
These *HERE* demonstratives

Background It has recently been proposed that Germanic demonstratives, e.g. *these*, are semantically like a definite article (1a) + an index ($f_{\langle e,t \rangle}$ in (1b)) and a proximal/distal feature (1b) (Elbourne, 2005), and they are morphosyntactically complex (Kayne, 2004). On the basis of comparative morphosyntactic evidence, I am proposing that they involve a definite article plus an adjectival modification structure, with the modifier being a possibly silent counterpart of *here/there*.

Overt manifestations Swedish has demonstratives (2) that are overtly built of a definite article and the Swedish counterpart of *here/there* (Holmes and Hinchliffe, 1994). In some varieties of colloquial Norwegian which have the equivalent of Swedish (2), demonstrative *herre/derre* obligatorily exhibit adjective-like agreement (Bernstein, 1997). Afrikaans (3) has demonstratives composed of counterparts of the same elements, but in a different order (Donaldson, 1993), with *here/there* to the left of the definite marker.

Covert manifestations Consider Swedish (4). (4a) differs from (4b) semantically in being demonstrative, and morphosyntactically in having a DP-initial definite marker + agreement. Hence formally, (4a) patterns with DPs that contain an adjectival modifier (4c), and against plain definites (4b). A parallel pattern obtains in Swiss German (5). The presence of the agreement morpheme *-i* in (5a) gives rise to a demonstrative reading, cf. (5a) vs. (5b). This agreement *-i* following the definite marker *d* is licensed (with a non-demonstrative reading) only when followed by an adjective, cf. (5b) vs (5c). The agreement markers Swedish *-t* and Swiss German *-i* are also present in the modified indefinite examples (4d) and (5d), where they follow the adjective and hence are identified as exponents of the Germanic strong (i.e. “indefinite”) adjectival agreement (Schlenker, 1999). In the definite (4a,c) and (5a,c) they follow the DP-initial article directly. Their absence in plain definites (4b) and (5b) shows that they are part of the modification structure. Hence morphologically, (4a) and (5a) look like they contain an adjectival modifier.

Proposal I propose that (4a) and (5a) involve a silent *HERE/THERE* which is introduced in an adjectival modification structure. *HERE/THERE* contribute an index and a proximal/distal feature to the interpretation.

Why silent? Afrikaans shows that *here/there* can move to the left of D^0 . I propose that it is such movement that makes available, in some varieties, the non-pronunciation of *HERE/THERE*. For concreteness, I propose that *HERE/THERE* moves into a left-peripheral Topic position within DP (cf. Ihsane and Puskás, 2001). This allows us to assimilate its being silent in certain languages to Topic drop (Rizzi, 1994), the phenomenon familiar from e.g. German, whereby a clause-initial topic can remain unpronounced.

Semantic patterning Semantically as well, demonstrative DPs pattern with modified DPs in interesting ways. The contrast (6a):(6b) is similar to (6a):(6c,d). From the fact that (6d) is like (6b) relative to (6a) I conclude that *here/there*, *HERE/THERE* provide the relevant index.

English In English, demonstratives (7a) are alone among determiners in displaying a regular plural form. If English *these/those* is analyzed as (7b), parallel to Swedish (7c) and Swiss German (7d), the *-s(e)* corresponds to adjectival agreement, whose overtness in *these/those* can be correlated with the peculiarity of an adjective moving to the left of D^0 . This allows the exceptionless generalization that English determiners do not have a regular plural form.

Conclusion I conclude that (a class of) demonstratives in Germanic are built of the definite article and an adjectival modifier counterpart of *here* or *there*. Hence demonstratives involve an adjectival modification structure. Adjectival *here* and *there* have the property of (A) being unpronounced in some cases, and (B) moving to the left of the definite article in some cases, with property (A) possibly parasitic on (B).

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- (1) a. $\llbracket \text{the} \rrbracket = \lambda g_{\langle e, t \rangle} : \exists ! x (g(x) = 1) . \iota x (g(x) = 1)$
b. $\llbracket \text{this} \rrbracket = \lambda f_{\langle e, t \rangle} \lambda g_{\langle e, t \rangle} : \exists ! x (f(x) = 1 \& g(x) = 1 \& \text{proximal}(x)) .$
 $\iota x (f(x) = 1 \& g(x) = 1 \& \text{proximal}(x))$
- (2) a. det här ('this one') SWE
b. det där ('that one')
- (3) a. hier-die ('this/these') AF
b. daar-die ('that/those')
- (4) a. de-t hus-et b. hus-et c. de-t stora hus-et d. ett sor-t hus SWE
"that house" house-DEF the big house-DEF a big house
- (5) a. d-i rosä b. d rosä c. d-i rot rosä d. ä rot-i rosä SG
"this rose" the rose the red rose a red rose
- (6) a. * The car (*gesture at car A*) is better than the car (*gesture at car B*).
b. That car (*gesture at car A*) is better than that car (*gesture at car B*).
(Elbourne (2005, p.9))
c. The blue car is better than the red car.
d. The car here/there (*gesture at A*) is better than the car there (*gesture at B*).
- (7) a. these books
b. HERE the-s(e) t_{HERE} books E
c. HERE d-i t_{HERE} rosä SG
d. THERE de-t t_{THERE} huset SWE

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