

The syntax of demonstratives

A parametric analysis

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Summary

- 1 Defining demonstratives
- 2 Crosslinguistic typology
- 3 Parametric description
- 4 Open questions
- 5 (Selected) References

Part I

Defining demonstratives

All languages have *demonstratives*

Defining *demonstratives*

- **Semantic** properties
- Syntactic behavior
- Relationship with **other DP-constituents**

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- **Syntactic** behavior
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Semantic properties

- **Definiteness** sphere
 - Deixis
 - Locality
 - ...

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Syntactic behavior

- **DP (nominal domain)**

- **Pronominal** (*intransitive* function; Dem plays the syntactic role(s) of a *whole DP*)
- **Adjectival** (*transitive* function; Dem belongs to a DP that contains other constituents: the noun, the article, adjectives, ...)

- Sentence

- Adverbs
- Copular verbs

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Other DP- constituents...

- *Definite* **articles**
- 3rd person **pronouns**
- **Adjectives**

Other DP- constituents...

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Starting hypothesis

There exists an **universal** position within the DP where the demonstrative is generated.

The different configurations available crosslinguistically are the consequences of **movement** (of the demonstrative itself, or of other DP-constituents), and are predictable on a **parametric** basis.

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Analysis \Rightarrow DP

1 Typology

- 1 **Position** with respect to other DP-constituents (noun, article, adjectives, non-prepositional genitives, prepositional complements)
- 2 **Co-occurrence** with the definite article

2 Basic position within the DP-structure

3 Parametric description

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Database

- 1 Languages with (prenominal) **definite article**
- 2 Data from **Longobardi and Guardiano's** (2008) DP-database
- 3 **Crosslinguistic DP-structure** described for instance in Bernstein (2001), Longobardi (2001), Guardiano (2003), Alexiadou, Haegeman, Stavrou (2007)...

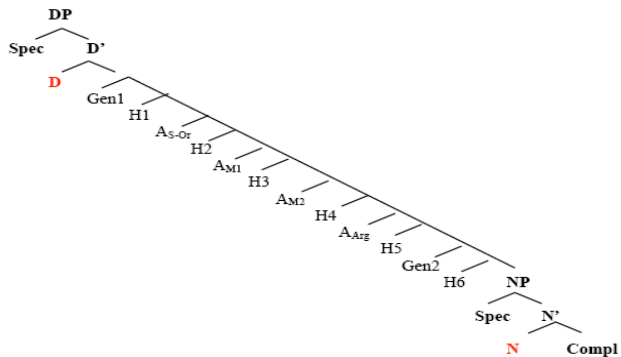
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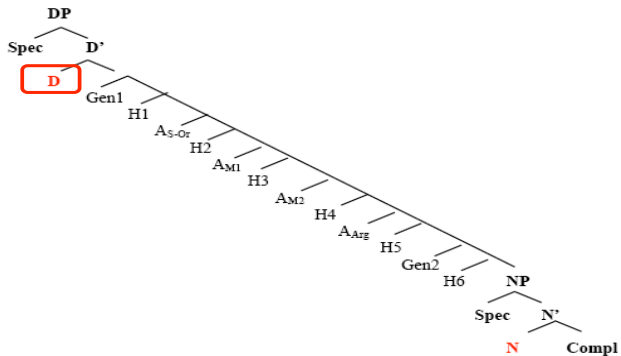
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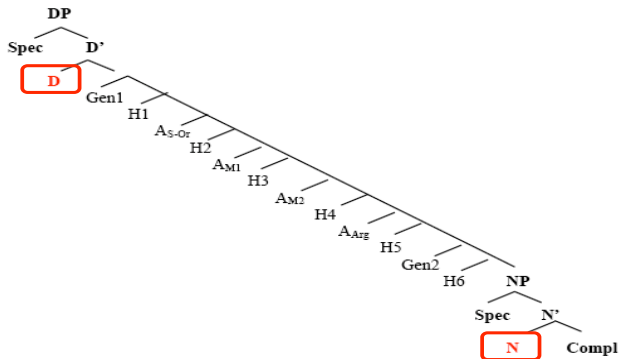
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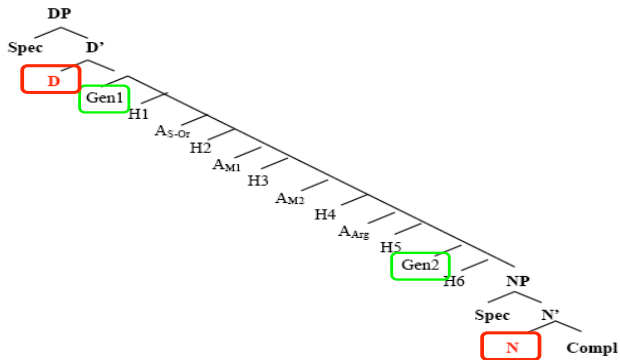
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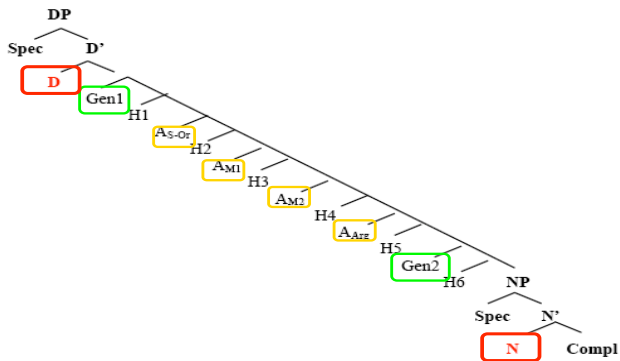
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Part II

Crosslinguistic typology

Type 1.

- 1 Dem **precedes** all DP-constituents
- 2 Dem **never co-occurs** with the definite article

Italian, Salentino, French, Portuguese, Griko, Old English, English, German ...

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Type 1.

- ① **questo** insegnante (*this teacher*)

- ② * insegnante questo (*teacher this*)
- ③ * questo l'insegnante (*this the teacher*)
- ④ * il questo insegnante (*the this teacher*)
- ⑤ * l'insegnante questo (*the teacher this*)

Type 2.

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Hungarian, Norwegian, ...*

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Type 2. \Rightarrow Hungarian

- ① **ez** a férfi (*this the man*)
ez a kedves öreg ember (*this the kind old man*)
ez a négy férfi (*this the four man = these four men*)

- ② **ez** férfi (*only high registers*)
- ③ * férfi ez
- ④ * a ez férfi
- ⑤ * a férfi ez

Type 3.

- 1 Dem occurs to the **right** of the noun and the adjectives (but to the **left** of the non prepositional low structural genitive)
- 2 Dem **always co-occurs** with the definite article

Irish, Welsh ...

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Type 3. \Rightarrow Irish

- ① an fear **seo** (*the man this*)
 an fear mór tégartha groí **seo** (*the man big stocky cheerful this*),
 McCloskey 2004)
- ② lámh mhór **seo** an fhír (*hand big this [the man] \rightarrow Gen*)
- ③ * seo fear
- ④ * fear seo
 * fear mór tégartha groí seo
- ⑤ * an seo fear
- ⑥ * seo an fear

Type 4.

- ① Dem is in **various positions** with respect to the other DP-constituents
 - ① it **precedes** all DP-constituents
 - ② it surfaces **before** the non prepositional low structural genitive

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Type 4. \Rightarrow Greek

- ① **αυτοί** οι κάτοικοι της πόλις (*these the inhabitants of the town*)
- ② οι κάτοικοι **αυτοί** της πόλις

- ③ *αυτοί κάτοικοι της πόλις
- ④ *οι αυτοί κάτοικοι της πόλις

- ⑤ **αυτοί** οι νέοι συμπαθητικοί κάτοικοι της πόλις
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 - ① **does not co-occur** with the definite article if it surfaces to the left of the other constituents
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Spanish, Rumanian, Bulgarian**

Type 5. \Rightarrow Spanish

- ① **este** libro (rojo) (de matematicas)
(this book red of mathematics)
- ② el libro (rojo) **este** (de matematicas)
(the book red this of mathematics)
- ③ * libro (rojo) este
- ④ * este el libro (rojo)
- ⑤ * el este libro (rojo)

Summary

1 Position of the demonstrative in the DP

- 1 **High** → *Dem* is at the very **beginning** of the DP
- 2 **Low** → *Dem* follows the adjectives, and sometimes the noun, but precedes **non prepositional genitives** (where available)

2 Co-occurrence with the article

- 1 **Never**
- 2 **Always**
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Part III

Parametric description

Premises \Rightarrow Syntactic status

- 1 Head
- 2 Maximal projection (XP)

Basic position \Rightarrow Previous proposals

SpecDP **D** (Num) As **NP**

↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑

Basic position \Rightarrow Previous proposals

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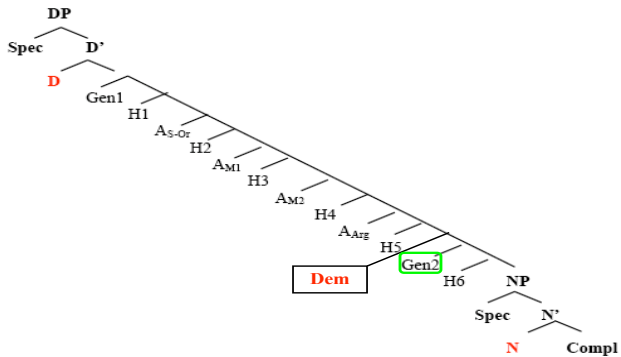
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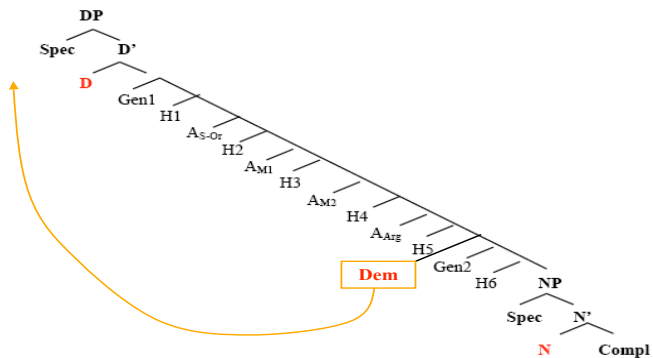
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Basic position \Rightarrow My proposal

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High position \Rightarrow Dem movement

- The **D-area** \Rightarrow Features

- ① **Definiteness** (quantification)

- ① Deixis
- ② Locality

Strong / Weak

- ① **Strong deixis**: the demonstrative moves **overtly** to the D-area in order to have a deictic interpretation
 - ② Weak **deixis**: the demonstrative does not need to surface in the D-area in order to have a deictic interpretation
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- ① **Strong locality**: the demonstrative moves **overtly** to the D-area
 - ② Weak **locality**: the demonstrative does not move overtly to the D-area

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Strong / Weak

Deixis	s	w	s	w
Locality	s	w	w	s
	1. 2.	3.	4. 5.	//

Parameters \Rightarrow Deixis and Locality

		1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
(1)	\pm Strong Deixis	+	+	-	+	+
(2)	\pm Strong Local. <i>+1</i>	+	+	0	-	-
		It, ...	Hu, Nor	Ir, Wel	Grk	Sp, ...

Demonstratives and the definite article

- The **D-area** \Rightarrow Features

① **Definiteness** (quantification)

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- ② Locality

② Reference

- ① Person (Longobardi 2008) \Rightarrow article = *default*

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Demonstratives and the definite article

- Dem, when it surfaces in the D-area, either has the property of (contextually) **licensing** the **person** feature of D or not.
 - 1 If it has this property (**person-licensing**), person is licensed even if D is empty (no 3rd person operator, i.e. the definite article, is needed).
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(1)	± Strong Deixis	+	+	-	+	+
(2)	± Strong Local. <i>+1</i>	+	+	0	-	-
(3)	± P-licens. Dem <i>+1</i>	+	-	0	-	+
		It, ...	Hu, Nor	Ir, Wel	Grk	Sp, ...

Part IV

Open questions

Open questions (1) → main questions

- 1 **Low definiteness** area and its relationship with the D-area
- 2 **Landing site** for the movement of Dem to the D-area
- 3 Conditions for **person-licensing**
- 4 Explanation of language-internal variation
- 5 Is the relation between position and interpretation crosslinguistically systematic? (diagnostics)

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Open questions (2) → other questions

- 1 Is there any relation between *grammaticalized definiteness* and the movements of Dem?
- 2 Is there any relation between the *doubling of the definite article* in certain languages and the co-occurrence of demonstrative and article?
- 3 Is there any relation between the *pronominal properties* of the definite article in certain languages and the *status* of 3rd person pronoun of the demonstrative?

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Open questions (3) → further questions

- 1 Position of *split demonstratives* and reinforcers
- 2 Relation between the basic position of the demonstrative and its landing site(s)
- 3 Cases of *multiple* demonstratives
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Part V

Selected References

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