

The role of demonstratives across languages

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a demonstrative:
something that demonstrates

that, those, this, these
that coffee, these linguists

Classic account of *that*

Kaplan 1989 rigid, direct reference

- **direct reference**: returns an entity as output

(1) I like [that kettle] →  returns 

- **rigid**: scopally inert; always picks out the referent in the speech context

(2) Everyone who was in this room yesterday saw [that grinder] → 

(3) (Pointing at ) If we switched the kettle and the grinder,

- ...that thing would be a grinder. false
- ...the thing I'd be pointing at would be a grinder. true

Identifying a demonstrative

few (agreed-upon) defining properties

[Himmelman 1996]

1. deixis (paradigmatic relation to deictic element)
2. non-uniqueness
 - (4) {The / ?That} universe continues to expand.
3. inability to license associative/bridging anaphora
 - (5) I went to a concert. {The / ?That} ticket was expensive.

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(5) I went to a concert. {The / ?That} ticket was expensive.

all somewhat debated

- many non-deictic demonstratives
- allows unique uses:

(6) That first sip feeling

- allows bridging uses:

[Apothéloz and Reichler-Béguelin 1999; Wolter 2003]

(7) My friend won a huge lottery. With **this money**, he bought a house.

A wide range of uses

Many uses of non-deictic demonstratives identified:

[Elbourne 2005; King 2001; Roberts 2002; Simonenko 2014; Wolter 2003, 2006, a.o.]

- (8) I met a linguist. That linguist looked happy. [anaphoric]
- (9) [THAT hero] [who KILLS the dragon] [will INHERIT half the kingdom] [explicit; Wolter 2003]
- (10) That guy who scored one hundred on the exam is a genius. [NDNS;King 2001]
- (11) Every university professor cherishes that first publication of theirs. [QI;King 2001]
- (12) That which rolls faster gathers no moss. [generic; Elbourne 2013]
- (13) a. How's that toe?
b. There was this traveling salesman, and he... [affective; Lakoff 1974]

RQ: What is a demonstrative?

Demonstratives as a definite expression

'**uniquely referring use**' (Strawson 1950): singular demonstrative pronouns (*this, that*), proper names (*Berlin, Sol*), singular personal and impersonal pronouns (*she, he, I, you, it*), and definite descriptions (*the talk, the linguist*)

definites, pronouns, demonstratives as a natural class defined by

- **(weak) familiarity** (Heim 1982; Roberts 2003)
- **definite-like structure** (Ebert et al. 2020; Elbourne 2005; Hinterwimmer 2015; Hinterwimmer and Bosch 2018; King 2001; Patel-Grosz and Grosz 2010; Postal 1966; Simonenko 2014, a.o.)

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Today's goal:

Define demonstratives (and other definite expressions)
by looking at how these differ in reference strategy

This talk



[description]

Reference

→	direct] DEM
RC	linguistic	
i	contextual	
∅	n/a] DEF

This talk



[description]

Reference

		NP		ϕ
→	direct]]	PRONOUN
RC	linguistic			
i	contextual			
\emptyset	n/a]]	

This talk



[description]

	NP	ϕ	\emptyset
\rightarrow	that NP $_{\rightarrow}$	that $_{\rightarrow}$, he $_{\rightarrow}$	
RC	that NP who/that	that which, he who	
i	that NP $_i$	this, he, she, it they	pro
\emptyset	the NP	they	

This talk



[description]

1. **Demonstratives require a linker**

- the nature of the linker derives the different uses
- proximal vs. distal demonstratives

2. **Definites:** when a separate linker is not necessary

3. **Pronouns:** same set of linkers, but simpler description

Demonstratives

Resolving a reference

Reference:



[description]

Reference requires two kinds of information: description and [linker](#)

→	RC	i	∅
direct	linguistic	contextual	n/a

Demonstratives

Demonstratives consist of description and linker

- suggested in many previous works:
 - Wolter 2003: 'the referent of the definite description is determined on the basis of its descriptive content alone, while the referent of a demonstrative description is not.' (p.20)
 - Ebert 2017: for demonstratives, both gesture and description are at-issue

Implementation

- Demonstratives carry an additional restriction

[King 2001, Wolter 2003, Elbourne 2005, Nowak 2019, a.o.]:

$$(14) \quad \llbracket \text{the } F \rrbracket = \iota x. F(x)$$

$$(15) \quad \llbracket \text{that } F \rrbracket = \iota x. F(x) \wedge G(x)$$

- G is where the linker goes

What goes in G

some options

1. overt locational gesture → (pointing)
2. overt description (relative clause)
3. covert pointer (index? situation?)

*three basic types of signs (Charles Peirce): symbols, icons, indices

[Beatric Santorini, pc]

- | | |
|------------------------|------------|
| - locational depiction | gestural |
| - description | linguistic |
| - indexing | contextual |

What goes in G

some options

1. overt locational gesture → (pointing)
2. overt description (relative clause)
3. covert pointer (index? situation?)

*three strategies found as referent arguments of degree heads, equatives

- (16) a. I have the same book.
b. I have the same book that you have. [Hanink 2018]
c. ([I have the same book]→)
- (17) a. My book is longer.
b. My book is longer than yours is. [Alrenga et al. 2012]
c. ([My book is longer]→)

Implementing G(x)

previous work: linkers unranked

- G(x) added to restriction of ι
- Deixis subsumed under anaphora
 - common assumption in formal semantics:
'The traditional taxonomy 'anaphoric' vs 'deictic'... seems to be more relevant to the theory of language use (processing) than to the theory of grammar.'

'All deictic pronouns and also many anaphoric ones are interpreted by the same general strategy.'

[Heim and Kratzer 1998:242]

- Nowak 2019: index is anaphoric or deictic
- Wolter 2006: restricted situation derives deictic and anaphoric contexts
- Roberts 2002: anaphoric is 'pointing' to discourse referents

Ranking of linkers

Ahn 2019, 2022

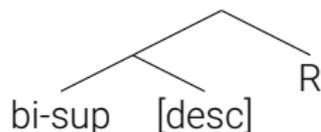
Linkers should be ranked: → outranks RC and *i*

- → is the primary linker
- primary role of demonstratives: modality linker
 - pre-linguistic infants start pointing
 - associated with demonstratives very early in acquisition

Unique Modality Hypothesis (Ahn 2022): Semantic composition across modalities banned without a lexical linker

$\iota x. F(x) \wedge G(x)$

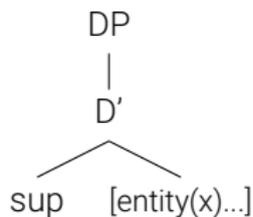
→



Binary supremum operator

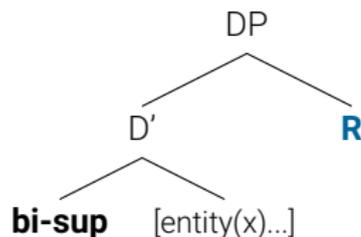
Demonstrative as a lexical linker

(18) $\llbracket \text{bi-sup} \rrbracket = \lambda P. \lambda R. \iota x: \forall y [P(y) \wedge R(y) \leftrightarrow y \sqsubseteq x]$



definite

'the maximal entity
that is [restriction]



demonstrative

'the maximal entity
that is [restriction]
and **also R**

Acquisition

ASL

Stage 1: 🖐️ ⇒ IX

- Deixis integrated to language as an IX

Stage 2: Exophoric IX ⇒ Anaphoric IX

- Abstract pointing occurs in Stage 3, 4 (45mo. - 51mo.) [Hoffmeister 1978]

Acquisition

Acquisition of anaphoric *that*: → as primary

- Children learn demonstratives very early, but do not distinguish between proximal and distal easily [Clark and Sengul 1978; Diessel and Monakhov 2022]
- English-learning children do not acquire anaphoric use of *that* until 4-5y.o [Ahn and Arunachalam 2019]

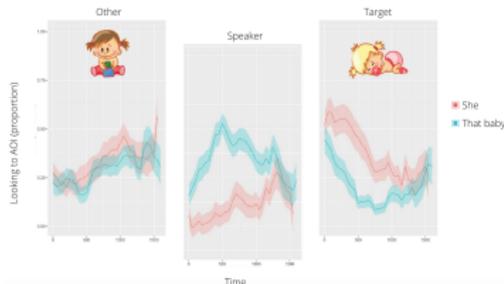
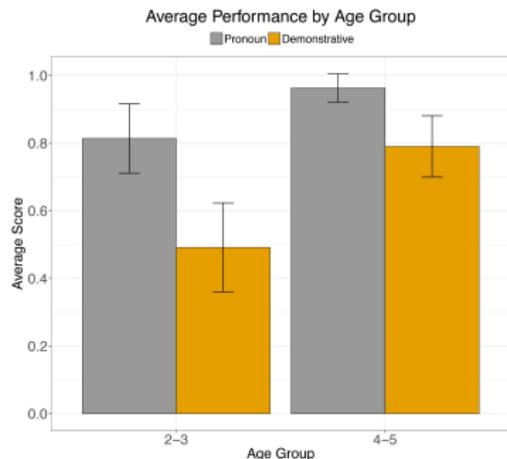


One baby is my friend. {She/That baby} is sleeping.
Which baby is my friend?

Nature of R

Developmental data: → as primary

- English-learning children do not acquire anaphoric use of *that* until 4-5y.o [Ahn and Arunachalam 2019]
- Eyegaze data suggest that they are looking for an overt demonstration upon hearing *that baby*



One baby is my friend. {She/That baby} is sleeping. Which baby is my friend?

Motivating binary structure

Demonstratives are unique in allowing deixis and gesture to compose with the rest of the linguistic content

Deictic uses

- (19) a. That  is broken.
b. [That kettle]   is empty.

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Deictic uses

- (19) a. That  is broken.
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[Q] But pointing occurs everywhere!

- Demonstratives are unique in allowing at-issue, restrictive, and property-like meaning of pointing
- To see this, we need to compare how different expressions interact with co-speech pointing

👉 in speech

Flexible in the range of inference, highly context-dependent

(20) The ice machine is broken → {☕, 🧊} .

-Context 1: ☕ hot coffee
(hence everyone with their hot coffee)

-Context 2: 🧊 iced coffee
(so how do you have an iced coffee?)

exemplification

confusion

in speech

Flexible in the range of inference, highly context-dependent

(20) The ice machine is broken   .

-Context 1:  hot coffee
(hence everyone with their hot coffee)

-Context 2:  iced coffee
(so how do you have an iced coffee?)

exemplification

confusion

Contributes propositional-level meaning to the entire clause

(21) A: What's happening today?

B: → 

(22) A: No one brought their guitar today.

B: Actually, → 

☞ in speech with a demonstrative

No longer flexible in meaning: only has an identifying function

- (23) a. [The ice machine] →  is broken.
b. ?[That ice machine] →  is broken.

explanation

explanation

in speech with a demonstrative

No longer flexible in meaning: only has an identifying function

- (23) a. [The ice machine]_{→} is broken.
b. ?[That ice machine]_{→} is broken.

explanation

explanation

No longer clausal: noun-internal modification

- (24) a. [The ice machine]_{→A} is broken.
(i) →A: The relevant ice machine is at A
(ii) →A: So everyone has hot coffee.
b. [That ice machine]_{→A} is broken.
(i) →A: located at A

A: flexible

Role of demonstratives

1. Make deictic information **restrictive**

[Ebert et al. 2020; Roberts 2002]

- (25) a. I like that_{→A} but not that_{→B}.
b. [That computer]_{→A} is new, but [that computer]_{→B} is old.
- (26) a. #I like it_{→A} but not it_{→B}.
b. #[The computer]_{→A} is new, but [the computer]_{→B} is old.

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2. Makes deictic information **property-like**

[Ahn 2019, 2020]

- (27) a. [The ice machine]_{→A} is broken.
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hence..
in that location

Role of demonstratives

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[Ahn 2019, 2020]

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hence..
in that location

3. **Must** compose w/ \rightarrow restrictively when it is present

[Ahn and Davidson 2018]

- (28) a. I bought [an apple] $_i$. It $_{\rightarrow i}$ was on sale.
b. I bought [an apple] $_i$. [The apple] $_{\rightarrow i}$ was on sale.
c. I bought [an apple] $_i$. [That apple] $_{\rightarrow *i}$ was on sale.

Binary structure: summary

co-speech pointing (with other expressions)

- supplementary, not-at-issue
- propositional
- relies on context for exact meaning contribution

pointing with demonstratives

- at-issue
- restrictive, property-denoting (inside DP)
- always ends up referential

Demonstratives allow noun-internal composition with pointing

→ implemented in a binary structure (with UMH)



Reference:



[description]

Reference requires two kinds of information: description and linker

→	RC	i	∅
direct	linguistic	contextual	n/a

What is the semantic contribution of \rightarrow ?

- **a locational property**

$\llbracket \rightarrow_A \rrbracket = \lambda x. x \text{ is at } A$

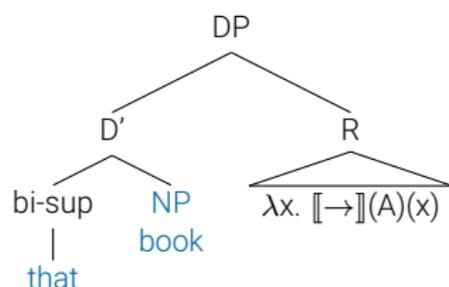
- $\llbracket \rightarrow \rrbracket = \lambda a. \lambda x. x \text{ is at } a$

- Why location and not individual?

- many assume that deixis is just returning an individual index (Heim and Kratzer 1998) or a situation variable (Grosz 2019; Wolter 2006)
- demonstratives across languages (distance- or person-oriented) mark distinctions that are locationally determined (Diessel 1999)
[\pm proximal], [\pm near speaker, \pm near addressee]

Deictic use

$\llbracket \text{that book}_{\rightarrow A} \rrbracket =$



$\text{bi-sup } [\lambda x. \text{entity}(x) \wedge \llbracket \text{book} \rrbracket (x)] [\lambda x. \llbracket \rightarrow \rrbracket (A)(x)]$

'the maximal entity x that is a book and at A '

Accounting for deictic demonstratives

1. rigid reference: location is fixed at speech context:

(29) a. $[[\rightarrow]] = \lambda a. \lambda x. x \text{ is at } a \text{ at } w_0$

b. $[[\rightarrow A]] = \lambda x. x \text{ is at } A \text{ at } w_0$

(30) It is possible that if I meet a singer in Korea, I will talk to [that singer $_{\rightarrow A}$].

a. $\exists w' \in W [R_{\text{epi}}(w)(w') \wedge \text{talk}_w([\text{bi-sup}(\lambda x. \text{singer}(x))(\lambda x. x \text{ is at } a \text{ in } w_0)], sp)]$

2. bleeds anaphoric reading: R is already occupied with the deictic linker \rightarrow

(31) a. I bought [an apple] $_i$. It $_{\rightarrow i}$ was on sale.

b. I bought [an apple] $_i$. [The apple] $_{\rightarrow i}$ was on sale.

c. I bought [an apple] $_i$. [That apple] $_{\rightarrow *i}$ was on sale.

→ **extended**

Reference:



[description]

Reference requires two kinds of information: description and [linker](#)

→	RC	i	∅
direct	linguistic	contextual	n/a

Linker: RC

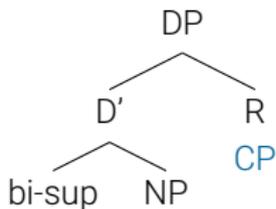
If there is no overt pointing, the linker can be provided linguistically:

Extended Linker 1: Relative Clause

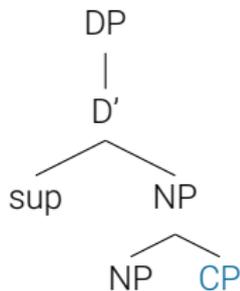
(32) That hominid who discovered how to start fires was a genius. [NDNS;King 2001]

(33) [THAT hero] [who KILLS the dragon] [will INHERIT half the kingdom] [Wolter 2003]

How do we know RC is in R, and not in NP?



[binary]



[unary]

Linker: RC

If there is no overt pointing, the linker can be provided linguistically:

Extended Linker 1: Relative Clause

(34) That hominid who discovered how to start fires was a genius. [NDNS;King 2001]

(35) [THAT hero] [who KILLS the dragon] [will INHERIT half the kingdom] [Wolter 2003]

Linker RC is in R, not inside NP

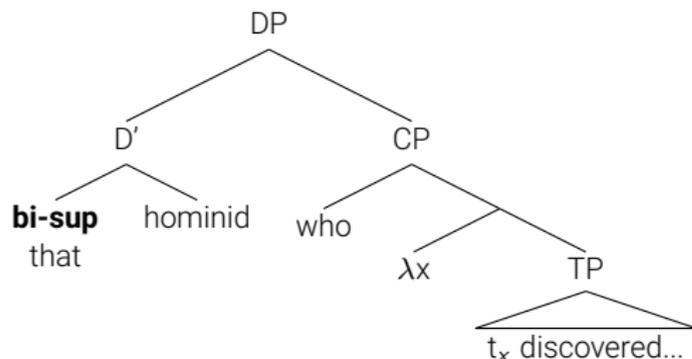
1. Wolter 2003: separate intonation phrase
2. Nowak 2019: separate syntactic projection outside NP
3. Kim 2018: *nice dress* constructions

(36) That's a beautiful dress you're wearing. [Kim 2018:(1)]

- a. DEM and RC form a constituent

R filled with a CP

[[that hominid who...]] =



can account for:

(37) That hominid who discovered how to start fires was a genius. [King 2001]

(38) [THAT hero] [who KILLS the dragon] [will INHERIT half the kingdom] [Wolter 2003]

→ **extended**

Reference:



[description]

Reference requires two kinds of information: description and [linker](#)

→	RC	i	∅
direct	linguistic	contextual	n/a

Linker: Anaphoric

Without any overt material, the linker can be provided by context:

Extended Linker 2: Anaphoric

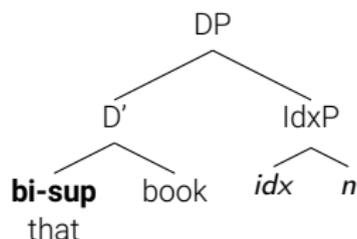
- called:
 - saliency [Roberts 2002; Wolter 2003]
 - anaphoric [Elbourne 2008; King 2001; Nowak 2019]
 - familiarity [Roberts 2002]
- implemented in different ways:
 - 'pointing' to discourse referents (Roberts 2002)
 - restricted situation (Wolter 2006)
 - index (Nowak 2019)

R filled with an anaphoric index

Ahn 2019

implemented with an index, but can very well be a situational variable

$\llbracket [\text{that book}]_7 \rrbracket =$



$\text{bi-sup}(\lambda x.\text{book}(x))([\lambda n.\lambda x.x = g(n)](7)(x))$

'the maximal book entity that is identical to $g(7)$ '

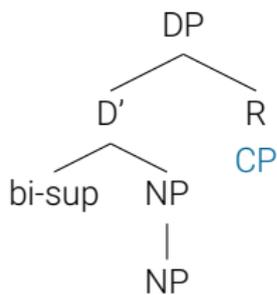
can account for:

(39) I met a linguist. That linguist looked happy. [anaphoric]

(40) Every time I found a book about Berlin I bought that book. [VB]

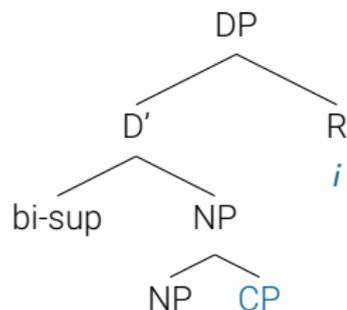
Accounting for QI readings

Recall the two options we have for RC: inside NP or R



*THAT hero who KILLS the dragon will
INHERIT half the kingdom*

explicit, NDNS



*Every professor cherishes that first
publication of theirs*

QI, anaphoric

Proximal demonstratives

→	direct		
RC	linguistic	DEM that NP	this NP
i	contextual		
∅	n/a		

Proximal demonstratives

Focus of previous works: complex demonstratives

that NP

- proximal demonstratives assumed to work like the distal counterpart [Roberts 2002] differ only in locational feature [\pm proximal]

But, important differences

- proximal demonstratives resist the explicit use

(41) ?This hero who kills the dragon will inherit half the kingdom

- proximal demonstratives allow 'exceptional uses'
 - bridging
 - emotive
 - presentational

Proximal demonstratives

'exceptional' uses of demonstratives:

bridging

(42) My friend won a huge lottery. With **this money**, he bought a house.

emotive

- (43) a. **This uncle of yours** is really something!
b. **This Henry Kissinger** is really something!

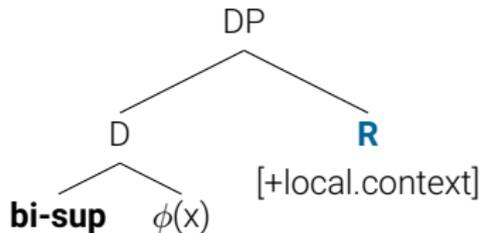
[Lakoff 1974]

presentational

(44) I went to a concert, and **this person behind me** kept kicking the seat.

Deictic *this*

Deictic *this*: [+local] can fill R without overt →



Implications

- *that* without pointing is anaphoric
- *this* without pointing is readily deictic
 - anaphoric and explicit uses degraded with *this*
 - derived if there is covert deictic linker in *R*, blocking other linkers

Deriving exceptions from deixis

Bridging with *this*

(45) My friend won a huge lottery. With **this money**, he bought a house.

- Apothéloz and Reichler-Béguelin 1999: extension of a deictic use
- compatible if there is covert →
- can be extended to emotive/presentational uses [Potts and Schwarz 2010]

Korean

- deictic demonstratives: *i* (proximal), *ce* (distal)

(46) kongyen-ey ka-ssnun-tey {i/#ce} micin salam-i...
concert-dat go-past-conn i/#ce crazy person-nom...
'I went to a concert and this crazy person...'

(47) {i/#ce}-len micin salam-i iss-na!
i/#ce-mod crazy person-nom exist-q
'What a crazy person!'

Deriving exceptions from familiarity

Affective readings with *that* involves familiarity

(48) How's that toe?

[Lakoff 1974]

(49) That first sip feeling

(50) I went to a concert, and that ticket was expensive!

- anaphoric, familiar context
- loses its affective use if → is added

Korean

- anaphoric demonstrative *ku* used

(51) {ku/ce/i} palkalak ettey?
ku/ce/i toe how
'How is that toe?'

Losing the linker

→	direct] DEM
RC	linguistic	
i	contextual	
∅	n/a] DEF

Losing the linker altogether

Reference:



[description]

Reference requires two kinds of information: description and [linker](#)

→	RC	i	∅
direct	linguistic	contextual	n/a

Contextually saturating R

Sometimes, the entity is so salient that the linker is not necessary and can be filled with context:

Entity is sufficiently salient

R is not necessary

regular domain restriction would do

(domain restriction of quantifiers)

(52) Everyone _{D} attended the party.

- *the* in English
- bare nouns in bare argument languages

Open question

Situation binding vs. index-based binding

English *the* allows anaphoric readings [Schwarz 2009]

- boundary between index-based binding and situation-based binding is hard to tease apart [Schlenker 2011]
 - [Šimík 2018]: subsuming anaphora under accidental uniqueness unique in discourse situation, not others
 - [Wolter 2006]: demonstrative unique in non-default situation, which ends up being anaphoric
- unary: situation-based
- binary: real indices present
- [Q] Is this distinction necessary?
- [Q] Is *the* in some intermediate stage? **Possible!**

DEM to DEF

R is not easily lost

Definites across languages develop from demonstratives

[Himmelmann 1996; Lyons 1999; Simonenko 2014, a.o.]

- A gradient spectrum
- Languages might be in different stages

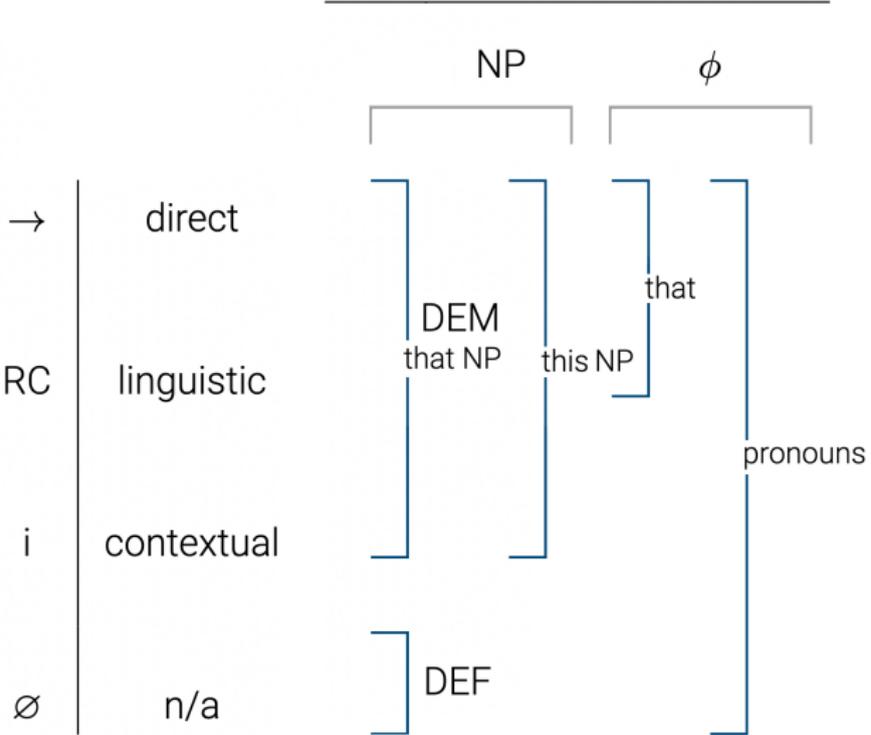
Different kinds of definites

- unique the_W vs anaphoric the_S [Schwarz 2009]

[Simonenko 2022]

- the_S: intermediate stage between demonstratives and definites proper
- 'an element which has retained [+dem] but lost the deictic feature (proximal, distal)' (slide 5)

Pronominal demonstratives



Pronominal demonstratives

Adding pronominal elements

Pronominal *that* and pronouns

that, this, he, she, they, it

- deictic reading
- anaphoric reading
- RC

but differ in productivity and distribution

→ the same analysis applies to pronominal elements

→ natural way to extend to pronouns: **D-2!**

pronoun vs. description

Pronouns as descriptions

- D-Type theories

[Elbourne 2005; Evans 1980; Heim 1990; Neale 1988]

(53) $[[\textit{she}]] = [[\textit{the NP}]] = \iota x. [[\textit{NP}]](x)$

[Elbourne 2005]

pronoun vs. description

Pronouns as descriptions

- D-Type theories
[Elbourne 2005; Evans 1980; Heim 1990; Neale 1988]

$$(53) \quad \llbracket \text{she} \rrbracket = \llbracket \text{the NP} \rrbracket = \iota x. \llbracket \text{NP} \rrbracket (x) \quad \text{[Elbourne 2005]}$$

Ahn 2019: D-2

A pronoun only carries semantic ϕ -features as restrictions

$$(54) \quad \llbracket \text{the linguist} \rrbracket = \sup [\phi(x) \wedge \llbracket \text{linguist} \rrbracket (x)] \quad \text{the maximal linguist entity}$$

$$(55) \quad \llbracket \text{she} \rrbracket = \sup [\phi(x)] \quad \text{the maximal [+fem,+sg] entity}$$

- Semantic ϕ -features treated as $\langle e,t \rangle$ modifiers (also in Esipova 2018)
- [Postal 1966] Pronouns as descriptions that carry features like [+masc,+3rd,+refl] instead of NPs in deep structure

pro vs. pronoun vs. description

Definite expressions do differ in their restrictions, and only in their restrictions.

[[pro]] = sup [λx . entity(x)]

[[she]] = sup [λx . entity(x) \wedge $\phi(x)$]

[[the woman]] = sup [λx . entity(x) \wedge $\phi(x)$ \wedge woman(x)]

Different from:

- general assumptions [Heim and Kratzer 1998]

[[she]] = x_n

[[the woman]] = ιx . woman(x)

- D-type theories

[[she]] = [[the woman]] = ιx . woman(x)

[[the woman]] = ιx . woman(x)

a $2 \times n$ contrast in definite expressions

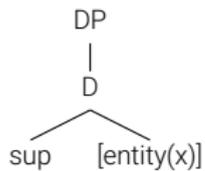
2×n contrast

entity(x)

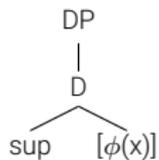
$\phi(x)$

$[[NP]](x)$

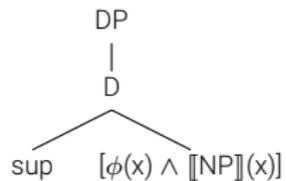
[unary]



pro



it



the book

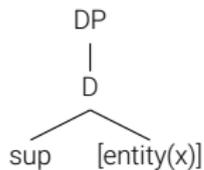
2×n contrast

entity(x)

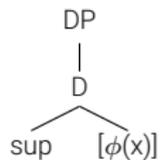
$\phi(x)$

$\llbracket \text{NP} \rrbracket(x)$

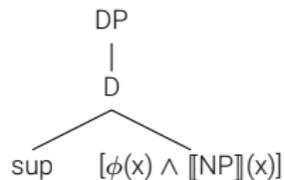
[unary]



pro

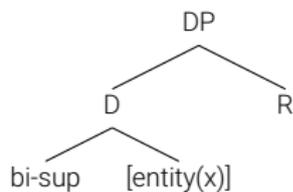


it

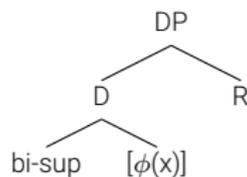


the book

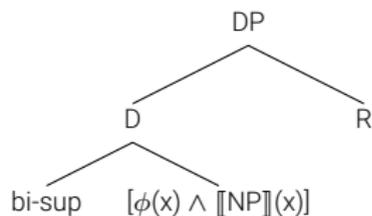
[binary]



pro



that



that book

Pronominal demonstratives

→

that, those, he, she all allow deixis → **binary structure**

(56) She_{→B} looks happy, but she_{→B} doesn't.

it, they less good with inanimates: competition with *that, those*?

(57) They_{→A} are new, but they_{→B} are not.

(58) {That / ?He}_→ is my brother.

[Florian Schwarz, pc]

- Pronouns and demonstratives share the binary structure and divide up [±animate] referents

Pronominal demonstratives

RC

generic reading with pronominal demonstratives

(59) those who read / that which rolls

[Elbourne 2013]

- no NP, so CP is always in R

- no anaphoric uses

[Roberts 2002]

(60) I bought a car. {That car / That} was expensive.

uniform treatment of Voldemort sentences (Elbourne 2013)

(61) He who reads never fails

a. the maximal [-fem] entity that reads

it, they as unary definites

it and *they*: analyzed as unary definites with ϕ description

- resists deixis
- resists RC

- (62) a. *it which rolls
b. those who read / ?they who read

- bridging with *they*:

(63) I went to a cafe. **They** were playing this song I really like.

- Grosz 2018: German *die* allows bridging uses
analyzed as a hidden definite description: '*the relevant individual*'

Summary - Demonstratives vs. Definites

1. Demonstratives involve a description and a linker
2. Definites involve just the description
3. Description doesn't always require an NP (can be just $\phi(x)$, etc.)

Consequences

- distinction between pronouns and definites: [restrictions](#)
- distinction between definites and demonstratives: unary vs. binary

	pronominal	adnominal
unary	$\text{sup}[\phi(x)]$	$\text{sup}[\phi(x) \wedge \llbracket \text{NP} \rrbracket(x)]$
binary	$\text{bi-sup}[\phi(x)](R(x))$	$\text{bi-sup}[\phi(x) \wedge \llbracket \text{NP} \rrbracket(x)](R(x))$

Conclusion

Summary

1. Demonstratives as description + linker

- linker is primarily →
- different linkers derive different uses
- proximal demonstrative is inherently deictic

2. Definites as Demonstratives - Linker

- evidence from diachrony and acquisition

3. Pronouns as definites with less description

- ϕ features rather than full NPs
- allows for a unified account of pronominal demonstratives and demonstrative-like uses of pronouns

Definites as special demonstratives

Often, demonstratives analyzed as special definites:

[[DEM]] = [[DEF]] + demonstration [Roberts 2002]
at-issue gesture [Ebert et al. 2020]
non-default situation [Wolter 2006]
binding restrictions [Hinterwimmer 2015, 2018]
anti-uniqueness [Dayal and Jiang 2020]
additional restriction [Elbourne 2005; King 2001]

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This talk: Definites are special demonstratives

[[DEF]] = [[DEM]] – linker

Compatible with cross-linguistic picture

Demonstratives

- assumed to be universal [Diessel 1999; Dixon 2003; Himmelmann 1996; Levinson 2018]
- one of the earliest words acquired in language development [Clark 1978; Tanz 1980]

Definites

- Not many languages have definite articles separate from demonstratives [Dryer 2013: WALS]
- Demonstratives analyzed as strong definites across languages [Schwarz 2013]
- Demonstratives lose deictic nature and become more 'definite-like' [Simonenko 2014]

Pronouns

- Demonstratives used as 3rd-person pronouns (Korean, Japanese, Turkish, Hindi, ..)
- Compatible with analyzing personal pronouns as pronominal definites

Markedness

Categorical restrictions

- demonstratives presuppose anti-uniqueness, proper restriction [Dayal and Jiang 2020; Nowak 2019]
- demonstratives evaluated in restricted situation [Wolter 2006]

Gradient data

- bridging possible in English, Mandarin [Ziling Zhu]
- can occur in unique contexts

→ call for pragmatic competition Brevity, *Minimize Restrictors!* [Schlenker 2005]

- less in the semantics, more in pragmatic economy principles
- uniform account of [DEM vs. DEF], [overt vs. null pro], [pronoun vs. noun]



Thank you!

**That talk which calls for coffee is a
good talk!**

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BRANEN

[Ziling Zhu, in prep]

	product-producer	part-whole
DEF	The film premiered yesterday. We ran into the director afterwards.	I bought the car last year. I always forget to check the brake.
DEM	The film premiered yesterday. We ran into that director afterwards.	I bought the car last year. I always forget to check that brake.

BRANEN

[Ziling Zhu, in prep]

part-whole	I bought the car last year. I always forget to check the brake.
	Yesterday I saw the house. The roof was decayed.
	The bike is in the backyard. I'm planning to clean the seat.
	The laptop had a short-circuit. The screen went off immediately.
	I raised the horse in the backyard. I always like to pat the forehead.
	I just saw the dog. The nose was shining.
	The shark came up to the surface. I noticed the mouth immediately.
	The cat was sleeping on the blanket in the afternoon. The tail kept moving.
relational	Today I tried to open the lock. But I couldn't find the key.
	I forgot the account name, but the password is my mom's birthday.
	The TV is too loud. But I couldn't find the remote anywhere.
	The phone is running out of battery, but the charger happens to be broken.
	Yesterday I bought the book. I really want to meet the author.
	A drunk homeless man ruined the painting. The painter was very sad.
	The film premiered yesterday. We ran into the director afterwards.
The presentation was awesome. The speaker had prepared very well.	

BRANEN

[Ziling Zhu, in prep]

