

Before and after the noun: Demonstratives and possessives in Spanish

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Bochum – Definiteness Network, 4th meeting

September 10, 2023

Poss and Dem in Spanish

Before the noun

- (1) a. **su** libro
3SG.POSS book
- b. **ese** libro
DEM.MED book

Poss and Dem in Spanish

Before the noun

- (1) a. **su** libro
3SG.POSS book
- b. **ese** libro
DEM.MED book

After the noun

- (2) a. el libro **suyo**
DEF book 3SG.POSS
- b. el libro **ese**
DEF book DEM.MED

Claims

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1. Postnominal Dem / Poss are indexed adjectives

Claims

1. Postnominal Dem / Poss are indexed adjectives

2. Anti-uniqueness is a by-product of restrictive modification

Outline

Introduction

Before the noun

After the noun

Claim I: Indexed Adjectives are a thing

Possessives

Demonstratives

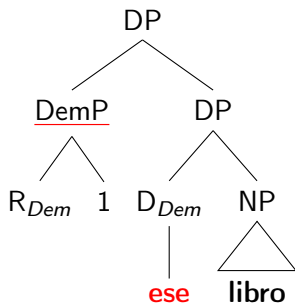
Claim II: Anti-uniqueness comes from restrictivity

Conclusion

Before the nouns

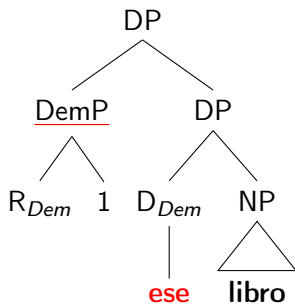
Before the noun: Analysis

(3) Prenominal Demonstrative

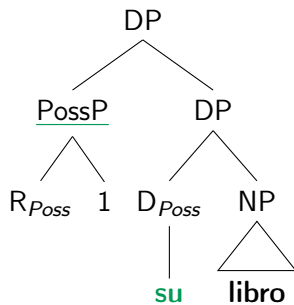


Before the noun: Analysis

(3) Prenominal Demonstrative

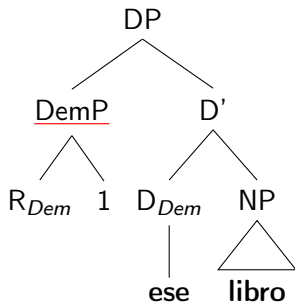


(4) Prenominal Possessive



Before the noun: Analysis

(5) Prenominal Demonstrative

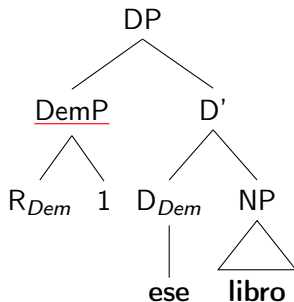


$$\llbracket D_{Dem} \rrbracket = \lambda P_{\langle e,t \rangle} . \lambda Q_{\langle e,t \rangle} . \iota x [P(x) \wedge Q(x)]$$

Elbourne (2008), Schwarz (2009), Šimik (2014), Ahn (2022), Jenks & Konate (2022)

Before the noun: Analysis

(5) Prenominal Demonstrative



$$\llbracket \underline{DemP} \rrbracket = [\lambda x. x = g(1)]$$

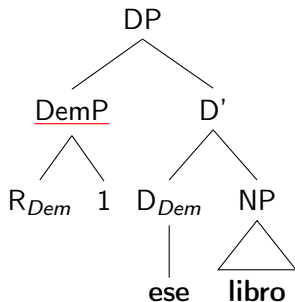
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Before the noun: Analysis

(5) Prenominal Demonstrative



$$\llbracket DP_{Dem} \rrbracket = \iota x [book(x) \wedge x = g(1)]$$

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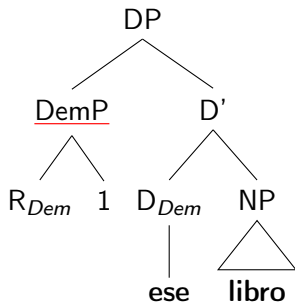
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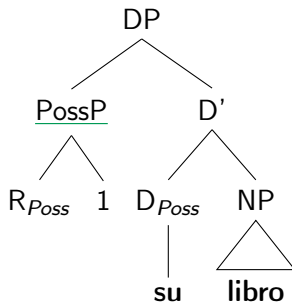
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Before the noun: Analysis

(6) Prenominal Possessive

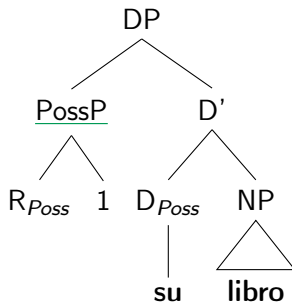


$$\llbracket D_{Poss} \rrbracket = \lambda P_{\langle e,t \rangle} . \lambda Q_{\langle e,t \rangle} . \iota x [P(x) \wedge Q(x)]$$

Partee & Borschev (2003), Simonenko & Carlier (2022)

Before the noun: Analysis

(6) Prenominal Possessive



$$\llbracket PossP \rrbracket = \lambda x. Poss(x, g(1))$$

$$\llbracket R_{Poss} \rrbracket = \lambda y. \lambda x. Poss(x, y)$$

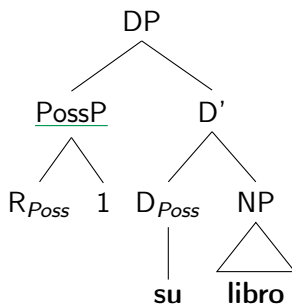
$$\llbracket D_{Poss} \rrbracket =$$

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Before the noun: Analysis

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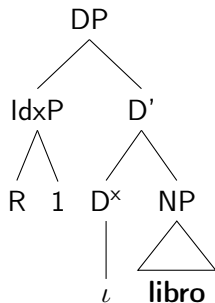
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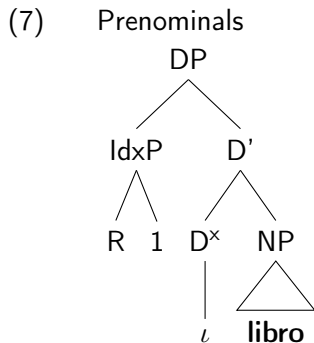
Analysis: Motivation

- ▶ do not co-occur with articles → spell out D

(7) Prenominals

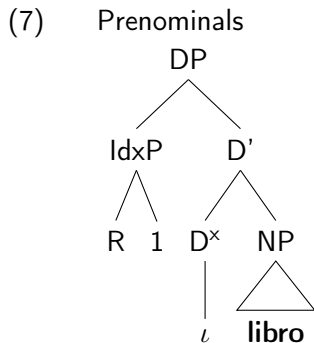


Analysis: Motivation



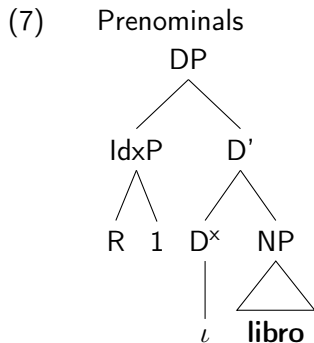
- ▶ do not co-occur with articles → spell out D
- ▶ denote an individual, presuppose (some kind of) uniqueness → *l*

Analysis: Motivation



- ▶ do not co-occur with articles → spell out D
- ▶ denote an individual, presuppose (some kind of) uniqueness → *ι*
- ▶ context-dependent, need salient antecedent → index

Analysis: Motivation



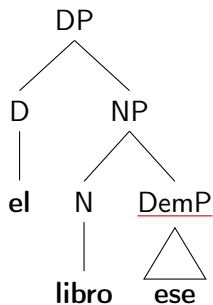
- ▶ do not co-occur with articles → spell out D
- ▶ denote an individual, presuppose (some kind of) uniqueness → *ι*
- ▶ context-dependent, need salient antecedent → index
- ▶ difference between Poss and Dem → R head
 - ▶ R_{Dem} → identity
 - ▶ R_{Poss} → possession

After the noun

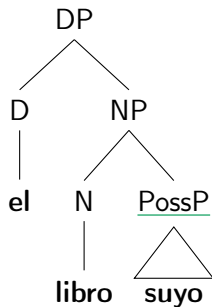
Claim 1: Indexed Adjectives are a thing

After the noun: Analysis

(8) Postnominal Demonstrative

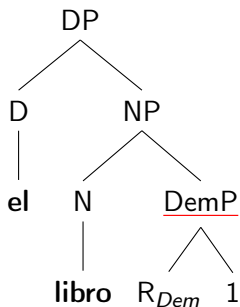


(9) Postnominal Possessive

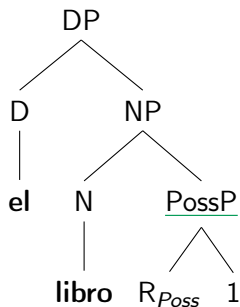


After the noun: Analysis

(8) Postnominal Demonstrative

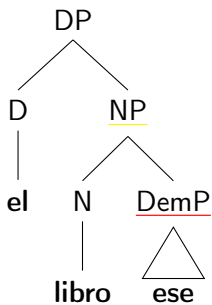


(9) Postnominal Possessive



After the noun: Analysis

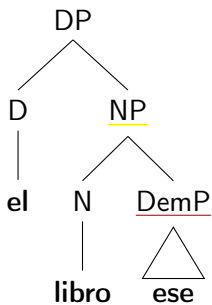
(10) Postnominal Dem.



[[DemP]] = $[\lambda x.x = g(1)]$

After the noun: Analysis

(10) Postnominal Dem.

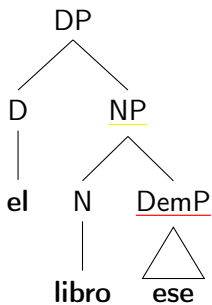


$[[NP]] = [\lambda x. book(x) \wedge x = g(1)]$ (PM)

$[[DemP]] = [\lambda x. x = g(1)]$

After the noun: Analysis

(10) Postnominal Dem.



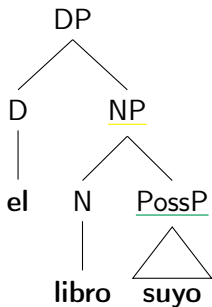
$$\llbracket DP \rrbracket = \iota x [book(x) \wedge x = g(1)]$$

$$\llbracket NP \rrbracket = [\lambda x. book(x) \wedge x = g(1)] \quad (PM)$$

$$\llbracket DemP \rrbracket = [\lambda x. x = g(1)]$$

After the noun: Analysis

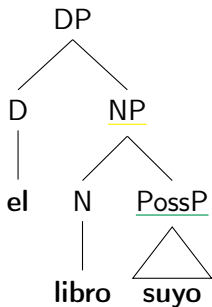
(11) Postnominal Poss.



$[[PossP]] = [\lambda x. Poss(x, g(1))]$

After the noun: Analysis

(11) Postnominal Poss.

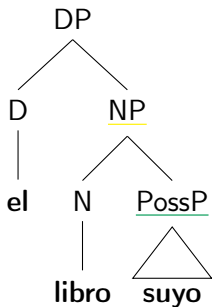


$[[NP]] = [\lambda x. book(x) \wedge Poss(x, g(1))]$ (PM)

$[[PossP]] = [\lambda x. Poss(x, g(1))]$

After the noun: Analysis

(11) Postnominal Poss.



$\llbracket DP \rrbracket = \iota x [book(x) \wedge Poss(x, g(1))]$

$\llbracket NP \rrbracket = [\lambda x. book(x) \wedge Poss(x, g(1))]$ (PM)

$\llbracket PossP \rrbracket = [\lambda x. Poss(x, g(1))]$

Possessives

Possessives as indexed adjectives

- ▶ follow the noun, like other modifiers

(12) El cuadro redondo **suyo** es bonito
DEF painting round POSS is pretty
'Her round painting is pretty.'

Possessives as indexed adjectives

- ▶ follow the noun, like other modifiers

(12) El cuadro redondo **suyo** es bonito
DEF painting round POSS is pretty
'Her round painting is pretty.'

- ▶ in combination with definite and indefinite articles (NB: not definite/*l*)

(13) Conocí a un amigo **suyo**.
I.met DOM INDF friend POSS
'I met a friend of his.'

Possessives as indexed adjectives

- ▶ NP-internal movement like other modifiers, considering
 - ▶ adjective hierarchy
 - ▶ focus (new information last)
 - ▶ RC last

(14) un libro **suyo** [AdjP rojo] [PP de sintaxis] [CP que vi en Italia]
a book **POSS** red of syntax that I.saw in Italy

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Possessives as indexed adjectives

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(14) *un libro [AdjP rojo] [PP de sintaxis] [CP que vi en Italia] **suyo**
a book red of syntax that I.saw in Italy **POSS**

- ▶ appear in predicative position (without an article, like adjectives)

- (15) Ese libro es **alemán**.
that book is German
- (16) Ese libro es **suyo** ...ese también
that book is POSS that too
'That book is hers ... that one too.'
- (17) #Ese libro es **el** **suyo** ...ese también
that book is DEF POSS hat too
That book is hers ... that one too.

Demonstratives

Demonstratives as indexed adjectives

- ▶ follow the noun, like other modifiers
- ▶ they move in the NP

Demonstratives as indexed adjectives

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- ▶ they move in the NP

(18) el cuadro **ese** [AdjP redondo] [PP con flores] [CP que vimos
DEF painting DEM round with flowers that we.saw
].

'that round painting with flowers that we saw'

Demonstratives as indexed adjectives

- ▶ follow the noun, like other modifiers
- ▶ they move in the NP

(18) el cuadro [AdjP redondo] **ese** [PP with flowers] [CP que vimos].
DEF painting round DEM with flowers that we.saw

'that round painting with flowers that we saw'

Demonstratives as indexed adjectives

- ▶ follow the noun, like other modifiers
- ▶ they move in the NP

(18) el cuadro [AdjP redondo] [PP with flowers] **ese** [CP que vimos
DEF painting round with flowers DEM that we.saw
].

'that round painting with flowers that we saw'

Demonstratives as indexed adjectives

- ▶ follow the noun, like other modifiers
- ▶ they move in the NP

(18) *el cuadro [AdjP redondo] [PP de Picasso] [CP que vimos] **ese**.
DEF painting round by Picasso that we.saw DEM
'that round painting by Picasso we saw'

Demonstratives as indexed adjectives

- ▶ they co-occur with articles... but only the definite! (unlike Poss)

(19) *Un / el libro **ese**
INDF / DEF book DEM

(20) Un / el libro **suyo**
INDF / DEF book POSS

- ▶ this is actually expected!

Demonstratives as indexed adjectives

$$(21) \quad \llbracket [_{NP} \text{ libro ese }] \rrbracket^g = \{x \mid \text{book}(x) \wedge x = g(1)\}$$

$$(22) \quad | \llbracket [_{NP} \text{ libro ese }] \rrbracket^g | = 1$$

- ▶ Maximize Presupposition forces use of the definite

Demonstratives as indexed adjectives

- ▶ Maximize Presupposition forces insertion of the definite

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(23) | $\llbracket [_{NP} \text{ highest mountain }] \rrbracket$ | = 1 ✗ a / ✓ the

Demonstratives as indexed adjectives

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(24) | $\llbracket [_{NP} \text{ weight of the tent }] \rrbracket | = 1$ ✗ a / ✓ the

Demonstratives as indexed adjectives

- ▶ Maximize Presupposition forces insertion of the definite

(23) | $\llbracket [_{NP} \text{ highest mountain }] \rrbracket | = 1$ ✗ a / ✓ the

(24) | $\llbracket [_{NP} \text{ weight of the tent }] \rrbracket | = 1$ ✗ a / ✓ the

(25) | $\llbracket [_{NP} \text{ libro ese }] \rrbracket | = 1$ ✗ a / ✓ the

Summary

1. Postnominal Dem / Poss are indexed adjectives

- ▶ follow the noun
- ▶ scramble like adjectives
- ▶ combine with the right determiners
- ▶ intersective meaning feasible

After the noun

Claim II: Anti-uniqueness as a by-product of restrictive modification

Anti-uniqueness

(26) #That sun

anti-uniqueness requirement

$$|P| > 1$$

Anti-uniqueness

(26) #That sun

anti-uniqueness requirement

$$|P| > 1$$

unless: \rightsquigarrow there is more than one sun.

anti-uniqueness inference



Restrictive modification and anti-uniqueness

1. $[[\text{book of syntax}]]$ \subset $[[\text{book}]]$

\rightsquigarrow there is more than one book

Pinon (2005), Cabredo-Hofherr (2014),
Martin (2013)

Restrictive modification and anti-uniqueness

1. $\llbracket \text{book of syntax} \rrbracket \subset \llbracket \text{book} \rrbracket$

\rightsquigarrow there is more than one book

Pinon (2005), Cabredo-Hofherr (2014),
Martin (2013)

► Recursion

2. $\llbracket \text{book of syntax red} \rrbracket \subset \llbracket \text{book of syntax} \rrbracket$

\rightsquigarrow there is more than one syntax book

Demonstratives as restrictive modifiers

- ▶ Dems also participate in restrictive modification

(27) [[**that** book]] \subset [[book]]

\rightsquigarrow there is more than one book

Anti-Uniqueness!

Demonstratives as restrictive modifiers

- ▶ Dems also participate in restrictive modification

(27) $[[\text{that book}]] \subset [[\text{book}]]$

\rightsquigarrow there is more than one book

Anti-Uniqueness!

- ▶ Last element of the recursive rule

1. $[[\text{book of syntax}]] \subset [[\text{book}]]$

2. $[[\text{that book of syntax}]] \subset [[\text{book of syntax}]]$

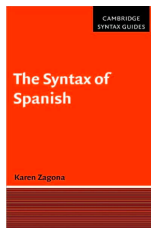
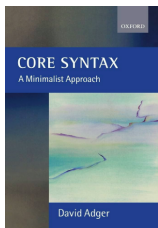
\rightsquigarrow there is more than one syntax book

Anti-Uniqueness!

Evidence from ellipsis

- (28) [**Ese** libro de sintaxis] es mejor que [ese e]
that book of syntax is better than that one
That syntax book is better than that one

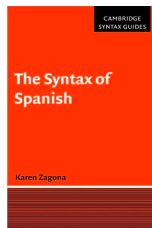
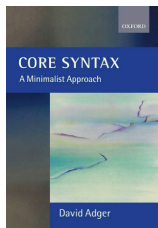
[e] = book of
syntax
?



Evidence from ellipsis

- (28) [**Ese** libro de sintaxis] es mejor que [ese e]
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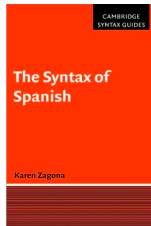
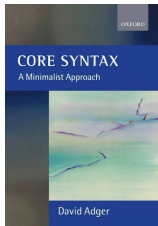


[[**that** book of syntax]] \subset [[book of syntax]]
 \rightsquigarrow there is more than one syntax book

Evidence from ellipsis

- (29) [El libro de sintaxis **ese**] es mejor que [ese e]
the book of syntax that is better than that
That syntax book is better than that one

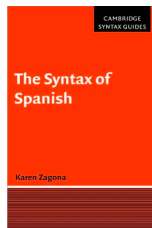
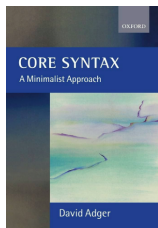
[e] = book of
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Evidence from ellipsis

- (29) [El libro de sintaxis **ese**] es mejor que [ese e]
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That syntax book is better than that one

[e] = book of
syntax

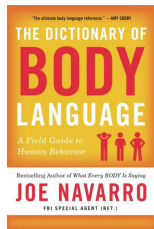
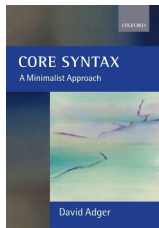


[[book of syntax **that**]] \subset [[book of syntax]]
 \rightsquigarrow there is more than one syntax book

Evidence from ellipsis

- (30) [El libro **ese de sintaxis**] es mejor que [ese e]
the book that of syntax is better than that
That syntax book is better than that one

[e] = book



Evidence from ellipsis

- (30) [El libro **ese** **de sintaxis**] es mejor que [ese e]
the book that of syntax is better than that
That syntax book is better than that one

[e] = book

Evidence from ellipsis

(30) [El libro **ese de sintaxis**] es mejor que [ese e] [e] = book
the book that of syntax is better than that
That syntax book is better than that one

- ▶ **X** $\llbracket \text{book that of syntax} \rrbracket \subset \llbracket \text{book that} \rrbracket$
- ▶ $|\llbracket \text{book that of syntax} \rrbracket| = 1$
- ▶ **✓** $\llbracket \text{book that of syntax} \rrbracket = \llbracket \text{book that} \rrbracket$
↗ there is more than one syntax book

subset of a singleton is itself!

Evidence from ellipsis

(30) [El libro **ese de sintaxis**] es mejor que [ese e] [e] = book
the book that of syntax is better than that
That syntax book is better than that one

- ▶ \times $\llbracket \text{book that of syntax} \rrbracket \subset \llbracket \text{book that} \rrbracket$
- ▶ $|\llbracket \text{book that of syntax} \rrbracket| = 1$
- ▶ \checkmark $\llbracket \text{book that of syntax} \rrbracket = \llbracket \text{book that} \rrbracket$
↗ there is more than one syntax book

subset of a singleton is itself!

No anti-uniqueness inference!

Conclusion

Conclusion

1. Postnominal Dem / Poss are indexed adjectives

2. Anti-uniqueness is a by-product of restrictive modification

Conclusion

1. Postnominal Dem / Poss are indexed adjectives

- ▶ Dems aren't only Ds, but can be captured with usual mechanisms

2. Anti-uniqueness is a by-product of restrictive modification

Conclusion

1. Postnominal Dem / Poss are indexed adjectives

- ▶ Dems aren't only Ds, but can be captured with usual mechanisms

2. Anti-uniqueness is a by-product of restrictive modification

- ▶ Contribution of indexed adjectives to study of Dems