A comparison of anaphoric complex demonstratives and demonstrative pronouns

Stefan Hinterwimmer & Umesh Patil
University of Cologne
stefan.hinterwimmer@uni-koeln.de, upatil@uni-koeln.de

In this paper we first report the results of an acceptability study which supports the claims made in Hinterwimmer (to appear), according to which complex demonstratives are not equivalent to definite descriptions on their non-deictic uses (pace King (2001) and Elbourne (2008)). Rather, complex demonstratives not only on their deictic, but also on their anaphoric or bound uses involve (potentially abstract) demonstrations (Bühler 1934; Roberts 2002). Crucially, those demonstrations may not have overlapping trajectories, which is unavoidable in the case of two (or more) abstract demonstrations in one-dimensional discourse space being linked to a DP in a preceding sentence. Consequently, the continuation of (1) in (1d) was judged reliably worse than the continuations in (1a-c). In the second part, we compare anaphoric complex demonstratives and German demonstrative pronouns. We argue that only demonstrative pronouns of the dieser/diese/dieses paradigm are ‘real’ demonstratives in the sense of being associated with (potentially abstract) demonstrations, while demonstrative pronouns of the der/die/das paradigm are simply marked pronouns that as such avoid maximally prominent antecedents.

(1)  Im Zoo hat gestern ein Schimpanse einen Zoowärter angespuckt.
     ‘In the zoo, a chimpanzee spit at a zoo keeper yesterday.’
     a. Dann hat der Schimpanse den Wärter auch noch angegriffen.
        ‘Then the chimpanzee also attacked the zoo keeper.’
     b. Dann hat der Schimpanse diesen Wärter auch noch angegriffen.
        ‘Then the chimpanzee also attacked that zoo keeper.’
     c. Dann hat dieser Schimpanse den Wärter auch noch angegriffen.
        ‘Then that chimpanzee also attacked the zoo keeper.’
     d. ??Dann hat dieser Schimpanse diesen Zoowärter auch noch angegriffen.
        ‘Then that chimpanzee also attacked that zoo keeper.’