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DEMONSTRATIVES AND PERSONAL PRONOUNS

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ABSTRACT

While the mutual exclusivity of personal pronouns and demonstratives observed in many languages suggests that they form a natural class, this paper surveys data from several languages where this distributional test does not hold. In line with previous research indicating that personal pronouns are not crosslinguistically uniform, this suggests that the same holds for their relation to demonstratives.

1 INTRODUCTION

Blake (2001: 416) expresses a common intuition about the relationship of personal pronouns and demonstratives when he remarks:

> Demonstratives can co-occur with nouns but not with the traditional pronouns, not only in Pitta-Pitta [a Pama-Nyungan language; GFKH] but in most other languages, I would imagine. If we take demonstratives to be in the same class as the traditional pronouns even when in determiner function, this distribution makes sense.

Two main ideas can be extracted from that quote as summarised in (1).

(1) a. Personal pronouns and demonstratives are (almost) universally in complementary distribution.

b. Complementary distribution of these items suggests that they are members of the same class/category.

This paper illustrates counterexamples to (1a) from several languages in the form of co-occurrences of personal pronouns and demonstratives, from here on *personal pronoun-demonstrative constructions* (PPDCs). This leaves the argument in (1b) intact for languages without PPDCs, but illustrates

that there is cross-linguistic variation in the relation of personal pronouns and demonstratives.

The paper is structured as follows. The next section will present empirical data supporting Blake's observation from adnominal pronoun constructions (APCs) and the phenomenon of unagreement (Hurtado 1985, Ackema & Neeleman 2013, Choi 2014b, Höhn to appear). Section 3 discusses PPDC data from several languages. Some of the data raise questions concerning the relationship between person features and certain demonstrative features. In section 4, the data from Warlpiri 'unagreement' and definite articles in Pomak and Basque are discussed which also involve a relationship between demonstrative and person features in slightly different domains. The paper concludes in section 5.

2 Complementary distribution

In this section, which draws heavily on Höhn (to appear), I present some arguments supporting Blake's claim about the relationship between personal pronouns and demonstratives based on well known English facts as well as Greek and Spanish data.

The distributional facts in (2) illustrate Blake's argument from above for English, Standard Modern Greek and Spanish. While all these languages allow adnominal uses of demonstratives and of personal pronouns (in adnominal pronoun constructions, henceforth APCs), the two categories cannot simultaneously appear adnominally. This supports Blake's suggestion that in these cases "demonstratives [are] in the same class as the traditional pronouns even when in determiner function". Notice that this is independent of the fact that Greek and Spanish APCs require the use of an overt definite article in APCs, while English does not.[1]

(2) a. (*these) we (*these) linguists

b. *Standard Modern Greek*

(*aftoi) emeis (*aftoi) oi glossologoi (*aftoi)
DEM.NOM.PL we the linguists

'we linguists'

c. *Spanish*

1 In addition to the Leipzig glossing rules, the following glosses are used: INC - inceptive, LDA - locative-directional-ablative, N-FUT - non-future, N-PRS - non-present, PERS- personal article, PROF - pro-form (for oblique pro-form in Vaeakau-Taumaku), PRT - particle, SPEC - specific, REMDEM - remote demonstrative, TAM - tense-aspect-mood marker, TRN - transitivising suffix. Numbers 1-3 following a DEM or DET gloss indicate the corresponding deictic degree.

(*esos) nosotros (*esos) los lingüistas (*esos)
DEM.PL we the linguists

'we linguists'

Furthermore, as observed by Sommerstein (1972) when reporting an utterance of (3a), after an example by Postal (1969), one has to replace the adnominal pronoun *YOU* by a demonstrative rather than the definite article as in (3b). Based on data of this sort, Rauh (2003) concludes that adnominal pronouns in English or German can behave as demonstratives, effectively assigning them to the same distributional class.

(3) a. YOU troops will embark but the other troops will remain.

b. He said that (those/*the) troops would embark but the other troops would remain.

A further argument for treating personal pronouns and demonstratives as members of the same class in languages like Spanish and Greek is made independently by Choi (2014a) and Höhn (to appear) based on the unagreement phenomenon. This term describes the possibility of non-third person agreement with definite plural subjects in several but not all consistent null subject languages. In other words, definite plural subjects in these languages are compatible with any plural person marking on the verb, corresponding in meaning to English *we linguists*-type expressions. As illustrated in (4), this is attested in Standard Modern Greek and Spanish, but not in Standard Italian.

(4) a. *Standard Modern Greek*

Ta paidia paizoume/ paizete/ paizoun.
the children play.1PL/ play.2PL/ play.3PL

'We/you/the children are playing.'

b. *Spanish*

Los niños jugamos/ juagáis/ juegan.
the children play.1PL/ play.2PL/ play.3PL

'We/you/the children are playing.'

c. *Standard Italian*

I bambini *giochiamo/ *giocate/ giocano.
the children play.1PL/ play.2PL/ play.3PL

'*We/*you/the children are playing.'

In languages with unagreement, this possibility is blocked if the subject phrase contains a demonstrative pronoun. In that case, verbal agreement is

restricted to third person, see (5a). Importantly, adnominal personal pronouns have the same effect. In (5b) with the adnominal first person plural pronoun *emeis* 'we', verbal agreement is restricted to first person plural. These observations can be repeated for Spanish, see (6). This further parallel in the behaviour of personal pronouns and demonstratives is consistent with the idea that they belong to the same category.

(5) *Standard Modern Greek*

a. Afta ta paidia *paizoume/ *paizete/ paizoun.
DEM.PL the children play.1PL/ play.2PL/ play.3PL
'*We/*you/these children are playing.'

b. Emeis ta paidia paizoume/ *paizete/ *paizoun.
we the children play.1PL/ play.2PL/ play.3PL
'We/*you/*the children are playing.'

(6) *Spanish*

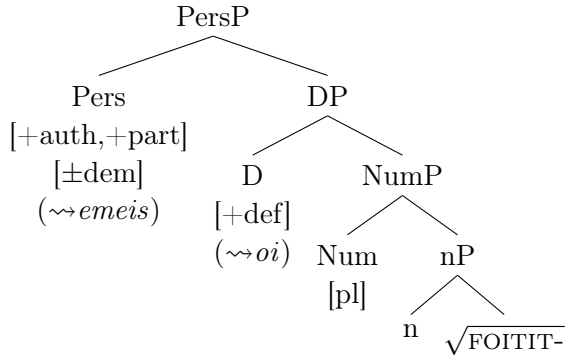
a. Esos niños *jugamos/ *jugáis/ juegan.
DEM.PL children play.1PL/ play.2PL/ play.3PL
'*We/*you/these children are playing.'

b. Nosotros los niños jugamos/ *jugáis/ *juegan.
we the children play.1PL/ play.2PL/ play.3PL
'We/*you/*the children are playing.'

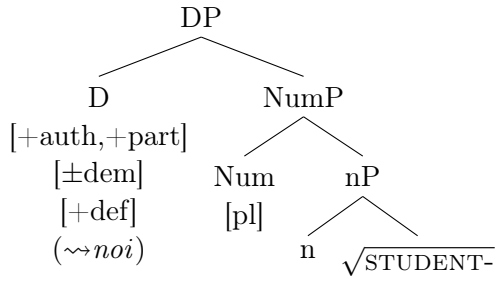
Based on the requirement for a definite article in APCs, Höhn (to appear) proposes that person features are encoded separately from D in languages with unagreement, see (7a). On the other hand, languages without unagreement have pronominal determiners (Postal 1969, Abney 1987, Rauh 2003, Roehrs 2005) with definiteness and person encoded on the same head D, as illustrated in (7b). In both cases, a [±demonstrative] feature is involved in determining whether an overt pronoun is spelled out, which can lead to unagreement in the case of (7a).[2]

2 See Choi (2014b) for an alternative account.

(7) a. Greek *emeis oi foitites* 'we students'



b. Italian *noi studenti*



The fact that demonstrative and person features are located on the same head captures the similar behaviour of personal pronouns and demonstrative observed above. Yet insofar as the coincidence of those features is accidental, this approach does not derive the universality claimed for this pattern in (1a). However, the next section will provide several examples of languages where personal pronouns and demonstrative are not in complementary distribution, suggesting that personal pronouns and demonstratives do not universally form one class.

3 Personal pronoun-demonstrative constructions (PPDCs)

The mutual exclusivity of personal pronouns and demonstratives observed above is not universal. In this section, I present examples of PPDCs from Japanese, Korean and some Pama-Nyungan and Austronesian languages, and discuss their significance for investigating the relation between personal pronouns and demonstratives from a cross-linguistic perspective.

3.1 Nominal 'pronouns' in Japanese and Korean

Japanese allows for 'personal pronouns' to be preceded by demonstratives as illustrated in (8).[3]

(8) *Japanese*

a. kono kare
DEM.1 he
'this he' (Noguchi 1997: 777)

b. sono ano-hito
DEM.2 he
'that he' (Coulmas 1982: 214)

c. ano kanozyo
DEM.3 she
'that she' (Noguchi 1997: 777)

A similar point is made by Sohn (1994: 281) for Korean, for example *i na* 'this I/me'. Pronouns in these languages have been claimed to behave as nouns also with respect to the possibility of modification by adjectives or possessives (Kuroda 1965: 105, Noguchi 1997, Déchaine & Wiltschko 2002 for Japanese and Sohn 1994 for Korean). Analysing 'pronouns' as nouns in these languages goes some way in accounting for the fact why demonstratives, marked as adnominal modifiers by the 'genitive' marker *-no*, can co-occur with them. The fact that the demonstrative precedes the 'pronominal' also fits well with this story, since noun phrases in both languages are generally noun-final.

Questions for this kind of account, are raised at least for Japanese by data like (9), where a demonstrative can accompany personal pronouns even if they are used adnominally themselves. Pointing out differences between common nouns and pronouns in Japanese, Furuya (2008: 151) argues that the adnominal pronoun construction has different intonational properties from lexical compounds. This suggests that (9) does not simply involve a (complex) noun accompanied by a demonstrative.

(9) Sensei-wa [**sono** watasitati/anatatati gakusei]-o suisensimasita.
teacher-TOP DEM.2 us/you(PL) student-ACC recommended
'(Lit.) *The teacher recommended those us/you students.'
(adapted from Furuya 2008: 153, (13))

3 Note that *ano-hito* is also itself analysable as a demonstrative-noun combination, i.e. 'that person', although Coulmas (1982: 214) suggests "that this usage [with the preceding, additional demonstrative] indicates that *ano-hito* functions as a pronominal unit".

It should be noted, however, that the grammaticality of these sorts of constructions is not uncontested. David Hall (p.c.) tells me that his consultant did not accept the example in (9) or variations thereof, suggesting that at least in some speakers' grammars the noun-like behaviour of personal pronouns may play a crucial role in accounting for the PPDCs after all. Moreover, this type of construction is not available in Korean (Jaehoon Choi, p.c.).

Regardless of the status and proper analysis of these constructions, the above PPDC data represent a notable exception to the universal claim in (1a).

3.2 Pama-Nyungan

Further cases of PPDCs can be found in several Pama-Nyungan languages.[4] One such case from Kayardild is presented in (10).[5]

(10) *Kayardild* (Evans 1995: 251, (6-37))

niya **dathin-a** **danka-a** kamarri-ja thalardin-d
3SG.NOM that-NOM man-NOM ask-IMP old man-NOM

'Ask him, that man, the old man!'

Another example for a PPDC from Kala Lagaw Ya, involving a personal pronoun followed by a remote demonstrative, is given in (11).

(11) *Saibai, Kala Lagaw Ya* (Stirling 2008: 193)

Thana **sethabi** **moegithap** **uruy-n** poyzen mabayg-aw
3PL.NOM 3PL.REMDEM tiny creature-ERG poison person-GEN
kulka-nu wan-an
blood-LOC put-N-FUT

'These tiny creatures put poison into a person's blood.'

Example (12) from Guugu Yimidhirr shows the same effect with a proximate demonstrative.

(12) *Guugu Yimidhirr* (Haviland 1979: 160)

Dhana **yinharrin** gunbu dumbiilmbi-ga wudhuurr-bi
3PL.NOM DEM.PROX.ABS.PL dance.ABS break.RED-PRF night-LOC

'These people would have a dance at night.'

4 For further discussion cf. Stirling & Baker (2007) and Louagie & Verstraete (2015).

5 There may be concerns as to whether these are cases of apposition. At least for adnominal pronoun constructions without demonstratives in Kayardild, like *niya jungarra dangkaa* [he big man] 'the big man' or *ngarra kunawalada* [we-dual children] 'we two children', Evans (1995: 239; emphasis added) argues that "the pronoun in a phrase like the above *is not just apposed* ('we, the children')."

Notice the case marking difference between the pronoun and the following constituent. This is likely due to the fact that both languages have split-ergative systems, where arguments high on the animacy scale follow an accusative system of argument marking, while lower ones follow an ergative system (see Haviland 1979 for Guugu Yimidhirr; see Round 2003 and McGregor 2009 for complications in the Kala Lagaw Ya system).

3.3 Austronesian

While the cases discussed so far only involved third person pronouns, in the following I will discuss cases of non-third person PPDCs from some Austronesian languages.[6]

Vaeakau-Taumaku distinguishes three demonstratives in a person oriented system (Anderson & Keenan 1985), using *ne* for a referent near the speaker, *na* for one near the addresse and *la* being used for referents distant from both speech act participants (Næss & Hovdhaugen 2011: 80). The examples below show first person exclusive, second person and third person pronouns being used with the 'first', 'second' and 'third person' demonstratives respectively. This illustrates a tendency observed by Næss & Hovdhaugen (2011: 126), namely that "the demonstrative chosen is typically that corresponding to the speech-act participant referred to by the pronoun".[7]

(13) *Vaeakau-Taumaku* (Næss & Hovdhaugen 2011: 125, (38))

a. **mhaua** **ne** te memea a maua ko
1DU.EXCL DEM.1 SG.SPEC child POSS 1DU.EXCL.POSS INC
lavaki
disappear

'As for the two of us [lit. these us two], our child has disappeared.'

b. a **koe** **na** no noho i hea
PERS 2SG DEM.2 IPFV stay LDA where

'Where were you sitting?'

6 Note that the absence of non-third person pronouns in construction with demonstratives in the examples discussed so far may be an artifact of the data available to me, and I remain agnostic as to their availability or not in those languages.

7 Notice, however, that *na* as the 'neutral' choice can also appear with third person and that "other concerns may override the default choice, i.e. emphasis on the (unexpected) location of the referent [...] or the contrastive function of *la*" (Næss & Hovdhaugen 2011: 126).

c. **lhaua la** ko ahio oki ai ki te kaenga
3DU DEM.3 INC return again OBL.PROF to SG.SPEC village
o laua
POSS 3DU.POSS
'The two of them then returned to their village.'

Tuvaluan, which has a very similar three term person-oriented demonstrative system, shows a similar co-dependence of the features of personal pronoun and demonstrative, see (14).

(14) *Tuvaluan* (Besnier 2000: 409)

a. Au **nei** koo fakatokatoka moo te fono a te paalamene.
I DEM.1 INC prepare BEN the meeting of the parliament
'I am getting ready for the parliamentary session.'

b. A ko koutou **naa** e outou iloaga i te mea
and FOC you-PL DEM.2 N-PST you-PL know+TRN COMP the thing
teenaa e tapu?
that N-PST forbidden
'You know it's forbidden to do what you['re doing]?'

However, as in Vaeakau-Taumaku, the feature co-variation is not deterministic. Besnier (2000: 409) notices that "combinations may occur in which first-person demonstratives modify second-person pronouns, for example, because the person of demonstratives can be governed by affective considerations."

In Maori, the construction is not very common, although possible in principle according to Bauer (1997). With respect to (15a) she reports that her consultant "was very doubtful about this but felt it might be possible, for instance, to resolve confusion over possible referents for *rāua*" (Bauer 1997: 263). On the other hand, constructions of this sort are textually attested, see the examples in (b) and (c). It is unclear at the moment whether the fact that the attested examples involve first and second person pronouns, while the third person PPDC was judged to be dubious is accidental or whether this distribution indicates an actual, stable asymmetry in Maori.

(15) *Maori* (Bauer 1997: 263f.)

a. ?Hoatu ki a **rāua rā**
give to PERS 3DU DEM.3
'Give [it] to them there'

b. Ā, ka tahi nei rānei te wahine ka rere ki tana tāne
and TAM? then DEM.1 or the woman TAM fly to her man
i pai ai, ko **au** **nei** anake?
TAM good PRT TOP 1SG DEM.1 alone

'Am I the only woman to have flown to the man she loved?'

c. Anō rā i ui·a atu ai, hua noa kei a **koe**
again DEM.3 TAM ask·PASS away part. think freely at PERS 2SG
nā e mau ana, ko·ia nā tō kupu hokohoko
DEM.2 TAM take TAM top.·3SG DEM.2 your word exchange

'I asked my question because I thought your words about exchange referred to what you had taken'

In addition to providing more examples of PPDCs, the Austronesian data reviewed here raise questions about the relationship between person features and the distinctions made by demonstratives in a given language, particularly if the demonstrative system is person-oriented. Section 4 will deal further with this issue.

3.4 Discussion

The PPDC data surveyed above show that a strong version of the claim in (1a) about the universality of the complementary distribution of personal pronouns and demonstratives does not hold. In addition to the examples from Korean, Japanese, several Pama-Nyungan and Austronesian languages, other instances of PPDCs can be found, e.g., in Hausa (Afroasiatic, Chadic; Jaggar 2001: 330f.) or the Papuan language Manambu (Sepik; Aikhenvald 2008: 198).[8]

Nevertheless, the point of (1b), that complementary distribution indicates a common class, is still valid. Insofar, the brief survey above suggests that there is cross-linguistic variation in the relationship between personal pronouns and demonstratives. In some languages, those banning PPDCs, they are strongly related, to the point of being members of the same class as discussed in section 2.

8 Even on an apposition analysis of the PPDCs presented above one would be faced with the question of why those languages allow such "appositions" so freely compared to, e.g., English or Greek, where appositive examples as in (16) are quite deviant outside of meta-linguistic contexts, such as pointing out a group one was a member of on a picture.

(i) a. #we, these students

b. #emeis, aftoi oi foitites [Greek]
we these the students

In others, the two form distinct distributional classes and can in principle co-occur. This conclusion is not too surprising in light of recent proposals that personal pronouns do not form a cross-linguistically homogeneous class (e.g. Cardinaletti & Starke 1999, Déchaine & Wiltschko 2002, Höhn to appear).

In this light, the fact that the structures in (7) in section 2 do not rule out the co-occurrence of personal pronouns and demonstratives on principled grounds seems justified. The observable variation can be captured in terms of the so-called Borer-Chomsky conjecture that languages differ in the feature make-up of functional categories (Borer 1984, Chomsky 1995 and much subsequent work) in combination with the constructivist approaches of Wiltschko (2014) or Biberauer (2014) to syntactic categories and features respectively. On the account outlined in section 2, in languages like Greek or English personal pronouns and demonstratives share some feature(s), prompting the learner to assume that they realise the same piece of structure. In the languages with PPDCs, this feature is not shared and the observable distribution lets learners posit two separate categories.

A potential candidate for the distinguishing feature is person. In the first type of languages, demonstratives are specified for (third) person and an additional personal pronoun is blocked. In languages with PPDCs, (certain) demonstratives may not be specified for person, either because the language does not grammaticalise person or because person is grammatically represented separately from demonstrative features.

The next section will provide further cases of potential interactions between person-oriented features in the nominal domain and verbal person marking.

4 The grammatical activity of person-oriented demonstratives

In section 3.3, we saw a tendency for certain person specifications to occur together with demonstratives of certain degree specifications in Austronesian languages, e.g. 1st person pronouns with speaker-proximal demonstratives. In the following, I will present data from Warlpiri, Pomak and Basque which display similar effects in slightly different configurations. While I will not argue for any particular analysis, I am going to point out some issues raised by these observations.

4.1 Warlpiri "unagreement"

Hale (1973) notes examples like (16) in Warlpiri (Pama-Nyungan), where the subject *ŋarka* 'man' co-occurs with a coreferent first person singular clitic.[9]

(16) ŋarka ka-ṇa puḷa-mi
man PRS-1SG shout-N-PST
'I man am shouting.' (Hale 1973: 317, (24a))

This is reminiscent of unagreement as described in section 2 for Modern Greek and Spanish, especially if, following Simpson (1991) and contra Jelinek (1984), Warlpiri pronominal clitics are treated as agreement markers.[10] According to Hale's (1973) analysis, "it is the determiner, rather than the nominal, which determines the person of a given noun phrase" (Hale 1973: 317) and in the "unagreement" cases those determiners have been deleted.

One difference between the Warlpiri construction and Greek-style unagreement seems particularly relevant in the current discussion of demonstratives. In contrast to Greek (5a) or Spanish (6a), Warlpiri allows noun phrases with demonstratives in its 'unagreement', as already noted by Hale (1973: fn. 12) and illustrated in the examples in (17) and (18) from Lyons (1999: 145; glossing modified). According to Lyons, Warlpiri has a mixed person-oriented and distance-oriented demonstrative system. The demonstratives found in unagreement contexts are the person-oriented ones. The speaker-proximate demonstrative can appear in first person unagreement as in (17), while the addressee-proximate one appears in second person contexts, see (18).

(17) a. Ngarka njampu ka purlami. (Lyons 1999: 145, (15))
man DEM.1 AUX shout
'This man (near me) is shouting.'

b. Ngarka njampu ka-rna purlami.
man DEM.1 AUX-1SG shout
'*I man am shouting.'

(18) a. Ngarka yalumpu ka purlami. (Lyons 1999: 145, (16))
man DEM.2 AUX shout
'That man (near you) is shouting.'

9 The glossing is slightly modified. The orthography is that of the original example, hence the slight differences to Lyons's (1999) examples below.

10 In contrast to typical cases of unagreement, the Warlpiri examples are singular.

b. Ngarka yalumpu ka-npa purlami.
man DEM.2 AUX-2SG shout
'*You man are shouting.'

The first thing to notice is that this resembles the phenomenon observed for the Austronesian languages above insofar as there is a correspondence between the person features of the clitic pronoun and the type of demonstrative. Furthermore, for Hale's (1973) analysis this raises the question of which element controls agreement. I will briefly sketch two potential analyses.[11] If the controller is a dropped pronominal determiner in addition to the overt demonstrative determiner, we could expect for Warlpiri to show overt PPDCs of the form noun + demonstrative + personal pronoun, e.g. *ŋarka njampu ŋatju* 'man DEM.1 I'. In this case, whatever analysis accounts for the pronoun-demonstrative correspondence in the Austronesian languages could apply to Warlpiri as well.

Alternatively, the controller might be the demonstrative determiner itself, i.e. *njampu* and *yalumpu* respectively. This would suggest that Agree can access the speech act participant feature within whatever features correspond to demonstrative degrees (near SPEAKER, near ADDRESSEE), strengthening the idea that these features have not only semantic, but also grammatical import. However, an Agree-based account with the demonstrative as the Goal would be complicated by the fact that these demonstratives are also compatible with third-person agreement and a corresponding interpretation.

4.2 Pomak deictic articles

Pomak is a South Slavic vernacular, spoken in Western Thrace, Greece. It shares with many of the South Slavic languages of the area the property of enclitic articles. In contrast to languages like Standard Bulgarian, however, the articles do not only encode definiteness, but three deictic degrees as well.[12]

The enclitic articles consist of a vowel, determined by gender and number of the head noun as well as phonological properties of the final syllable of the host of the article, and a consonantal marker indicating the deictic value as listed in (19).

11 Another alternative would be to treat pronominal clitics as interpretable (Jelinek 1984, Borer 1986, Barbosa 1995, Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 1998) and to adopt an account like Ackema & Neeleman (2013) at least for Warlpiri-type unagreement.

12 Macedonian shows the same effect with slightly different forms (Friedman 2002, Tomić 2012).

(19) *Pomak deictic articles*
/s/ proximity to speaker
/t/ proximity to addressee
/n/ remote from both speaker and addressee

In addition to their spatial uses, Adamou (2011) also describes temporal and modal uses of the articles. Importantly for the current discussion, the deictic articles also seem to covary with the choice of person in APCs, constituting what may be described as personal uses. This is illustrated for a dative object in (20), where the speaker-proximal article is used with a first person plural APC.

(20) 'nami Po'matsem-**se** no na pʌ'maga 'nikutri
we.DAT Pomaks.DAT-DET.1 1PL.DAT NEG help.3SG nobody
'Nobody helps us Pomaks.' (Papadimitriou 2008: 582)

The examples in (21) show the same connection for subject DPs, and additionally illustrate the possibility of dropping the overt pronouns, yielding unagreement configurations. In contrast to the situation described above for Spanish and Greek, however, the deictic articles provide overt morphological cues as to the person specification of the subject even in this case.

(21) a. (nɯje) örendji-eve-**so** nasmeme so
we student-PL-DET.1 laughed.1PL REFL
'We students laughed.'

b. (vɯje) örendji-eve-**to** nasmete so
you.PL student-PL-DET.2 laughed.2PL REFL
'You students laughed.'

Similarly to the Warlpiri data, this raises the question of whether verbal agreement is directly controlled by the deictic article when there is no pronoun or whether an unpronounced pronoun controls agreement and it is its relation with the article that gives rise to the observable correlation. Considering that the articles can also be used in third person contexts, the latter option may be more appropriate. Nonetheless, these data present another example of a relationship between person and deictic features.

4.3 Basque proximate plural

At first sight, Basque data like (22) simply illustrate the by now familiar unagreement phenomenon, with the optional pronoun expressing the person

features of the subject. There are, however, good arguments for assuming that pronouns in this position are not part of the same extended projection as the coreferent noun (Artiagoitia 2012: 32). Normally, Basque noun phrases are head-final with the determiner at the right edge, see e.g. *-ek* in (23), while the pronoun in (22) must precede the noun. Moreover, case is typically marked only once in Basque NPs. The pronoun in (22), however, carries independent case marking, suggesting that it is not part of the same extended nominal projection as *ikasleok* 'the students'. Moreover, in the presence of the pronoun there is a prosodic break between it and the remainder of the noun phrase, also indicating that they form separate units.

(22) (Gu-k,) ikasle-(ok/*ek) lan handi-a
we-ERG student-PROX.ERG/PL.ERG work big-DET.ABS
dugu.
3SG.ABS.AUX.1PL.ERG
'We students have a lot of work.'

(23) Ikasle-(ek/*ok) lan handi-a dute.
student-PL.ERG/PROX.ERG work big-DET.ABS 3SG.ABS.AUX.3PL.ERG
'(The) students have a lot of work.'

Independently of the presence of the pronoun, western and central varieties of Basque use a special form of the plural determiner in this context, the so-called proximate plural *-o(k)* (Hualde & Ortiz de Urbina 2003: 122; Areta 2009: 67), instead of the simple ergative plural *-ek*. De Rijk (2008: 502; emphasis added) distinguishes three uses of this proximate plural as illustrated below:

(24) a. Marking matters already mentioned in the same discourse
Eta **guzti-ok** gramatik-a-z balia-tzen dira
and all-PROX.ABS grammar-DET-INST use-IPFV AUX.3PL.ABS
beti.
always
'And **all of these** always make use of grammar.'
(de Rijk 2008: 502, (89b))

b. Marking the addressee, if plural

Galdu	didazue	**aita-seme-ok**
spoil	3SG.ABS.AUX.1SG.DAT.2PLERG	father-son-PROX.ERG
afari-ta-ko	gogo	guzti-a.
dinner-LOC-LINK	appetite	all-DET.ABS

'**You, father and son**, have spoiled my whole appetite for dinner.'
(de Rijk 2008: 502, (90a))

c. Marking a group to which the speaker belongs

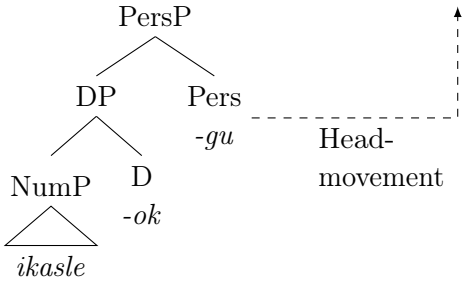
Zor	berri-a	dugu	**euskaldun-ok**
debt	new-DET.ABS	3SG.ABS.AUX.1PL.ERG	Basque-PROX.ABS
Orixe-rekin.			
Orixe-COM			

'**We Basques** have a new debt to Orixe.'
(de Rijk 2008: 502, (91a))

The latter two uses suggest that the proximate plural marks the referent of an NP as a speech act participant. In this respect, it resembles the personal uses of the deictic articles observed in Pomak above. In contrast to Pomak, however, it is rather clear that the optional pronoun in (23) does not belong to the same nominal projection as the subject. An analysis where the D head realised by the proximate plural controls the non-third person verbal agreement has some credibility in this context. This would suggest that Basque has pronominal determiners which happen to not resemble the pronouns of the language.

Alternatively, one could relate the relevant Basque structures to those proposed for Greek and Spanish unagreement. The Pers head might then be viewed as a doubling clitic undergoing (obligatory) head-movement in order to be realised as "agreement marker" on the auxiliary as suggested by Arregi & Nevins (2012: ch. 2) and sketched in (25).

(25)



4.4 Discussion

This section has provided further examples of (partial) correlations between demonstratives or special articles and person marking. In contrast to the Austronesian examples from the previous section the observable person marking in these cases is in the verbal domain. Matters are complicated by the fact that in contrast to typical adnominal pronouns, the relevant markers and articles in the noun phrase are also compatible with third person marking, e.g. when used with inanimate nouns.

Two interrelated questions arise for a potential analysis. Are the demonstratives and specially marked articles in a direct relation to the verbal agreement, setting the data observed in this section apart from the Austronesian data in section 3.3, or is some additional category intermediating, such as an unpronounced pronoun? The latter option would of course strongly resemble the Austronesian data above. Furthermore, the correlation between person features and the choice of demonstrative or article calls for an explanation.

The first question raises another issue regarding the nature of the relation between verbal and nominal phi-features. If verbal phi-features in null subject languages are interpretable and agreement is symmetric as argued, e.g., by Ackema & Neeleman (2013), the first question would reduce to the second question about the relationship between demonstrative and person features.

If the relation is asymmetric, on the other hand, we can ask whether features on the demonstratives themselves control verbal agreement or whether a silent pronoun is responsible for that. Considering that the surveyed demonstratives and articles are compatible with non-third person as well as third person agreement, the second option seems the more likely one.

Concerning the (partial) correlation between person features and demonstrative features, there seem to be two possibilities. Either the correlation between the degree of the demonstrative and the person of the personal pronoun used in PPDCs merely reflects the meaning of the demonstrative degree in person-oriented systems, i.e. a "first person" demonstrative tends to occur alongside first person pronouns because the latter invoke the speaker and the former indicate closeness to the speaker. On the other hand, there could be a formal relationship between specific person features and the features corresponding to different degrees of demonstratives.

In the Austronesian languages discussed above, the correlation between personal pronouns and specific demonstrative degrees may be overridden by "affective considerations", which is a potential argument in favour of a purely meaning-based explanation. This is less clear for the examples from this section. At least for Bizkaian (western) varieties of Basque, the use of the proximate plural seems to be obligatory in the contexts discussed, lending credence to

a grammatical explanation. Whatever the correct analysis of the interaction between arguably spatial features and person in the present phenomenon, it seems desirable for future research to relate this to Gruber's (2013) proposal that the category PERSON depends on the category SPACE.

5 Conclusion

In this article I have argued that the widely observed complementary distribution between demonstratives and personal pronouns is not universal. A number of languages display what I have labelled personal pronoun-demonstrative construction. It remains to be seen whether this is a homogenous phenomenon or rather a cover term for several possibly related, but distinct phenomena. In either case, I have argued in the basis of these data that the relation between demonstratives and personal pronouns is subject to crosslinguistically variation. Furthermore, some cases of potential interactions between person features and specific forms of demonstratives and deictic articles have been surveyed, raising the question of whether are simply the result of the meaning of the demonstratives or whether formal properties play a role here.

I want to conclude by noting that, although the discussed data suggest that the ban on PPDCs is not universal, the ban may of course still be crosslinguistically more common than availability of PPDCs, which is in fact Blake's (2001) actual claim from section 1. I am not aware of empirical investigations of this issue, but if this asymmetry actually pertains, an obvious question is why that would be the case. While I will not develop a full answer here, a possible approach may be that there is a preference of the learner to assume that features cluster in one location unless the input provides evidence to the contrary in the spirit of the framework of parameter hierarchies outlined by Roberts (2012). One prediction would be that languages that do not grammaticalise phi-features have PPDCs, like Japanese and Korean. If phi-features are grammaticalised and feature clustering is the unmarked option, the absence of PPDCs would be a more basic parametric option. The presence of PPDCs in the learner's input, on the other hand, would trigger more complex parameter settings concerning the detailed distribution of the features involved. grammars more complex?

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