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Article loss and article gain in the Unua DP?

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Abstract

Within the set of demonstratives in Unua, two items, *ngo* and *nga*, stand out as having anaphoric functions distinct from the deictic functions held by other demonstratives. Given these distinct properties, it could be expected that *ngo/nga* are located in different positions in the structure of the DP from the other demonstratives. Co-option of *ngo/nga* as anaphorics from the set of demonstratives is suggestive of a grammaticalization pathway towards determiner status. My purpose in this paper is to investigate if it is possible to identify such a distinct location for *ngo/nga*. I conclude that, although the linear ordering is non-indicative, the DP-internal syntax (as per the grammaticalization pathway proposed in Roberts and Roussou (2003)) would allow for the placement of *ngo/nga* in the D head position. I also find that the output of the grammaticalization pathway for the development of anaphorics from demonstratives appears to produce a mismatch with Cinque's (2020) proposal for a dedicated position for an anaphoric demonstrative projection, unless we take the view that there is more than one projection from which an anaphoric head may raise to D.

Summary in Bislama

I gat wan bigfala grup blong ol lanwis we i inkludum ol lanwis blong Vanuatu wetem plante narafala lanwis long Pasifik, we oli talem Oceanic long grup ia. Plante long ol Oceanic lanwis oli gat plante toktok we oli stat long wan saon *n*, osem *n-* o *na-* o *ne-* o *ni-* etc. Ol linguist oli biliv se saon ia i kamaot long wan toktok we long taem bifo hem i bin **na* mo hem i bin olsem wan artikel, i minim se hem i bin wan toktok we i talem se wan samting hem i wan samting we yumi save hem finis (oli se hem i wan spesifik samting). Hem i olsem ol toktok ia *the* long Inglis mo *le* long Franis, we oli se hem i wan atikel. Be from ol lanwis oli stap jenis, mekem se long plante lanwis naoia, **na* ia i stap yet be hem i nomo olsem wan atikel. Long lanwis Unua long Malekula, i gat tu toktok, *ngo* mo *nga*, we tufala toktok ia nao tufala i soem se wan samting hem i spesifik nao. Be long Unua i gat tu narafala toktok we oli talem se wan samting hem i spesifik mo man i save lukluk samting ia: wan toktok hem i *nge* we i minim 'hemia ia', narawan hem i *ngag* we i minim 'hemia longwe'. Taem ol man Unua oli toktok lanwis blong olgeta, oli putum olgeta toktok ia evriwan (*ngo*, *nga*, *nge* mo *ngag*) long sem ples long ol sentens. Long tekst ia mi wantem lukluk gud mo analaesem strakja blong ol sentens long Unua, mo komperem wetem ol narafala lanwis long wol blong jekem spos ol toktok ia oli folem sem strakja o difren strakja from lanwis blong ol man Unua hem i bin jenis. Mi wantem save se lanwis Unua hem i bin jenis olsem wanem, mo olsem wanem hem i difren long ol narafala lanwis.

Keywords

anaphoric articles, deictics, DP-internal syntax, grammaticalization, upwards reanalysis

1 Introduction

In Unua (Eastern Malakula), the Proto-Oceanic (POc) specifying article **na* (Crowley, 1985; Lynch, 2001; Lynch et al., 2002) lost its earlier specifying function and has become accreted to synchronically monomoraic common noun roots as *nV-* (Pearce, 2007; 2015, pp. 49–52). Evidence from synchronic data indicates that Unua has innovated the use of two deictic demonstratives as previous mention anaphorics. The issue that I investigate in this paper is whether the forms that are glossed as ‘the’ in Pearce (2015) should be viewed as determiners in D or as some other category. In exploring this question, I adopt the framework of Roberts and Roussou (2003) as to the stages by which a demonstrative becomes grammaticalized as a determiner. The analysis also considers the account given in Cinque (2020) as to the relative hierarchical ordering of deictic demonstratives and anaphoric demonstratives. From my discussion, I conclude that Unua is likely to be only in an early stage of a (potential) development of a true determiner.

The Unua data that is the subject of the analysis in this paper is sourced from material that I collected in seven field trips to the Unua area between 2003 and 2011. Of this material, I have deposited the following items with the Paradisec archive: audio recordings and glossed texts of 47 traditional stories and oral histories, texts of contemporary Unua versions of material collected in 1957 by Joyce Trudinger, and an Unua/English vocabulary list of some 4,000 items.¹ Another set of material, typescripts of translations by Kalangis Bembe of the New Testament gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke and John, has been deposited with the Vanuatu Cultural Centre.

After the introduction in section 1, Section 2 of the paper gives a summary account of the background on the diachronic loss of the specifying **na* article. Section 3 provides information on the Unua demonstratives and of the forms selected for anaphoric uses. Section 4 presents the evidence for the anaphoric roles of the two morphemes *ngo* and *nga*. Section 5 presents analyses of the syntax of demonstratives versus determiners. Section 6 takes up Roberts and Roussou’s (2003) proposals about the syntactic reanalyses involved in grammaticalizations and then considers the application of these proposals to the Unua case. This section also considers the more recent proposal of Cinque (2020) according to which there is evidence for a separate anaphoric demonstrative projection. Conclusions to the paper are given in section 7.

2 Historical Antecedents

A large number of Unua nouns bear the reflex of a common article POc **na* (described as having had a specifying function in Crowley, 1985; Lynch, 2001; Lynch et al., 2002) synchronically showing up word-initially as /nV/ or /ⁿd/.² The outcomes for the presence/absence of **na-* accretion are predictable with respect to moraic structure (Pearce, 2007, 2015). Final vowels were lost and **na-* was retained only when it made up the

¹ The annotated Trudinger texts can be found in bundles VUNU104, VUNU105, VUNU106 and VUVU107 of Arthur Capell’s Pacific field notes collection (<https://dx.doi.org/10.4225/72/56E7A7481F423>; <https://catalog.paradisec.org.au/collections/AC2>) and the Unua collection is at: <https://catalog.paradisec.org.au/repository/EP2>

² Crowley (1985) reconstructed POc **na* as specific/indefinite on the basis of data from four major Oceanic sub-groups: NorthWest Melanesian, Southern Melanesian, Eastern Oceanic and New Guinea Oceanic. The data indicate that **na* occurred before common non-human nouns, but not in generic or attributive uses, or in cases where the noun occurs obligatorily with a possessive. Ross (1988) finds evidence for a POc indefinite article **ta*. The reflexes of **na* in Unua are marked on nouns having the characteristics identified in Crowley (1985) in that they do not appear in attributive compounds, with proper nouns or with nouns that are directly possessed.

penultimate mora. Following the proposed ordering of changes from Lynch (2007, p. 5), on the assumption of uniform penultimate stress placement, the derivations of the contrasting outcomes with respect to syllable structure for the most common cases are shown in (1):

(1)	POc	FINAL V > Ø	UNSTRESSED	UNUA
			<i>*na-</i> > Ø	
	<i>*na-kútu</i>	<i>nákut</i>	_____	<i>náyut</i> ‘louse’
	<i>*ná-kasúpe</i>	<i>nakásup</i>	<i>kásup</i>	<i>yásuβ</i> ‘rat’

According to the scenario sketched out in (1), the retention or not of a reflex of **na* is a function of the location of stress placement. At the POc outset, **na-* does not attract primary stress. Then, given the uniform loss of the final vowel, the retention of the penultimate stress assignment leads to stress placement on **na-* in those cases where the noun root is monosyllabic. These nouns have initial /nV-/ synchronically, in contrast with noun roots with more than one syllable that do not.

The /ⁿd/-initial forms are reflexes of earlier /t/-initial forms having more than two moras as with: **talai* > *ⁿdere* ‘clam’, **ʔatamate* > *ⁿdemetf* ‘devil’ versus **tasi* > *netes* ‘sea/salt’ (Pearce, 2007, p. 332; 2015, pp. 49–50).

There is also a category of nouns that lack **na*-accretion reflexes. These are nouns that refer to items that are generally inalienable and with which the ownership relation is obligatorily expressed. In these cases, ‘possession’ is encoded either through the direct naming of the owner referent as a noun or a pronoun or, for singular referents only, through the use of a suffix (Pearce, 2010; 2015, pp. 122–130):³

(2)	<i>*tasi</i>	<i>tasig/tasim/tasin</i>	‘my/your/his~her younger sibling’
		<i>tasi xina/tasi xai/tasi xini</i>	‘my/your/his~her younger sibling’
		<i>tasi Belis</i>	‘Belis’ younger sibling’

It seems likely that **na* would not have preceded such nouns as its specifying function would have been redundant. Although possibly retaining some noun-marking function, *n(V)* has altogether lost any specifying function.

3 Demonstratives in Unua

Bare nouns occur frequently in the data base. However, indefinite count nouns may be distinguished for number when accompanied by *soxa* ‘one’ or plural *sobon* ‘some’. The referential status of a noun may be inferred by context or by an accompanying modifier, such as a demonstrative or a possessive. For a bare noun in the subject role, singular/dual/plural number

³ The Unua data are henceforth presented in a phonemically-based orthography in which all voiced stops and the bilabial trill are prenasalized, <bb> = /^mB/, <j> = /tʃ/, <v> = /β/, <x> = /ɣ/, <ng> = /ŋ/, <r> = /r/, <rr> = /r/, and all other orthographic symbols have the corresponding IPA values. Non-standard glosses are as follows: C = Complementizer, CONT = Continuous, NGEN = Ngenitive (form = *nen*), and TR = Transitive. The references accompanying Unua data are coded as described in Pearce (2015). (Sources represented as ‘XX.xx’ are from recorded narratives, and ‘Mark/Luke/John/ x:xx’ identify texts of the *New Testament* translations: Bembe (2005/2007/2009).

is encoded in the subject agreement prefix on the verb. A plural referencing noun may also be followed by the plural particle *rin*. This section focuses on the forms and uses of modifying demonstratives.

Modifying demonstratives in Unua encode singular versus plural number and they have a three-way contrast in their deictic reference properties. The most commonly used adnominal forms are shown in (3a), and these can be compared with the deictic adverbs in (3b):

(3) a. Noun-modifier demonstratives

Gloss	SG	PL	English
PROX	<i>nge</i>	<i>ngare</i>	‘this/these’
DIST	<i>ngag</i>	<i>ngarag</i>	‘that/those’
DEM/C	<i>nga</i>	<i>nga</i>	‘that/those/the’
‘the’	<i>ngo</i>	<i>ngaro/ngo</i>	‘the’

b. Deictic adverbs

PROX	<i>ien</i>	‘here’
MEDIAL	<i>iog</i>	‘there’
DIST	<i>iag</i>	‘over there’

[Pearce, 2015, p. 70 (adapted)]

The forms shown in (3) are just a subset of the demonstratives in the language which also has a large number of pronominal demonstratives. But in the case of the pronominal demonstratives only some of these are attested with plural forms, e.g., ‘person’: *tenge*, *tongo*, *tanga*, *tangag*, versus ‘thing’: *denge*, *dongo*, *danga*, *dag*, *dangag*, and ‘things’: *dangare*, *dagare*, *dangaro* (Pearce, 2015, pp. 78–95).

In both the (3a) and (3b) sets, the proximate form includes an /e/ vowel and the (contrasting) distant form includes an /a/ vowel. The vowel of the *ngo* form in (3a) corresponds to that of the general ‘there’ place adverb *iog*, but it does not encode exophoric deixis. The form *nga* in (3a) has a variety of uses that are discussed in section 4 below.

Uripiv, a close Eastern Malakula relative of Unua, shows a comparable pattern in the distribution of vowels in its locative pronouns and demonstrative suffixes. These are as follows:

(4) Uripiv demonstratives (McKerras, 2005, p. 5)

a. Locative pronouns

<i>ngel</i>	‘this’
<i>ngok</i>	‘that’
<i>ngak</i>	‘that-out-of-sight’

b. Demonstrative suffixes

<i>vinel</i>	‘this woman’
<i>vinok</i>	‘that woman’
<i>vinak</i>	‘that (out of sight) woman’

Thus, whilst Unua *ngo* appears to no longer serve a deictic function, the comparison with Uripiv, along with the existence in Unua of the middle distance *iog* ‘there’, suggests that *ngo* in its uses is sourced from a form that would have served in the past as a middle distance demonstrative.

4 Functions of *ngo* and *nga*

4.1 Overview

The modifying demonstratives *nge* and *ngag* have a clear deictic function in contrasting uses, such as in:

- (5) *Robburet nge i-perrperr, robburet ngag i-met(met).*
 book PROX 3SG-red book DIST 3SG-black
 ‘This book is red, that book is black.’ [Pearce, 2015, p. 73]

These forms may not be restricted just to ‘true’ deictic uses, but they differ from the *ngo* form in that *ngo* is always anaphoric and never deictic.

I do not have extensive records of conversational interactions from which there would be the possibility of a more fine-grained study of deictic versus possible non-deictic uses of *nge* and *ngag*. Except for *nga*, which has multiple uses (see below in this section), demonstratives do not occur very frequently in the data base. As a rough comparison over a small sample, the counts for demonstrative forms in the Unua translation of the first two chapters of the Mark gospel of New Testament (Bembe, 2005) and of the ‘Woman chief’ story (Pearce, 2015, pp. 562–568) are shown in Table 1, which also shows the total number of words for each sample.

Table 1. Demonstrative occurrences

		Mark Ch. 1 & 2	Woman chief
<i>nga</i>	C	57	19
	DEM	1	2
<i>ngo</i>		8	1
<i>nge</i>		2	-
Total words		1,602	360

In Table 1, the counts for *nga* are split: ‘C’ where *nga* is a linker head and ‘DEM’ where *nga* is a noun modifier.

4.2 Previous mention uses

In this section we look at the uses of the demonstrative-like forms that appear to function like definite articles. To begin, the examples in (6a,b) show uses of singular and plural *ngo* and *ngaro* corresponding to the previous mention referring function of English ‘the’:

- (6) a. *Nabong soxa vinkiki soxa rroni mama se-n ru-non i-xa go*
 day one girl one with mama GEN-3SG 3DU-live 3SG-go and
 ‘One day there was a girl living with her mama and

vinkiki ngo i-vra b-i-xa vex rites.
 girl the 3SG-want IRR-3SG-go to LOC.sea
 the girl wanted to go to the sea.’ [SC.04-05]

- b. *Nerur kiki soxa go arres ro-non ren, go arres*
 island small one and person 3PL-live LOC.NGEN and person
 ‘There was a small island and there were people living on it, and the people

ngaro re-ring-i namar se rate soxa. Go nerur ngo bati nani
 the.PL 3PL-put-TR chief GEN 3PL one and island the tree coconut
 used to choose a chief from among them. And on the island, there stood just

soxa ma i-tu ren. Go namar ngo i-mo-vra
 one only 3SG-stand LOC.NGEN and chief the 3SG-CONT-want
 one coconut tree. And the chief was wanting

b-i-rra-i nani ngo b-i-soxa. . .
 IRR-3SG-eat.raw-TR coconut the IRR-3SG-one

To eat one of the coconuts . . . ‘used to choose a chief from among them.’

[CI.04-07]

In (6a), the occurrence of *ngo* after *vinkiki* ‘girl’ picks up on the previous mention of the girl introduced as *vinkiki soxa* ‘a girl’. For the case of the plural in (6b), unmodified *arres* introduces unspecified ‘people’ and in the subsequent mention *arres* is followed by plural *ngaro*. In the remaining cases, the *ngo* of *nerur ngo* refers back to *nerur kiki soxa*, the *ngo* of *namar ngo* refers back to *namar se rate soxa* and the *ngo* of *nani ngo bisoxa* identifies a product from the *bati nani bisoxa*.

In another kind of case, we see contrasting uses of *ngo* and *nga*, where *nga* refers to more distant previous mention and where *ngo* refers to closer previous mention. In the extract in (7) the narrative resumes after a passage of five years in the story and *nga* is used in referring to the participants that have been introduced earlier on:

- (7) *Nabong soxa mu rroborum nga ra-xa mu ra-ba-rva*
 day one again child DEM 3PL-go again 3PL-IRR-shoot
 ‘On another day those boys went out again to shoot

naix ra-vra naix i-xa go re-vexut. Re-vena go
 fish 3PL-shoot fish 3SG-go and 3PL-go.ashore 3PL-come and
 fish, they shot some fish and then they went back to shore. They came up and

re-ke-i mu vindra nga rroni mexebbu-n nga, go
 3PL-see-TR again old.woman DEM with grandchild-3SG DEM and
 they saw that old woman again with that granddaughter, and they saw

re-ke-i mexebbu-n ngo go ra-jajar ni re-b-kese.
 3PL-see-TR grandchild-3SG the and 3PL-wish OBL 3PL-IRR-marry
 the granddaughter and they wished to marry her.’ [GS.39-43]

Three earlier mentioned participants, the boys, the old woman and her granddaughter, are re-referred to with the use of *nga*. Subsequently, *ngo* is used with the next mention of the granddaughter.

In the following example, after the conclusion to a narrative, a specification is added:

- (8) *Nungo go garen jirvaren se rrate.*
 PLACE.the and end story GEN 1INCL.PL
 ‘There is the end of our story.’

Vindra nga, vindra ngo go nexse-n i-vaj-i Xobb Sangavur.
 woman DEM woman the and name-3SG 3SG-call-TR Xobb Sangavur
 ‘That woman, the woman is called Xobb Sangavur [ten fires].’ [WC.52-53]

Again, in this example *nga* is used for picking up on a more distant earlier mention with *ngo* used in the subsequent mention.

It is not, however, always the case that *ngo* is preferred over *nga* in contexts of immediate previous mention, as in the following example:

- (9) *Ale, motara, motara nga i-vrrarr-i vindra se-n,*
 alright old.man old.man DEM 3SG-kill-TR woman GEN-3SG
 ‘Alright, the man, that man killed his wife,’ [SW.27]

This use of *nga* appears to align with the sporadic use in narratives of other adnominal demonstrative forms. On the other hand, the text from this extract is taken includes many hesitations and repetitions and, if the first occurrence shown here of *motara* is disregarded, the use of *nga* with the second occurrence is consistent with the fact that the mention of another participant intervenes between the *motara nga* shown in (9) and the previous mention of the ‘old man’, *motara*.

Overall, in the uses of *ngo* and *nga* illustrated in (7) to (9), *ngo* is restricted to referring to

the most previous mention of an entity, whereas *nga* refers back to an entity that has been previously mentioned, but at a more distant remove. Depending on the contexts, most obviously in the case of reference to human participants, *nga* could also be seen as having a switch reference function.⁴

The *nga* form is not however restricted to anaphoric (or deictic) uses. It also serves to introduce relative clauses and as a linker for some types of noun modifiers. In both (10a) and (10b) *nga* serves as the relative clause complementizer on the otherwise unmodified head *arres* ‘person’. Subject agreement on the verb of the relative clause identifies *arres* as singular in (10a) and as plural in (10b).

- (10) a. *Veverngo b-o-kro arres nga m-i-mo-keke nu.*
 now IRR-1SG-look person C REL-3SG-CONT-sing EMPH
 ‘Now I will go and look for the person who is singing.’ [BD.28]
- b. *Go arres nga re-me-re rejen se-n re-ngva xubasi,*
 and person C 3PL-REL-hear message GEN-3SG 3PL-think too.much
 ‘And the people who heard the message were astonished,’ [Mark 1:22]

As a linker, *nga* is found with place specifications (11a, b), with ‘before’/‘after’ adverbials (12), and with superlative expressions linking two identical adjectives (13).

- (11) a. *go ru-vrai ni arres nga aim rin*
 and 3DU-say-TR OBL person C village PL
 ‘and they said to the people from the village’ [NDb.29]
- b. *No-majing re session nga Unua.*
 1SG-work LOC session C Unua
 ‘I work at the Unua session’ [BD.02]
- (12) *Ke, sobon nga vemu rin ra-vra:*
 so some C before PL PL-say
 ‘So, some of the older ones said:’ [SH.14]

⁴ Thanks to a reviewer who notes that the contrasting uses of *ngo* and *nga* discussed in this Section are comparable with the “proximate” versus “obviative” distinction (such as presented in Aissen, 1997, among others). The same reviewer also points to literature (including Gundel et al., 1993, and Ariel, 2001) on the Accessibility Hierarchy. These approaches to referentiality focus on the linguistic means employed in the identification of discourse referents. Of particular interest for further research in the Unua case would be a more extended and substantial analysis of identifiability, such as via the accessibility scale discussed in Gundel et al which investigates a hierarchy of noun phrase types with different steps on the scale for pronouns, demonstratives, bare nouns and non-overt elements.

- (13) *go tongo i-msex nga i-msex morix b-i-mej.*
 and person.the 3SG-sick C 3SG-sick near IRR-3SG-die
 ‘but he was very sick and he was soon to die.’ [SS.51]

No other demonstratives take on the functions that we see in (11), (12) and (13) and, in these uses, *nga* has the characteristics of a functional head.

In summary, both *ngo* and *nga* are used in the anaphoric function and *ngo* is only used in this function. Neither of these demonstrative forms appears to be used for exophoric deixis, but *nga* also serves as a grammatical particle in three specialized uses in which it exhibits the behaviour of a grammatical head.

4.3 Morphophonology

Unua has a series of pronouns that are formed with demonstrative suffixes, including *ngo*, *nga* and *ngaro*. These are set out in Table 2.

Table 2. Demonstrative pronouns [Pearce, 2015, p. 78 (adapted)]

	‘thing’		‘person’		‘one’	
	SG	PL	SG	PL	SG	PL
PROX	<i>denge</i>	<i>dangare?</i>	<i>tenge</i>		<i>ninge(n)</i>	
DEM	<i>danga</i>	<i>danga,</i> <i>dangaro</i>	<i>tanga</i>		<i>ninga</i>	<i>ninga</i>
DISTANT	<i>dag,</i> <i>dangag</i>	<i>dagare</i>	<i>tangag</i>		<i>ngag</i>	
‘the’	<i>dongo</i>	<i>dangaro</i>	<i>tongo</i>		<i>nungo(n)</i>	

Not all of the cells in Table 2 have content but it is not certain that all possible Unua demonstrative forms are captured in Table 2.⁵ Also, there seems to be a fair degree of fluidity in use. For instance, in close proximity in a narrative we have both *danga ngaro* and *dangaro* as plural forms:

- (14) a. *I-vra danga ngaro i-xa go i-vra go:*
 3SG-say thing.DEM the.PL 3SG-go and 3SG-say and
 ‘She kept saying these things and then she said.’ [PB.116]
- b. *i-vase lafet. Ke i-xa [i-rav-i?] dangaro,*
 3SG-make feast so 3SG-go 3SG-take-TR thing.the.PL
 ‘he prepared a feast. So he went and got things, [PB.127]

The contexts for the uses of the pronouns formed with *ngo* and with *nga* are comparable

⁵ A reviewer notes that the apparent morphological make-up of the forms in Table 2 is reminiscent of N-D forms in Romanian, like *băiat-ul frumos* ‘boy-the nice’, analyzed in Giusti (1994) as derived through raising and left-adjunction of the N to D. The suggestion is that this type of analysis for the Unua forms would support the treatment of the demonstrative elements as heads.

to those with the corresponding adnominals. For example, the *-nga* pronouns are used as heads for relative clauses, as in (15):

- (15) a. *U-sebe-re rre danga m-a-vra-i.*
 2SG-NEG-hear NEG thing.C REL-1SG-say-TR
 ‘You didn’t listen to the things that I said.’ [BO.65]
- b. *go ru-be-mre ke tanga m-i-non ngag.*
 and 3DU-IRR-like so PERS.C REL-3SG-stay DIST
 ‘and they would be just like the one who was living there.’ [WT.30]
- c. *Ninga m-i-xan-i nemen, xini i-kbex metoxni xias*
 one.C REL-3SG-eat-TR bird 3SG 3SG-jump over stake
se-n.
 GEN-3SG
 ‘The one who ate the bird, he jumped over his stake.’ [Trudinger, 1957, p. 4]

In so far as the anaphoric uses of the demonstrative pronouns are concerned, just as with adnominal *ngo* and *nga*, especially in uses of *tongo/tonga* ‘person’, there are cases in which we find contrasting uses for earlier previous mention versus more immediate previous mention, as in the following extract:

- (16) *I-ke-i ju nga tanga i-vena. Naxerr nga tongo*
 3SG-see-TR already C PERS.DEM 3SG-come time C PERS.the
 ‘He had seen that one coming. When he
- i-ruj vena regeri-n, go i-rva i-rrum apen.*
 3SG-approach come near-3SG and 3SG-shoot 3SG-fall.down below
 came near, he shot him and he fell down.
- Motara nga i-rve-i tanga i-xa i-bra re*
 old.man DEM 3SG-pull-TR PERS.DEM 3SG-go 3SG-throw LOC
 The old man dragged him along and threw him into
- nue, go i-sar sur-ue. Tongo i-sar vena go*
 river and 3SG-float follow-river PERS.the 3SG-float come and
 the river and he floated down the river. He floated down and
- i-bet re naxos soxa.*
 3SG-stick LOC rubbish one
 he got stuck in some debris.’ [CO.08-11]

In (16) the main protagonist is a man whose wife has become pregnant to another man. The protagonist hides in the garden with a gun to await the arrival of the offender. In the first mention the offender is referred to with *tanga* ‘that one/him’. In the immediate continuation of the narrative, he is referred to in the next mention as *tongo* ‘the one/he’. Next, we see the protagonist referred to as *motara nga* ‘that/the old man’ and the reference to the offender switches back to *tanga* ‘that/the one/him’. Following this, the offender is then referred to again as *tongo* ‘he’.

Overt subjects are not obligatory in Unua and the extract in (16) does not include any instances of the non-demonstrative third person singular pronoun, *xini*. The uses of *tanga/tonga* in the text allow for the clear differentiation between the two individuals figuring in this part of the narrative. The contrasting uses of *tanga/tongo* here mirror the previous mention uses seen with *nga* versus *ngo* in (8) and (9).

There is one case in which suffixal *ngo* is virtually the only demonstrative form to combine with a bound morpheme.⁶ The form *vin* ‘female’ is obligatorily bound and *vinngo* standardly designates ‘woman’, but it lacks a counterpart in the forms using the bound form *mo(x)* ‘male’ (Pearce 2015, p. 77):

(17) a.	desevin	‘woman’	b.	moxman	‘man/male’
	vinngo	‘the woman’			
	vindra	‘old woman’		motara	‘old man’
	vinkiki	‘little girl’		mokiki	‘little boy’
	vindamaro	‘widow’		moxdamaro	‘widower’
	vinmeraur	‘young woman’		moxmeraur	‘young man’
	vindutu	‘daughter-in-law’		moxnavur	‘soldier’
	vindemej	‘devil woman’		moxvemur	‘older boy’
	vinsivrax	‘witch’		moxvetox	‘younger boy’
	vinkon bburax	‘midwife’			

Certain of the morphemes combining with *vin* and with *mo(x)* can occur as independent words: *kiki* ‘little’, *meraur* ‘young person/man’, *demej* ‘devil’, *kon* ‘sacred’, but, since *vin* and *mo(x)* never occur alone, this is support for the view that the compound interpretation is justified for both of these forms.

⁶ Whilst *vinngo* appears extensively both in narrative data and in the New Testament translations, only one instance of *vinnga* is attested in these texts:

(i) *Go xai b-u-rivsa-i vinnga Elisabet xini i-ve bitinser, se xai*
 and 2SG IRR-2SG-know-TR FEM.DEM Elizabeth 3SG 3SG-be family GEN 2SG
 ‘And you should know the woman Elizabeth, she is a member of your
soxa, xini i-tra ju.
 one 3SG 3SG-old already
 family, she is already old.’ [Luke 1:36]

5 Demonstratives versus Determiners

If we are to identify the syntactic status of *ngo/nga* in Unua, we need to understand the difference between demonstratives and determiners more generally. In this section, as a case in point, I begin by considering the implications of the syntactic status of an article-like morpheme which has been variously viewed as an article or as a demonstrative in French.

In French prenominal definite articles and the ‘demonstrative’ *ce* do not cooccur and they are non-distinct in terms of their linear placement:⁷

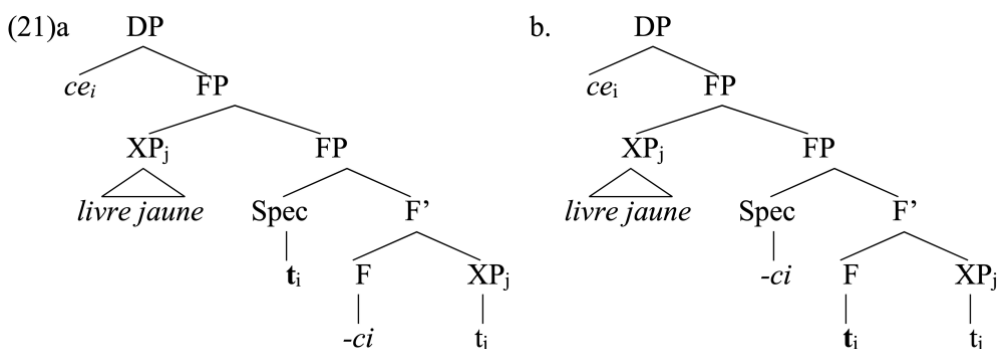
- (18) a. *le livre* ‘the book’
 b. *ce livre* ‘this/that book’

The proximate versus distal interpretations for the demonstrative can be made explicit with the inclusion of a deictic specification:

- (19) a. *ce livre-ci/-là* ‘this book (here)/that book (there)’
 b. **le livre-ci/-là*

The pre-N article and demonstrative are undifferentiated in terms of their linear placement, but the contrast between (19a) and (19b) shows that these two kinds of items have different cooccurrence properties. We might suppose that both of the demonstrative forms are merged in an XP (let us say DemP) below the XP in which the article is merged. The non-deictic *ce* form could subsequently raise to the pre-N location. In an approach of this type in Bernstein (1997), the deictic is in the head of its projection and the non-deictic demonstrative raises from the specifier position. Under an alternative approach, the raising is by head-movement from the head position of the DemP. The derivation proposed in Bernstein (1997, p. 100) for (20) is shown in (21a) and an alternative head-movement derivation is shown in (21b):

- (20) *ce livre jaune ci* ‘this yellow book (here)’ [Bernstein 1997, p. 98]



In both (21a) and (21b), the XP including the noun and the adjective raise by phrasal movement to a higher position. In (21b), *ce* is the head of its FP and raises by head-movement

⁷ Like the *le(l')/la(l')/les* articles, the pre-N forms *ce(cet)/cette/ces* agree in number and gender with the head noun. I will refer to these items globally as *ce*.

to the D head position (the position occupied by the article *le* when present). In (21b), since *ce* starts out in a Spec position, it must be part of an XP and the movement of the XP into the DP would thus be by Spec-to-Spec movement to the Spec of the DP.

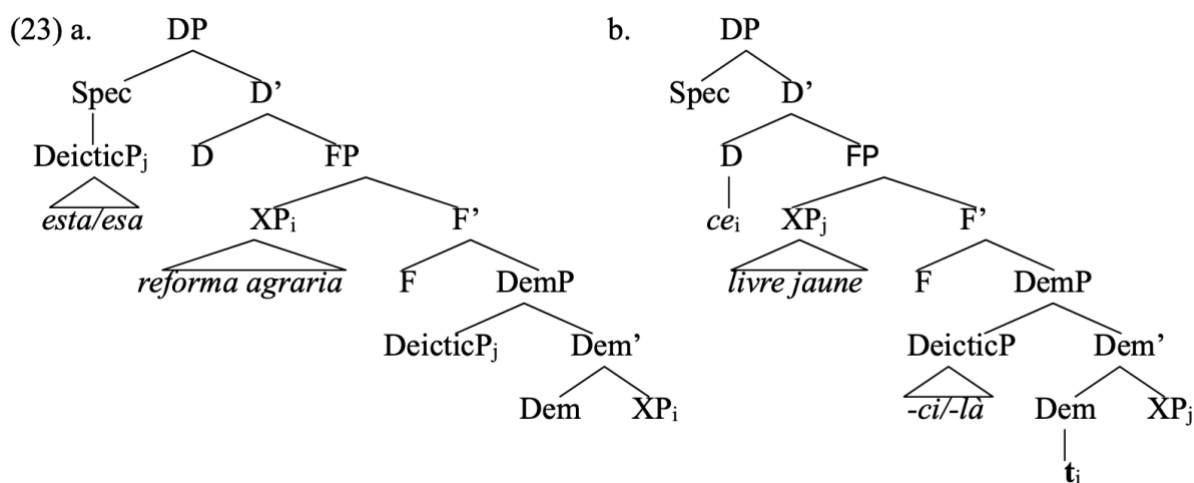
Unlike French, Spanish allows the cooccurrence of the article with a post-N deictic demonstrative:

- (22) a. *esta/esa reforma agraria* 'this/that agrarian reform'
 b. *la reforma agraria esta/esa* 'this/that agrarian reform'

[Brugè, 2000, p. 140]

Brugè (1996, 2000) also assumes phrasal movement of the noun and its adjectival modifier for Spanish and, in her analysis, the Spanish demonstrative is in an XP in the Spec, DemP. It raises to Spec, DP if the D head is empty. In all three of the proposed derivations for French and Spanish, the common characteristic is that raising of a demonstrative item can only occur if the higher head is not filled.⁸ Of (21a) and (21b), Brugè's interpretation is most comparable to (21b) in that the deictic is merged in a Spec position.

Suppose we accept the alignment of Brugè's derivation for the Spanish data with the (21b) derivation, then applying specific labels to the head versus specifier items, I propose the structure for (22a) as (23a) and the more detailed structure for (21b) as (23b):



In the structures in (23), the exophoric demonstratives are merged in a DeicticP in the Spec of a DemP. The French non-contrastive *ce* is merged in the head of the DemP. Both structures expand on the DP-internal structure at the high end, making visible the distinct Spec and Head landing sites.

In French the form *ce* has a variety of uses.⁹ In one of its uses, *ce* can have an anaphoric function, as Gross (1977) discusses with respect to the following:

⁸ In effect, French *le* cannot be merged in D if *ce* is present in DemP.

⁹ Such as detailed in Wartburg and Zumthor (1958, pp. 296-307). See also Rowlett (2007, pp. 66-70).

- (24) Un étudiant est entré dans le bureau, il/l'étudiant/cet étudiant a demandé l'heure.
 'A student entered the office, he/the student/this student asked the time.'

[Gross 1977, p. 117]

In all three of the alternatives in (24), the subject of the second clause is understood as coreferential with the subject of the first clause. When *ce* is used with a deictic, it is the deictic that identifies the referent. In the absence of a deictic, the referent of a DP including *ce* can, at least in some cases, be found in the preceding discourse context, as in (24).¹⁰ Since the initial *ce* in (24) has the same anaphoric properties as the definite article *le*, this is support for the view that, like *le*, it fills the D head position.

There are also languages in which a deictic may cooccur with a definite article before the noun. Leu (2008) provides the following examples from Afrikaans:

- (25) a. *Ek het hier-die huis gebou.*
 I have here-the house built
 'I built this house.'
- b. *Ek het daar-die man gesien.*
 I have there-the man seen
 'I saw that man.' [Leu 2008, p. 22]

Since the deictic here precedes the definite article, as in the derivation proposed for the Spanish pre-N deictic, it could raise to Spec,DP, otherwise to a higher Spec position.

The data in (24) showed an instance of a demonstrative having come to be used as a referring head and, ultimately, taking on properties that are assigned to definite articles. We have seen that Unua *ngo/nga* have acquired anaphoric uses, but in the Unua case, in terms of their linear placement, *ngo* and *nga* are indistinguishable from the true deictics. Are there any formal properties that would justify an analysis putting *ngo/nga* in the D head position in Unua?

6 Articles Grammaticalized from Demonstratives

6.1 The grammaticalization pathway

The development of a definite article from a demonstrative is historically well attested (Campbell 1998, p. 239; Lyons 1999, p. 331; Diessel 1999, p. 115). Thus, for Romance languages, the Latin adnominal demonstratives *ille* and *illa* gave rise to definite articles in French: *le* and *la*, in Spanish: *el* and *la*, and in Italian: *il* and *la* (Harris, 1978; Vincent, 1997; Giusti, 2001). For Lyons (1999, p. 332), "languages lacking definiteness tend to use

¹⁰ For Grevisse (1961, p. 355, §436): 'L'adjectif démonstratif s'emploie fréquemment pour indiquer que le nom désigne un être ou une chose qu'on vient de nommer ou dont on va parler...' [The demonstrative adjective is often used to indicate that the noun designates a being or a thing that has just been named or that is about to be spoken about.]. For Rowlett (2007, p. 66): 'Used on their own, demonstrative determiners have weak deictic force, only, and sometimes function as mere definiteness markers [. . .] they fail to distinguish degrees of proximity to any participant in the discourse.'

demonstratives more extensively” and Himmelmann (1996, p. 229) suggests that languages that lack a definite article often use demonstratives anaphorically.

But how does a demonstrative that is merged in Spec, DemP or in the Dem head come to be reanalyzed as occupying the D head position?

Roberts and Roussou (2003) focus on the properties of functional heads in their account of the conditions required for reanalyses in instances of grammaticalization.¹¹ They propose that the final step in a grammaticalization pathway is arrived at when a particular element is directly merged into the relevant head position. In the step preceding this final step the item has to be raised into the relevant position. For Roberts and Roussou, the language learner prefers the analysis in which the formal features of an item are non-syncretic (Roberts & Roussou, 2003, p. 201). That is, a moved item will bear the formal features of the head from which it has raised (thus it is syncretic), whereas an item directly merged in a position will bear only the features of the position it is merged into. They thus argue that grammaticalization always involves upwards reanalysis.¹² A (former) demonstrative can thus be reanalyzed as a definite article only if it is raised from a lower position and if the featural conditions are present for it to be interpreted as non-syncretic.

So, how does a demonstrative that is merged in Spec, DemP or in the Dem head get to be understood as being directly merged in the D head position? First, as Roberts and Roussou (2003, pp. 133–136) propose, the demonstrative has a definiteness feature that accounts for the possibility of it being attracted into the DP. Within the DP, initially, the demonstrative is syncretic as it bears both a +deictic and a +definite feature. If the +deictic feature is subsequently lost (it is reanalyzed simply as +definite), the final stage of the grammaticalization process has been reached.¹³ Second, there are two possible scenarios for the raising of the demonstrative: either (i) the DemP (which I am calling DeicticP, as in (23a,b)) raises from Spec, DemP to Spec, DP; or, (ii) a demonstrative in the head position of the DemP raises directly to the D head.

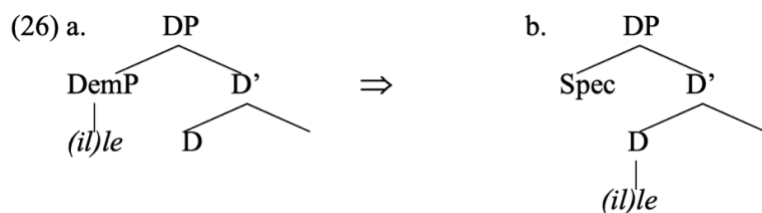
With the scenario (ii), the upwards movement is manifested as a straightforward case of head-to-head movement, such as represented for *ce* in (23b).

In the case of scenario (i), after the DeicticP has landed in the Spec, DP, if the Deictic is to be reanalyzed as an article, it must move to the head of the DP. In her representation of this process, Giusti (2001, p. 167) shows the reanalysis of the switch from Latin *ille* to French *le* as follows:

¹¹ The framework that Roberts and Roussou (2003) propose is built on grammaticalization data for three types of entities: auxiliary verbs, complementizers and determiners. For comparable discussion of the formal characteristics of grammaticalization, see also van Gelderen (2004, 2011). (I thank a reviewer for pointing me to these works.)

¹² A reviewer, however, notes that Munaro (2016) argues for downward reanalysis from data on complementizer doubling within the CP domain in varieties of Italo-Romance. Unless there is something special about the complementizer data that distinguishes it from other cases treated in Roussou and Roberts (2003) (for example, something particular to the CP domain itself) then, although there may be good support for the upwards reanalysis view, it could not be said that upwards reanalysis is the **only** pathway to grammaticalization. I will, however, proceed with the view that upwards reanalysis is implicated in the transition: deictic demonstrative > anaphoric demonstrative.

¹³ Roberts and Roussou also consider the role of the loss of case marking where this may be relevant.



As Giusti proposes, one possibility is that the phonological weakening of the loss of the initial syllable applies to *(il)le* during the time that it is in the Spec,DP and that this phonological weakening is a trigger for the interpretation that the resulting *le* is the head of the DP. The other possibility is that the reinterpretation of *ille* as anaphoric leads to its shift to the D head, where it counts as a functional category and, like other functional items, it weakens, in this case, with the loss of the initial syllable.

6.2 Locating *ngo/nga* in *Unua*

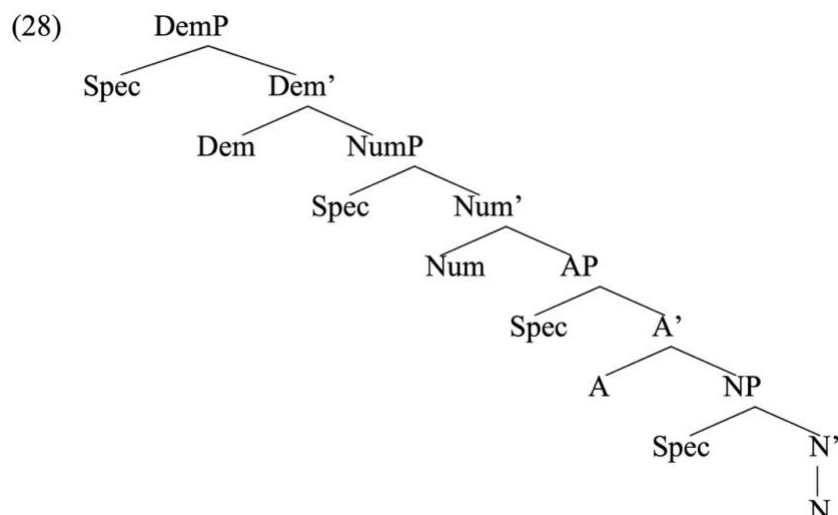
In *Unua*, since *ngo/nga* don't cooccur with the "true" deictics, and since there is no linear evidence for displacement, we have no direct evidence for the raising of *ngo/nga*. If we were however to consider that raising takes place, we could suppose that there are two possible ways in which it might be forced: (i) assuming that *ngo/nga* in Dem° go through a progression of feature shifts: (a) [+deictic] > (b) [+deictic] [+anaphoric] > (c) [+anaphoric], at stage (c) the loss of the deictic feature resulting in the absence of syncretism could force the interpretation that *ngo/nga* are in D: or (ii) it could simply be a universal requirement that an item that is [+anaphoric] is attracted to D.

What would be the surface position of D in *Unua*?¹⁴ We have already observed that demonstratives follow the noun in *Unua*. In fact, all constituents of the DP follow the N in the "inverse" ordering Greenberg, 1966; Cinque, 2005), as in (27b):

- (27) a. Base merge order
Dem – Num – A – N
- b. *kuri metmet xeter ngaro*
N. A Num Dem
dog black three the.PL
'the three black dogs'

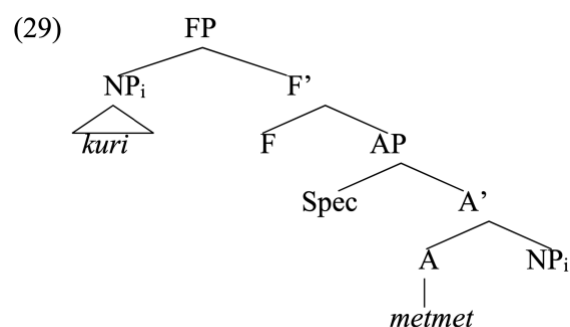
In adopting the antisymmetry framework of Kayne (1994), Cinque (2005) argues that such inverse surface orderings are derived through iterative phrasal movement. According to antisymmetry theory, syntactic trees are created universally as consistently right-branching structures. Thus, for the sequencing of the items ordered as in (27a), an antisymmetrical tree structure in the X-bar notation would be as follows:

¹⁴ I assume, following Longobardi (1994), that arguments are necessarily DPs and thus have a D head.

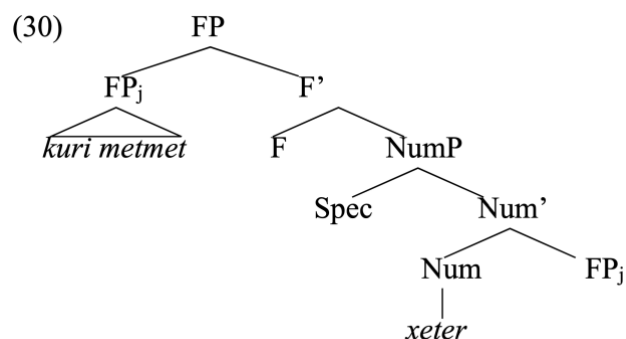


In the structure in (28), specifiers are on the left and the complement of a head is on a branch to the right of the head.

In the derivations that Cinque proposes for surface outputs as in (27b), the inverse ordering is achieved through successive phrasal movements.¹⁵ In the first such movement, the NP raises to a position above the AP, as:



Next, the NP, taking the whole FP along with it, as in the ‘which dog’ type of wh-movement, raises above the NumP:



¹⁵ Pearce (2010, 2011) also adopts the iterative NP “roll up” approach to the Unua DP-internal syntax.

Similarly, after the DemP is merged above the top FP in (30), the whole of that FP will raise to a Spec,FP above the DemP. This series of steps produces the surface ordering of (27b).

The DP projection, which isn't shown in (29) and (30), would be merged above the DemP projection. If the iterative NP raising stopped at the point in the structure above the DemP, but below the DP projection, the N would necessarily be preceded by the D head. In that case, any anaphoric *ngo* or *nga* in the D head would have to be to the left of the N. Since this is not the ordering that we see, the only way that *ngo/nga* could be in the head of D, would be if the NP raising were to continue to a position above the DP. Quantifier placement suggests that the NP in Unua would in fact raise even further above the DP projection.

English data including quantifiers indicates that quantifiers are merged above the DP projection and that the merge ordering is thus as in (32).¹⁶

- (31) a. All the dogs were barking.
b. Many of the dogs were barking.

(32) Quant > D > Dem > Num > A > N

In Unua, quantifiers, like other DP constituents, appear in the inverse ordering, in this case, at the right edge of the DP:¹⁷

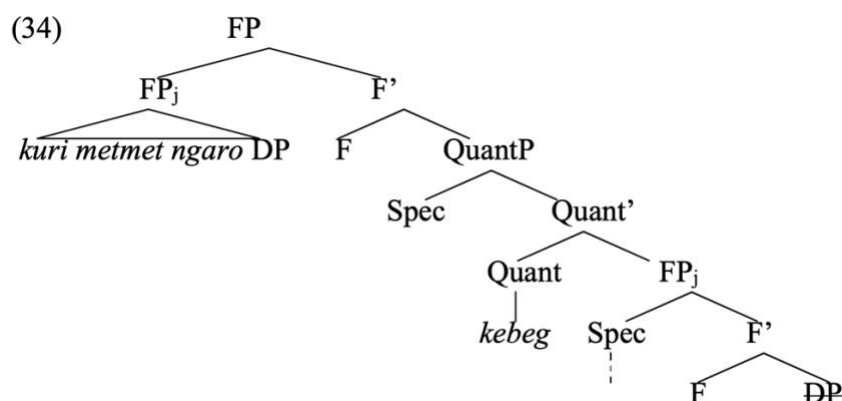
- (33) a. *No-sebe-ke-i* *rre* *kuri* *metmet* *ngaro* ***kebeg***.
1SG-NEG-see-TR NEG dog black the.PL all
'I didn't see all the black dogs.' [Pearce 2015, p. 194]
- b. *Namar* *ngaro* ***sobon*** *ra-b-xa* *vex* *rites*.
chief the.PL some 3PL-IRR-go to LOC.sea
'Some of the chiefs will go to the sea.' [Pearce 2015, p. 192]
- c. *Go* *doxben* *se* *rate* *morix* *b-i-maxot* *xini* *nga* *naix* ***ingot***
and net GEN 3PL soon IRR-3SG-break OBL C fish many
'And their nets were near breaking because there were

xubasi.
too.much.
too many fish.' [Luke 5:6]

In order to derive the Unua surface ordering, the whole of the FP containing the NP must raise above the DP projection and then above the QuantP. At the high end of the structure for *kuri metmet ngaro kebeg* from (33a), the structure would be as in:

¹⁶ On quantifier placement, see also Cardinaletti and Giusti (2017).

¹⁷ *Kebeg/tebeg* 'all' can also appear in other positions within the DP (see Pearce 2015, pp. 194-198).



As shown in (34), any content in the DP projection would surface in between the demonstrative *ngaro* and the quantifier *kebeg*. Unfortunately, given the lack of cooccurrence of *ngo/nga* with deictics, because of the linear order of the DemP (*ngaro* in (34)) and the DP in the output shown in (34), we are still not able to tell if these items occupy separate projections, or even if the demonstrative form is in the Spec or the head of the DemP.¹⁸ Would it be that, if the functions of *ngo/nga* are sufficiently differentiated from the functions of deictics, then the language learner would have the basis for analyzing the presence of different projections as the locations for these different kinds of entities?

In the next section, I turn to consideration of a recent proposal from Cinque (2020) as to the existence and location of separate deictic demonstratives and anaphoric demonstratives.

6.3 An anaphoric demonstrative projection

Cinque (2020) proposes that there are separate projections for deictic demonstratives and anaphoric demonstratives and that the merge order for an anaphoric DemP is below that for a deictic DemP.

Although Cinque's discussion focuses on demonstratives rather than on determiners, he does however note that some cases of what he categorizes as "anaphoric demonstratives" might alternatively be viewed as determiners (Cinque 2020, p. 492). Even so, as Cinque shows, there is at least one language, Loni (Oceanic), in which the determiner is distinct from the putative anaphoric demonstrative. In Loni the determiner precedes the noun and the deictic and anaphoric demonstratives follow it:

¹⁸ A reviewer has raised the possibility that *soxa* 'one' with the indefinite interpretation as in (5a) *vinkiki soxa* 'a girl', might be an indefinite article and thus located in D, rather in Num. This could be so, but, here again, it is impossible to tell from the surface ordering because, when *soxa* follows a demonstrative, it behaves as a quantifier and has the partitive reading:

- (i) a. *Kuri ngarag soxa i-se.*
 dog DIST.PL one 3SG-bad
 'One of those dogs is bad.' [Pearce 2015, p. 185]
 b. *Ale, raru xeru soxa i-xa mu.*
 Okay 3DU two one 3SG-go again
 'Okay, one of the two went again.' [BB.17]

- (35) a. *iy pihin iy huti basket*
 3SG woman 3SG take basket
 ‘The woman takes the basket.’
- b. ... *hetow law a iy npropo itiyen*
 3PL.CL REL POSS 3SG DEM_{anaphoric} DEM_{deictic}
 ‘... to those aforementioned relatives of his ...’
 [Cinque 2020, p. 494, citing Hamel 1994]

In (35b) iterative raising has applied taking the anaphoric demonstrative along with the NP from a lower position to a higher position above the deictic demonstrative. The location of the *iy* determiner preceding the noun in *iy pihin* indicates that NP raising in Loniū stops at a position below the D.

However, Cinque’s DeicticDemP > AnaphoricDemP hierarchical ordering account appears to be incompatible with the Roberts and Roussou (2003) grammaticalization proposals according to which the development of an anaphoric demonstrative from a deictic demonstrative involves the raising of the anaphoric to a higher head position. If such is the case, there is at least a stage at which the anaphoric demonstrative would be higher in the structure than the deictic demonstrative – going against the hierarchy that Cinque proposes.

A reviewer offers the suggestion that the “lower” position of the anaphoric demonstrative could be construed in terms of the structures in (26a) and (26b). The argument would be that *(il)le* is deictic in the Spec opposition in (26a) where it c-commands anaphoric *(il)le* in the D head position in (26b). A corollary to this analysis would be that it is **only** once *(il)le* is in D that it is construed as anaphoric, an interpretation that would favour the phonological weakness approach to the diachronic reanalysis. The same consideration would apply to items within a DemP below the DP if the Spec-to-head switch takes place within the DemP before any raising into the DP projection. According to this interpretation, the “lower down” analysis that Cinque (2020) applies to anaphoric demonstratives is preserved, but with the (important) difference that the deictic demonstrative and the anaphoric demonstrative are not viewed as occupying distinct projections.

Another aspect of the analyses we have considered is that it would seem that some lowering is required in at least one stage of the transition from deictic to anaphoric: the movement from the Spec to the head. To pursue the kind of account that we have been considering, we could say that what is relevant for upwards reanalysis is the raising of DemP content into the DP projection and that movement within a single XP (Spec-to-head) doesn’t count as lowering because of the presence of shared features in the same minimal XP. In the final analysis, however, it would seem that the argument for separate projections for deictic demonstratives and anaphoric demonstratives would be a sticking point for any attempt to equate lowness of projection with lowness within a single XP.¹⁹

It is possible also that some of the items that Cinque (2020) classes as anaphoric demonstratives might alternatively be classed as determiners and that such reassignments

¹⁹ The same issues are present if we take on board the more recent proposal of Cinque (2023) that DemP is merged above the DP projection, rather than below it. Also, on the assumption of the iterative NP raising as demonstrated in the text of this Section, the ordering D – DemP would obtain in the surface output. Further investigation of how the entirety of the derivations within this DemP > DP hierarchical ordering might play out is unfortunately beyond the scope of this paper.

would impinge on the validity of the DeicticDemP > AnaphoricDemP analysis.²⁰ It is beyond the scope of the present paper to reconsider the implications of such a possible reappraisal, but another alternative is that the D head position could be seen as the ultimate landing site for an anaphoric head. In this way, there could be two sources for an anaphoric determiner, either from the head of a DeicticP projection or from the AnaphoricDemP that Cinque proposes (and in both case there would be upwards movement).²¹

7 Conclusions

This discussion about the status of anaphoric *ngo/nga* has left us without a clear conclusion as to the location of these items in the Unua DP structure. The fact that these items have clear anaphoric roles could argue for them being in a projection distinct that that/those housing deictics. If so, the candidate D head would be to the right of the deictics in the linear order, as in the surface position shown for the DP in (34).

Acknowledgements

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²⁰ For example, under a putative alternative AnaphoricDemP > DeicticDemP analysis, in the derivation of (35b), the material in the NP would have to raise to a position above the AnaphoricDemP, skipping over the DeicticDemP.

²¹ In a final section of his paper, Cinque (2020, pp. 498–500) discusses data from languages that give evidence for distinct positions for proximate and distal demonstratives. Although he suggests that an overall picture for the hierarchical ordering of DemPs would then be: Distal > Proximate > Anaphoric, the possibility of multiple demonstrative positions gives some scope for reassessing the grammaticalization of an anaphoric within the system of demonstratives. However, it is not clear at this point how this DemP hierarchy would work in the details without some further reappraisal.

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