3.4 NP-shift-COP-w/o XP

Among the subcategorizations of constructions with NP shift, it is possible to have no adjoining clause. That is to say, the NP shift can yield a post-posed demonstrative construction which appears unmodified in a stand alone construction.

The copula headed construction in (124) is unique in that it features the possessive adjective in place of the definite article as in (115). However, in contrast to (113) following the phrase tus cosas-‘your things’ is the pronominal demonstrative estas -‘these’ which constitutes a two tiered structure. The demonstrative can be elided given that (124) has a Situationally Accessible use which is relatively low in deixis since it features a non-overt pointing function in contrast to (126).

17th

(see (124))

A buen seguro que son
PREP-to good sure COMP-that COP
Where are you whore? Surely

[tus]i [cosas]i [estas]i.
POSS-2nds things DEM-these.
these things are of your doing.’
(Cervantes, Miguel de. Don Quijote. 1605) (CORDE)
5.3.5 NP-shift-parecer

Apart from the copula *ser* raising verbs such as *parecer* can also yield a displaced demonstrative. Here two birds are about to lay their eggs and they are looking for another more secure place to make their nest. The referring expression *otro lugar* ‘another place’ brings to the fore the topic of place which is then resumed in a construction involving the raising verb *parecer*. The demonstrative *este* appears in adjacent position after the noun *lugar* in a pronominal capacity. The referent *buen lugar* ‘good place’ appears within the visual field in an ad oculos use. As such the highly deictic content of the term does not allow for the elimination of *este*, which points out the referent in an overt manner.

15th

(140)

En el orillo del mar morauan dos aves de agua
PREP-in ART-the shore PREP-of ART-the sea V-lived two birds PREP-of water
‘On the sea shore lived two water foul
que querian hazer su nido para poner ende
COMP-that V-wanted V-inf-make POSS-3rd-3rd nest PREP-for V-inf-put LOC-there
That wanted to make there a nest to lay
sus hueuos & dixo al macho la hembra
POSS-3rds eggs CONJ-and V-said PREP-to ART-the male ART-the female
their eggs in. And the female said to the male
buen consejo seria buscar [otro lugar mas seguro]i: donde podiessemos
good counsel V-be V-inf-look other place more sure where V-could-1st-pl
it would be a good idea to look for some safer place where we can
bien criar nuestros fijos. Respuso el masclo no te parece
ADV-well V-inf-raise POSS-1st-pl children V-reponded ART-the male NEG CL-2nds V-seem
Raise our children well. The male responded: Doesn’t this place
[buen lugar]:i [este]:i donde hai muchas yerbas verdes & dulces
[good place DEM-this where EXIST many grasses green CONJ-and sweet
look good where there is sweet, green grass and
& donde muy poca gente passa que nos pueda dañar
CONJ-and where very little people V-pass COMP-that CL-1stpl V-could V-inf-damage
Where very few people pass by which can cause us harm.’
(Capua, Juan de. Ejemplario contra los engaños y peligros del mundo. 1493) (CORDE)

5.3.6 NP shift COP \textit{[SPEC DP ART-indef [D' [NP N]...[DP DEM]_i [CP COMP]]]}

Although not typical, the NP-shifted postnominal demonstrative construction can appear headed by the indefinite article. In the 16\textsuperscript{th} century example (130) \textit{una gente} – ‘a people’ is then subsumed via pronominal \textit{esta} ‘this’ and followed by a relative clause. Although this structure does not form a single unit as in (110), the pronominal \textit{esta} ‘this’ can be elided without ungrammaticality similar to (130), demonstrating that the demonstrative pronoun is not purely pronominal. The \textit{Affective} content of the expression is a meta-discourse function. Since this use has weak deixis it allows for the elision of the demonstrative pronoun.

\textit{NP shift COP \textit{[SPEC DP ART-indef [D [NP N]].}[DP DEM]_i [CP COMP]]} 
16\textsuperscript{th}
(see (130))

\textit{Mas es comúnmente [una gente]_i [esta]_i que}
But COP commonly a people this COMP-that
‘But these are a people that commonly don’t recall
(Mercado, Tomás de. Summa de tratos y contratos. 1545)

5.3.7 \textit{[SPEC DP [D [NP N]].}[DP DEM]_i}

A further pattern consists in modern-style constructions without a licensing article in SPEC DP. These represent a construction restricted to more cultivated registers in the modern language. The 17\textsuperscript{th} century example (129) below represents an early form of the high-style
article-less variant found in the modern language. Therefore the lack of an article means the DP projection is not licensed and therefore the overall distribution of the construction is limited (Roca 1996). This Spanish construction reproduces the function of the Latin string headed by *qui* such as *qua pecunia* used for anaphoric reference especially in appositional contexts as shown in (110).

\[ \text{[SPEC DP [D' [NP N]]]} \ldots \text{[DP DEM]} \text{[CP COMP]} / \text{[PP PREP]} \]

17th

(see (129))

\textit{Materia esta de que . . . . . .}

Material DEM-this PREP-of COMP-that

A matter about which they tell me

(Paravicino y Arteaga, Hortensio Félix. \textit{Oraciones evangélicas y panegíricos funerales}. 1606) (CORDE)

This example from the 19th century is one of the first truly modern tokens equivalent to the minority article-less paradigm found in the Synchronic data (see (57)&(84), Chapter 4).

\[ \text{[SPEC DP [D' [NP N]]]} \ldots \text{[DP DEM]} \text{[CP COMP]} \]

19th

(see 117)

\textit{prendas estas que}

articles DEM-these COMP-that

(Cirilo Villaverde. \textit{Cecilia Valdés o la loma del ángel}. 1853) (CORDE)

Examples (129) and (117) have Informational Categories \textit{Discourse Topic} and \textit{Anaphoric} respectively both of which have a weak deixis.
5.3.8 \([CP \ COMP \ [NP \ N]i \ldots [DP DEM]i\]

Exclamative constructions involve a structure headed by a complementizer followed by a noun and the postnominal demonstrative. Here a string of type \([CP \ COMP \ [NP \ N]i \ (COP) \ [DP DEM]i\]
features an identifying demonstrative pronoun which appears adjacent to a coreferential noun which can be connected via an optional copula (131). This structure continues unchanged into the modern language where the copula-less variant is the norm. Significantly, Exclamative and Evocative are bearers of strong deixis in contrast to (129) and (120) above.

\([CP \ COMP \ [NP \ ADJ \ N]i \ (COP) \ [DP DEM]i\]

However, (131) below exhibits the variant with the copula \textit{ser}. In addition, to the quantifier-	extit{quan} a series of prenominal adjectives precedes the noun in a construction similar of type: \([NP \ ADJ \ [N]i \ [DEM]i\]
found in the Synchronic data (see (96b&c); (102) Chapter 4)

15th century (see (131))

¡O \textit{quan} marauillosa y \textit{dulce} fruta \textit{es} \textit{esta}!

Oh EXCLAM-wh marvellous CONJ-and sweet fruit COP DEM-this.

‘Oh how marvellous a and sweet this fruit is!’

(Capua, Juan de. \textit{Ejemplario contra los engaños y peligros del mundo}. 1494) (CORDE)

\([CP \ COMP \ [NP \ N]i \ldots [DP DEM]i\]

This distribution is exhibited in the examples below from the 15th (132)and 16th (133) centuries. The demonstrative pronoun appears adjacent to the noun followed by a qualifying phrase be it an AP in (136) or and AP followed by a PP in (133).

15th century (see (132))

¡O \textit{qué} \textit{lanza esta} tan fuerte!
Oh EXCLAM-wh lance this so strong!

‘Oh what a strong lance this is!’
(Ferrer, Vicente. Sermones. 1411-12) (CORDE)

16th

(see (133))

¡Qué palabras estas tan para temer!
EXCLAM-wh words these so PREP-for V-inf-fear!

‘What words to fear are these!’
(Granada, Luis de. Guía de pecadores. 1567) (CORDE)

5.3.9 Overview of diachronic este/ese

The diachronic record reveals a variety of informational categories: Anaphoric, used for previous mention, Mutual Knowledge to refer to commonplaces, Ad oculos which encodes situationally accessible information, Discourse Topic which identifies the topic of conversation and the Exclamative construction involved in exclamatory remarks. Here the oft-noted Affective function is only marginally represented in the record since the interpretation of diachronic data depends on an accompanying adjective, noun, or discourse context to be understood.

By and large informational categories such as Retrieval and Repair and Cataphoric reference do not appear in the diachronic corpora. This relative absence may be due to the fact that said categories are functions of discourse and spoken language that are only indirectly represented in the available written texts.

Moreover, the register of the texts that make up the diachronic record is relatively high and therefore it is difficult for phenomena such as stopping and starting involved in Retrieval and Repair to appear in media of this nature apart from a direct transcription of spoken language which only became possible during the 20th century. Likewise, Cataphoric reference which
involves a tracking function typical of oral speech, is not reproducible in stylized discourse. This category is only present in some 19th century texts like (121) that attempt to reproduce spontaneous spoken language.

The first identifiable postnominal *este/ese* surfaces in the 14th-15th century in Biblical translations, quotations and notorial documents (110) in a construction featuring the string $[SPEC_{DP}ART_{D'}[NP_{DEMlo}DEM]]$. This string constitutes a single syntactic and prosodic unit comparable to the modern day postnominal construction (see (83), Chapter 4).

However, this construction co-occurs with an article-less NP-shifted string headed by a copula where the noun is moved into second position (115). This shift leaves the copula in first position, and the noun adjacent to a following coreferential demonstrative pronoun followed by a subordinate clause. In contrast to (110) the NP-shift construction does not constitute a single unit but consists of a noun and a pronominal demonstrative. This expression is also parallel to expressions with raising verbs such as parecer: *te parece buen lugar este* (140).

In contrast to earlier centuries the already sparse attestations of postnominal *este/ese* are even more so in the 16th century occurring almost exclusively in Sephardic Bible translations into Ladino (see 137). These texts are related as genre to the earlier 14th-15th century Bible translations as well as the quotations featured in *Al Kuzari* (see 112, 122,123, and 135) yet they are also a product of the Diaspora after the 1492 expulsion.

Meanwhile a wider range of modifying projections appear after the NP-shifted construction in the 16th century allows for PP’s (127) and eventual zero (124). In tokens exhibiting low to mid deixis: *Discourse Topic, Mutual Knowledge, Situationally Accessible* and *Anaphoric* the demonstrative can be eliminated without affecting the grammaticality of the overall construction (139d) similar to Synchronic examples where the postnominal
demonstrative appears superfluous (see (92) Chapter 4). However, strong deictic uses such as ad oculos (140) do not allow for this elimination given that the demonstrative pronoun has an overt pointing function. Although this type of expression may feature the possessive (son [tus cosas]i [estas]i see (124)) and the indefinite article (es [una gente]i [esta]i see (130)) respectively, these are not full-fledged postnominal uses that still lack a licensing agent in SPEC DP. That is, they exhibit a bipartite use along the lines of (115) and not a sustained construction as in (110). So any element appearing in first position is not a licenser but part of the NP which is then followed by a prosodic break and subsumed by a demonstrative pronoun: [SPEC DP ART [D′ [NP N])i[DP DEM]i]

The 17th century is particularly poor in documentation for the article-headed variant [SPEC DP ART [D′ [NP N [DEMlo DEM]])], giving only one example: la tierra esta, from a colonial document (138). The inverted NP-shift variant appears in the early 17th century in a highly stylized text of a sermon featuring an isolated theme on the left periphery as a Discourse Topic: [Materia esta] (129). Example (129) appears to be an anticipation of the modern article-less postnominal demonstrative found in modern higher registers (see (57) & (84); Chapter 4) similar to the full postnominal use in that it encodes mid to low deictic expressions. On the surface, the construction also appears to lack an overt licenser for DP.

In contrast, the structure with an overt DP licenser employs the string [SPEC DP ART [D′ [NP N [DEMlo DEM]])] in isolation or with an accompanying XP in subsequent centuries. This modern-style construction does not reappear until the late 18th century. Here postnominal este appears in an Anaphoric capacity as Long Islandi ...la isla esta(111). The 19th century exhibits both article and article-less paradigms.
The former construction has a *Situationally Accessible* use: *el país este* (125) and is also increasingly used to simulate spoken language in folkloric literature during the later half of the century.

Similarly, postnominal *ese*, marginally present in the historical corpus save for some restricted examples with articles in the 15th (135) and 16th (137) centuries, along with an NP-shift token (127) in the 16th, resurfaces within the article headed paradigm in the 19th century in folkloric texts that strive to imitate colloquial speech as part of the *costumbrismo* or “local color” movement ((121)&(131)).

One development involves the article-headed paradigm of the postnominal demonstrative stemming from Late Latin material (106) which surfaces from the 14th century onwards as a single syntactic unit (116) \[SPEC\,DP\,ART\,[D,\,[NP\,N\,[DEMlo\,DEM]]].\] While a divergent trajectory involves an NP-shifted construction from Latin *est* (*is*) *qui* appearing in the 13th century (115) featuring a two tiered construction from Latin, the later emergence of a postnominal construction without the proceeding article \[SPEC\,DP\,[D,\,[NP\,N]]\,i…\,[DP\,DEM]i\] in the 17th (129) and 19th (121) centuries stemming from anaphoric appositional use in Latin of type *qui homo* (109). Both of these constructions are used categorically for mid to low deictic functions.

A completely different use of the postnominal demonstrative involves an exclamative phrase headed by a CP (132, 133, and 134). Significantly, this construction \([CP\,COMP\,[NP\,N]\,i…\,[DEM]i,\,]]) in addition to the article-less variant \([SPEC\,DP\,[D,\,[NP\,N]]\,i…\,[DP\,DEM]i\]) (129&121) can feature an optional copula between the noun and the demonstrative pronoun: \([CP\,COMP\,[NP\,N]\,i…\,[COP]\,[DEM]i,\,]]) (134); mirrored by another evocative construction \([NP\,ADJ\,N]\,i…\,[DP\,DEM]i\,]) (132).
Figure 5.1 below details the Informational and Structural Categories for Diachronic 
este/ese featuring the full string \([\text{SPEC DP ART} [D' [NP N [DEMlo DEM]]], \text{the sub-paradigm} [\text{SPEC DP} [D [NP N ]]]][DPDEM]_i\) and certain NP-shift tokens have functions of mid to low deixis: 

*Anaphoric, World Knowledge, Cataphoric, Discourse Topic, Situationally Accessible* and 

*Affective.* However, by and large sequences disjointed sequences of type: \([NP N]_i...[DPDEM]_i\) appear in categories of high deixis including: *Anaphoric co-referential, Ad oculos, and Exclamative* uses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Informational Categories</th>
<th>Structural Categories</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Anaphoric</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deixis [-low, -high]</td>
<td>([\text{SPEC DP ART} [D [NP N [DEMlo DEM]]]]) w/o XP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Anaphoric coreferential</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deixis [+high]</td>
<td>(\text{COP} [\text{SPEC DP} [D' [NP N ]]][DPDEM]_i [CP COMP]])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mutual knowledge</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deixis [+low]</td>
<td>(\text{COP} [\text{SPEC DP} [D' [NP N ]]][DPDEM]_i [CP COMP]]/ [PP PREP]])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Discourse Topic</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deixis [+low]</td>
<td>([\text{SPEC DP} [D' [NP N ]]][DPDEM]_i [CP COMP]] ) / ([PP PREP]])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cataphoric</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deixis [-low, -high]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Situationally Accessible</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deixis- [+low]</td>
<td>(\text{COP} [NP POSS N]_i...[DP DEM]_i) w/o XP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ad oculos</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deixis [+high]</td>
<td>(\text{COP} [\text{SPEC DP ART} [D' [NP N ]]][DPDEM]_i [CP COMP]])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Affective</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deixis [+low]</td>
<td>(\text{COP} [\text{SPEC DP ART-indef} [D' [NP N ]]][DPDEM]_i [CP COMP]])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Exclamative</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deixis [+high]</td>
<td>([CP COMP [NP ADJ N]]_i... [DPDEM]_i)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 5.1 Informational and Structural Categories for Diachronic *este/ese*
5.4 Diachronic Informational Categories: *aquel*

As exhibited in the Synchronic Analysis Section the distal demonstrative *aquel* is distinct in its function from *este* and *ese*. This distinction is due to its peculiar semantics, usually termed distal [+dist] which situated it outside the sphere of discourse (see Figure 1.1, Chapter 1). Moreover, it is important to note the origin of distal *aquel* which ultimately stems from the 3rd person anaphoric pronoun ILLE in Latin. Thus *aquel* lends itself specialized uses such as *Past Reference* and ‘evocative’ *Exclamation* in the Synchronic language. In the following sections *aquel* will be investigated in diachronic terms: 5.4 *Diachronic Informational Categories*, 5.5 *Diachronic Structural Categories*

5.4.1 Past Reference

The following text in (141) comes from a short story in collection with the title *El organista de Orgaz*. First introduced as *un hombre* ‘a man’ and then referred back to with the *Anaphoric* expression *el hombre aquel* ‘that man’. Since the title and the subject matter of the narration are the organist in question the use of a postnominal expression denotes the *Discourse Topic* in a postnominal expression after he has already been introduced onto the scene.

*Aquel* also corresponds with the temporal deixis of the narration as a whole. Using *aquel* ‘that’ in conjunction with these factors creates a remote time frame appropriate for the legend as well as more formalized stylized Anaphora. Therefore the expression in (141) is relatively low in deictic import.
Lo vi, madre, no lo dudéis; vi [un hombre].

I saw him mother don’t doubt it, I saw a man

que, en silencio, y vuelto de espaldas hacia

in silence with his back towards

el sitio en que yo estaba, recorría con una mano

The place where I was, he ran over the organ keys with his hands

las teclas del órgano, mientras tocaba con

While playing

la otra a sus registros . . .

the register with his other hand.

Y el reloj de la catedral continuaba, dando

And the cathedral clock kept on ringing

la hora y [el hombre aquel], proseguía

the hour and the man continued

recorriendo las teclas.

running over the keys.’

(Bécquer, Gustavo Adolfo. Leyendas: El organista de Orgaz. 1853) (CORDE)
5.4.2 Anaphoric

Similarly, the 15th century example in (140) evokes a past narrative after a considerable digression into other narrations. Here *la mujer aquella* ‘that woman’ ultimately refers back to a distant antecedent: *una muger* ‘a woman’. Thereby *una muger* ‘a woman’ > *la señora* ‘the lady’ > *ella* ‘she’ > *la señora* ‘the lady’ > *la mujer aquella* ‘that (aforementioned) woman’. By referring back to her at this point in the story, the narrator assumes that the audience, the reader, is familiar with the referent at hand. In fact, the referent has been referred to repeatedly to keep her in the reader’s mind. As in the previous example the referring expression used overlaps with the modern use of medial *ese* which would give *la mujer esa* in Modern Spanish: [SPEC DP ART [D [NP N [DEMlo DEM]]]] [-prox, -dist].

15th

(142a)

Reference String:

```
en casa de [una muger]: que vivía enamorada . . . . .
PREP-in house PREP-of ART-a woman COMP-that V-lived in-love

[la señora] ya no podía acabar con ella que con
ART-the lady already NEG V-could V-inf-finish PREP-with her COMP-that CONJ-with
otro se despertar como [ella] quería . . . . .
other REFL-3rd-s V-inf-wake-up like she V-wanted

[la señora] muy apresuradamente tomó vn
ART-the lady very quickly V-took ART-a
pedazo de caña . . . .
piece PREP-of reed
& acahescio que como [ella] tuviese . . . . .
CONJ-and V-happened COMP-that as she V-had
```
echo los poluos dentro en la garganta: & por
V-put ART-the dusts PREP0nside PREP-in ART-the throat CONJ-and PREP-by
las narizes a [la señora]: por tal forma que cayo
ART-the noses PREP-to ART-the lady PREP-by such form COMP-that V-dead

[muerta]
deread

(142b)

Dende que dymna huuo entendido aquestos: enxemplos
After COMP-that Dimna AUX-had heard DEM-these examples
‘After Dimna had heard these exempla
dixo. Bien conozco que la raposa no recibiera
V-said well V-1st-s-know COMP-that ART-the fox NEG V-receive
she said: I know well that the fox wouldn’t have gotten
daño alguno si no se interposara e lo que no le
damage some if NEG REFL-3rd-s V-go-between COND-and ART-the COMP NEG CL-3rd-s
harmed at all if it didn’t get involved in what
cumplia ni muriera la mujer aquella si no pusiera
V-complete NEG V-die ART-the woman DEM-that if NEG V-put
didn’t concern it nor that women would have perished if she hadn’t
la mano en los negocios de su criada
ART-the hand PREP-in ART-the business PREP-of POSS-3rds maid
gotten mixed up in the affairs of her female servant.’

(De Capua, Juan. Ejemplario contra los engaños y peligros del mundo. 1493) (CORDE)

However, it must be noted that this 1493 printed edition is among a long line of
translations of the collection of didactic stories the Panchantra compiled by Bidpai in India circa
330 A.D. These accounts subsequently circulated throughout Europe via Persian and Arabic
translations of the Sanskrit original. Earlier translations into Spanish include13th century texts:
Calila e Dimna, Sendebar, El libro de los gatos, and the present Ejemplario contra los engaños y
peligros del mundo which is based on a 13th Latin translation of another Hebrew version by John of Capua, a Jewish convert to Christianity.

While the 1493 printed edition by Pablo Hurus and a later 1532 edition essentially reproduce the same text these editions feature convergences significant for the present study. For example the 1493 edition features raposa `fox` and the postnominal construction la mujer aquella ($(\text{SPEC} \text{DP} \text{ART} \text{D} \text{NP} \text{N} [\text{DEMlo DEM}]))$ versus 1532’s raposo `fox’ and the prenominal construction aquella mujer ($(\text{SPEC} \text{DP} \text{DEM} \text{D'} \text{NP} \text{N}]))$. Importantly, here the editor of the 1532 edition replaces the postnominal construction la mujer aquella with prenominal aquella mujer.

Reference to the Latin source De Capua’s Directorium Humanae reveals the 1493 edition to be more of a periphrasis than a direct translation into the Spanish. In the text a hermit, who is the observer of the events, asks a judge in a later episode about a thief who has stolen his clothing. A lacuna in the 1493 text leaves this episode out but incorporates some of the hermit’s questions in the dialogue between and Calila and Dimna as they take an overview of the past few exempla and the morals they convey.

In (143a&b) the 15th century Spanish translation is compared alongside the 13th century Latin original:

(143)

a. \textit{ni muriera la mujer aquella}

NEG V-die ART-the woman DEM-that[dist]

(De Capua, Juan. Ejemplario contra los enganos y peligros del mundo. 1493) (CORDE)

b. \textit{Nonne et illa mulier pulvere}

NEG-INTER CONDJ-and DEM-that[dist]woman powder[ABL]
‘And didn’t that woman

se interfecit mortifero?

REFL-3rd-s V-killed ADJ-deadly[ABL]

kill herself with a deadly powder?’


The Latin exhibits a prenominal demonstrative in a string \[DP \text{ SPEC DEM D NP N}\] which is rendered as postnominal \[\text{SPEC DP ART D NP DEMo DEM}] in the Spanish translation. First, this contrast shows that the Spanish does not literally follow the Latin and therefore postnominal placement was a live option in 15th century Spanish. Second, these examples illustrate the referential function of postnominal *aquel* given that the Latin expression *illa mulier* ‘that woman’ utilizes the anaphoric pronoun *illa*. Therefore, the present text is evidence that postnominal *aquel* was not in free variation but had a specific referential capacity to refer back to discourse-old entities.

*aquel* can also be used to concretely re-identify a referent such as *el hombre aquel* for *aquel hombre*, which in turn refers back to *el hombre* at the beginning of the utterance. Here the writer maintains the same demonstrative *aquel* as to correctly identify the referent as well as to indicate past frame of reference. However, this anaphoric use is stylized and is characteristic of higher mostly written registers (Eguren 1999).

19th

(144)

*Para poder apellidar a su dueño [el hombre de]*

PREP-for V-inf-able V-inf-call PREP-to POSS-3rd-s owner ART-the man PREP-of

‘In order to call the owner the man with

*la verruga*; sin que esto sea decir que

ART-the mole PREP-withoutCOMP-that DEM-this V-be V-inf-say COMP-that
the mole without meaning that

\[
[aquel \, hombre], \text{ sea } todo \, verruga, \text{ sino } es \, ya \, que
\]

DEM-that[dist] man V-be all mole PREP-without COP already COMP-that

the man is all mole but that

\[
l a \, \text{ verruga existe } en \, [el \, hombre \, aquel], \text{.}
\]

ART-the mole V-exists PREP-in ART-the man DEM-that[dist].

the man has a mole.’

(Mesonero Romanos, Ramón de. *Tipos y caracteres : bocetos de cuadros de costumbres*. 1842) (CORDE)

5.4.3 Anaphoric-co-referential

Here the demonstrative *aquel* appears postnominally in an anaphoric function, which establishes a coreferential relationship between the noun *el hombre* ‘the man’ with *aquel* ‘that (one)’ which form two separate units in contrast to (143).

15th

(145)

\[
Vino \, a \, descubrir \, su \, desordenado \, appetito
\]

V-came PREP-to V-INF-discover POSS-3rd-s disordered appetite

He then came to disclose her disordered appetite

\[
a \, su \, marido \, Antonino. \, Y \, el \, vsando
\]

PREP-to POSS-3rd-s husband Antonio CONJ-and he V-GER-use

To her husband Antonio. And making use

\[
del \, consejo \, de \, vn \, phisico:
\]

PREP-of-ART-the advice PREP-of ART-a doctor

of a doctor’s advice

\[
por \, mitigar \, el \, feruor \, de \, la \, doliente:
\]

PREP-for V-INF-moderate ART-the fervor PREP-of ART-the pained

On how to decrease the fervour of his injured wife

\[
fizo \, matar \, [el \, hombre],[aquel], \text{ de } \text{cuyos}
\]

V-make V-INF-kill ART-the man DEM-that[dist] PREP-of whose
He had the man killed

\textit{amores estaua ella tan perdida}

loves V-was she so lost.

who she was so head over heels for.’

(Boccaccio, Giovanni. \textit{De las mujeres ilustres en romance (De claris mulieribus)}. 1494)

(CORDE)

\textbf{5.4.4 Mutual knowledge}

As the distribution of the demonstratives \textit{este, ese, aquel} have changed over time it is not surprising to find \textit{aquel} functioning early on in the 14\textsuperscript{th} and 15\textsuperscript{th} centuries in the capacity of \textit{ese} with an anaphoric function. Such behavior is in line with its diachronic origin as discussed above. However, in the modern language, the use of \textit{aquel} is relatively restricted, marked as it is by the deictic feature [+dist], which implies remoteness and distance. Here however, the postnominal demonstrative serves to identify an entity already introduced in into the discourse. So \textit{la piedra aquella ‘that rock’} akin to Latin \textit{petra illa} refers back to the noun \textit{piedras ‘rocks’} in the previous sentence. Overall, the text introduces the topic of rocks (\textit{piedras}) while describing the type of land suited for the cultivation of chestnuts via the adjective \textit{pedregosa ‘rocky’}. The author then stresses this with the mention of rocks (\textit{piedras}) and further specifies the type of rocks required via an expression with the postnominal demonstrative: \textit{la piedra aquella}. However, it is important to note that in the modern language the example below would most probably be rendered with \textit{ese} giving: \textit{la piedra esa}.

15\textsuperscript{th}

(146)

\textit{Tierra negra quieren mucho E tierra [pedregosa],}

Land black V-3rdpl-want much, CONJ-and land rocky.

‘They [chestnuts]like black soil a lot. And rocky soil

\textit{en tierra que aya [piedras], que son brescadas}
PREP-in land COMP-that V-have rocks COMP-that COP covered on lands with rocks covered

con mucho estiercol. Empero que [la piedra aquella]:

CONJ-with much manure. CONJ-but COMP-that ART-the rock DEM-that with a large amount of manure. However the said rock

sea diligentemente trencada.
V-be ADV-diligently crushed.

must be carefully crushed.’

(Palladio, tr. Anónimo. De re rustica. Tratado de agricultura. 1380-1385. 15th century copy) (CORDE)

5.4.5 Situationally Accessible

Although related to the *ad oculos* function in (147) in the Situationally Accessible use in (125) below a speaker singles out a referent within eye sight but in a non-overt manner. The full-fledged postnominal expression encodes weak deixis as opposed to (144) which features a split between noun and demonstrative marked by prosody and syntax.

(125) is an early 19th century example of the Modern construction in a single unit and not just a two-tiered coreferential construction as in (147) above. Here *el pueblo aquel*: ‘that town over there’ is a locative expression used to refer to a town in the distance in direct contrast to *el pueblo este*: ‘this town here’ that refers to a town nearby. Therefore postnominal *aquel* encodes a referent outside the common sphere of speaker and addressee but still within the visual field. However, the clear cut deictic distinctions in (125) such as *el pueblo este vs el pueblo aquel* are artificial in that this is a philosophical primer in which the context of conversation is used as a means of illustrating concepts of knowledge and space. As such, this text represents a highly rhetoricized and stylized example and not actual speech. Yet the tokens at hand represent Situationally Accessible elements (see (91) Chapter 4) which have a lower deictic force than *ad oculos* in (147) in that the pointing function of the demonstrative in (125) is less overt.
He was the man from last night who kept crossing and arranging his legs.

Perhaps he struck up the following conversation with the gentleman across from him:

Do you know this place?

A little. That town, what’s it called?

If memory serves me it’s N.’

Here the speaker identifies a referent in the visual field of the speech participants via an emphatic demonstrative pronoun with strong deixis. In (147) this is the distal demonstrative pronoun aquel since the referent hombre is outside of the discourse sphere shared by speaker and addressee but still accessible via the sense of sight. (147) features a noun introduced by a copula followed by a demonstrative pronoun in a coreferential capacity.
16th

(147)

ABISÉN: ¡Espantosa novedad! No veo en Ninive gente.
Abisén: ‘What a strange novelty! I don’t see anyone in Ninive.’

CAPITÁN: No hay gente en esta ciudad.
Captain: There’s no one in this city.

ABISÉN: Mas ¿no es [hombre] [aquél]?
Abisén: But isn’t that a man over there?

(Vega, Lope de. El inobediente o la ciudad sin Dios. 1598) (Corpus del español)

5.4.7 Meta-discourse

A commonplace is by definition outside the discourse proper and yet is also subsumed under shared knowledge. Therefore in (148) below the case of the three painters in Antiquity is used to illustrate a point in direct parallel to the modern example of aquel with el ejemplo aquel (see (100) in Chapter 4) which illustrates the common example of the 50/50 outcome of a coin toss. In both cases the referents are situated beyond the present sphere of discourse and are therefore encoded with distal aquel which implies a sense of remoteness, applicable to the irrealis implied by stock examples. As such this expression is characterized with a weak deixis, referring as it does to elements within discourse and yet beyond the spatial or temporal sphere.

19th

(148)

El caso aquel de los tres pintores de la antigüedad
ART-the case DEM-that[dist] PREP-of ART-the three painters PREP-ofART-theantiquity
‘That case from Antiquity about the three painters

\[
\text{encargados de retratar a una mujer hermosísima,}
\]

charged PREP-of V-inf-portray PREP-to ART-a woman most-beautiful

charged with portraying a beautiful but one-eyed woman

\[
\text{pero tuerta, debe servirnos de ejemplo . . .}
\]

CONJ-but one-eyed V-should V-inf-serve-CL-1\textsuperscript{st}-pl PREP-of example

should serve as an example for us.’

(Navarro Villoslada, Francisco. \textit{Artículos: Selección.} 1856) (CORDE)

\textbf{5.4.8 Discourse topic}

Here Mutual knowledge that speakers have about a speech situation combines with a \textit{Discourse Topic} function in a weak deictic usage. A notorial document from the 14\textsuperscript{th} century dealing with a Jewish ghetto in the Aragonese city of Sos introduces the charge of usury against a particular individual in the community. This offence is then followed up by an investigation ordered by the king’s representative in which the matter is referred to as \textit{la cosa aquella} ‘that thing’. In the context of the document the reader is assumed to be aware of the topic of the legal discussion at hand. Thus ‘that thing’ refers to accusations of usury.

14\textsuperscript{th}

(149)

\[
\text{Item fue denunciado al dito bayle,}
\]

Item V-was denounced PREP-to-ART-the said representative

‘Item, it was denounced to the king’s representative

\[
\text{que Cecri, fillo de don Bueno Salamon,}
\]

COMP-that Cecri, son PREP-of sir Good Solomon

that Cecri, the son of sir Solomon the Good

\[
\text{judio, vezino de Sos, avia prestado}
\]

jew inhabitant PREP-of Sos AUX-had PAST-P-lent
a Jewish inhabitant of Sos, had lent
ultra el coto e mandamiento
beyond ART-the limit CONJ-and command
beyond the limit
del seynor rey, e el dito bayle
PREP-of ART-the sir king CONJ-and ART-the said representative
required by the King, and the representative
quiriendo saber verdat sobre el dito feito,
V-GER-want V-INF-know truth PREP-over ART-the said fact
Wishing to know the truth about this matter
mandasse a Jento, fillo de Jucef,
V-command PREP-of Jento son PREP-of Joseph
had ordered Jento, son of Joseph
e a David fillo de Mosse Gualit,
CONJ-and PREP-to David son PREP-of Moses Gualit
and David, son of Moses Gualit,
adenantados, que heran en aquel tiempo,
COMP-that V-were PREP-in DEM-that[dist] time
who were both frontier governors at that time
et a Ycra, el bedi de la aliama
CONJ-and PREP-to Ycra ART-the leader PREP-of Art-the jewery
as well as Ycra, the leader of the Jewish ghetto
de Sos, que prendiesen testimonio
PREP-of Sos COMP-that V-take testimony
in Sos, that they take down an account
de verdat de la cosa aquella
PREP-of truth PREP-of ART-the thing DEM-that[dist]
concerning the truth about this matter.’

(Anónimo. Documento notorial. 1310-1313) (CORDE)

A 16th century account describes the Incan Civil War between Guascar and Atahualpa,
two rival claimants to the Incan throne, shortly before the arrival of the Spaniards. Thus the text
details the relationship between rival Incan factions. Here the referent is introduced by a copula and features a noun followed by a demonstrative pronoun: [cosa], [aquella]. This referent relates back to news reported by Cuxi Yupangue to Incan leader Chalcuchima concerning their common enemies the supporters of the rival Guascar.

16th

(150)

Dijo al Chalcuchima que le parecía
V-said PREP-to-ART-the Chalcuchima COMP-that CL-3rd-s V-seemed
‘He [Cuxi Yupangue] told Chalcuhima that it seemed to him
que debía descender a verse
COMP-that REFL-3rd-s V-INF-descend PREP-to-V-INF-see-REFL-3rd-s
that he should go down to meet
con su señor Atagualpa y que como fuese
PREP-with POSS-3rd-s lords Atahualpa CONJ-and COMP-that as V-went
with his lord Atahualpa and as they went through
por las provincias fuese castigando a los
PREP-for ART-the provinces V-went V-GER-punish PREP-to ART-the
the provinces he should go and punish everyone
que se habían estado a la mira
COMP-that REFL-3rd-pl AUX-had PASTP-been PREP-to ART-the sight
in sight
y no le habían salido a dar favor
CONJ-and NEG CL-3rd-s AUX-had PAST-P-gone-out PREP-to V-inf-give favor
who had not come out to give favor
y ayuda en los que hallasen culpados
CONJ-and aide PREP-in ART-theCOMP-that V-found guilty
and support against those who had been found guilty.
y se habían hallado con
CONJ-and REFL-3rd-pl AUX-had PAST-P-found PREP-with
As for those who had met with
los capitanes de Guascar que los castigase y
ART-the captains PREP-of Huascar COMP-that CL-3rd-pl V-punish CONJ-and

Guascar’s captains, he should punish them as well.

viendo Chalcuchima que era [cosa]i [aquella]i que
V-GER-see Chalcuchima COMP-that V-was thing DEM-that[dist] COMP-that

Chalcuchima upon seeing that

le decía Cuxi Yupangue en que haría servicio a
CL-3rd-s V-say Cuxi Yupangue PREP-in COMP-that V-would-do service PREP-to

Cuxi Yupangue had told him that the aforesaid thing would do service to

su señor y en aquella jornada ir haciendo
POSS-3rd-s lord CONJ-and PREP-in DEM-that[dist] day V-INF-go V-GER-do

his lord he went out that day to carry out

aquel castigo que le decía en los
DEM-that[dist] punishment COMP-that CL-3rd-s V-said PREP-in ART-the

the punishment about which he [Cuxi] had informed him against those

que hallase culpados por do pasase y así
COMP-that V-found guilty PREP-for where V-passed CONJ-and thus

he should found guilty wherever he went. And with that

se partió Chalcuchima del Cuzco
REFL-3rd-s V-left Chalcuchima PREP-of ART-the Cuzco

Chalcuchima left Cuzco.’

(Betanzos, Juan de. Suma y narración de los incas. 1551) (CORDE)

5.4.9 Exclamation

Aquel, which encodes information outside of the speaker and addressee’s sphere, lends itself to a temporal deixis referring to the past. Therefore, the demonstrative can be used to invoke something absent from the present discourse. This can include an emotional content that evokes the thing lost (153) (see (7), Chapter 1). The examples below from the 16th (151) and the 18th (152) century are representative of such uses and are identical in the modern language.
16th

(151)

Pau.: ¡Mirad vos qué cosa aquella!
Pau: V-look you EXCLAM-wh thing DEM-that[dist]

“Pau: Look what a thing that is!”

(Vicente, Gil. Comedia del viudo. 1524) (CORDE)

18th

(152)

¡Qué día aquel para mí!
EXCLAM-wh day DEM-that[dist] PREP-for me

‘What a day that was for me!’

(Montengón, Pedro. Eusebio. 1784) (CORDE)

As in the synchronic corpora (see (105), Chapter 4) distal aquel lends itself to a special Exclamation function used to evoke past referents. The Evocative content of these expressions stems from the peculiar deixis of aquel which signals an entity removed from the discourse sphere. Via postnominal aquel a referent can be encoded as not only temporally distant but Evoked as something forever lost. So in (153) the book being described is no longer possessed by the speaker but is Evoked as a hypothetical- ‘if only I still had that book.’

19th

(153)

Sólo sé que éramos nobles, hace mucho, y que
Only V-know COMP-that V-were nobles V-make much CONJ-and COMP-that

‘I only know that we were nobles a long time ago and that

salimos de Raíces. ¡Oh! ¡Si yo conservase el libro aquel
V-leave PREP-of roots oh if I V-conserved ART-the book DEM-that[dist]

we descended from nobility. Oh, if I’d kept that book

de blasones de que tanto me hablaba mi madre,
of crests that my mother used to talk about so much

and that my father seemingly despised.’

(Alas, Leopoldo. *Su único hijo*. 1876) (CORDE)

(154) incorporates postnominal *aquel* to nostalgically evoke an idealized period of time in politics which the speaker perceives as less complicated and conflict-driven than the present situation. It is of note that the adjective *gran* – ‘great’ in (154) is used to heighten the emotive impact of the speaker’s recollection.

19th

(154)

Una de las cosas que con frecuencia andan
‘One of the things often

on people’s tongues is that it was a great time

when there no more than

And they always alternated with each other.’

(Cánovas del Castillo, Antonio. *Discursos: Selección*. 1862) (CORDE)
5.5 Diachronic Structural categories: *aquel*

5.5.1 $[\text{DP} \ [\text{SPEC ART} \ [\text{D} \ [\text{NP} \ N \ [\text{DEMlo DEM}]]]]$

In contrast to the modern language the demonstrative *aquel* had a relatively wider distribution in the synchronic record (Figure 1.5). *Aquel* features early on in cases of the modern-style postnominal constructions featuring the string: ART-N-DEM that makes up a single unit. This construction with *aquel* first appears in the 14-15th century.

$[\text{SPEC DP ART} \ [\text{D} \ [\text{NP} \ N \ [\text{DEMlo DEM}]]]] \ w/o \ XP$

A notorial document from the early 14th century constitutes one of the earliest examples of the full postnominal expression with distal *aquel*. However, due to its place of origin the document exhibits dialectal mixing of Aragonese and Castilian. The resulting language being a highly Aragonese-colored form of Castilian with lexical features such as *fillo* for *fijo*, and *dito* for *dicho*, *feito* for *fecho* etc. Barring such differences it is significant that *la cosa aquella* exhibits a postnominal referring expression along the modern pattern: $[\text{SPEC DP ART} \ [\text{D} \ [\text{NP} \ N \ [\text{DEMlo DEM}]]]]$ wherein the definite article in SPEC DP licenses the DP projection, a well as being co-indexed with the post-posed demonstrative.

In (149) the *Discourse Topic* is rendered in the syntax in a single string so as to convey a weak deictic content with the demonstrative in postposition in contrast to NP shift construction analyzed below which feature special prosody and syntax.

14th

(see (149))

*que prendiesen testimonio*

COMP-that V-take testimony

202
that they take down an account

\textit{de verdat de la cosa aquella}

PREP-of truth PREP-of ART-the thing DEM-that[dist]

concerning the truth about this matter

(Anónimo. Documento notarial. 1310-1313) (CORDE)

It is relevant to the discussion at hand that most early cases appear in translations and not original Castilian compositions as such. Specifically a 14\textsuperscript{th} century translation (in a 15\textsuperscript{th} century copy) of \textit{De re rustica} by the Latin writer Palladius (146) and a late 15\textsuperscript{th} century printed edition based on John of Capua’s Latin version of Bidpai’s Panchatantra (142). Such indirect transmissions are compounded by the variant translation history of the Spanish versions themselves exhibited by the 1493 vs 1532 Zaragoza editions mentioned previously. Although somewhat indirect these examples represent an early indication of the inventory of referring expressions vis-à-vis the placement of the demonstrative where a postposition was possible. In this case the \textit{Anaphoric} reference exhibits a complete postnominal string in keeping with the lower deictic content.

\textit{14\textsuperscript{th}}

(see (146))

\textit{Empero que la piedra aquella}

CONJ-with much manure. CONJ-but COMP-that ART-the rock DEM-that[+dist]

sea diligentemente trencada.

V-be ADV-diligently crushed.

(Paladio; tr. Anónimo. \textit{De re rustica; Tratado de Agricultura}. 1380-1385 copied 15\textsuperscript{th} century)

\textit{15\textsuperscript{th}}

(see (142))

\textit{ni muriera la mujer aquella si no . . . .}

NEG V-die ART-the woman DEM-that if NEG
‘nor would that women have perished if she hadn’t
(De Capua, Juan. Ejemplario contra los engaños y peligros del mundo. 1493) (CORDE)

The example below continues the \{SPEC \_{DP ART \_D’ \_NP N \_DEM\_ DEM}]\} pattern for \textit{aquel}
which surfaces in the 15\textsuperscript{th} century. Here a description of Francisco de Pizarro’s exploits in Lima,
Peru refers to \textit{aquellos que no tenían indios}—‘those who did not have (their own) Indians’.
The writer utilizes distal \textit{aquel} which is resumed later on with a postnominal expression: \textit{la gente aquella}—‘those people’.

\textbf{16\textsuperscript{th}}

(155)

\begin{center}
Pues encitado el governador don francisco piçarro de
\end{center}
then ADJ- ART-the governor don francisco pizarro PREP-of

‘Then the governor Francisco Pizarro, spired on

\begin{center}
[aquellos que no tenían indios], hazenle que salga
\end{center}
DEM-those COM-that NEG V-have indians V-make-CL-3\textsuperscript{rd}-s COMP-that V-leave

By those that did not have indians, made him leave

\begin{center}
de la cibdad de los rreyes con sus banderastendidas
\end{center}
PREP-of ART-the city PREP-of ART-the kings PREP-with POSS-3\textsuperscript{rd}-pl flags unfolded

The city of Kings with his flags unfurled

\begin{center}
tocando atambores y pifaros alborotando la tierra
\end{center}
GER-playing drums CONJ-and trumpets GER-disturbing ART-the earth

Playing drums and trumpets, disturbing the land

\begin{center}
Saliose este governador piçarro con toda
\end{center}
V-left-REFL-3rds DEM-this governor Pizarro PREP-with all

Governor Pizarro left the city of the Kings with all

\begin{center}
[la gente aquella], de la cibdad de los Reyes
\end{center}
ART-the people DEM-that PREP-of the city PREP-of ART-the kings

Those people

\begin{center}
y fuese al valle de pachacama
\end{center}
CONJ-and V-went-REFL-3rds PREP-to ART-the valley PREP-of Pachacama
And went to Pachacama Valley.’

(Alonso, Borregán. *Crónica de la conquista del Perú*. 1565) (CORDE)

A later example is a 19th century translation of Camões’ *Lusiadas* by el Conde de Cheste. The translation itself in (156a) features *el tiempo aquel* [SPEC DP ART [D’ [NP N [DEMlo DEM]]]] ‘that time’ with a post-posed form of the distal demonstrative. While the original Portuguese in (156b) features *aquele tempo* [DP [SPEC DEM [D’ [NP N]]]] with the demonstrative in first position. In making the translation, which is more of a paraphrase as it strives to be in verse form, the translator utilizes a demonstrative placement not available in Portuguese in his Spanish rendering of Camões’ epic.

19th

(156)

a. «Tambien, con nos, abate las banderas
Also CONJ-with CL-1st-s V-beat ART-the flags

‘Also along with us it defeats the flags

De esas aves de Júpiter amadas;
PREP-of DEM-those birds PREP-of Jupiter PAST-P-beloved

Of those birds beloved by Jupiter

Que desde el tiempo aquel las más guerreras
COMP-that PREP-from ART-the time DEM-that ART-the more warrior-like

That since that time the most warrior-like

Huestes son por nosotros ya arrolladas.
Troops COP PREP-for PRO-1st-pl already beaten-down

troops are defeated by us.’


b. “Vês? Conosco também vence as bandeiras
V-2nd-s-see CONJ-with-PRO-1st-pl also V-defeat ART-the flags

‘You see? Along with us it defeats the flags

Dessas aves de Júpiter validas;
Of those birds beloved of Jupiter

Which already in that time the most warrior-like

Among us knew to be defeated.

(Camões, Luiz de. *As Lusiadas*. Canto VII. 16th century)

The following examples from the 19th century (143), (143) and (147) constitute the article headed paradigm of the postnominal demonstrative as used at the beginning of the Modern period. (143) appears without an accompanying XP as it occurs at the end of a phrase identifying the previously mentioned referent being described- in this case ‘the man with the mole’.

19th

(see (143))

‘but that the man has a mole.’

(Mesonero Romanos, Ramón de. *Tipos y caracteres : bocetos de cuadros de costumbres*. 1842)

In (125), *aquel* is used in the capacity of a locative expression to locate an entity in discourse. Here the speaker uses the construction to introduce the entity in question- ‘a town visible in the distance’- following this expression up with a question as to the town’s name. However the postnominal position serves to encode a non-overt, low deictic function where the town is assumed to be accessible to the addressee in contrast to (145) where the demonstrative overtly points out a referent in space.

19th
El pueblo aquel, ¿cómo se llama?

―That town, what’s it called?

\[\text{[SPEC\ DP\ ART\ [D'\ [NP\ N\ [DEM\ DEM]\ [PP\ PREP]]]\]}

(148) appears in first position followed by a PP since it does not directly refer back textually but rather draws on a cultural commonplace from antiquity. Just as in English we would refer to it as ‘That case with the three painters.’ The postnominal syntax serves to encode the expression as deictically weak since (148) is a Meta-Discourse function referring to an entity within discourse but beyond spatio-temporal categories.

19\textsuperscript{th}

(see (148))

El caso aquel de los tres pintores de la antigüedad

―That case from Antiquity about the three painters

(Navarro Villoslada, Francisco. Artículos. Selección. 1856) (CORDE)

\[\text{[SPEC\ DP\ ART\ [D'\ [NP\ N\ [DEM\ DEM]\ [PP\ PREP]]]\] w/o\ XP}\]

Referring back to the topic of this Gothic narration (141) picks up on the activity of the organist after a conjunction where the postnominal expression is followed by a verb. In contrast, to (145), (141) forms a single unit which encodes Anaphoric and Discourse Topic functions. Both of these uses are relatively weak deictically as encoded in the syntax where the demonstrative appears as part of a continuous string: [ART-N-DEM].

19\textsuperscript{th}
and the man continued

recorriendo las teclas.

The ‘evocative’ expression in (153) is different in structure to its other Exclamation counterparts which feature a wh-exclamative. Here the string the article headed paradigm

19th

(see (153))

¡Oh! ¡Si yo conservase el libro aquel

‘Oh, if I’d kept that book . . . .’

(Alas, Leopoldo. Su único hijo. 1876) (CORDE)

5.5.2 NP-shift

In contrast to demonstratives este, ese the pattern of heavy NP-shift is a minority pattern for postnominal aquel in the diachronic record. A copula-headed construction features a noun and a corresponding pronominal demonstrative in contrast to the single syntactic unit [ART-N-DEM] featured in examples such as (149).

NP-shift COP [SPEC DP [D’ [NP [N]]]]i...[DP DEM]i [CP COMP]]

A 16th century Crónica de Indias features the COP-NP-shift construction whereby the construction is introduced with a copula and the demonstrative is shifted into post-posed position following the noun. The construction appears without the leading definite article in contrast to
the previous structural examples. (150) refers to a Discourse Topic therefore the demonstrative pronoun can be elided without affecting the deictic import.

16th

(see (150))

y CONJ-and

viendo Chalcochima que era [cosa]₁ [aquella]₁ que
V-GER-see Chalcochima COMP-that V-was thing DEM-that[dist] COMP-that

‘And Chalcochima upon seeing that, that was something . . ‘.

(Betanzos, Juan de. Suma y narración de los incas. 1551) (CORDE)


In (154) the same NP-shift structure applies; however, the indefinite article appears alongside a prenominal adjective. This unique structure may, in fact, be coreferential but this is not clear from the text which lacks prosodic information. Here the adjective appears in prenominal positions which creates a qualitative reading in common with some Synchronic tokens (see (96b&c); (102) Chapter 4) and Diachronic data (131) in strings of type ADJ-N-DEM, where an adjective head a postnominal demonstrative expression.

Furthermore, this structure also mirrors the British English construction which generally features an attributive adjective and a noun followed by a demonstrative as in: A very impudent fellow this (see (58a) Chapter 2). In fact, (58a) further mirrors (154) in that it is headed by the indefinite article.

19th

(see (154))
it was a great time that
(Cánovas del Castillo, Antonio. *Discursos. Selección*. 1862) (CORDE)

**NP-shift COP COP [SPEC DP [D' [NP [N]]]...[DP DEM] w/o XP**

In this 16th century example the copula heads an identifying construction where the noun appears adjacent to a coreferential demonstrative pronoun. In (147) the expression contains strong deixis therefore the demonstrative pronoun cannot be elided since it overtly points out a referent removed from both speaker and addressee. This remoteness stems from the deictic qualities of the demonstrative *aquel* encodes entities outside of the discourse sphere.

16th

(see (147))

*ABISÉN:* Mas ¿no es *[hombre]i *[aquel]i?
Abisén: CONJ-but NEG COP man DEM-that[dist]
‘Abisén: But isn’t that a man over there?’
(Vega, Lope de. *El inobediente o la ciudad sin Dios*. 1598) (Corpus del español)

**NP-shift COP [SPEC DP [D' [NP [N]]]...[DP DEM] [CP COMP]**

Example (157) encodes a Discourse Topic via the NP-shift construction headed by a copula. Here the noun and the demonstrative appear in separate coreferential prosodic units. Given that the expression in (157) is deictically weak, demonstrative pronoun can be elided since it has no overt deictic function in contrast to (147).

16th

(157)

*No*[ buena materia]i *[aquella]i
NEG COP good material DEM-that[dist]
‘That material he’s giving que te da . . .
you is not good.’

(Meneses, Felipe de. Luz del alma cristiana. 1555) (Corpus del español)

**NP-shift COP [SPEC DP [D’ [NP [N]]]i…[DP DEM]i [PP PREP]**

Similarly, (158) features a copula-headed construction with a noun and the requisite demonstrative pronoun in separate units. However this construction is followed by a PP rather than a relative clause.

16th

(158)

*Ninguno, si algo alcanza, lo reparte,*

NEG if something V-3rd-s-obtain CL-3rd-s V-3rd-s-give-out

No one who accomplishes something shares it

**que no era [tiempo]i [aquel]i de ser partido,**

COMP-that NEG V-was time DEM-that[dist] PREP-of V-inf-be PAST-P-divided

For that wasn’t the time for giving out

**ni allí la caridad, aunque la había,**

NEG LOC-there ART-the charity CONJ-though CL-3rd-s EXIST

charity even there, even though there was some

**estenderse a los prójimos podía.**

V-inf-extend-REFL-3rd-s PREP-to ART-the proximate V-could

And it could extend to our fellow man.’

(Ercilla, Alonso de. La Araucana. 1564) (CORDE)

5.5.3. Coreferential-[SPEC DP ART [D’ [NP N]]i…[DP DEM]i

Although linearly identical to example (141), instead of forming a single unit (145) features a prosodic break between the noun and the demonstrative, whereby the demonstrative is pronominal in use. This phenomena, signaled by a comma in the text, is accomplished via broken prosody and syntax as in the British example (see (58), Chapter 2).
15th

(see (145))

fizo  matar  [el  hombre],  [aquél],  de  cuyos
V-make  V-INF-kill  ART-the  man  DEM-that[dist]  PREP-of  whose
He had the man killed whose
amores
loves . . . .

(Boccacio, Giovanni. *De las mujeres ilustres en romance (De claris mulieribus).* 1494)
(CORDE)

5.5.4  [CP  COMP  [NP  N]],  [DP  DEM]i

The following examples are *Exclamation* expressions which utilize a wh-word in first position that shifts the demonstrative to the left-periphery. Similar to *este/ese* these expressions allow for an optional copula. In this instance the copula is in the past tense given the nature of distal demonstrative *aquél*. Like NP-shift these expression are made up of two separate coreferential units: the noun and a demonstrative in a pronominal capacity:  

[CP  COMP  [NP  N]],  [DP  DEM]i  in contrast to (141) which constitutes the full postnominal paradigm  

[DP  [SPEC  ART  [D  

[DP  [NP  N  [DEMlo  DEM]]].

16th

(see (151))

Pau.:  ¡Mirad vos qué  cosa  aquella!
Pau:  V-look  you  EXCLAM-wh  thing  DEM-that[dist]
‘Pau: Look what a thing that is!’

(Vicente, Gil. *Comedia del viudo.* 1524)(CORDE)
¡Qué día aquel para mí!

‘What a day that was for me!’

(Montengón, Pedro. *Eusebio*. 1784) (CORDE)

5.5.5 Overview of diachronic *aquel*

*Aquel* is well distributed in the diachronic record with the informational categories: Anaphoric, Mutual Knowledge, *Ad oculos*, Meta-discourse, Discourse topic, and Exclamation functions. These categories are parallel to those found in the synchronic corpora save for the Affective use (see Chapter 4) which does not appear. The structural attestations of postnominal *aquel* appear from the 14th-15th centuries onwards in an unbroken string a of type $[\textit{SPEC} \, \textit{DP} \, \textit{ART} \, [D \, [NP \, [N \, [\textit{DEMlo} \, \textit{DEM}]]]]]$, which constitutes a single syntactic unit. This sequence appears as an Anaphoric use (*la mujer aquella* (142)), Mutual Knowledge (*la piedra aquella* (146))) and Discourse Topic (*la cosa aquella* (149)). This string then appears across categories and continues unchanged into the 19th century (*el caso aquel*(148)) and the modern language (see (100); Chapter 4).

The full postnominal paradigm: $[\textit{SPEC} \, \textit{DP} \, \textit{ART} \, [D' \, [NP \, [N \, [\textit{DEMlo} \, \textit{DEM}]]]]]$ can be modified via an XP of type PP (148) or zero (141). However, a series of NP-shift constructions emerges in the 16th century headed by a copular verb COP $[\textit{SPEC} \, \textit{DP} \, [D' \, [NP \, [N]]]] \ldots [\textit{DP} \, \textit{DEM}]_i$ (*No era buena materia aquella*(157)) whereby the noun is shifted into second position adjacent to a following demonstrative pronoun. Of note is that in contrast to $[\textit{SPEC} \, \textit{DP} \, \textit{ART} \, [D' \, [NP \, [N \, [\textit{DEMlo} \, \textit{DEM}]]]]]$ these construction do not exhibit a single unit but a two tier structure consisting of a noun and coreferential demonstrative separated but have a syntactic break also signaled via prosody.
These shifted constructions also feature modifying XP’s of type CP (157), PP (158) or zero (147). In addition, the Exclamation construction involves a CP clause of type \[ CP \text{ COMP } [ NP [N] \ldots [DP DEM] \ldots] \] (151&152). Some Exclamation uses are ‘evocative’ since they evoke past referent. While still exclamative in character these examples do not follow the same article-less CP headed pattern but the far more common sequence \[ [NP ADJ N] \ldots [DP DEM] \ldots] (154) This distribution can be accounted for via the semantics of the demonstrative \textit{aquel} whose distal deixis is transferred onto the temporal realm.

As shown in Figure 5.2 below, full postnominal \textit{aquel} appears in expression of mid to low deixis involved in Anaphoric, Mutual Knowledge, Meta-Discourse. In contrast to highly deictic uses such as \textit{Ad oculos}, Exclamation uses in which the demonstrative is set off from the noun via a pause. Although limited, aquel also appears in NP-shift construction with low deixis (Discourse Topic) in which the demonstrative can be elided without changing the deictic import of the expression.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Informational Categories</th>
<th>Structural Categories</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Past reference</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deixis [-low, -high]</td>
<td>[SPEC DP ART [D’ [NP N [DEMlo DEM]]]w/o XP ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Anaphoric</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deixis [-low, -high]</td>
<td>[SPEC DP ART [D’ [NP N [DEMlo DEM]]] w/o XP ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Anaphoric-coreferential</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deixis [+high]</td>
<td>[SPEC DP ART [D’ [NP [N]]]i[DP DEM]i[PP PREP]]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>World knowledge</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deixis [+low]</td>
<td>[SPEC DP ART [D’ [NP N [DEMlo DEM]]]-w/o XP ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Situationally Accessible</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deixis [+low]</td>
<td>[SPEC DP ART [D’ [NP N [DEMlo DEM]]w/o XP ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ad oculos</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deixis [+high]</td>
<td>COP [SPEC DP [D’ [NP [N]]]i…[DP DEM]i[CP COMP]]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Meta-discourse</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Deixis [+low]

**Discourse topic**  
Deixis [+low]  
Exclamative  
Deixis [+high]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Structure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Discourse topic</td>
<td>COP [SPEC DP [D' [NP [N]]]]...[DP DEM], [CP COMP]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deixis [+low]</td>
<td>[SPEC DP ART [D' [NP N [DEMlo DEM]]]] w/o XP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exclamative</td>
<td>[CP COMP [NP N]]...[DP DEM]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deixis [+high]</td>
<td>[SPEC DP ART [D' [NP N [DEMlo DEM]]]]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>COP [SPEC DP ART-indef [NP ADJ N]]...[DP DEM],</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 5.2 Informational and Structural Categories for Diachronic *aquel*

### 5.6 Diachronic *este/ese* vs *aquel*

The diachronic record reveals the demonstratives *este/ese* and *aquel* in postnominal position under varying pragmatic uses and syntactic structures. At base, the distribution of proximal and medial *este/ese* stems from the local deixis of the demonstratives themselves. The use of these deictic terms centers around a referential referring expression used to encode a referent accessible in discourse. Pragmatic uses thereby include: *Anaphoric, Situationally Accessible, Ad oculos, Mutual Knowledge, and Discourse Topic*. However, given that the diachronic record is restricted to written and more stylized registers oral phenomena such as *Retrieval and Repair* do not appear in the available texts.

In contrast to *este/ese*, the deictic import of *aquel* tends to communicate a sense of distance, referring as it does to an entity outside the discourse sphere. Therefore, while *aquel* can be used for *Anaphoric, Discourse Topic, and Ad Oculos* functions, it specifically encodes entities removed from the discourse context proper. A use like *Meta-discourse* involves discourse topics and tropes, in addition to *Exclamation*, which can emotionally evoke a past referent. Both of these above uses involve a sense of remoteness be it temporal or figurative based on the semantics of the distal demonstrative *aquel*.  

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From the 14th-15th century the DP licenser of postnominal *este, ese, aquel* appears in an overt form as a definite article identical to the construction found in the modern language where the sequence ([SPEC DP ART [D’ [NP N [DEMlo DEM]]]]) forms a single syntactic unit.

\[ \text{SPEC DP ART [D’ [NP N [DEMlo DEM]]]} \]

14th

(see (110))

La tenor de [la carta(s) esta] \(_i\) fue
ART-the character PREP-of ART-the letter DEM[-prox]-that COP
‘The content of the aforesaid letter was . . .

(Biblia Latina. 1350-1400) (CORDE)

The demonstrative also appears in postnominal position (from the 13th century onwards) as part of a NP-shifted construction headed by a copula ([CP COMP [NP [N] \(_i\) ...[DEM] \(_i\)]]). In contrast to the full fledged postnominal string \([NP ADJ N]_i ...[DP DEM]_i\), this paradigm does not constitute a single unit but features two coreferential elements: a noun followed by a demonstrative in a purely pronominal capacity as shown in (113) which stems from the Latin construction EST QUI.

**NP-shift:** COP [SPEC DP ART [D’ [NP [N]]]...[DP DEM] \(_i\)]

13th

(see (118))

Et son [los privilegios] \(_i\) [estos] \(_i\) que diremos agora.
CONJ-and COP ART-the priviledges these COMP-that V-1\(^{st}\)-pl-we-will-say now.
‘And the priviledges are these which I will say now.’

(General Estoria. 13th) (CORDE)
The noun in tokens like (118) is shifted into second position next to an adjacent demonstrative pronoun, leaving the copula in first position: 

\[
[spec\ dp\ [D'\ [np\ [N]]]],\ cop\ [dp\ dem]],\ cop\ [spec\ dp\ [D'\ [np\ [N]]]],\ ...[dp\ dem],\ \]

Therefore both noun and demonstrative are coreferential but do not form a single unit like 

\[
[spec\ dp\ art\ [D'\ [np\ [demlo\ dem]]]],\ \]

as evidence by the interpolation of the copula. This NP-shifted construction later allows for XP modifiers beyond CP’s to include PP’s in the 16th century (127) and eventually a stand-alone construction (124). As shown in (139) these demonstratives are somewhat freer and less coreferential than in (118) but appear in expressions of mid to low deixis including Anaphoric, Discourse Topic, and Mutual Knowledge.

Thus 16th century tokens (128), (127) and (120) allow for the elimination of the demonstrative without affecting the grammaticality and the deictic reading of the expression. In this vein, these tokens are informationally similar to Synchronci article-less variants such as (57) which encode weaker deixis (Anaphoric) although they feature the NP-shift construction.

16th

(see (128))

\[
En\ fin\ siendo\ [materia],\ (esta)\ que\ se\ ha\ de\ adivinar.
\]

‘In the end, this being a matter that must be guessed at.’

(La historia de la conquista de Itzá. 16th) (CORDE)

(see (127))

\[
No\ son\ buenas\ [burlas],\ (esas)\ para\ un\ pobre\ mozo\ como\ yo.
\]

‘These are not tricks for a poor boy like me’

(Alemán, Mateo. Guzmán de Alfarache. 1598) (CORDE)
Y es tan odioso [canto]ı (este)ı que en oyéndolo . . . .

‘And this song is so odious that anyone who hears it . . .’

(Horozco, Sebastián de. *Libro de proverbio glosados*. 1544) (CORDE)

20\textsuperscript{th}

(see (57))

"Es difícil hacer [cosa (esta) a la que debíamos]

‘It’s difficult to make a calculation, which is something we should be more than prepared for.’

(Noticia:Cuba:CubaNet:Febrero 4, 1998) (Corpus del español)

Although rare, copula headed constructions occasionally feature an element before the noun such as an indefinite article in the 16\textsuperscript{th} century (130) or a possessive in the 17\textsuperscript{th} century (124). Both examples feature demonstratives with mid to low deixis Affective (130), Situationally Accessible (124) which can be elided similar to previous 16\textsuperscript{th} century examples (127), (128), (130) and along the lines of 20\textsuperscript{th} century examples like (57). However, in terms of syntax these NP-shift examples exhibit a bipartite structure with a noun and a demonstrative pronoun in two distinct units separated by syntax and prosody which stems from the Latin construction *Gaius (is) est qui*. This broken pattern is in contrast to full blown postnominal sequences of type $[SPEC\ DP\ ART\ [D\ [NP\ N[DEMlo\ DEM]]]]$ or the article-less paradigm $[SPEC\ DP\ [D\ [NP\ N[DEMlo\ DEM]]]]$ in (57).
Mas es comúnmente [una gente]i (esta)f que
But COP commonly a people DEM-this COMP-that
‘But these are a people that commonly don’t recall
(Mercado, Tomás de. *Summa de tratos y contratos*. 1545)

A buen seguro que son
PREP-to good sure COMP-that COP
Where are you whore? Surely
[tus]i [cosas]i (estas)f.
POSS-2nds things DEM-these.
these things are of your doing.’
(Cervantes. Miguel de. *Don Quijote*. 1605) (CORDE)

Aside from the rare appearance of prenominal elements in (124)&(130) NP-shift
constructions generally appear in a sequence without a preceding article. In contrast, 20th century
examples like (57) are not headed by the copula ser. The absence of the copula points to a
different construction where SPEC DP lacks a licenser for DP in the article-less sequence: [SPEC
DP [D [NP N]]]i...[DP DEM]i. Aside from the Latin qui homo this pattern is first attested with a
post-posed demonstrative in the early 17th century and restricted to higher registers (*materia
esta*) and mid to low deictic uses such as *Discourse Topic* and *Anaphoric*. 
Yet this article-less paradigm only fully surfaces in the 19th century:

19th

(see (117))

[prendas estas que] articles DEM-these COMP-that

(Villaverde, Cirilo. *Cecilia Valdés o la loma del ángel*. 1853)(CORDE)

An analogous NP-shift construction appears later as postnominal *aquel* from the 16th (150) to 19th (154) centuries. NP-shifted forms that feature an article as in (154) appear to correspond most closely to the post-posed demonstrative construction in British English (see (58a&b); Chapter 2) which is an exclamative expression where the demonstrative is separated from the main structure via prosody. Thus there is a break in the structure between the noun and the following demonstrative

The Spanish equivalent in (154) does not appear to exhibit this particular phenomenon; however, since prosody cannot be culled from diachronic corpora.
Though limited in its distribution the article-less construction with *este/ese* as in (57) and (129) is more prevalent than in *aquel*, which follows the NP-shift pattern and is limited to *Discourse Topic* (150) and a special ‘evocative’ *Exclamation* (154) use.

16th

(see (150))

\[ \text{y viendo Chalcochima que era [cosa], [aquella], que} \]

\text{CONJ-and V-GER-see Chalcochima COMP-that V-was thing DEM-that[dist] COMP-that}

‘And Chalcochima upon seeing that that was something . . .’

(Betanzos, Juan de. *Suma y narración de los incas*. 1551) (CORDE)

19th

(see (154))

\[ \text{era [un gran tiempo], [aquel]} \]

\text{V-was ART-a great time DEM-that[dist]}

it was a great time that

(Cánovas del Castillo, Antonio. *Discursos: Selección*. 1862) (CORDE)

Although sparse in attestation *este* and *aquel* appear relatively early on in the 14th-15th centuries in a full blown postnominal structure with the definite article as a licenser in SPEC DP featuring a single syntactic unit: \[ [\text{SPEC DP ART [D' [NP N [DEMO DEM]]]]} \]. On the other hand, the NP-shift construction appearing with *este/ese* and *aquel* is parallel to *Exclamation* expressions headed by a CP projection or ADJ in that it does not make up a single unit but features an optional copula: \[ [\text{CP COMP [NP N]}]; (COP) [DP DEM], or [NP ADJ N]; (COP) [DP DEM].\] On the other hand, the Modern article-less form (129) which lacks a licenser in SPEC DP is a distinct variant found in a position right after its antecedent and restricted to stylized registers.
As shown in (139) as well as (128), (127), (120) the presence of the demonstrative in NP-shift constructions with weak deixis: *Mutual Knowledge, Anaphoric*, and *Discourse Topic* the syntactic relationship between the noun and the demonstrative is not strictly coreferential in that the demonstrative can be elided without resulting in ungrammaticality. There is a break between these elements in contrast to \( [\text{SPEC } \text{DP } \text{ART } [D' [NP N [\text{DEMlo DEM}]]] \) (110) therefore the copula can be interpolated between the noun and the demonstrative. The interpolation of the copula points reveals that they do not constitute a single prosodic unit as in \( [\text{SPEC } \text{DP } \text{ART } [D' [NP N [\text{DEMlo DEM}]]] \).

(159) illustrates the alternation of the copula in a single writer within a single work. In contrast to the NP-shift construction (159a) features a noun with a connecting copula to a coreferential demonstrative pronoun.

\[
[\text{NP } N_i \text{ COP } [\text{DP } \text{DEM}]_i]
\]

(159a)

\[
[\text{Doctrina}]_i \quad \text{es} \quad [\text{esta}]_i \quad \text{que} \quad \text{puede} \quad \text{verse} \quad \ldots
\]

doctrine \quad COP \quad DEM-this \quad COMP-that \quad V-can \quad V-inf-see-REFL-3rd-s

‘This is a doctrine that can be seen . . . .’

(Unamuno, Miguel de. *Ensayos*. 1900) (Fernández-Ramírez 1951:261)

(159b) in contrast features an NP on the left-periphery with an adjacent demonstrative. This has the same structure as the 17th century example (129) in addition to 19th century (121) as well as Modern examples of the article-less postnominal paradigm (see (57)&(84); Chapter 4). In each case the accompanying demonstrative can be eliminated without resulting in ungrammaticality as shown in (159b).
[(SPEC DP [D’ [NP N]] i... ([DP DEM]).)]

(159b)

Carencia (esta) de que se duelen no pocos extranjeros . .

lack DEM-this PREP-ofCOMP-that REFL-3rd-pl V-pain NEG few foreigners

‘This is a lack which not a few foreigners are pained by.’

(Unamuno, Miguel de. *Ensayos.* 1900) (Fernández-Ramírez 1951:261)

Therefore, while similar on the surface the Modern examples are distinct in that (159a) exhibits a direct anaphor *esta* with a bipartite syntactic structure \([NP N], COP [DP DEM]\), while (159b) constitutes an *Shared Knowledge* expression relatively weaker in deixis than the previous one. Thus (159b) features a string on the left periphery with the postnominal demonstrative \([SPEC \, DP [D’ [NP N]]]...] [DP DEM]i, where there is no SPEC DP to license the DP projection. Therefore this construction appears as an isolated unit on the left or right periphery.

Such copula variation is parallel to that shown in diachronic examples (128) and (129) where the isolated theme on the left periphery in (129) can be seen in variation with examples that feature the copula (128).

(see (128)

*En fin siendo materia esta . . .*

PREP-in end V-GER-be material DEM-this

(*Historia de la conquista de Itzá. 16th*) (CORDE)

(see (129))

*Materia esta . . . *

Material DEM-this

(Paravicino y Arteaga, Hortensio Félix. *Oraciones evangélicas y panegíricos funerales.* 1606 )

(CORDE)
(128) & (129) both encode Discourse Topic and have a weak deictic import where the demonstrative is absent. The article-less construction present from the 17th (129) to the 19th (117) and 20th centuries (57) also lack a licenser in SPEC DP: [N-DEM].

In addition, the Exclamation expression feature a string headed by a WH word or CP which is roughly parallel to the NP-shift construction in that it lacks an article and allows for an optional copula. However in these expressions first position is filled by the WH and thereby a copula can only appear between the noun and the demonstrative and not at the head of the phrase as shown in (160).

(160)

**Exclamative**

¡Qué materia (es) esta!

Exclam NP COP DEM

Both the CP construction and the copula-headed NP-shift variety have the demonstrative shifted to the right periphery resulting in postnominal position. Yet both these construction do not make up a syntactic unity but feature the noun and the demonstrative as distinct coreferential units.

In all, the above developments give rise to two paradigms, the dominant trend headed by an overt licenser in DP which features a single syntactic unit [ART-N-DEM] from the 14th century (110) onwards and a minority pattern without a licenser [N-DEM] first appearing in the 17th century (129) which stem from alternative anaphoric techniques in Latin such as *qui homo* an appositional substantive construct whereby an antecedent is immediately qualified via the pronoun *qui* and an identifying noun.
In Spanish this same use can be accomplished via an isolated noun such as *cosa* ‘thing’ or the string [N-DEM] under discussion *cosa esta* ‘this thing’ as shown in (57). At their base the CP construction and the article-less [N-DEM] are related involving in that they involve the pronoun *qui* during their trajectory. Although in Spanish the realization of an isolated anaphor is realized without a corresponding CP since Latin *qui* only survives into Spanish with its relative use as *que*. The appositional substantive use of the *qui homo* type is accomplished via an isolated bare noun which can feature an accompanying demonstrative in postposition (109).

On the other hand, the demonstrative *aquel* only features an article-headed paradigm for the postnominal construction with a DP projection headed by an overt licenser. Article-less constructions such as (147) and (152) are NP-shifted construction headed by the copula and an *Exclamative* expression respectively, which are not akin to the Modern article-less paradigm found with *este/ese* in (84) and (57).

5.7 Synchronic and Diachronic *este/ese vs aquel*

5.7.1. Distribution

As shown in *Figure 1.5* reproduced below (see Chapter 1) the distribution of the Spanish demonstrative terms undergoes a radical shift from the first texts in the 13th century to those from the late 20th-early 21st century. This change not only affects the default prenominal paradigm but also impacts the postnominal construction.
Figure 1.5 Diachronic Distribution

The distribution in Figure 1.5 attests to the general pattern whereby, initially marginal medial *ese* expands from %0 to 40% at the expense of distal *aquel* which initially weighs heavily in the diachronic record at near 60% only to bottom out to under 10% in the late 20th century. In contrast, proximal *este* remains relatively constant from 40% to 50%.

In terms of postnominal use, this overall view must be supplemented by the various lacunae that exist in the historical corpus (corpus, CORDE). Postnominal *este* is absent from the 17th century except for a marginal example (138) while postnominal *ese* appears in a limited fashion in rote phrases in religious texts in the 14th-15th and 16th centuries (137). Yet *ese* is entirely absent in the two succeeding centuries the 17th and 18th. only to resurface during the 19th century(121)&(131)). Postnominal *aquel* is absent from the 17th and 18th century corpora. During
the 16th century the postnominal demonstratives *este/ese* and *aquel* have a marginal use outside of a restricted special usage. A continuing exclusion occurs in the 17th century in the representative texts until postnominal *este* resurfaces in the late 18th century which expands in the 19th century to include all three terms once again: *este, ese, aquel*. At this stage the range of *aquel* is much reduced with *este* occupying the majority position followed by *ese*.

### 5.7.2. Postnominal Demonstratives vs *de marras*

The documentational lacuna for the postnominal demonstrative during the 16th and 17th centuries features an expression with a similar capacity to the postnominal demonstrative: the PP adjunct *de marras* as shown in (161) encodes relatively weak deictic categories such as *Anaphoric* and *Affective* uses.

**De marras**

(161)

> ¿Qué hacíamos con [el Quijote], en una clase de gramática?

‘What were we doing with Don Quixote in a grammar class?’

> No habrá de extrañarles que muy pronto empezara a detestar

‘It should not surprise you that very soon I began to hate’

The deictic alternatives to the postnominal demonstratives are: *de marras, a mano, allá [que]*; and *lo que, lo que no*, the last of which becomes *lo que no* and is used in a nominative complement role.
Aside from being used to encode discourse-old referents *de marras* communicates an *Affective* content which is inherent to the construction. In the modern language this use is said to have eclipsed *Anaphoric* as its core meaning (Gutiérrez-Rexach 2007).

The adjunct *de marras* originally stems from the Arabic *marrah*—“once, one time” first appearing in the 13th century as shown in (162):

(162)

Los *oviera marras en Cogolla vencidos*

‘He had defeated them in Cogolla previously.’

(Berceo, Gonzalo de. *La vida de San Millán* : 206b. 1230) (Corominas 1980)

This lexical term is then incorporated into a PP adjunct appearing from the 15th century onwards in a construction peculiar to Spanish:

(163)

*El cauallero de marras*

‘The knight in question.’

(Mena, Juan de. *La coronación del marqués de Santillana*. 1430) (CORDE)

Here Arabic *marrah* ‘once, one time’ originally borrowed into Castilian as an expression of past reference *marras* develops into part of a PP modifier to mark entities of previous mention by the 15th century (163). In contrast to postnominal demonstrative the development of *de marras* is documented by the Grammars and Lexicons of the period (17th) such as Covarrubias.
The accompanying pejorative connotation is also recorded in Correas Vocabulary (164b). Compare these diachronic examples with (164c), taken from a modern dictionary, which sums up the semantics of the constructions as not only encoding past reference but also importing a pejorative connotation.

164a. Past reference

**Marras** *Vocablo de aldea, sinifica el tiempo de atrás, y particularmente del año que precedió.*
(Covarrubias, Sebastián de. *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española*, Fol. 541r p.791 1612)

‘A rustic term, it means time past, particularly within the last year.’

b. Pejorative:

*Marras denota tiempo pasado i ocasion en que suzedió algo de plazer, i mas ordinario de pesar, rrifa i desgarro . . . . . .*
(Correas, Gonzalo. *Arte de la lengua española castellana*. 1625)

‘Marras denotes a time in the past when something pleasant or more frequently something unfortunate like a fight or struggle has occurred.’

c. Modern definition:

**marras** adv. *Se usa en la LOC. de ~ COLOQUIAL, PEJORATIVO, HUMORISTICO.*

Ya conocido, ya nombrado.

*(Diccionario Salamanca de la lengua española. Universidad de Salamanca: 1996 : .995)*

**Marras** adv. *It is used in the locution de - COLLOQUIAL, PEJORATIVE, AND HUMOROUS*

‘Previously mentioned or known.’

In the modern example (161) the expression *el libro de marras* –(i.e. ‘that book, the aforementioned book) referring to Don Quixote reflects an *Affective* content via the adjunct *de marras* which serves to color the referent *el libro*. The speaker marks said referent as a qualitative comment on the referent at hand. Also, given the context of the utterance (i.e. reading Don Quixote in order to teach Spanish Grammar) the speaker expresses a negative viewpoint
about this teaching method which influences how he or she came to regard the book itself. The speaker now attempts to communicate this impression to the addressee via the PP adjunct *de marras*.

Postnominal demonstrative and the PP *de marras* both serve as referential expressions up to the present day. The *Affective* reading of these expression stems from the *Anaphoric* function given that a speaker will only make a meta-discourse comment on a referent which is accessible to the addressee. Moreover, the familiarity of the referent at hand allows for qualitative overtones.

In contrast to the postnominal expression *de marras* appears far more regularly in the written record than the postnominal demonstrative especially during the 16th and 17th centuries as shown in (165) and (166), a period in which the postnominal demonstrative has a dearth of examples. The *de marras* expression appears across a wide variety of texts: poetry, play, letters, and novels (CORDE).

The 16th century example (165) features the NP *la noche* – ‘the night’ with the adjunct *de marras* encodes ‘last night’. Given the context of the utterance, dealing with the exploits of a prostitute, (165) the qualitative overtones of the PP adjunct is relatively negative.

16th

(165)

*Lozana*: *Anda, que pareces a Francisca la*

*Lozana*: *IMP-go COMP-that seems PREP-toFrancisca ART-the*

*Lozana*: Come on, you look like Francisca

*Fajarda*: *Entra, que has de cantar aquel*

*Fajarda*: *V-enter COMP-that V-aux PREP-of V-inf-sing DEM-that*

*Fajarda*: Come on in and sing that

*cantar* *que* *dijiste cuando fuimos a* *la*
song COMP-that V-said when V-went PREP-to ART-the
song that you sang when we went to
viña a cena, la noche de marras.
vineyard PREP-to dinner ART-the night PREP-of before.
The vineyard for dinner that night.’
(Delicado, Francisco. La lozana andaluza. 1528) (CORDE)

(166) features an excerpt from Don Quijote in which Sancho recalls a past episode
involving a floss mill. Here both the Anaphoric and Affective content of the expression are in
evidence in that a past episode is referred to which was particularly unpleasant.

17th
(166)
Yo le quiero tomar por devoto de aquí adelante,
‘I want to start making a devotion to him from here on out
por si me viere en algún trabajo, como
In case I find myself in trouble like
aquel de los batanes de marras o manta
That incident with the floss mill or the sheet
de la venta, y me ayude.
At the inn so that he may help me out.’
(Cervantes, Miguel de. Don Quijote. 1605) (CORDE)

The distribution of de marras ranges from the 15th century to the present and features an
ample presence in 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries where the postnominal demonstrative is the most
scarce. This distribution pattern is in contrast to the postnominal demonstrative, which after
surfacing in the 14th (110) has poor documentation in the 16th century with just one example in
the 17th century (138). In Figure 5.2 below the diachronic trajectory of the Postnominal Demonstrative and de marras is shown (the de marras tokens counted are equivalent expression of the Postnominal of type [N + de marras]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1200s</th>
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<th>1400s</th>
<th>1500s</th>
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<th>1800s</th>
<th>1900s</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Postnominal NP-shift</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>184</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de marras</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 5.3 Diachronic distribution of the Postnominal Demonstrative vs “de marras” (Corpus del español)

Following Figure 5.3 the postnominal demonstrative first surfaces as part of the NP-shift in the 13th century as discussed previously (see (118)). After surfacing in the 15th the adjunct de marras overtakes the postnominal construction in the 16th and into the 17th where the postnominal demonstrative has very few tokens. After resurfacing somewhat in the 1700’s the postnominal construct is still in the minority. The 19th century allows for a more varied sample of Postnominal the adjunct de marras still predominates. But in the 20th century the postnominal demonstrative is by far the most commonly occurring expression with de marras as a minority construction.

While both expressions model the addressee’s model of discourse, de marras does so in a more overt fashion. The adjunct de marras has a more “affective” import than syntactic inversion given that lexical terms are fixed whereas syntax depends on shifting discourse frames (Fillmore 1982, see (73) in Chapter 4). de marras appears more regularly in the diachronic record than the postnominal demonstrative given that the discourse context vital to the use of the
inverted demonstrative is largely absent from written corpora. Even though both expressions are “colloquial” their distribution in the diachronic record is predicated by the limits of the written medium in these very terms.

5.7.3. The Postnominal Demonstrative

Upon remerging into regular use in the late 18th and early 19th century postnominal *ese* and *este* appear in roughly equivalent uses: *Anaphoric, Mutual Knowledge, Situationally Accessible* except for a slight preference for *ese* in simulated spontaneous conversation ((119) & (129)). In contrast, *aquel* is specialized via its deictic remoteness for *Exclamation* (152), *Meta-Discourse* (145), and *Past Reference* (141).

In a longer view while in the first texts *este* and *aquel* are dominant to the detriment of *ese*, *aquel* is increasingly relegated to a restricted use. In the modern language *aquel* is largely absent from spoken, colloquial usage (Figure 1.5).

In contrast, *ese* expands rapidly in the late 19th and 20th century to overtake *este* as the most commonly used term. It must be taken into account that these shifts in distribution are also tied to the source data and the nature of the corpora studied. This state of affairs is significant given the oral nature of the postnominal demonstrative expression itself. The lacunae in the historical record may be due in part to the limited stylistic register of the written language at the time. That is, the texts preserved for prosperity often lack the content best suited for the expression at hand.

The predominant presence of oral and colloquial language in the 20th-21st centuries from transcriptions may contribute to a more drastic rise in *ese* and decline of *aquel* than would otherwise be the case. Since diachronic corpora can only include written records and no direct
transcriptions of discourse the register tends to be more stylized than average. With these factors in mind the Informational Categories of *este/ese* in synchrony and diachrony are largely comparable save for the absence of more oral phenomena such as *Retrieval and Repair* while *aquel* exhibits a shift in Informational Categories to more specialized uses and a general decline in use.

*Aquel* appears early on as an *Anaphoric* reference as in *la piedra aquella* in the 14th century (141) but in the modern language *Exclamation, Meta-discourse, and Past Reference* predominate. While in Modern Spanish the anaphoric use of *aquel* is characteristic of higher written registers (143). The core meaning of *aquel* stems from its deictic feature [-prox] which refers to entities outside the discourse sphere which then lends itself to temporal (*Past Reference*) and evocative (*Exclamation*) deixis as well as a measure of irrealis used to refer to commonplace examples in discourse (*Meta-Discourse*) as in: *el ejemplo aquel* (see (100) in Chapter 4).

Structurally, postnominal *este/ese*, and *aquel* first appear in a postnominal context from the 13th century as part of an inverted syntax involving heavy NP-shift headed by a copula in a string of type: \( \text{COP} \left[ \text{SPEC } \text{DP} [D' [\text{NP} [N]]] \right]_i \ldots [\text{DP DEM}]_i \) (118) where the noun and demonstrative pertain to separate coreferential units. This inversion encodes a feature of information structure whereby the referent in question is focused via juxtaposition. From the 16th century onwards this same structure allows for increasingly freedom in subordinate conjunctions ranging from CP (126), PP (127) and \( \emptyset \) (124). These constructions feature a freer coreferential function of the demonstrative which can be rendered optional (139). Related to this pattern is an article-less variant on the left-periphery that lacks the copula which first appearing in the 17th century in a highly stylized register (129).
Both proximal *este* and distal *aquel* appear in a fully developed postnominal construction as early as the 14th-15th century. The sequence in question: \([\text{SPEC} \text{DP} \ ART \ [D' \ [NP \ N \ [\text{DEMlo} \ DEM]]]]\) forms a single syntactic unit in contrast to the NP-shift construction mentioned previously. In the earliest documented cases of the postnominal construction are all anaphoric in character. In terms of *aquel* the full variant co-occurs with other NP-shifted tokens variants until the modern period.

The 19th century onwards sees the playing out of a more modern distribution (Figure 1.5) where *ese* becomes the more dominant form to detriment of *aquel*. While the use of *este* remains relatively constant. To this end, the second half of the 19th century sees the appearance of folkloric texts, which reproduce stylized oral registers that make frequent use of postnominal *este/ese* ((121) &(131)) while *aquel* appears in more formal written circumstances such as stylized *Anaphoric* reference and other specialized uses based on the semantics of *aquel*: *Meta-discourse, Past reference* and ‘evocative’ *Exclamation* functions.

The late 19th century witnesses the consolidation of postnominal *este/ese* and *aquel* into a dominant paradigm features sequences of type \([\text{SPEC} \text{DP} \ ART \ [D' \ [NP \ N \ [\text{DEMlo} \ DEM]]]]\) (114) as well as a paradigm of restricted use: \([\text{SPEC} \text{DP} \ [D' \ [NP \ N]]]] ... [\text{DP} \ DEM]\) (117). The syntactic string headed by the definite article predominates whereas the article-less variant is restricted to written, formal registers, glimpses of which can be first appreciated in the 17th century (129).

The *Exclamation* expression *este/ese* (96) and *aquel* (151&152) involving a CP is constant throughout both the diachronic and synchronic record. These involve constructions of type \([\text{CP} \ COMP \ [NP \ N]]_i ... [\text{DP} \ DEM]_i\) and \([NP \ ADJ \ N]_i ... [\text{DP} \ DEM]_i\) which are surface parallels to the article-less variant of the postnominal demonstrative.
5.7.4. Article-headed vs. article-less paradigm

In this case the noun and the demonstrative pronoun are co-referential, the pronoun serving as a deictic identifier in the discourse context (ad oculos) as in (167).

\[
\text{[CP COMP \[NP N\]; (COP) \[DP DEM\];} \\
\]

(167)

¡Qué \[materia\]; (es) \[esta/esa/aquella\]!
CP N (COP) DEM

‘What material this/that is!

Such structural parallelism between CP and the clausal domain shared by DP, is assumed by Abney 1987’s DP Hypothesis as well as subsequent accounts such as Grohmann & Panagiotidis (2004). The copula *ser* is involved with postnominal demonstratives within CP and DP since these constructions are not single units but feature a split syntax. In the DP, NP-shifted are typically article-less constructions headed by a copula. This construction \(COP \left[ SPEC_{DP} ART \[D \[NP N\]\]\right]\[DP DEM]\); gives a focused status to the referent at hand via its split syntax which serves to highlights the discourse entity for the addressee. However, in the NP shift construction with COP the resulting NP maintains its shifted syntax on the left periphery (see (157b)).

The phrase in question features an isolated theme in first position as shown previously in (129) during the 17th century:

N-DEM-COMP

(168)

\[
\text{[Materia \quad esta \quad que} \\
N \quad DEM \quad COMP
\]
The element in (168) remains in situ with no licenser in SPEC DP. After its first appearance in the 17th century the article-less construction is consolidated as a restricted variant in late 19th century (117) and early 20th (157b) examples in addition to more modern data (see (57)&(84), Chapter 4). This \([SPEC\,DP\,D'\,[NP\,N]]\,\ldots\,[DP\,DEM]\) construction is fundamentally different from the string: \([SPEC\,DP\,ART\,D'\,[NP\,N\,[DEMlo\,DEM]]]\) in that it appears in isolated position on the left (168) or right periphery (57) in close proximity to its antecedent stemming as it does from the appositional construction in Latin *qui homo* where both the preceding pronoun and the noun agree in case, number and gender.

(see 109)

a. \([Amanus]\,\,Syria\,\,a\,\,Cilicia\,\,dividet,\,[qui\,\,mons]\,\,erat\)
   Amanus  Syria  PREP-from  Cilicia  V-divides  which  mountain  V-was
   *hostium*  *plenus*
   GEN-enemies  ADJ-full.
   enemy troops.’

   (Caesar, Alt., v. 20, 3) (Gildersleeve 1903)

b. *Amanus*  *separa*  *Siria*  *de*  *Cilicia*  *montaña*  *(esta)*
   Amanus  V-separates  Siria  PREP-of  Cilicia  mountain  DEM-this
   *que*  *está*  *repleta*  *de*  *huestes*  *enemigas*.
   COMP-that  V-is  full  PREP-of  troops  ADJ-enemy
   ‘Amanus separates Siria from Cilicia, which mountain is full of enemy troops’

Therefore *qui mons* in (109a) can be rendered as the article-less construction *montaña esta* (109b) in Spanish.
In contrast, the full postnominal paradigm, (169) features a licenser in SPEC DP which co-indexed with the postnominal demonstrative, spells out both number and gender features in the form of the definite article.

\[
[SPEC \, DP \, ART \, [D' \, [NP \, N \, [DEMLo \, DEM]]]]
\]

(169)

\[
La \quad materia \quad esta
\]

ART-the-FEM-sg \quad NP-FEM-sg \quad DEM-this-FEM-sg

The forebear of this construction is the Latin sequence *homo iste* featuring the demonstrative in postposition (108a) which is quite different from the *qui homo* construction as shown in (109).

In Spanish certain NP-shifted constructions are similar to the full fledged postnominal construct: \( [SPEC \, DP \, ART \, [D' \, [NP \, N \, [DEMLo \, DEM]]]] \) in that they both encode features of low deixis. As such, these expressions have non-overt deictic content as in *Discourse Topic*, and *Mutual Knowledge*. Variation in the use of the copula was crucial in setting the stage for an article-less variant. As illustrated in (129) the construction first appears is first document in Spanish during the 17\(^{th}\) century with an isolated theme on the left-periphery as part of a minority pattern in which the DP lacks a licenser in SPEC DP (168).

Just as the earlier overt licensing paradigm re-emerges in the documentation of the modern period the article-less construction emerges as a rival paradigm for restricted use in subsequent centuries: the 19\(^{th}\) and 20\(^{th}\). This limited range is similar to that found for the British English post-posed demonstrative expression current at least from the 18\(^{th}\) century onwards. The prosodic contour of the construction is not uniform but broken akin to the NP-shift, CP, and N-
DEM constructions found in Spanish with the demonstrative separated from its antecedent with a pause.: 

(see (58) in Chapter 2)

a. *A very impudent fellow this.*
   ART-a ADV ADJ N DEM
   (Goldsmith, Oliver. *She Stoops to Conquer*. 1773)

b. *Careless fellow that.*
   ADJ N DEM

5.7.5 Demonstratives vs. Adjectives

In common with the postnominal CP construction the English expression in (58) is exclamative in character. The sequence \([NP \text{ADJ} \text{N}]_i \ldots [DP \text{DEM}]_i\) is significant in that it combines both a qualitative and exclamative function where the adjective appears in special prenominal position (see (45&46); Chapter 2). To this end, I investigate the composition of such constructions in order to reveal further the different status of adjectives and demonstratives in Spanish.

The ‘evocative’ *Exclamation* in (96b) the adjective *gran* reads ‘great’ which goes beyond its truth value content ‘large’.

(see (96b.))

¡*Gran arte este* . . .
Great art DEM-this

What a great art
(Eguren 1999) (Gómez de la Serna. *Elucidario de Madrid*: 222)

The adjective *pobres* in (96c) has the qualitative value ‘miserable’ rather than the truth value- ‘poor, lacking money’ (see (45&46), Chapter 2).
Postnominal placement in (96b) and (96c) is infelicitous in these exclamative expressions as shown in (170):

(170)

a. *¡Arte grande este¡
   Art big DEM-this

b. *¡Niños pobres esos!
   Children poor DEM-those

The distribution of the adjective in (96b&c) is instructive since the distribution of the adjective mirrors that of the demonstrative. In these constructions both elements, adjectives and demonstratives appear in their qualitative position: prenominally and postnominally respectively. So while the adjective must be in prenominal position to elicit an exclamative reading the demonstrative need not appear postnominally as shown in (171):

(171)

a. ¡Este gran arte!
   DEM-this great art

b. ¡Esos pobres niños!
   DEM-those poor children
   ‘Those poor children!’
In (171b) prenominal *esos* ‘those’ yields a reading roughly equivalent to (96c). While (171a) can also be exclamative but not exactly in the original sense found in (96b). While roughly parallel the marked positioning of the adjective and the demonstrative differ somewhat as to their function. This difference stems from the core meaning of the terms involved (see Chapter 2). The demonstrative is more flexible in this regard given that it is a functional term which lacks a salient semantic import aside from definiteness and deixis (see (8) Chapter 1). In contrast, adjectives are an open class that add descriptive and lexical content similar in this respect to nouns and XP adjuncts like *de marras*.

Aside from the structural lacunae for the sequence: \([\text{SPEC} \text{DP} \text{ART} [D' [\text{NP} N [\text{DEMlo DEM}]]]]\), the diachronic corpora for postnominal *este/ese* and *aquel* necessarily exclude Informational Categories tied to strictly oral phenomena such as *Retrieval and Repair*. However, beyond these obvious gaps which stem from the available written register nowhere is there a clear instance of the *Affective* use until the 19th century. That is to say, the qualitative ‘pejorative’ function so commented on in the literature (Ramírez 1955:, Esbozo 1973:436, Macías 1997, Gutiérrez-Rexach 2002) does not appear in the diachronic record until the modern period. Nor does it make up a substantial portion of the synchronic tokens analyzed in Chapter 4. In historical terms, the *Affective* reading is a relatively late development wherein discourse context, background information and the semantics of the noun or adjective combine to give a metadiscourse content whereby the speaker communicates his or her attitude toward a referent. Important in this regard is the contrast between closed function classes such as demonstratives and lexical terms along the lines of adjectives and nouns which communicate real lexical content.
In terms of information structure the postnominal construction as shown in (168) exhibits a more diffuse distribution of semantic features than the prenominal paradigm (see (8); Chapter 1). Instead of concentrating features of definiteness [+def] and deixis [+deic] in a single layer of the DP, the postnominal paradigm distributes these features in the definite article in SPEC DP and the demonstrative in DEMlo respectively (Grohmann & Panagiotidis 2004). Following observations in Panagiotidis (2000), and Grohmann & Panagiotidis (2004) the postnominal construction can be characterized as a bearer of weak deixis in contrast to prenominal variants which have a more overt-pointing function (see (33); Chapter 2).

The linear ordering of the construction as well as the expression of functional features within the DP create a referring expression with a de-emphasized deictic import. This combination of syntactic and semantic features gives a more referential content with mid deixis in which a referent is not referred to overtly but ‘textually’ in Anaphoric and Cataphoric uses (see Chapter 4). Yet the referential import at the core of the construction also entails background information which is more cognitively accessible to the addressee in categories Mutual Knowledge and Discourse Topic etc (Brizuela 1999, Blackwell 2003). These uses involve more generalized information and not specific referents that need to be pointed out textually or otherwise. So they are marked [+low] deixis.

The non-overt pointing function of postnominal demonstrative involves the particular markedness conditions of the demonstrative in Spanish. As discussed previously (see (15); Chapter 2) the distribution marked versus default position corresponds with the core meaning of the construction at hand where the default position is also properly basic in the syntactic structure. For the Spanish adjective, which also has a marked vs. unmarked distribution, the marked position gives a non-contrastive reading.
(see (44), Chapter 2)

a.  *El lenguaje poético de Lorca* (Factual)

   ART-the N-language ADJ-poetic of Lorca

b.  *El poético lenguaje de Lorca* (Aesthetic Judgment)

   ART-the ADJ-poetic N-language of Lorca

   ‘Lorca’s poetic language.’

The phrase *el lenguaje poético* ‘the poetical language’ implies a contrast with non-poetical language in that Lorca’s language is poetic as opposed to the Sunday Paper. Whereas *el poético lenguaje* entails a further description of the referent as in what qualities make Lorca’s language poetic in itself. This contrast is further illustrated in (172) below:

(172)

a.  *El poético lenguaje de sus obras en prosa*

   ART-the ADJ-poetic language PREP-of POSS-3rd-s works PREP-in prose

   ‘The poetic language in his prose works.’

b.  *El lenguaje poético de sus obras en prosa*

   ART-the language ADJ-poetic PREP-of POSS-3rd-s works PREP-in prose

   ‘The poetic language in his prose works.’

In (172) the adjective *póetico* – ‘poetic’ is used to refer to something non-poetic in quality such as *obras en prosa*– ‘works in prose’. Here in (172b) the default postnominal adjectival position is infelicitous in contrast to (172a) where the marked prenominal placement gives a felicitous reading. This difference is due to the non-contrastive quality of the adjective within the context of the statement since it describes the language of the prose works in themselves.

Similarly, the default prenominal expression *este hombre* ‘this man’ can be used to point out an entity and contrast it with another such as *ese hombre* ‘that man’ or *aquel hombre* ‘that man over
there’ Whereas the postnominal demonstrative *el hombre este* ‘that man’ solely serves to refer back to a specific entity in question.

This difference stems from the weaker deixis inherent in the postnominal expression in which the deictic import of the demonstrative is de-emphasized. As a result, the speaker does not emphasize the referent via prosody or disjointed syntax $[_{NP} N]_{[_{DP} DEM]}$, as in (126) but features a string of type $[[_{SPEC} {_{DP} ART}_{D'} [_{NP} N [_{DEMI0} DEM]]]]$ (110) where the demonstrative does not receive prosodic weight (see Chapter 2). These prosodic and syntactic features are thus a reflection of the low deixis characteristic of the construction. So in contrast to deictically strong expressions (ex. prenominal, NP-shift) the postnominal expression does not overtly point out a new entity but encodes the referent as hearer-old. In these uses the speaker refers back to something already belonging to the discourse sphere proper.

### 5.7.6. The Postnominal Demonstrative and Discourse Context

The postnominal placement of the demonstrative forms part of a discourse strategy wherein the speaker utilizes the post-posed syntax of the demonstrative to encode a referent as hearer-old. This technique signals the entity as familiar and so propitious to qualitative overtones. Here the speaker uses utilizes the non-overt pointing function (the focalizer function as mentioned by Gutiérrez-Rexach 2002) to communicate a meta-discourse content to the addressee. This content amounts to a commentary (called “emotive deixis” by Lakoff 1974, see Chapter 3) meant to color the cognitive state of the referent at hand.

(see (93); Chapter 4)

**Policía:** Que la tía esa, la colgada, ¿no lleva mucho tiempo ya?

Policeman: COMP-that ART-the gal DEM-that, ART-the drunk, ¿no lleva mucho tiempo ya?
By using the postnominal construction an interlocutor, such as the policeman in (93), is able to communicate more “than what is said”. In such a context the inverted syntax is the most concrete component capable of analysis against Informational Categories defined by constantly shifting discourse frames (Fillmore 1983, see (73)& (74); Chapter 3) that determine the reference point of the discourse participants and particularly that of the speaker change constantly over time. Therefore (85) a phrase spoken in the late 90’s references the particular ‘problems’ going on in Kosovo and assumes they are readily identifiable, being a big news item at the time (i.e. circa 1998).

(see (85); Chapter 4)

Yo creía que con los problemas estos de Kosovo
I V-believed COMP-that CONJ-with ART-the problems DEM-these PREP-of Kosovo
‘I believed that with these problems in Kosovo

nadie se iba a enterar de la Cumbre.
nobody REFL-3rd was to find-out PREP-of ART-the Summit.
nobody was going to find out about the Summit.’

(Oral, Entrevista de prensa en el lobby del hotel Porto Palacio, en Portugal, el día 16 de octubre de 1998) (CREA)

However, less than 10 years later (i.e. circa 2007) the background situation has completely changed. The referent may not be as readily identifiable as in the original utterance context. This shift is due to the temporal context which includes newer information (i.e. 9-11, The Iraq War, Darfur) that serves to obscure past news stories such as the one featured in (85).
Since these shifts often occur in discourse it can be difficult to anchor entities outside their original context. Also a third party may have trouble deciphering just what entities are being referred to without actually being within the sphere of discourse vis-à-vis discourse, locative, and temporal deixis.

A referent may not be accessible from outside the original discourse context as in (85) which is now outside the temporal sphere. Rather, a referent may actually be physically removed from the third party who is trying to interpret it. Take for example the *Situationally Accessible* use of the postnominal demonstrative in which the referent must be directly accessible as shown in (91) where a noise is heard by speaker and addressee. This deictically weak use is in contrast to (124), where the demonstrative is separated via prosody.

(see (91), Chapter 4)

Ahora va a saltar, ¿ves? *El ruido este.* Acaba de

Now V-3rdS-go to V-INF-jump V-2ndS-see ART-the noise DEM-this V-3rdS-finish of

‘Now it’s going to jump, see? This noise here.

saltar el,el termóstato

V-INF-jump ART-the thermostat

The thermostat just jumped.’

(Domicilio particular, conversación, Madrid, 26/01/92) (CREA)

A third party not directly present in the speech situation in (91) would not be able to correctly identify the referent in question- “the noise” since he or she has no direct sense perception of the phenomenon in question. In this instance the only information that disambiguates the situation for the third-party (or in this case the reader) is the mention of the thermostat.
In addition, a referent may appear in other discourse processes involved in hearer-old information such as: Anaphoric, Cataphoric, Mutual Knowledge, and Discourse Topic (see Chapter 4).

(see (81); Chapter 4)

lo que pasa que siempre [la calle mayor], parece
ART-the COMP-that V-3rdhappen COMP-that always ART-the street main V-3rd-seem
‘What happens is main street always seems always …

Entonces, estaba más animada [la calle esa],
COMP-that always Then V-was more animated ART-the N-street DEM-that
Then that street there was more animated

porque había más tiendas por ese lado
because V-there more stores PREP-by DEM-that side
because there were more stores on that side.’

(Conversación 4, Universidad de Alcalá de Henares, España) (CREA)

Here in (81) la calle esa ‘that street’ serves to refer back to la calle mayor ‘main street’.

Yet without the antecedent in question the entity cannot be identified as such. The hearer will not know which street the speaker is referring to in (81). In more general terms, without the preceding context or a shared cognitive view of the discourse (referred to as Discourse Frames Fillmore 1983 or Discourse Schema Chafe 1994, Chapter 3).the hearer cannot correctly identified the referent at hand..

This problem arises because often no salient, overt features exist save for inverted syntax or lexical terms. The constituents of the postnominal demonstrative construction are functional terms (i.e. articles and demonstratives) so they are necessarily context dependent deictics in contrast to expressions such as de marras which have a lexical content. Functional terms (i.e.
demonstratives) and their variations are much less susceptible to overt attention than lexical items (i.e. nouns, adjectives, XP’s) which have a uniquely identifiable content.

The lexical adjunct *de marras* enjoys a more regular presence in the diachronic corpora as compared to the postnominal demonstrative (see Figure 6.2). In the synchronic corpora the situation is reversed and the postnominal construction emerges as the more common construction while *de marras* occupies a minority pattern. This shift in distribution is due primarily to the different character of the texts that make up diachronic vs. synchronic corpora. Typically historical texts are of a fixed and more highly stylized register in contrast to synchronic corpora (i.e. CORDE) where additional content is available in the form of conversational transcripts, TV and radio programs beyond traditional print media. This type of wide database provides the appropriate content needed for the felicitous use of the postnominal demonstrative since this construction is meant to be employed in a concrete discourse situation.

By definition, diachronic data exclude discourse sensitive information and context. The only exception to this restriction being texts which arise in the mid 19th century that strive to mimic local and colloquial speech patterns as a matter of stylistics. These texts include *Cataphoric* reference (123) as well as the *Affective* use (132) which are more characteristic of synchronous corpora (see (88) & (95); Chapter 4) and spoken language as a whole.

Despite such discrepancies between synchronic and diachronic data the postnominal construction exhibits a stable syntactic and semantic presence from its origins in Latin to its first appearance in Spanish during the 14th century and continuing up to the present day.
CONCLUSION

Throughout its history, the Spanish postnominal demonstrative construction $[SPEC\, DP\, ART\, [D'\, [NP\, N\, [DEM]\, DEM]]]]$ remains largely unchanged from its first appearance in the 14th century (see 120, Chapter 5) up to the modern language (see Chapter 5). Apart from syntax this stability also applies to the semantics of the construction which exhibits Anaphoric, Cataphoric, Mutual Knowledge as well as Affective uses over time all of which feature characteristics of [+low] deixis.

The diachronic record also contains an NP-shift construction surfacing in the 13th century characterized by special syntax whereby a noun and a demonstrative pronoun appear in this inverted order and in separate syntactic units: $[NP\, N]...[DP\, DEM]$; set off by prosody. Some of these constructions present strong deictic features such as in deixis ad oculos, where the prosody and the syntax highlight the demonstrative pronoun at hand. Beginning in the 16th century NP-shift construction exhibit other informational uses akin to the full postnominal paradigm. This applies to Discourse Topic, Mutual Knowledge, and Anaphoric which are relatively weak in deictic terms. Another construction that shares the informational import of the postnominal demonstrative is the sequence [N-DEM] appearing in the 17th century which lacks a DP licenser.
in SPEC DP (see , Chapter 5). This restricted paradigm fully emerges during the 19th and 20th as a token of stylized usage (see ( ), Chapter 5). Another article-less construction having 
Exclamation functions along the lines of NP-shift constructions continues from the 15th century to the present day: \[ CP COMP [NP N]_i \ldots [DEM]_i \] and \[ NP ADJ N]_i \ldots [DP DEM]_i \]

An integral component of the above constructions involves the deixis of the demonstrative involved, be it *este*, *ese*, and *aquel*. Here *este*, *ese* encode a wide variety of uses occurring within the general discourse context while *aquel* exhibits specialized functions stemming from its distal content such as Evocative, Meta-discourse, and Stylized Anaphora.

Originally, inverted syntactic strings from Late Latin material (see (106), Chapter 5) were incorporated into Romance as exhibited by the postnominal construction in Spanish, Catalan, and Rumanian (see (15), Chapter 1). An alternative anaphoric construction in Latin involves the appositional use of the pronoun *qui* in combination with a noun as in (108). In Spanish this construction appears as the isolated string \[ SPEC DP [D' [NP N]]_i \ldots [DP DEM]_i \](57) that is characteristic of specifically stylistic usage.

The postnominal demonstrative in Spanish serves as an expressive option of low deixis that encodes hearer-old information. This core meaning is then expanded for textual reference including Anaphoric, Cataphoric, and Mutual Knowledge (see Chapter 3). In addition, there is a special Affective use whereby the speaker comments on the referent and hand, communicating ‘more than what is said’ (Grice 1975). The expression conveys additional meta-discourse content that goes beyond the literal meaning of the expression at hand (Chapter 3). However, in none of these postnominal uses does the speaker overtly point out a referent in a deictically strong way as in (124).
An important aspect of the postnominal construction is the discourse context in which it appears. The problematic nature of diachronic data (see Chapter 5) then arises since these texts lack overt information characteristic of discourse. The texts in question are by definition incomplete as well as limited in genre. Here the variety of tokens depends on what documents have been haphazardly preserved for posterity. Thus the lack of tokens in the 16th and 17th centuries is a direct reflection of the more standardized language preserved in the documents of the period compared to the 14th and 15th centuries (Chapter 5). The postnominal expression only reemerges as the scope of available texts increases to include more colloquial and spoken language in the 18th and 19th centuries (Chapter 5).

While synchronic data as analyzed in Chapter 4 are more comprehensive in genre and extension they are not a direct representation of Spanish language as such. The examples as (92a&b&c) for Retrieval and Repair exhibit a more oral speech-style such as hesitation as well as stopping and starting; however, these examples are relatively sanitized representations of actual speech. In fact, much of raw speech data feature randomness and inference which makes comprehension difficult. Oftentimes these tokens can only be interpreted within their original context. At best, the diachronic and synchronic corpora represent an indirect record of spoken language. From a modern perspective, aside from punctuation, these texts lack access to intonation which can reveal the prosodic contour relevant in disambiguating full postnominals $[ART-N-DEM]$ from NP-shift constructions $[ART-N]_i...[DEM]_i$.

Diachronic data are indirect due to their removal in time and our lack of direct knowledge of the spoken language of the period. However, in the synchronic record we have access to the current situation in Spanish from whence the language can be more readily understood. Though synchronous tokens are often more polished than raw speech data they are still close enough to
oral language to be correctly interpreted. In other words, the incomplete nature of the synchronic record can be easily supplemented by direct linguistic knowledge. On the other hand, such direct knowledge is impossible for diachronic data removed as they are in time. Thus the diachronic situation can only be reconstructed on the basis of synchrony as in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 where I apply the information and structural categories taken from synchronic data to illuminate the diachronic distribution of the postnominal construction.

At base, functional terms such as demonstratives lack overt marking of content in contrast to terms like *de marras* (see Chapter 6) that have a lexical value. This opaqueness of meaning is due to the indeterminate content of demonstrative determiners. They are incomplete deictic signs that require contextual information (Eguren 1999) unlike other deictic elements such as personal pronouns (i.e. *I, you*) which are explicit. In Spanish, the available options in the grammar allow for additional demonstrative placement that can be utilized for expressive discourse purposes as detailed in Chapter 4 for Modern Spanish.

Yet once outside of the original context the post-posed placement of the demonstrative is the only overt sign as to this special discourse function. The linear placement of the demonstrative is only the more concrete component of a discourse strategy that involves the speaker’s assessment of the addressee’s cognitive state as per the referent at hand. Here the inverted syntax happens to be the phenomenon most amenable to direct linguistic analysis. This accessibility stems from the fact that the syntactic string is more overt than discourse-pragmatic processes that occur in the mind of the speaker and away from direct observation.

Discourse-sensitive constructions like the postnominal demonstrative resist such analysis since they make use of the whole spectrum of language including Syntax, Semantics, and Pragmatics, and Prosody. In terms of syntax, synchronic and diachronic aspects of the
construction are best understood in a minimalized framework and cannot be construed merely in theoretical terms but must undergo an analysis which motivates basic linearization (i.e. word order) as well as constituency (Chapter 2).

Information Structure, as a special aspect of textual meaning, is used to describe the packaging of information via linear ordering which involves the distribution of deictic features that constitute the different impact of pre vs. postnominal demonstrative constructions. Individual tokens can then be analyzed in actual usage via Discourse Analysis in order to reveal the expression’s pragmatic uses. An aspect further to be investigated; however, is the role of prosody and intonation on postnominal expressions. These have been shown to encode differences in deictic import as in the contrast between full-fledged postnominal and NP-shift and exclamative uses. For example, in the postnominal construction the demonstrative receives no prosodic weight whereas a prosodically heavy variant of the demonstrative with more deictic import is possible in other environments. Thus prosody may serve as an overarching indicator to the addressee on how to process the expression at hand.

In general, the analysis of the postnominal demonstrative highlights the inherent inventory of possibilities within a given language and how a speaker can exploit such variety for expressive purposes. A clear case in point is the Affective use of the postnominal demonstrative in Spanish which is an outgrowth of the original hearer-old use. The shared status of this information permits the speaker to make a meta-discourse commentary on the referent at hand. Since this commentary communicates speaker attitude vis-à-vis the referent the expression may also contain affective overtones.

Analyzing the Spanish postsnominal demonstrative construction reveals the interconnected nature of language where there is no clear-cut distinction between different levels
of linguistic analysis such as: Prosody, Syntax, Semantics, and Pragmatics. For in actual usage, speakers utilize these linguistic categories as part of a communicative whole in order to accomplish their goals in discourse.

While conversational factors are posited as sources for linguistic change in grammaticalization models such as Traugott (1995) and Waltereit (2004), the present study makes it clear that discourse strategies can also have a stable output in languages across time. These communicative techniques need not be vehicles for change but instead can contribute to the maintenance of a particular construction within a language. This stability is present at both the syntactic and semantic level in the trajectory of the postnominal demonstrative from Latin to Spanish where a hearer-old entity is encoded via inverted syntax.

Speakers take advantage of these features in order to render entities identifiable to the addressee in which linguistic form corresponds with meaning in a Syntax-Semantics interface that forms the backbone of the communicative capacity of language.


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