

Demonstrative pseudo-binding in San Lucas Quiaviní Zapotec

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Pronouns in San Lucas Quiaviní Zapotec (SLQZ), an Otomanguean language of southern Mexico, are subject to Principle C, rather than Principle B, and resist A' as well as A-binding. However, they may be coreferenced with c-commanding lexical demonstratives. Demonstratives crosslinguistically show anomalous coreference behavior; this paper shows that SLQZ pronouns are themselves non-quantificational demonstratives. This proposal will also shed light on the debate over whether demonstratives should be classified as quantificational or non-quantificational: I will argue that SLQZ shows that both types exist, and their quantification properties (or lack of them) are responsible for the possible coreference relations between them.

An Empirical Problem

Pronouns in San Lucas Quiaviní Zapotec (SLQZ), an Otomanguean language of southern Mexico, appear to be subject to Principle C of binding theory, rather than Principle B: they resist both A and A'-binding, locally and non-locally:

1. Tu_i r-yu'lààa'z x:-nàan-ëng_{j#i}?
who hab-like gen.-mother-3s.prox.
“Who_i likes his_{j#i} mother?”
2. R-cààa'z Gye'eihlly g-ahcnèe-ng Lia Paamm
hab-want Mike irr-help-3s.prox fem. Pam
“Mike_j wants him/her_{i#j} to help Pam.”
3. Zè'cy nnah Gye'eihlly nàiy me's g-uhc-ëng
thus neut-say Mike yesterday teacher perf-be-3s.prox.
“Mike_i said yesterday that he_{j#i} was a teacher.”

They may be coreferenced with preceding, non-c-commanding R-expressions. In these cases, the coreference relation is pragmatic or 'accidental'; the pronoun may not be interpreted as a bound variable.

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Vancouver, BC: 57 – 70. GLSA, University of Massachusetts, Amherst.

4. R-yu'lààa'z me's nih r-umbèe' Lia Paamm la'ang
 hab-like teacher REL hab-know fem. Pam 3s.prox.
 "The teacher who knows Pam, likes her."

Thus, SLQZ pronouns appear to fall into the category of pro-DPs (Déchaine and Wiltschko 2002): a class of proforms that conform to Principle C rather than B.

However, Principle C effects with pronouns appear to be obviated when their antecedent is a demonstrative DP. Pronouns may be coreferenced with c-commanding lexical demonstratives, both locally and non-locally:

5. R-yu'laààa'z ra bxuuhahz-ag laarëng
 hab-like pl. priest-dem 3p.prox
 "These priests like themselves/ them"

6. Zè'cy nnah bxuuhahz-ag g-uhcnee Gye'eihlly la'ang
 Thus neut-say priest-dem perf-help Mike 3s.prox

chiru' zè'cy cahgza' nnah doctoor
 also likewise neut-say doctor

"The priest said Mike helped him, and so did the doctor" (the doctor said Mike helped the priest or some third person, but not himself)

A particularly puzzling fact about this construction is that in some contexts, the pronoun gets only a reading of accidental coreference (as above), but in others, it invites a bound variable reading:

7. R-caàa'z zhya'p-ag y-gya'a'-nèe'-ng Gye'eihlly
 hab-want girl-dem irr-dance-app-3s.prox Mike

chiru zè'cy cahgza' Lia Paamm
 also likewise fem. Pam

"That girl wants to dance with Mike and so does Pam" (Pam wants to dance with Mike/#Pam wants that girl to dance with Mike)

The coreference patterns of SLQZ pronouns are surprising in light of standard assumptions about binding theory: binding principles as standardly formulated take into account only the relative distance of the binder from the bindee, and make no reference to the nature of the binder. In this paper, I will exploit the possibility (suggested in Demirdache 1997) that the LF properties of the bound element play a significant role in their sensitivity to different types of antecedents.

Now I turn to the question of the exact nature of SLQZ pronouns. Since they cannot (usually) be interpreted as bound variables, they must serve a purely deictic role. Thus, I will treat them as demonstratives, consistent with theories by Kaplan 1975 and others that the role of demonstratives is to encode acts of deixis. The unusual coreference properties of SLQZ pronouns are thus consistent with the fact that marked coreference

patterns for demonstratives have been noted crosslinguistically (Evans (1980), Hoji (1995)):

8. Stalin_i signed this man's_i papers. (Evans 1980)

9. Doko-ga soko-o suisensita no
 which (place/institution) it(dem) recommended
 "Which place/institution recommended itself?" (Hoji 1995)

Another relevant issue is how demonstratives differ semantically and syntactically from other R-expressions. This has been a subject of longstanding debate. On one hand, complex demonstratives have been argued to be quantificational (Lapore and Ludwig 2000, King 2000, among others) since they can participate in scopal interactions with other quantifiers in examples like (10):

10. Every professor cherishes [that first publication of his]
 (King 2000)

Conversely, it has also been argued that complex demonstratives are not quantificational (Dever 2001, Roberts, to appear), given their inability to take narrow scope in intensional contexts:

11. Albert believes that upright citizen is a spy
 [that(x): upright citizen(x)] Albert believes (spy(x))
 # Albert believes ([that(x): upright citizen(x)] spy(x)) (Dever 2001)

Dever argues that King's examples represent a semantically different--and marked--use for 'that'.

These arguments--along with the possibility of structures like (10) and (11)--suggest that demonstratives do not form a semantically homogenous group. I will assume that both proposals are right: demonstratives can be either quantificational or non-quantificational.

Quantificational and Non-Quantificational Demonstratives

In this section, I will argue for the following: SLQZ complex (lexical) demonstratives are quantificational, while pronouns are non-quantificational. Evidence for this comes from the fact that lexical demonstratives share a number of binding properties with other quantificational DPs, while pronouns do not.

Lexical demonstratives, like quantified DPs, wh-words, and other lexical DPs, can bind the reflexive-possessive marker *-ni'*, which is always interpreted as a bound variable:

12. R-yu'lààa'z Gye'eihlly x:-nàan-ni'
 hab-like Mike gen.-mother-refl.poss
 "Mike likes his own mother"

13. Yra'ta' zhya'p r-yu'làà'z x:-nàan-ni'
every girl hab-like gen.-mother-refl.poss
"Every girl likes her own mother"
14. Tu r-yu'làà'z x:-nàan-ni'?
who hab-like gen.-mother-refl.poss.
"Who likes his/her own mother?"
15. R-yu'làà'z zhya'p-ag x:-nàan-ni'
hab-like girl-dem gen.-mother-refl.poss
"That girl likes her own mother"

Lexical demonstratives and other quantificational DPs can also bind zero anaphora:

16. Tu r-cààa'z g-ahcnèè-Ø Gye'eihlly
who hab-want irr-help-Ø Mike
"Who wants to help Mike?"
17. Yra'ta ra zhya'p r-cààa'z g-ahcèè-Ø Gye'eihlly
every pl girl hab-want irr-help-Ø Mike
"Every girl wants to help Mike"
18. R-cààa'z bxuuhahz-ag g-ahcnèè-Ø Gye'eihlly
hab-want priest-dem irr-help-Ø Mike
"That priest wants to help Mike"

In contrast, SLQZ pronouns may bind neither *-ni'*, nor zero anaphora:

19. *R-yu'làà'z-èng x:-nàan-ni'
hab-like-3s.prox gen.-mother-refl.poss.
"He/she likes his/her own mother"
20. *R- cààa'z-rèng g-ahcnèè-Ø Gye'eihlly
hab-want-3p.prox. irr.-help-Ø Mike
"They want to help Mike"

Also, pronouns may not be used as 'donkey anaphora':

21. *Y-ra'ta' ni'ih b-zii buuhdy b-gwai la'ang
irr-all REL perf-buy chicken perf-cook 3s.prox
"Everyone who bought a chicken cooked it"

Thus, pronouns are non-quantificational demonstratives. Their use is purely indexical or deictic: suggestive evidence for this is that third-person pronouns not marked for level of formality of address are obligatorily marked for proximity to the speaker (Munro and Lopez, et al, 2000).

The different quantificational status of pronouns and complex demonstratives is also suggested by differences in their usage. Partee (1987) argues that definite

descriptions may be either quantificational or non-quantificational; quantificational definites assert the definiteness of their referents while non-quantificational definites presuppose it. Demonstratives resemble definites in that they refer to specific entities (but differ from other definites in that their reference is dependent on context). Potentially, the deictic gesture itself can be viewed as the assertion of definiteness involved in lexical demonstratives. If Partee's proposal is correct, it would predict that SLQZ lexical demonstratives, but not pronouns, could be used to introduce new discourse entities.¹

This prediction appears to be borne out. Lexical demonstratives may be used to introduce new discourse referents, while normal argument pronouns (those that cliticize to verbs, as seen in 1-3) seem to be used only for discourse anaphora: they aren't used to introduce new referents.

For instance, in a context in which the speaker sees some people breaking into his friend Mike's car, he or she would alert others with the utterance in (22), with a preverbal topic pronoun, but not (23), with the regular verbal clitic pronoun:

22. Aa-rèng ca-bààa'n x:-ca'rr Gye'eihlly
top-3p.prox prog-steal poss-car Mike
"They're stealing Mike's car!"
23. #Ca- bààa'n-rèng x:-ca'rr Gye'eihlly
prog-steal-3p.prox poss-car Mike
"They're stealing Mike's car!"

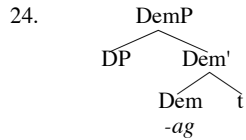
This suggests that regular pronouns cannot be used to introduce discourse entities in SLQZ, consistent with the idea that they cannot assert definiteness, and are thus non-quantificational demonstratives.

The Syntax of Complex Demonstratives

In this section, I will outline a syntactic structure for lexical demonstratives. I will propose that this structure, taken with the differing quantificational properties of pronouns and lexical demonstratives, can account for the coreference patterns outlined in the first part of this paper.

Demonstrative markers head a demonstrative projection (DemP) (as proposed by Hoji 1995 for Japanese demonstratives); the lexical material it modifies is generated in its complement and raises to its specifier.

¹ Partee's proposal would also mean that SLQZ non-demonstrative DPs can be either quantificational or non-quantificational. This would mean that in the contexts in which they pattern with quantifiers (12 and 15), even names are allowed to behave as quantificational. This would be consistent with the proposal by Partee and Rooth (1989) that names can be type-shifted (for example, when coordinated with QPs in structures like "John and every woman". If SLQZ names are indeed quantificational in the constructions above, this would mean these constructions could only be used to assert, not presuppose, the existence of the named individual. Further research is needed to confirm this.



This is consistent with the semantics of complex demonstratives. The demonstrative head itself encodes the deictic gesture; the raised DP encodes (obviously) the descriptive content of the demonstratum, and its trace (a variable) under the scope of DemP represents the extension of the demonstratum in the context in which the deictic gesture is made.

This is also consistent with the syntax of SLQZ. That *-ag* heads a projection containing the definite description in its specifier is supported by the fact that *-ag* can attach to large phrasal constituents:

25. *yu'uh xniia ro' -ag*
 house red big dem
 "that big red house"

Furthermore, SLQZ is a consistently head-initial language. There is independent evidence from other structures in the language (Lee, 1999) that particles that follow constituents they select appear in their base-generated positions, and their complements raise past them.

Moreover, *-ag* demonstratives can move as a unit, so must form a constituent: in (18), an *-ag* demonstrative appears as a postverbal argument; in the following example, it appears preverbally (as quantified arguments tend to do).

26. *Yra'ta ra be'cw-ag b-dinàall Gye'eihlly*
 every pl dog-dem perf-chase Mike
 "All those dogs chased Mike"

As quantificational DPs, *-ag* demonstratives are base-generated in the same positions as other arguments and raise to operator (CP) positions at LF:

27. *R-yu'laàa'z ra bxuuhahz-ag laarëng*
 hab-like pl. priest-dem 3p.prox
 "These priests like themselves/ them"

LF: *Ra bxuuhahz-ag r-yu'laàa'z t laarëng*

The Semantic Correlates of DemP

A consequence of the preceding structure for lexical demonstratives is that the DemP headed by *-ag* c-commands the object pronoun in (27), but the lexical content of DP does not. Thus, the coreference relation between the lexical material in spec, DemP and the pronoun is purely accidental or pragmatic, not variable binding. The relation between the definite description 'priest' and the following pronoun is parallel to the

relation between the possessor DP and the following pronoun in the following English sentence:

28. John's mother likes him, and so does Bill's mother (Bill's mother likes John, not Bill)

Here, since there is no c-command relation between "John" and "him", "him" cannot be construed as a bound variable, and the sloppy reading is ruled out.

A similar account was proposed by Hoji 1995 for Japanese demonstrative pronouns: they appear to be able to bind each other locally (in apparent violation of Principle B) only because their demonstrative content is embedded in the specifiers of larger nominal projections:

29. *Doko-ga soko-o suisensita no*
 which (place/institution) it(dem) recommended
 "Which place/institution recommended itself?" (Hoji 1995)

[_{NP} [_{DemP} Do] [_nko]] ... [_{NP} [_{DemP} so] [_nko]] ...

Here, the relevant formal binding relation is between the two demonstrative morphemes: since this binding relation is not local, Principle B is obeyed.

The inability of lexical part of *-ag* demonstrative to syntactically bind other material also directly reflects the semantic role of lexical descriptions in complex demonstratives: the demonstrative gesture, not the lexical content of the demonstratum, is salient in the interpretation of demonstratives.

Kaplan 1989 argues that "ignorance of referent" is still possible when using demonstratives. Deictic gestures can still contribute to true propositions even if the 'wrong referent' is given or the given referent is nonexistent:

30. That guy who gets an A in this class would have to be a genius
 31. (pointing to a drag queen) That woman has an interesting hat.

A speaker who utters (30) without knowing if anyone got an A in the class is still understood as uttering a true statement, despite the possible absence of an actual referent for the definite description. Likewise, (31), a case of mistaken identity, is also interpreted by hearers as a truthful statement, even though the definite description doesn't match the referent.

Thus, the lexical content of complex demonstratives doesn't contribute directly to the truth value of a proposition, but to the context in which the truth of the proposition is evaluated (Kaplan 1979).

To sum up, the head of DemP makes the lexical content of complex demonstratives syntactically 'invisible': it cannot be linked structurally to other arguments in the sentence. Since the lexical content of a complex demonstrative subject does not c-command the object, the lexical DP in the specifier of *-ag* may be coreferenced with the object without incurring a Principle C violation. This accounts, in part, for why SLQZ pronoun objects may be coreferenced with lexical demonstrative subjects, as in (5).

While the lexical content of a complex demonstrative is not in a position to syntactically bind another argument, however, the entire DemP itself can be a potential

syntactic binder for an argument it c-commands. Under standard assumptions about binding, this should mean that coreference between the arguments in sentences like (5) should still be ruled out. Why is it licit here?

The answer to this comes from the fact that both arguments involved are demonstratives: each encodes an independent act of deixis. Combined with our previous argument that that deictic gesture itself and the context it introduces, not its lexical content, contribute directly to the truth values of demonstrative-containing expressions, one can conclude that two demonstratives in a c-command relation introduce the same entity under two separate guises (modes of presentation). This idea has been used to account for "allowable" Principle C violations in sentences such as the following:

32. A: Is that Mary?
B: Well, she_i just put on Mary's_i coat.

Irene Heim (p.c.) points out that cases of apparent binding violations licensed by referents in different guises are pragmatically marked: the (B) sentence in (32) would be judged ungrammatical outside the context introduced by the (A) sentence. Hence, invoking different guises for the SLQZ examples of demonstrative binding, which are not pragmatically marked, is problematic.

A potential way out of this problem is the possibility that languages may vary in how they determine what counts as a context appropriate for a separate mode of presentation. In English, these seem to be limited to contexts involving evaluation of identity of the referent (such as in (32)), and contexts in which the referent is introduced in separate possible worlds (such as Lakoff's "Brigitte Bardot" examples and other well-studied cases summarized in Heim 1997). In SLQZ, a mere change in spatial perspective or speaker point of view may suffice to license the introduction of a separate mode of presentation.

Supporting evidence for this is the fact that proximity and formality of address features on pronouns are not used for referent-tracking in SLQZ (Munro 2001): narratives show that a single referent may be referred to by both proximal and distal pronouns, as well as pronouns with varying formality features, within a single discourse. In a particularly striking example, a narrator refers to his hated father-in-law with a third-person pronoun form indicating limited respect for him, but in the next sentence (discussing his wife's relation with her father), he uses a more respectful third-person pronoun form for his father-in-law, reflecting his wife's perspective. This suggests that only a minor shift in perspective is necessary to allow a referent to be re-introduced in a different guise in SLQZ.

The idea that each demonstrative represents a separate mode of presentation is supported by the fact that demonstratives with differing proximal/distal features may corefer in the same sentence:

33. Bxuuahaz rèe' / bxuuahaz-ag b-zuub-ga'ah chih bzehny-ëng
priest-this priest-dem perf-sit-while when arrive-3s.prox.
"This priest/that priest_i sat down when he_i arrived."

These 'different guise' readings do not appear to be bound variable readings:

34. A: Is that Mary and Jill over there?
B: #Well, she just put on Mary's coat, and so did Jill.

This is consistent with the absence of bound variable readings in the SLQZ examples: pronouns in structures such as (33) are not interpreted as variables bound by the *-ag* demonstrative. This is consistent with Heim's (1997) claim that guises represent individual concepts: functions from worlds to individuals.

More Syntactic Consequences

While pronouns, usually subject to Principle C, may be coreferenced with c-commanding lexical demonstratives, the reverse does not hold: lexical demonstratives may not be coreferenced with c-commanding pronouns:

35. Naan-ëng nsinny'cy bxuuahaz-ag
neut-know-3s.prox. intelligent priest-dem
"He_i knows that priest_i is smart."

This is accounted for by the proposal that lexical demonstratives are quantificational: the object DemP raises past the pronoun to spec, CP at LF:

36. LF: Bxuuahaz-ag naan-ëng t_i nsinny'cy_i t

I assume that lexical demonstratives in SLQZ take matrix clause scope. This is suggested by the fact that lexical demonstratives can't take narrow scope under other quantifiers; for instance, they cannot be used as donkey anaphora:

37. *Y-ra'ta' ni'ih b-zii buuhdy b-gwai buuhdy-ag
irr-all REL perf-bey chicken per-cook chicken-dem
"Everyone who bought a chicken cooked it"

If the object trace is bound by the subject pronoun in structures such as (35), a strong crossover effect results. Thus, disjoint reference is forced. Here, I assume that traces are deleted copies, and their semantic content, along with their phonological content, is deleted. Thus, the object trace itself does not encode an independent 'guise' that can be interpreted as free from that of a binding pronoun.

Adjunct Control Constructions and Demonstrative Coreference

Coreference asymmetries between lexical demonstratives and pronouns also occur in non-local contexts: a lexical demonstrative may corefer with a pronoun in a following adjunct clause, but not vice-versa:

38. B-zùub bxuuhahz-ag chih b-zehny-ëng
 perf-sit priest-dem when perf-arrive-3s.prox.
 "That priest_i sat down when he_{ij} arrived"
39. B-zùub-ëng chih b-zehny bxuuhahz-ag
 perf-sit-3s.prox when perf-arrive priest-dem
 "He_{ij} sat down when that priest_i arrived"

I will argue that the quantificational status of *-ag* demonstratives also accounts for coreference asymmetries with pronouns in these contexts. Furthermore, I will show that these constructions represent contexts in which an LF c-command relation is possible between the matrix subject and embedded adjunct subject.

Evidence for a c-command relation between the matrix and adjunct clause arguments comes from the fact that bound variable anaphora readings are available in these constructions. SLQZ represents bound variable anaphora with bound copies (Lee 2003): these are morphological copies of their antecedents that are interpreted as variables:

40. R-cààa'z bxuuhahz ch-iia bxuuhahz
 hab-want priest irr-go priest
 "The priest wants to go"

Bound copies also surface in adjunct control constructions, where they are interpreted as bound variables:

41. Zi'cygàa' nih cay-uhny Gye'eihlly zèèiny b-ii'lly-ga' Gye'eihlly
 while that prog-do Mike work perf-sing-also Mike
 "While Mike was working, he sang"
- zè'cy cahgza' Li'eb
 likewise Felipe
 and so did Felipe."

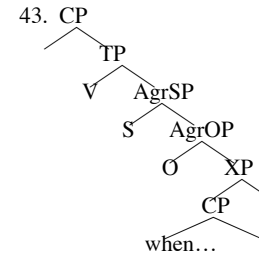
(*Felipe sang while Mike worked/Felipe sang while he (Felipe) worked)

Pronouns in these constructions are also subject to Principle C effects if there is a potential binder that is a non-demonstrative lexical DP:

42. Zi'cygàa' nih cay-uhny Gye'eihlly zèèiny b-ii'lly-ga'-ng
 while that prog-do Mike work perf-sing-also-3s.prox
 "While Mike was working, he/she (someone else) sang."

The existence of Principle C effects and bound-variable relations between the arguments in these constructions shows the necessity of a c-command relation between the arguments. This is consistent with recent proposals by Kayne (1994) who argued that right adjunction is disallowed in natural language; and Cinque (1999), who proposed that adverbs and other non-subcategorized constituents occupy dedicated projections.

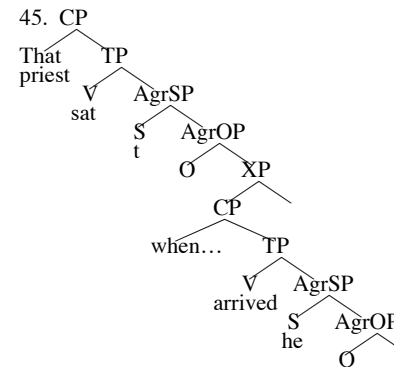
Thus, I will assume the basic structure for sentences with adjunct clauses is as follows: the adjunct is generated in the specifier position of a dedicated functional projection (labelled XP below; I leave aside the question of the exact nature of this projection):



Thus, the LF representation for (38), repeated below, is as follows: the "when" clause is generated as the specifier of a functional projection within the matrix CP. Thus, the matrix subject c-commands the subject of the "when" clause:

44. B-zùub bxuuhahz-ag chih b-zehny-ëng
 perf-sit priest-dem when perf-arrive-3s.prox.
 "That priest_i sat down when he_{ij} arrived"

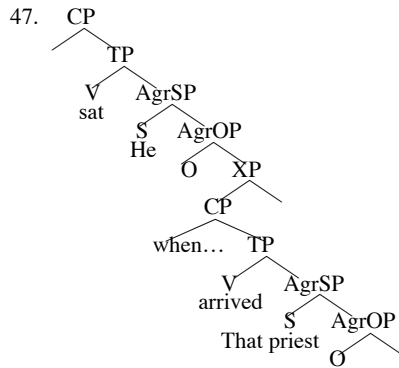
The lexical demonstrative raises to spec, CP at LF:



This structure also accounts for the obligatory disjoint reference that occurs when a pronoun in the matrix clause is followed by a lexical demonstrative in the adjunct clause:

46. B-zùub--ëng chih b-zehny bxuuhahz-ag
 perf-sit-3s.prox when perf-arrive priest-dem
 "He_{ij} sat down when that priest_i arrived."

Here, as in the preceding example, the matrix subject c-commands the adjunct clause subject.



In contrast to (45), here, the matrix subject is non-quantificational and stays in an A-position at LF. The adjunct clause subject, however, is quantificational and takes matrix scope at LF, raising to spec, CP of the matrix clause. The possibility of A'-movement of lexical demonstratives out of adjunct clauses is consistent with observations (Pesetsky 1987) that D-linked expressions may take scope out of islands.² I also assume that *chih*, (glossed as 'when') is not a wh-word in SLQZ: it is not used in wh-questions, but only as a subordinator. Thus, I assume it occupies the head of C, rather than its specifier.

If the lexical demonstrative raises to matrix spec, CP at LF, it would leave a trace c-commanded by the pronoun subject of the matrix clause. If bound by the pronoun, strong crossover results. Thus, disjoint reference is forced for the same reasons it is forced in examples such as (39).

Pseudo-Binding Effects

The demonstrative status of SLQZ pronouns accounts for another, seemingly contradictory, aspect of their behavior. If, as previously argued, SLQZ pronouns cannot be bound variables, why do they sometimes allow, if not prefer, apparent bound variable readings?

48. R-caàa'z zhya'p-ag y-gya'a'-nèe'-ng Gye'eihlly
hab-want girl-dem irr-dance-app-3s.prox Mike

chiru zè'cy cahgza' Lia Paamm
also likewise fem. Pam

"That girl wants to dance with Mike and so does Pam" (Pam wants to dance with Mike/#Pam wants that girl to dance with Mike"

² Pesetsky crucially argues that D-linked wh-in-situ expressions do not raise at LF, but are bound by an operator and have their scope determined by the operator.

49. R-yu'laààa'z zhya'p-ag la'ang chiru' zè'cy caagza' Lia Paamm
hab-like girl-dem 3s.prox also likewise fem. Pam

"That girl likes herself, and so does Pam" (Pam likes herself, that girl, or someone else.)

I will argue that this pattern is consistent with the deictic nature of SLQZ pronouns. Since SLQZ pronouns are deictic, they each introduce a contextually salient referent by a deictic gesture. However, ellipsis constructions represent changes in context (Hardt 1999): in a separate context (such as that introduced by the second conjunct of a VP ellipsis construction) a deictic expression may represent a separate deictic gesture, and thus 'point' to a different entity. Thus, in (47) and (48), the elided proforms represent neither bound variables nor fixed referential expressions, but deictic gestures: hence, they may theoretically refer to any contextually salient referent, and pragmatic factors determine which readings are most felicitous in a given sentence.

Conclusion

In this paper, I have shown that the anomalous coreference patterns affecting lexical demonstratives and pronouns in SLQZ can be accounted for by treating pronouns themselves as demonstratives. I have also shown that these coreference facts support the existence of both quantificational and non-quantificational demonstratives, which have distinct syntactic and semantic properties. This suggests that the long-running debate over the quantificational status of demonstratives may be moot: both sides are correct, and supporting evidence for each holds for different classes of demonstratives.

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