

Marsican Deixis and the Indexical Nature of Syntax

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1. The issues and the problem

Regarding the range of deictics, the philosophy of language (Kaplan 1989) proposes a context-of-utterance theory of demonstratives, while the syntactic phrase in which the deictic is uttered is not of concern. Generative grammars since Abney (1986), on the other hand, account for demonstratives in a syntactic DP hypothesis, in which the context-of-utterance (indexicality) has not played a crucial role for the theory of syntax (but cf. Baker 2008; Giorgi 2010). The general goal of this paper is a unification account of the philosopher's 'context'-semantics and the linguist's syntactic 'content'. The empirical goal is a descriptive account-by-derivation of Marsican ad-nominal and ad-verbial deictics in parallel domains.

2. The Marsican paradigm.

Marsican deixis encodes morpho-syntactically the three-term/three-value speaker-oriented system of Latin and Basque for adnominal and adverbial categories (cf. p. 2). Note the grammaticalization of Count, Gender and Number. Note also a unique, social gender driven, diglossia (p.2, 1c, i-ii.) This paper claims that the functional interpretation of the system is more precisely accounted for under a higher order intentional speech act purview, which encodes the Speaker>Hearer as a irreflexive indexical relation in time and space. This relation, we propose, accounts for the (*)agrammaticality of both ad-nominal and ad-verbial deictics:

- (1)(a) *ligge ste/*'sse libbre ècche/*èsse/*lòche!* (intended in concord with the Speaker)
(b) *ligge*ste/sse libbre *ècche/èsse/*lòche!* (intended in concord with the Hearer)
'read this/that book here/there/(yonder)'.
(2) interface:

(a) indexical	+Speaker	+Hearer	-S,H	("proximal, distal")
(b) morphosyntactic	1 st Person	2 rd Person	3 rd Person	
	<i>quìste</i>	> <i>quìsse</i>	<i>quìse</i>	(Marsican P.)
	<i>hic</i>	<i>iste</i>	<i>ille</i>	(Latin)
	<i>hau</i>	<i>hori</i>	<i>hur</i>	(Basque)

3. Toward a unified indexical syntax of deixis.

It will be argued, first, that the internalized (i.e., I-language) interface system of deixis (2) requires, as a conceptual necessity, access to indexical properties (2,a) for an adequate descriptive account of bare (Kaplan 1989) and complex (King 2001) demonstratives. Secondly, in a forward-oriented generative system (Chomsky 2001-2008), the externalized (i.e., E-language) computation of both ad-verbial (1a 'VP-adjunct') and ad-nominal (2,b NP'determiner') deictics requires indexical access for an explanatory account.

A preliminary proposal toward a unified indexical syntax will be presented, which responds to studies in the philosophy of language (Kaplan 1989, Schlenker 2003) as well as the syntax of parallel domains (Liao&Vergnaud 2010).

4. The paradigm of Marsican spatial demonstratives

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(1) Form and function in adnominal and adverbial deictic phrases

Coordinate	Count N (m.)	Count N (f.)	-Count N (m.)	Num	Adverb
(a) Speaker	<i>(qui)ste</i> ['kwistə] <i>cane</i> 'this dog'	<i>(qué)sta</i> ['kwésta] <i>mane</i> 'this hand'	<i>quéste</i> ['kwestə] <i>pane</i> 'this bread'	Sing.	<i>Ecche</i> 'here'
	<i>(qui)šche</i> ['kwifkə] <i>cane</i> 'these dogs'	<i>(qué)ste</i> ['kwestə] <i>mane</i> 'these hands'	*****	Plur.	
(b) Hearer	<i>(qui)sse</i> ['kwis:ə] <i>cane</i> 'that dog'	<i>(qué)ssa</i> ['kwes:a] <i>mane</i> 'that hand'	<i>quésse</i> ['kwessə] <i>pane</i> 'that bread'	Sing.	<i>èsse</i> 'there'
	<i>quišše</i> ['kwif:ə] <i>cane</i> 'those dogs'	<i>quésse</i> ['kwes:ə] <i>mane</i> those hands'	*****	Plur.	
(c)(i) -S,H	<i>quise</i> ^f ['kwisə] <i>cane</i> 'that dog'	<i>quéla</i> ['kwela] <i>mane</i> 'that hand'	<i>quéle</i> ['kwele] <i>pane</i> 'that bread'	Sing.	<i>lóche</i> 'there'
(c)(ii) Diglossia	<i>quìa</i> ^m ['kwia] <i>cane</i> 'that dog'	<i>quìla</i> ^m ['kwela] <i>mane</i> 'that hand'	<i>quéle</i> ['kwele] <i>pane</i> 'that bread'	Sing.	<i>lóche</i> 'there'
	<i>quìglie</i> ['kwilə] <i>cane</i> 'those dogs'	<i>quéle</i> ['kwelə] <i>mane</i> 'those hands'	*****	Plur.	
(d) Speaker Hearer -S,H					<i>dèccueta</i> <i>dèsta</i> <i>dèlleta</i>