

**Anaphoric demonstratives in acquisition**

Do 12.30 – 13.00

Anaphoric demonstratives are a characteristic of the (Germanic) V-second type of grammar. They appear typically in the “Vorfeld” Spec,C position and indicate a topic shift. The new topic is preferably the focus argument in the preceding sentence, see (1)-(2).

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|-----|--|--------------------|--------------------------|
| (1) | Zij <sub>i</sub> wierp een kushandje naar Johan <sub>j</sub> |                    |                          |
|     | a. ze <sub>i</sub> was hem niet vergeten                     | topic maintenance: | personal pronoun.        |
|     | *die <sub>i</sub> was hem niet vergeten                      |                    | *anaphoric demonstrative |
| (2) | a. die <sub>j</sub> werd vuurrood                            | topic shift:       | anaphoric demonstrative  |
|     | b. #hij <sub>j</sub> werd vuurrood:                          |                    | #personal pronoun.       |

She blew Johan a kiss (1) she / \*that hadn't forgotten him (2) that / #he flushed scarlet

The grammatical expression for running topic/switched topic is likely to be present in all language types as main piece of discourse grammar, but languages make different choices from the general saliency hierarchy given in Ariel (1990). For instance, the opposition in Italian rests upon pro-drop versus emphatic personal pronoun, see (3)-4) (Grimshaw and Samek-Lodovici 1998; cf. Barbosa et al. 2005 for Portuguese).

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|-----|--|--------------------|----------------------|
| (3) | <i>pro</i> <sub>i</sub> mandò un bacio a Gianni <sub>j</sub> |                    |                      |
|     | a. <i>pro</i> <sub>i</sub> non lo aveva dimenticato          | topic maintenance: | pro-drop             |
|     | #lei <sub>i</sub> non lo aveva dimenticato                   |                    | #emphatic p. pronoun |
| (4) | a. lui <sub>j</sub> diventò tutto rosso                      | topic shift:       | emphatic p. pronoun  |
|     | b. * <i>pro</i> <sub>j</sub> diventò tutto rosso             |                    | *pro-drop            |

The opposition in French is subject clitic pronoun versus clitic doubled subject and the opposition in English is stressed personal pronoun versus non-stressed personal pronoun.

The opposition is acquired in a hierarchy of steps that makes anaphoric reference effectively learnable from the language-specific input. The forms for the switched type are already acquired in early child language for situation-bound (pointing) reference. The acquisition of the opposition with the running topic follows later. In child Dutch the acquisition of personal pronouns for running topic coincides with the acquisition of the ±definite opposition in article (strikingly shown by their acquisition graphs in v.Kampen 2004).

We have the following generalizations in mind. (i) The order of appearance in child language of switched topic forms before running topic forms is a general property of the acquisition hierarchy and independent of the specific choice made from the Ariel hierarchy. (ii) The opposition in the switched topic forms and running topic forms can be characterized as an explicit CP#IP versus a CP=IP clause structure. (iii) The acquisition graphs of personal pronouns for running topic and articles will coincide in all languages that employ them.

Our analysis is compatible with the analyses in Comrie (1997), Kaiser and Trueswell (2004), and Bosch, Katz & Umbach (to appear), but dominated by the distinction running/switched topic.