

DEMONSTRATIVES WITH PARTICIPANT READINGS

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This talk outlines several properties of previously undescribed non-3rd person uses of demonstratives (non3-DEMS) modified by relative clauses in Standard Modern Greek (Gr) and German (Ger) and sketches a possible analysis couched in Distributed Morphology (Halle & Marantz 1993; Embick 2010). **Observation** In Gr, demonstratives act as 3rd person pronouns (Holton et al. 2012) and normally control 3rd person verbal agreement (1a), suggesting that they carry 3rd person features. Ger demonstratives similarly require 3rd agreement, cf. (1b), and in spite of syncretic 1/3 PL verbal agreement marking the interpretation is unambiguously 3rd person.

- (1) a. Aftoi *ftiaks-ame/ *ftiaksate/ **eftiaksan** mia kainouria politiki kinisi. Gr
DEM.NOM.PL built.1PL built.2PL built.3PL a new political movement
 ‘These/those people built a new political movement.’
- b. Die {dachten/ *dachtet} nur: Ger
DEM.NOM.PL thought.1/3PL thought.2PL only
 ‘They/these people just thought: ...’
 not: ‘We/you just thought: ...’

However, when heading relative clauses containing non-3rd person subject agreement, plural demonstratives in both languages can control non-3rd person agreement in the main clause (and the corresponding interpretation) after all, cf. (2). These are non3-DEMS. They can generally be replaced by a personal pronoun of appropriate person specification (in (2) Gr: *emeis* ‘we’, Ger: *ihr* ‘you.PL’). Ger tends to use an additional subject pronoun in RCs modifying both non-3rd person pronouns and non3-DEMS.

- (2) a. **Aftoi** pou fygame vevaia apo ekei ftiaksame mia kainouria politiki kinisi... Gr
DEM.NOM.PL REL left.1PL of.course from there built.1PL a new political movement
 ‘Of course, we who left from there built a new political movement...’ attested online
- b. **Die**, die ihr wachsam seid, werdet seine Ziele erkennen. Ger
DEM.NOM.PL REL.NOM.PL you.PL attentive are.2PL will.2PL his goals recognise
 ‘You who are attentive will recognise his goals.’ attested online

The following properties of non3-DEMS hold for Gr and Ger unless specified otherwise. Non3-DEMS occur only in the plural and require the person/number features of the finite verb in the RC to match those of the main verb (if any). Further, the RC needs to be a subject RC.

The preferred non3-DEM in Gr is the unmarked demonstrative *aftoi*, but in 2nd person contexts distal *ekeinoi* ‘those’ is also found. In Ger, the demonstratives *die* and *diejenigen* can function as non3-DEM, while distal *jene* ‘that’ and proximal *diese* ‘this’ cannot. This fits well with the hypothesis that **non3-DEMS can only be licensed by restrictive RCs** and not by non-restrictive RCs. Ger *diejenigen* almost exclusively combines with restrictive RCs and *diese* generally does not head restrictive RCs (Gunkel 2007). This hypothesis is further supported by the fact that the addition of *bekanntlich* ‘as is known’, known to trigger non-restrictive readings of RCs, leads to deviance in (3).

- (3) Die, die ihr (#bekanntlich) wachsam seid, werdet seine Ziele erkennen.
DEM.NOM.PL REL.NOM.PL you.PL as.is.known attentive are.2PL will.2PL his goals recognise
 ‘You who are (well known to be) attentive will recognise his goals.’

If RCs containing a focused overt subject pronoun are non-restrictive in Gr (Holton et al. 2012:536f.),

(4) supports the idea that a restrictive RC is required to license non3-DEMS in Gr, too.

- (4) *Tha se voithisoume aftoi, pou mallon mono {**emeis/ aftoi**} kseroume na
FUT 2SG.ACC help.1PL we.NOM REL probably only we.NOM DEM.NOM.PL know.1PL SBJV
 cheiristoume to michanima.
operate.1PL DET.ACC.SG device

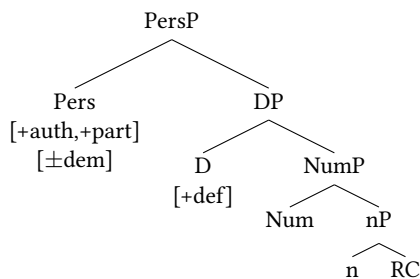
In Ger, typical restrictive RCs can typically be separated from a head noun in the forefield by moving the RC into the postfield (Gunkel 2007). Against this background, example (5) shows that personal pronouns can not only head non-restrictive relative clauses, but also restrictive ones, contrary to common

assumptions. It also illustrates that the non3-DEM is deviant in this configuration. I take this to indicate an **adjacency requirement between the non3-DEM and its licensing RC**. This requirement also seems to hold for Gr non3-DEM.

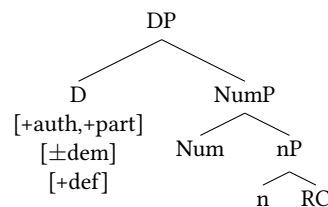
- (5) {Ihr/ *die} werdet seine Ziele erkennen, die ihr wachsam seid.
 you.PL DEM.NOM.PL will.2PL his goals recognise REL.NOM.PL you.PL attentive are.2PL

An analysis of non3-DEMS in terms of unagreement (Hurtado 1985; Ackema & Neeleman 2013; Höhn 2016), the possibility of definite plural subjects controlling non-3rd agreement in some null subject languages including Gr, may seem initially attractive. However, since Ger does not allow unagreement and the above data make a unified analysis of Gr and Ger seem desirable, I assume that non3-DEMS are not dependent on unagreement. Instead I retain the assumption that regular demonstratives in Gr and Ger are fully specified for third person syntactically, but that non3-DEMS are actually merged as what would normally be realised as a personal pronoun. Structurally, I assume that person and demonstrativity are encoded on one head in both Gr and Ger, but take the relevant head to be D in Ger (Rauh 2003) and a distinct higher Pers head in Gr (Höhn 2016). Restrictive RCs are merged low along the lines of (6)/(7), containing an operator or a matching DP on their left edge.

(6) Greek



(7) German



Non3-DEMS result when a post-syntactic impoverishment operation as sketched in (8) deletes the person features on a plural personal/demonstrative head if it is linearly followed by a relative operator relativising an argument with the same person specification – possibly a form of optional haplogy. While regular demonstratives are syntactically specified for 3rd person, I suggest that the Vocabulary Items realising demonstratives in Gr and Ger are underspecified for person as sketched in (9) for Gr. The application of (8) would then result in a configuration where the (less specific) demonstrative is inserted as a default instead of the personal pronoun corresponding to the person features reflected in verbal agreement and interpretation.

- (8) $[\alpha\text{auth}, \beta\text{part}] \rightarrow \emptyset / [_, \text{pl}] \wedge [\text{restrRC Op}_{\text{subj}}[\alpha\text{auth}, \beta\text{part}]$

- (9) $[+\text{dem}, +\text{auth}, +\text{part}, \text{pl}, \text{nom}] \Leftrightarrow \textit{emeis}$
 $[+\text{dem}, -\text{auth}, +\text{part}, \text{pl}, \text{nom}] \Leftrightarrow \textit{eseis}$
 $[+\text{dem}, \text{pl}, \text{masc}, \text{nom}] \Leftrightarrow \textit{aftoi}$

If non-restrictive RCs are merged less locally than restrictive RCs, the need for a restrictive RC in (8) does not have to be stipulated, but results from the fact that non-restrictive RCs do not provide the necessary local relation between the non3-DEM and the relative operator. The restriction to subject RCs may be partly explained if non-subject RCs with pronominal heads are generally non-restrictive, as suggested by some preliminary data. In that case, (8) could simply not apply.

References

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