

Spatial and discourse deixis and the speech act structure of nominals

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Introduction. The goal of this talk is to explore two types of deixis: spatial and discourse. While spatial deixis encodes the interlocutors' attention on a spatially located referent, discourse deixis deals with interaction and relationships of interlocutors within the discourse. Spatial and discourse uses of demonstratives have not been treated as related phenomena in the previous literature (Lakoff 1974; Diessel 1999:93; Himmelmann 1996, *i.a.*). However, for example, in both spatial and discourse uses demonstratives display the same morphological form, the same morphosyntactic distribution (i.e. pre-nominal), and they can both refer to semantic individuals. The main aim of this talk is to explore the formal relation between spatial and discourse deixis considering the dual use of demonstratives.

Methodology and data. We use data from several languages (e.g. English, Italian, German, Japanese, Medumba, Spanish, French, Southern Italo-Romance, Chinese, etc.) obtained through storyboard elicitation (Burton & Matthewson 2015). All these languages present either dual (*this*_{Proximal} vs *that*_{Distal}) or ternary (*this*_{SpeakerProximal} vs *this*_{AddresseeProximal} vs *that*_{Distal}) spatial and discourse demonstrative systems. Concerning discourse deixis all these language pattern the same in the following pragmatic contexts:

(1) George and Will are talking about old times at their grandparents's place...

Will: *George, what happened to **that/*this** old gramophone we used to have?*

George: *Yes, the gramophone! I don't know what happened to it.*

(2) Fred and Jane are talking about old vacations they had before meeting each other...

Fred: *I went camping with my friends and there was **this/*that** guy... a real hippie!*

Jane: *So, you've met a real hippie?! I didn't know that!*

In (1) and (2) *this* and *that* are discourse demonstratives since they do not refer to a physical referent in the surrounding situation (viz. spatial). In (2), the choice of *that* vs **this* is sensitive to Will and George's shared knowledge. In (2), the choice of *this* vs **that* refers to knowledge introduced by Fred that is new to Jane. While *that* involves familiarity/emotional closeness of the interlocutors to the referent (1), *this* introduces a new referent to the addressee (2).

Analysis. In our talk we propose a unified analysis of both spatial and discourse deixis, appealing to Ritter and Wiltschko's (2018) speech act structure for nominals, which encodes pragmatic relations within the nominal domain. Specifically, we posit that spatial or grammatical deixis is encoded within the traditional DP structure and involves anchoring in time and space to the discourse. On the other hand, discourse or pragmatic deixis, which involves anchoring of interlocutors' discourse relations and interactions to the discourse, is encoded within a speech act layer above the DP, by analogy with what has been proposed for the peripheral structure of clauses (e.g. Speas & Tenny 2003). Specifically, we claim that, depending on their function, demonstratives can lexicalise different positions within the nominal domain. However, in both uses demonstratives show that speech act structure is always available in the nominal domain: both their spatial and discourse use involve *perceivers* of spatial location and the discourse 'position' of the referent (Fillmore 1982), i.e. at least a speaker and an addressee.

Conclusions. We demonstrate that a nominal speech act structure is crucial for capturing both spatial and discourse deixis. A simple DP cannot accommodate, for example, the presence of the speaker and the addressee's shared knowledge in the common ground (1) and the speaker's knowledge only in (2), or the actual presence of the speaker and addressee's roles, which both ought to be present in the discourse in

both spatial and discourse use of demonstratives. Our talk is the first attempt to provide a unified analysis of spatial and discourse deixis in terms of the syntax-pragmatics interface.

References

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