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Anaphoric demonstratives in Finnish and beyond: Prominence and perspective-taking

In addition to personal pronouns, many languages also use demonstrative pronouns anaphorically to refer to human antecedents. Anaphoric demonstratives are often associated with (lack of) topicality: in particular, it's widely observed that they tend to be used for non-topical, non-prominent referents. In addition, crosslinguistic patterns also point to effects of perspective-taking: in particular, it's been suggested that anaphoric demonstratives are anti-logophoric and used for entities that are not the perspectival center. However, the relation between prominence and perspectival phenomena, and how these notions map to different linguistic forms, is not yet wellunderstand. The Finnish referential paradigm provides a rich testing ground for these questions, as standard Finnish uses both a personal pronoun hän (s/he) and an anaphoric demonstrative tämä (this) for human antecedents, and many dialects of Finnish also use a hybrid form se (roughly: it/the) which has properties of pronouns. demonstratives and determiners. Using data from Finnish, I will provide evidence that points to a system that incorporates both prominence and logophoricity as separable yet related notions. Furthermore, I explore a prediction that emerges from prior observations regarding the division of labor between personal pronouns and demonstratives, namely that two personal pronouns cannot co-occur as coarguments of the same verb – in other words, that a sequence like 'she helped her' or 'she helped him' is strongly dispreferred in Finnish. I provide evidence that such a Pronoun Dissimilation Constraint exists in Finnish, and show that it cannot be attributed simply to a need for disambiguation or the existence of alternative forms such as demonstratives. I will also explore typological connections to obviative pronoun systems and the crosslinguistic predictions made by the Pronoun Dissimilation Constraint.