

Abstract for ENUS V, Kupang 1-3 August 2007

Grammaticalization of demonstratives in the TAP languages.

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Demonstratives have grammaticalized as subordinate, including relative, complementizers in a number of language groupings around the world, including Germanic. This paper provides evidence for this type of grammaticalization in the non-Austronesian languages of Timor, Alor and Pantar (TAP), where there has been a series of parallel grammaticalizations of various demonstratives. The common explanation for demonstrative > complementizer grammaticalization in other language groups has been a transition between parataxis and hypotaxis, and the interpretation of the demonstrative as cataphoric. It is seen that this explanation does not fit the TAP data and it is argued instead that the demonstratives become clause combiners by virtue of their ability to act as clausal specifiers. In addition, it is suggested that multiple possession of the demonstrative forms in parallel syntactic distribution and with similar semantic functions is equivalent to a paradigmatic correspondence and comprises a group identifying feature on the basis of which certain preliminary conclusions about the relatedness of TAP languages can be formulated.