

## Introduction

**Determiner Spreading** [Alexiadou 2014, a.o.]: multiple determiners present in one single DP, most commonly in the context of adjectival modification

(1) **to** *vivio to kokino* the book the red 'the red book' [Greek]

→ most common determiner involved: definite determiner

→ other types of determiners can be repeated as well [Asiimwe et al. 2023]

This study: **Demonstrative spreading in Kipsigis**

## Kipsigis (Southern Nilotic; Kenya) nouns

[Kouneli 2019]

→ article-less; noun-initial, with all modifiers following the noun

→ four suffixal demonstratives, which agree with the head noun in number

proximal	<i>ni tʃʊ</i>	medial	<i>na:n tʃa:n</i>
distal	<i>ni:n tʃʊ:n</i>	anaphoric	<i>na:tan tʃa:tan</i>

## Demonstrative Spreading in Kipsigis

(2) *págà:-nì tù:j \*(ní) ò:*  
cat-PROX black PROX big  
'this big black cat'

(3) *págà:-ní:n tù:j \*(nì:n) Ø-rú-è*  
cat-DIST black DIST 3-sleep-IPFV  
'that black cat that is sleeping'

### Properties

1. Pre-modifier copies match the suffixal demonstrative in deixis features.
2. When the noun appears with just one modifier, the modifier cannot be accompanied by an additional demonstrative.

(4) *págà:-nì \*(ní) lè:l*  
cat-PROX PROX white  
'this white cat'

3. When the suffixal demonstrative is anaphoric (as opposed to the three deictic ones), even the first modifier must be accompanied by a demonstrative, either the proximal (*ni*) or the medial (*na:n*).

(5) *págà:-ná:tàn ní/ná:n lè:l*  
cat-ANAPH PROX/MED white  
'that white cat (anaphoric use)'

4. For simple (in)definite DPs, adjectives and relative clauses are always introduced by the relativizer *ne* (PL: *tʃe*). This relativizer is in fact a determiner, but one that only appears in the context of modification.

(6) *págé:t né lè:l*  
cat REL white  
'a/the white cat'

## Main assumptions

1. **Kipsigis adjectives are relative clauses** [Kouneli 2019]

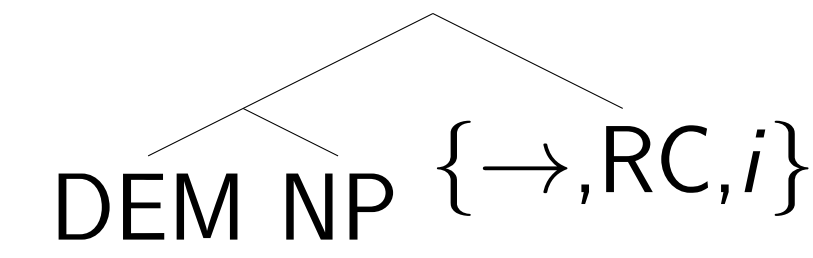
- All adjectives are introduced by the same element (relativizer or demonstrative) that introduces relative clauses.
- Adjectives and relative clauses behave in the exact same way with respect to spreading.
- There are no adjectives that cannot also appear in predicative position.
- All adjectives pattern with Cinque's (2010) *indirect modification* adjectives, often analyzed as reduced relatives.

2. **Demonstratives carry two restrictions** [Ahn 2022]

- Demonstratives carry two restrictions, one NP and one additional property [Ahn 2022]
- Deictic demonstratives come with presuppositions of distance  
PROX DEM: the entity is located close to the speaker
- The anaphoric demonstrative is a morphological realization of the structure in (8) when *R* is occupied by an anaphoric index.

$$(7) \llbracket \text{DEM} \rrbracket = \lambda P \lambda R. \iota x. P(x) \wedge R(x) \quad (8)$$

(*R*: pointing, anaphoric index, RC)



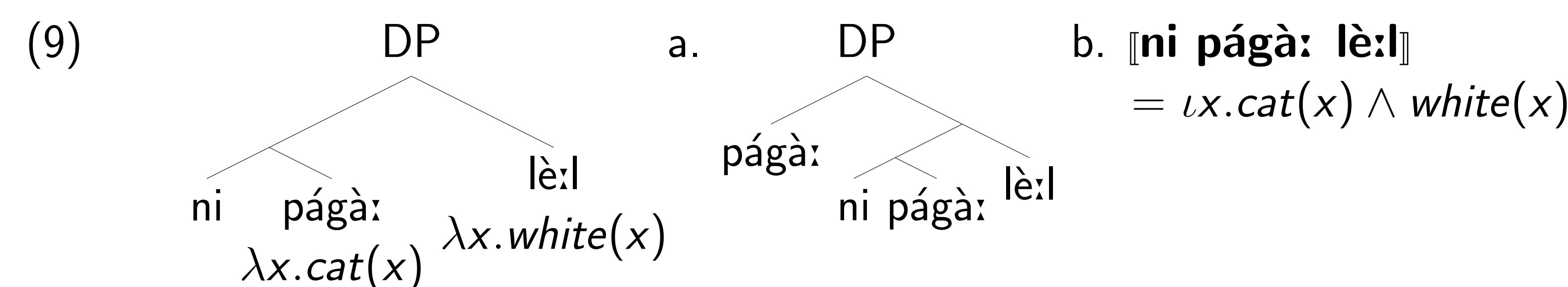
3. **Only demonstratives can introduce clausal modification such as relative clauses**

- similar for German strong definite introducing relative clauses (Schwarz 2009, a.o.)

## Kipsigis DP with adjectives

### DP with one relative clause

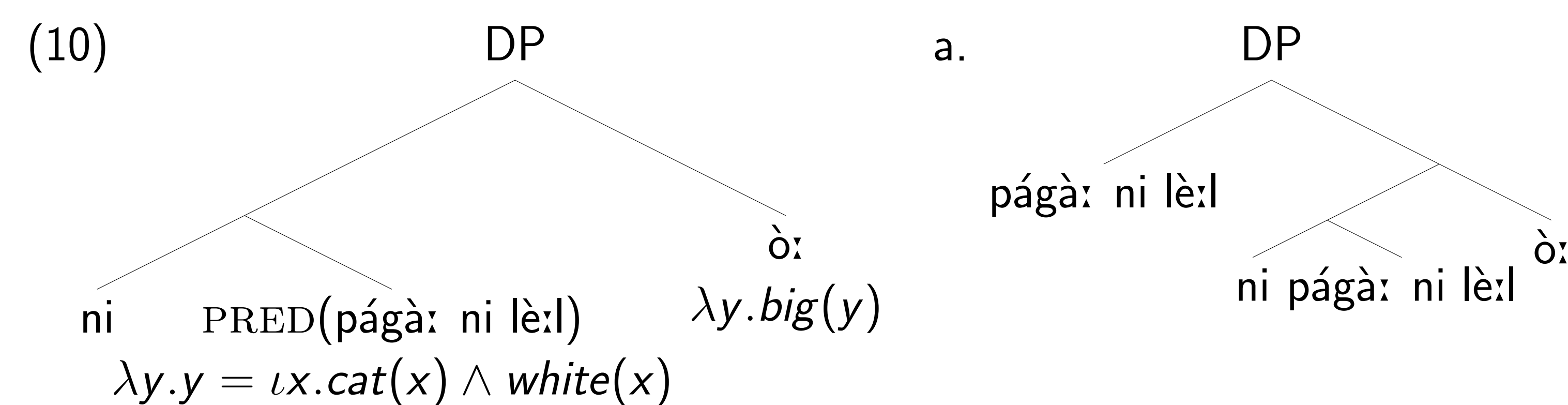
- Demonstrative hosts the noun in its first restriction and the RC in the second.
- NP moves for surface order (9a)
- The resulting interpretation is the maximal cat that is white (9b)



### Adding a relative clause

To add another relative clause to (9), another demonstrative is needed

- Entity of type *e* typeshifted to a property of type *et* through PRED [Partee 1987]
- The second demonstrative hosts the typeshifted nominal in its first restriction and the additional relative clause in its second (10)
- This process is recursive: additional relative clause added with a new demonstrative.



## Deriving the properties

### Obligatoriness.

Demonstratives are needed to introduce relative clauses

### Matching deixis features.

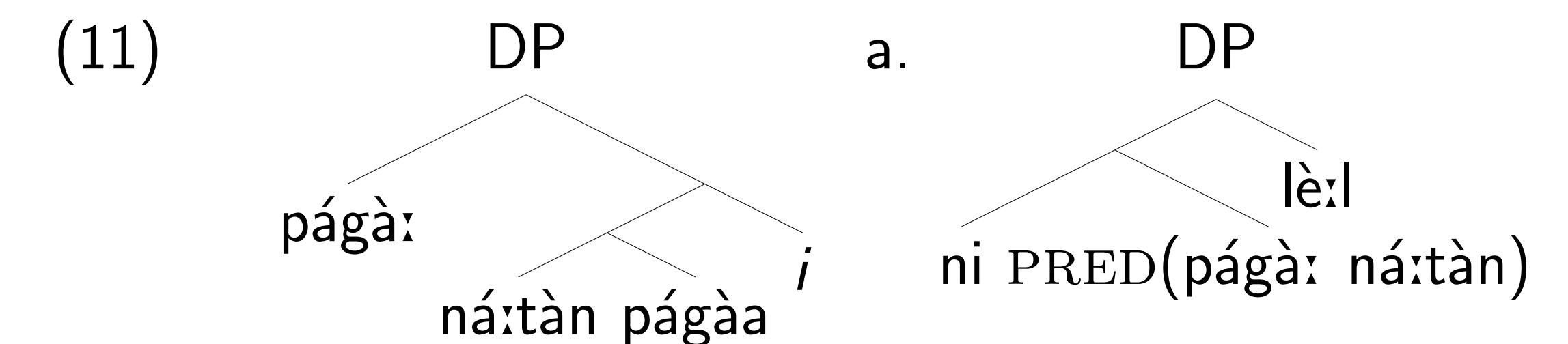
Demonstratives carry presuppositions of distance; matching to avoid a semantic clash

### No demonstrative for first adjective.

The suffixal demonstrative already comes with a slot for a relative clause, thus not necessitating an additional demonstrative

### Anaphoric demonstrative.

When the suffixal demonstrative is anaphoric as in (5), the index occupies the second argument slot of the demonstrative, requiring an additional demonstrative for the first adjective.



## Implications

### Demonstrative spreading analyzed in terms introducing of relative clauses by demonstratives.

- Rare case of demonstrative spreading in Kipsigis due to constraints on nominal modification

### Prediction on when spreading is necessary.

- For languages where relative clauses attach lower in the NP (like English), spreading is not expected.
- For languages that have adjectives in addition to relative clauses that attach higher in the structure (like Greek), spreading is obligatory only when adjectives follow the noun.

## References

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