

These *HERE* Demonstratives

Thomas Leu*

1 Introduction

Demonstratives¹ have been suggested to be complex/phrasal and to involve an adjectival component (Dryer (1992:120ff), Delsing (1993:chapter 4.3), Chomsky (1995:338), Bernstein (1997:93)) and a definite marker morpheme (Chomsky (1995:338), Bernstein (1997), Elbourne (2005)², Julien (2005) among others). It has also been proposed that demonstratives are generated low and move to the left periphery of the DP (Giusti 1994, 1997, Brugè 1996, Bernstein 1997, Vangsnes 1999, Ihsane and Puskás 2001).

In my discussion of Germanic demonstratives below, I agree with all of this (while disagreeing with some details of the individual proposals). In fact, I propose that demonstratives are morphosyntactically complex in that they involve an adjectival modification structure (FP), containing a demonstrative modifier, an agreement head (AgrA), and a definite marker.³ It is this entire FP that moves to Spec,DP. What distinguishes a demonstrative DP from an ordinary modified definite DP is the lexical choice of the (possibly silent) modifier *HERE/THERE* instead of another modifier like e.g. *blue*. The syntactic behavior of *HERE/THERE* is different from that of *blue* in ways that obscure, in some languages, its presence and/or its being introduced in an adjectival modification structure.

*I am grateful for discussion and comments to a number of people including the audiences at PLC30, CGSW21, GLOW29, and at a practice talk at NYU. Many thanks for helpful comments on earlier versions of this paper to Lena Baunaz, Mark Baltin, Oana Ciucivara, Chris Collins, Marcel Den Dikken, Richard Kayne, Lisa Levinson, Henk Van Riemsdijk, Laura Rimell, Anna Szabolcsi and Eytan Zweig. I am especially indebted to Øystein Vangsnes for comments on an earlier version and invaluable discussion of Scandinavian. All errors are mine.

¹I refer here and throughout to definite adnominal demonstratives. For a typological overview of different kinds of demonstratives see (Diessel 1999).

²Elbourne proposes a semantics for *this* in which the denotation of *this* differs from that of *the* only in having an additional index and a proximal feature (see also Vangsnes 1999:part 1). In the spirit of the present paper, these additional components are suggested to be contributed by a demonstrative modifier counterpart of *here/there*.

³I refer to the Germanic *d-/th-* morpheme as definite marker. See (Bernstein to appear) for an alternative view.

- c. de-t huset
that house-DEF

There are different ways to account for this set of data. One possibility is to say that Norwegian has two homophonous⁶ lexical items *de-(t)*: one a plain definite marker (restricted to occurring in modified DPs) and the other a demonstrative (Julien 2005).

Another way of thinking about (2), which I will pursue, is to assimilate (2c) to (2b). Considering that (2b) is not (necessarily) demonstrative, and further that DP-initial *det* is legitimate only in the presence of an adjectival modifier, I propose that in (2c), there is an unpronounced adjectival modifier present which contributes demonstrativity.

Vangsnes notes that the example with an (overt) adjective is (segmentally) ambiguous between a demonstrative reading and a plain definite reading. I propose that the demonstrative reading of (2b) is the result of the presence of two adjectival modifiers, one of which is silent and contributes demonstrativity.

The fact that a pre-adjectival definite marker surfaces with the adjective but is not present in the absence of an adjective suggests that it is part of the structure necessary for adjectival modification (FP in (1)).⁷ I propose that each adjective is accompanied by its own definite marker (an adjectival determiner, cf. Androutsopoulou (2001)), hence assimilating Germanic adjectival modification to the case known from Greek polydefiniteness (Androutsopoulou 1996, 2001, Alexiadou and Wilder 1998).⁸ In demonstrative (2b) the definite marker that goes with *svarte* is licensed to remain silent (by the definite FP in its Spec), see also section 3.4.

2.2 Swiss German

The argument from Norwegian (2) can be developed in a parallel fashion on the basis of Swiss German, for which I argue that the same phenomenon obtains, with a somewhat different surface manifestation. Swiss German has a prenominal definite marker, independently of whether or not an adjectival modifier is present (3a).

- (3) a. d rosä SG
the rose

⁶They are phonetically distinct in that the demonstrative is stressed.

⁷This departs radically from the standard view (cf. Holmberg and Platzack 2005). However, see (Simpson 2000) for an analogous claim regarding Chinese *de*.

⁸An explicit comparative proposal is made in Leu (2006).

- b. d-i rot rosä
the red rose
- c. d-i rosä
“this rose”

What is relevant to note is that in the plain definite DP in (3a) the definite marker is not followed by overt inflection.⁹ In the presence of an adjective however, the definite marker is obligatorily followed by overt inflection (3b).¹⁰

The inflection *-i* on the definite marker in the modified DP (3b)=(4a) is homophonous with the inflection on the adjective in the indefinite counterpart in (4b), suggesting that it is an exponent of the Germanic strong adjectival inflection (cf. Milner and Milner 1972, Leu 2006), glossed AgrA.

- (4) a. d-i rot rosä
the-AgrA red rose
- b. ä rot-i rosä
a red-AgrA rose

I conclude that this inflectional morpheme is part of the adjectival modification structure. The appearance, in adjectival contexts, of this inflection on the definite marker in Swiss German is to be related to the appearance, in adjectival contexts, of a prenominal definite marker (with strong adjectival inflection) in Norwegian. I propose that, as in Norwegian, in Swiss German as well, the definite marker (plus AgrA) is part of the adjectival modification structure, FP in (1), sitting in Spec,DP. Definite FP in Spec,DP licenses the non-pronunciation of D^0 .

If the definite marker is followed by AgrA in the absence of an overt adjectival modifier, as in (3c), the DP receives a demonstrative interpretation, parallel to Scandinavian.¹¹

In sum, morphologically, the DPs in (2c) and (3c) look as if there were an adjective present. Yet there is no overt adjective there. Semantically, these DPs

⁹The morpheme *-i* in (3b,c) is the realization of AgrA⁰ (mnemonic for “adjectival agreement”) for feminine (and also plural) structurally Case-marked DPs. In masculine and neuter singular DPs, the definite marker is followed by an inflectional suffix whether or not an adjective is present. I assume that the inflection that is present in the absence of a modifier is not the realization of AgrA⁰, but corresponds to a different agreement head, for which the feminine and the plural variants are null.

¹⁰In Leu (2001) I call the alternation between *d* and *di* observed in (3a,b) the “d/di-alternation.”

¹¹(3c) is compatible with both a proximal and a distal interpretation.

differ from plain definites in being demonstrative. I conclude that (2c) and (3c) feature a silent adjectival modifier which has a demonstrative interpretation.¹²

3 Silent *HERE/THERE*

In this section I will address two questions that seem a priori unanswerable: What does the silent demonstrative modifier look like? (section 3.1), and: Where is it? (section 3.2).

3.1 The Looks of Silent *HERE*

Swedish (and colloquial Norwegian) has demonstratives that are overtly built on the definite article and the Swedish counterpart of *here/there* (Holmes and Hinchliffe 1994).¹³

- (5) a. det här b. det där SWE
 the here “this one” the there “that one”

In colloquial Norwegian (6) (and Swedish) this demonstrative *here/there* carries adjective-like inflection (Bernstein (1997:90), Vangsnes (2004) and p.c., Julien (2005)):

- (6) a. den her-re klokka Coll. NOR
 the here-INFL watch-DEF
 b. det der-re huset
 the there-INFL house-DEF

Afrikaans has demonstratives composed of counterparts of the same elements, but in a different order (Donaldson 1993, Levi Namaseb p.c.).

- (7) a. Ek het hier-die huis gebou. AF
 I have here-the house built “I built this house.”
 b. Ek het daar-die man gesien.
 I have there-the man seen “I saw that man.”

¹²Concretely, in terms of Elbourne (2005), the demonstrative modifier contributes an index and a deictic feature.

¹³A counterpart of *here/there* as building block of demonstratives is crosslinguistically well attested and exists apart from Germanic also in non-Indoeuropean languages such as e.g. Australian languages (Julie Legate p.c.), and the native American language Kiowa (Harbour 2006) etc.

In (5) through (7) demonstrativity is contributed by the counterparts of *here/there*, (cf. Kayne 2004). The argument for this is simple. If you have a definite article and something else, and the whole of them has a meaning component that the definite article alone does not have, it follows that this meaning component is contributed by the something else.

Recall the contrast between plain definites and demonstrative DPs in Swiss German and Norwegian repeated in (8) and (9) respectively.

- | | | | |
|-----|------------------------------|-----------------------|--|
| (8) | a. di rosä "this rose" | b. d rosä the rose | c. di rot rosä the red rose |
| (9) | a. det huset "that house" | b. huset house-DEF | c. det svarte huset the black house-DEF |

The definite marker in the demonstrative (a) examples is identical to the one in the (c) examples (modulo stress), which contain an overt adjectival modifier, and distinct from the ones in the (b) examples, which lack an adjectival modifier.

While in (5) through (7) demonstrativity is contributed by an overt counterpart of *here/there*, I propose that in (8a) and (9a) demonstrativity is contributed by a silent counterpart of *here/there*, *HERE/THERE* (where capital letters indicate non-pronunciation).

3.2 The Position of Silent *HERE*

In this section I will tackle the second a priori unanswerable question: Where is silent *HERE*? When *HERE* is silent, we do not have direct access to its position relative to other elements. One possibility is to assume that it is in the same position as its overt counterpart in (5), (6), i.e. to the right of the definite article. Alternatively it may be that its being unpronounced is related to its position at spell-out, in the spirit of Kayne (2006) who suggests that non-pronunciation is an "automatic consequence of the architecture of derivations." If this is on the right track, then the position of overt elements tells us where their silent counterpart is not, in a given language (perhaps universally).

From this conjecture and from (5), (6), let me conclude that the silent *THERE* in Norwegian (9a) is not between the definite article and the noun, since in that position modifiers are overt.¹⁴

We know from Afrikaans (7), (10) that demonstrative *here/there* can move to the left of the definite marker in (some) Germanic languages.

¹⁴Strictly speaking, the logic here would allow it to be in a different syntactic position to the right of the article.

- (10) a. hier-die (“this/these”) AF
 b. daar-die (“that/those”)

Let me propose that Swiss German (8a) and Norwegian (9a) are like Afrikaans in that *HERE* and *THERE* respectively moves to the left of the definite marker, differing from Afrikaans with regard to pronunciation (or landing site, see section 4). Thus (8a) and (9a) receive the analysis in (11).

- (11) a. HERE di *t*_{HERE} rosä (“this rose”) SG
 b. THERE det *t*_{THERE} huset (“that house”) NOR

I conclude that *HERE/THERE* in (8a) and (9a) moves to Spec,FP.

Taking it a step further, let me tentatively adopt Kayne’s (2006) concrete proposal that phrases escape pronunciation if they occur in the Spec of a phase at spell-out.¹⁵ This suggests that FP is a phase in the relevant sense. How exactly this notion of phase relates to the one in (Chomsky 2001) is not entirely clear. Assuming a close relation would lead us to identify FP as propositional. This in turn recalls the traditional idea that adjectival modifiers have a clause-like syntax (Smith 1964, Kayne 1994).

3.3 Demonstrative *HERE* and Article Clipping

Further evidence for the presence of silent *HERE* to the left of the definite marker morpheme in (11a) comes from article clipping. In Swiss German (and in German) the definite marker morpheme *d-* remains silent in a range of contexts involving P-DP complementation, as in (12a,b).^{16,17}

- (12) a. [_P uf] (#d)ä tisch SG
 onto the table
 b. [_P uf] (#d)ä blau tisch
 onto the blue table
 c. [_P uf] HERE *(d)-e tisch
 onto this table

¹⁵For present purposes, I am departing from Kayne’s suggestion that this is the only way to escape pronunciation that UG permits. I assume that e.g. silent definite markers are licensed in a way reminiscent of the doubly filled comp filter. A reformulation of this along the lines of Starke (2004) might however be fruitful and ultimately allow the adoption of Kayne’s stronger position.

¹⁶The process is sensitive to Case, the choice of P, and the phi-features of N.

¹⁷The diacritic # indicates stylistic markedness.

extraction site.²¹ While in languages with silent *HERE/THERE* (Swiss German, German, Norwegian, Dutch, and most interestingly English) demonstratives do have an overt morphological reflex sensitive to phi-features, Afrikaans demonstratives don't, but instead have overt left-peripheral *hier/daar*.²²

In light of this, a possible conjecture is that, in order to license its trace, movement to a silent position may necessitate a head of a kind which inflection qualifies for (reminiscent of Kester 1996), but *d-/th-* does not.

5 Adjectival *here/there* and Reinforcers

Non-standard English allows overt *here/there* to follow a demonstrative determiner. Bernstein (1997) calls the element *here* in the non-standard American English example (16) a reinforcer.

(16) this here book

I have been claiming that a demonstrative like *this* contains a silent *HERE*. It is important to realize that the overt *here* in (16) cannot be the very morpheme that is incorporated into *this*. In other words there are two distinct instantiations of *here/HERE* in (16). The two have a distinct status. They differ morphosyntactically and semantically, as I will discuss instantly.

5.1 Licensing of Reinforcer and Demonstrative *here/there*

A reinforcer like *here* in (16) is only licensed in combination with a demonstrative (Bernstein 1997:91). But the demonstrative adjective *HERE* cannot be subject to such a constraint, since this would lead to a chicken and egg paradox. I propose the informal structure in (17).

(17) [[*Dem* *HERE* the] here N] => "this here book"

5.2 Morphosyntax of Reinforcer and Demonstrative *here/there*

Colloquial Norwegian (and Swedish) presents morphological evidence that the demonstrative *here/there* and the reinforcer are indeed distinct, in that only demonstrative *here/there* is introduced in an adjectival structure, as I have been arguing, whereas the reinforcer is not.

²¹A possibility pointed out to me by Andrew Nevins, p.c.

²²The picture of Afrikaans is more complicated, with demonstrative uses of *dit* and *dié* (Donaldson 1993:142ff.) bearing challenges to the text suggestion.

As noted in section 3.1 example (6), overt demonstrative *herre/derre* features adjectival agreement in colloquial Norwegian.²³

It is also possible in Norwegian (and Swedish) to have an additional counterpart of *here/there*, a reinforcer. Vangsnes (2004:13) reports that in Eastern Norwegian, up to three counterparts of *here* can surface within one noun phrase. In this case one of them must carry adjectival inflection. And only the first one can be so inflected.²⁴

- (18) a. den herre her populære boka mi (her) E-NOR
 the hereADJ here popular book-DEF my here
 b. den (*her) her populære boka mi (her)
 the here here popular book-DEF my here
 c. *den her herre populære boka mi her
 the here hereADJ popular book-DEF my here

On the present proposal it is a counterpart of the inflected *herre* in (18a) which, in some languages, moves into a silent position to the left of *d-/th-*.

5.3 Interpretation of Reinforcer and Demonstrative *here/there*

The difference in the morphosyntax of demonstrative *here/there* and reinforcer has a semantic correlate. Among the readings available to demonstratives are a locative deictic reading (19a) and a discourse anaphoric reading (19b).

- (19) a. This tree [POINTING GESTURE AT TREE A] is taller than
 that one [POINTING GESTURE AT TREE B].
 b. Remember I told you about a position as a ballet dancer? Well,
 John said he was too old for the job. But I think that's absurd.

If I am right that demonstratives like *this/that* contain a counterpart of *here/there*, it follows from (19b) that this latter element is not obligatorily associated with locativeness. In Kayne's (2004) and (2005) terms, the *here/there* in question may but does not have to involve a silent PLACE.

The same obtains with the overt (inflected) demonstrative *herre/derre* in colloquial Norwegian, which can be discourse anaphoric (20). Interestingly, this is different for reinforcer *here/there*, which is obligatorily locative (21).

²³ Øystein Vangsnes informs me that in some dialects the inflection on the demonstrative *herre/there* differs from ordinary weak adjectival inflection in making fewer gender distinctions.

²⁴ Examples from Vangsnes (2004). See also Julien (2005:section 4.2.4)).

- (20) a. den her-re klokka
the here-INFL watch (*locative or discourse anaphoric*)
b. det her-re huset
the there-INFL house (*locative or discourse anaphoric*)
- (21) a. den her-re her klokka
the here-INFL here watch (*only locative*)
b. det der-re der huset
the there-INFL there house (*only locative*)

Hence the adjectival *here/there* which combines with the definite marker to render a demonstrative determiner is distinct from the reinforcer both morpho-syntactically and semantically (though perhaps not lexically).

6 Conclusion

I conclude that (some) demonstratives in Germanic are built out of a definite marker *d-/th-* and a counterpart of *here/there* introduced in an adjectival structure. *Here/there* has the property of (A) being unpronounced (*HERE/THERE*) in some cases, and (B) moving to the left of the definite marker in some cases, with property (A) parasitic on (B). The movement of *HERE/THERE* to a silent position to the left of *th-* correlates with the pronunciation of an otherwise silent plural agreement morpheme in English.

The adjectival modification structure containing a definite marker and the demonstrative *here/there/HERE/THERE* is argued to sit in Spec,DP where it licenses the non-pronunciation of the definite marker in D⁰.

This proposal assimilates to a greater degree than previous proposals (A) demonstrative determiners to ordinary adjectival modification within the DP, and (B) Germanic demonstratives to languages like e.g. Greek, in which a definite article overtly co-occurs with a demonstrative determiner.

References

- Alexiadou, Artemis, and Chris Wilder. 1998. Adjectival modification and multiple determiners. In *Possessors, Predicates and Movement in the DP*, ed. Artemis Alexiadou and Chris Wilder. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Androutsopoulou, Antonia. 1996. Licensing of adjectival modification. In *Proceedings of WCCFL 14*, 17–31.
- Androutsopoulou, Antonia. 2001. Adjectival determiners in Albanian and Greek. In *Comparative Syntax of Balkan Languages*, ed. María Luisa Rivero and Angela Ralli, 161–199. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Bernstein, Judy. 1997. Demonstratives and reinforcers in Romance and Germanic languages. *Lingua* 102:87–113.
- Bernstein, Judy. to appear. English *th-* forms. In a volume of the series *Typological Studies in Language*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Brugè, Laura. 1996. Demonstrative movement in Spanish: A comparative approach. *University of Venice Working Papers in Linguistics* 1–53.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1995. *The Minimalist Program*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, Noam. 2001. Derivation by phase. In *Ken Hale. A Life in Language*, ed. M. Kenstowicz. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Delsing, Lars-Olof. 1993. The Internal Structure of Noun Phrases in Scandinavian Languages. Doctoral Dissertation, Lund.
- Diessel, Holger. 1999. *Demonstratives: Form, Function, and Grammaticalization*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Donaldson, Bruce C. 1993. *A Grammar of Afrikaans*. New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Dryer, Matthew. 1992. The Greenbergian word order correlations. *Language* 81–138.
- Elbourne, Paul. 2005. Presuppositional demonstratives. Ms. Universität Potsdam.
- Giusti, Giuliana. 1994. Enclitic articles and double definiteness: A comparative analysis of nominal structure in Romance and Germanic. *Linguistic Review* 231–255.
- Giusti, Giuliana. 1997. The categorial status of determiners. In *The New Comparative Grammar*, ed. L. Haegeman, 95–123. New York: Longman.
- Harbour, Daniel. 2006. Morphosemantic Number: From Kiowa Noun Classes to UG Number Features. Doctoral Dissertation, MIT.
- Holmberg, Anders, and Christer Platzack. 2005. The Scandinavian languages. In *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Syntax*, ed. G. Cinque and R. S. Kayne. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Holmes, Philip, and Ian Hinchliffe. 1994. *Swedish. A Comprehensive Grammar*. New York: Routledge.
- Ihsane, Tabea, and Genoveva Puskás. 2001. Specific is not definite. *Generative Grammar in Geneva* 2:39–54.
- Julien, Marit. 2005. *Nominal Phrases from a Scandinavian Perspective*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Kayne, Richard S. 1994. *The Antisymmetry of Syntax*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Kayne, Richard S. 2004. Here and there. In *Syntaxe, Lexique et Lexique-Grammaire. Volume dédié à Maurice Gross*, ed. E. Laporte, C. Leclère, M. Piot, and M. Silberstein, number 24 in *Lingvisticae Investigationes Supplementa*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Kayne, Richard S. 2005. A short note on *where* vs. *place*. Ms. NYU.
- Kayne, Richard S. 2006. On parameters and on principles of pronunciation. In *Organizing Grammar. Linguistic Studies in Honor of Henk van Riemsdijk*, ed. H. Broekhuis, N. Corver, R. Huybregts, U. Kleinhenz, and J. Koster. New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

- Kester, Ellen-Petra. 1996. Adjectival inflection and the licensing of empty categories in DP. *Journal of Linguistics* 57–78.
- Leu, Thomas. 2001. A sketchy note on the article-modifier relation. *Generative Grammar in Geneva* 2:55–69.
- Leu, Thomas. 2006. From Greek to Germanic: The structure of adjectival modification. GLOW 29, *handout*.
- Milner, Judith, and Jean-Claude Milner. 1972. *La Morphologie du Groupe Nominal en Allemand*. DRLAV 2. Université de Paris VIII.
- Simpson, Andrew. 2000. On the status of modifying DE and the structure of the Chinese DP. In *On the Formal Way to Chinese Languages*, ed. S.W. Tang and L.L. Chen-Sheng. Stanford: CSLI.
- Smith, Carlota S. 1964. Determiners and relative clauses in a generative grammar of English. *Language* 40:37–52.
- Starke, Michal. 2004. On the inexistence of specifiers and the nature of heads. In *Structures and Beyond*, ed. A. Belletti. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Vangsnes, Øystein A. 1999. The Identification of Functional Architecture. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Bergen.
- Vangsnes, Øystein A. 2004. Rolling up the Scandinavian noun phrase. GLOW 27, *handout*.

Department of Linguistics
New York University
719 Broadway 4th floor
New York, NY-10003
thomas.leu@nyu.edu