

# The functions of demonstrative noun phrases in person reference in Greek conversation\*

Angeliki Alvanoudi  
Aristotle University of Thessaloniki  
aalvanoudi@enl.auth.gr

## Περίληψη

*Η παρούσα μελέτη εξετάζει τις λειτουργίες των δεικτικών ονοματικών φράσεων σε τριτοπρόσωπη αναφορά σε αρχική θέση στην αλληλουχία, αξιοποιώντας τα εργαλεία της Ανάλυσης Συνομιλίας. Από την ανάλυση προκύπτει ότι οι δεικτικές ονοματικές φράσεις αποτελούν πραγματολογικά σημαδεμένες πρακτικές αναφορές σε πρόσωπο που χρησιμοποιούνται για την επίλυση προβλημάτων σε σχέση με την ταυτοποίηση του αναφερόμενου προσώπου ή την πραγματοποίηση αξιολογήσεων γύρω από αυτό. Στην πρώτη περίπτωση τα δεικτικά χρησιμοποιούνται αναγνωριστικά, δηλαδή καλούν τον/την παραλήπτη/τρια να αναγνωρίσει το αναφερόμενο πρόσωπο με βάση την ειδική γνώση που μοιράζεται με τον/την ομιλητή/τρια. Στη δεύτερη περίπτωση τα δεικτικά χρησιμοποιούνται αξιολογικά, δηλαδή δείχνουν την συναισθηματική τοποθέτηση του/της ομιλητή/τριας απέναντι στο πρόσωπο αναφοράς.*

*Λέξεις-κλειδιά: αναφορά σε πρόσωπο, αρχική αναφορά, δεικτικές ονοματικές φράσεις, αναγνωριστική χρήση, συναισθηματική/αξιολογική χρήση, Ανάλυση Συνομιλίας*

## 1 Introduction

This paper examines the interactional functions of demonstrative noun phrases in initial third person singular reference in Greek conversation, using the tools of Conversation Analysis. The argument in a nutshell is the following. Demonstrative noun phrases are marked practices for initial reference to third person that give rise to special inferences and are mobilized as practices for carrying out specific actions, such as resolving trouble in person recognition, and delivering assessments. The structural and semantic-pragmatic aspects of demonstrative noun phrases are presented in section 2. Section 3 explains data and methods. The analysis is in Section 4 and summarizing remarks are found in Section 5.

## 2 The structural and semantic-pragmatic profile of demonstrative noun phrases

Demonstrative noun phrases consist of noun phrases (henceforth NPs), which are preceded or (less often) followed by the deictic pronouns or nominal demonstratives (Dixon 2010) *αυτός/αυτή/αυτό* (this.M.NOM.SG/this.F.NOM.SG/this.N.NOM.SG) or *εκείνος/εκείνη/εκείνο* (that.M.NOM.SG/that.F.NOM.SG/that.N.NOM.SG).<sup>1</sup> In Greek, demonstrative and definite article co-occur in the NP. Demonstrative NPs are marked

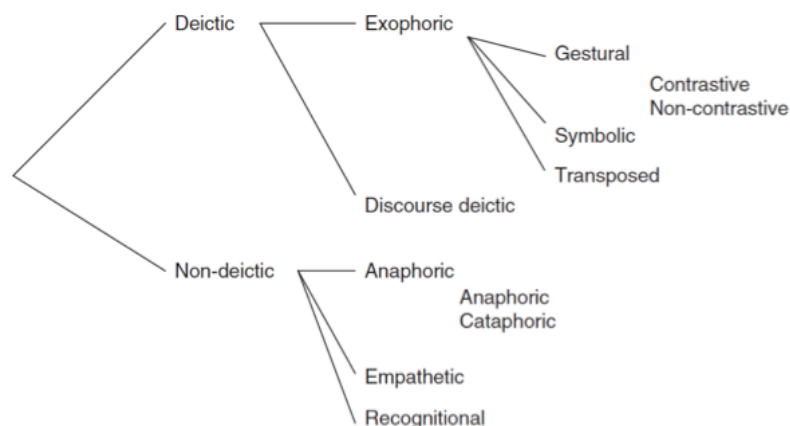
---

\* I am indebted to Christos Tzitzilis for intellectually stimulating discussions on the topic of this paper. Many thanks go to Tasos Tsangalidis for useful comments and the ICGL14 participants for questions and feedback.

<sup>1</sup> Demonstrative NPs fall into the category of polydefinite NPs (see Lekakou and Szendrői 2011).

for definiteness, that is, they code referents of assumed familiarity or knownness (see e.g. Ariel 1988, 1990; Bolinger 1977; Chafe 1976, 1994; Gundel, Hedberg and Zacharski 1993; Heim 1983; Lyons 1999; Prince 1992) and identifiability (Birner and Ward 1998).

Moreover, demonstrative NPs are associated with various pragmatic uses, analysed in depth by Diessel (1999) and summarized by Levinson (2004) in Figure 1:



**Figure 1 | The distinct use of demonstratives (after Levinson 2004)**

Demonstratives can be used deictically, that is, to point to person in the immediate speech situation. Non-deictic use of demonstratives can be anaphoric, recognitional or empathetic. More specifically, in anaphoric use, demonstratives are co-referential with a prior noun or NP; in recognitional use, demonstratives introduce a referent for the first time and invite the addressee to identify the referent by drawing on “specific, ‘personalized’ knowledge that is assumed to be shared by the communicating parties due to a common interactional history or to supposedly shared experiences” (Himmelmann 1996: 233); and in empathetic use, demonstratives introduce a referent for the first time and indicate the speaker’s stance/attitude toward the referent, such as emotional or psychological distance/proximity between speaker and referent, insult, surprise or affection (Naruoka 2006, see also Lakoff 1974 and Lyons 1977). This study targets non-deictic recognitional and empathetic uses of demonstrative NPs in third person reference in Greek.

### 3 Data and methods

Conversation analytic research has shown that person reference is an interactional achievement (see e.g. Fox 1987, 1996; Enfield and Stivers 2007; Enfield 2013). The selection of appropriate reference forms is shaped by social and interactional factors, such as interlocutors’ social relationship and ‘common ground’ or mutual knowledge (Clark and Marshall 1981), the social action being performed, as well as reference position, which can be locally initial (first mention of referent) or subsequent (second mention of referent, etc.) (Schegloff 1996). Third person singular reference forms are pragmatically unmarked or marked<sup>2</sup> depending on whether they are interpreted by hearers as referring to a person and doing nothing more (‘referring simpliciter’, Schegloff 1996: 440) or they show speaker’s effort to accomplish something more than

<sup>2</sup> Pragmatic markedness is understood in terms of locally defined contextual expectations and social situational usage (Stivers, Enfield and Levinson 2007: 9).

simply referring and invite the addressee to infer this ‘special something’. In English conversation, default reference forms in initial reference position include names, kin terms or descriptive NPs (Sacks and Schegloff 1979; Stivers 2007). These forms are organized around two general preference structures, described by Sacks and Schegloff (1979) as follows: (a) a preference for recipient design, that is, the use of recognitionals, and (b) a preference for minimization, that is, the use of a single reference form. If the two principles are in conflict, speakers prefer recognition to minimization. Speakers may opt for marked forms or alternative recognitionals in initial reference position although unmarked forms are available (known to participants). Alternative recognitionals include forms such as addressee-associated reference forms (e.g. *your sister*), speaker-associated reference forms (e.g. *my baby*) or demonstrative-prefaced descriptions (e.g. *that next-door neighbor*) that dissociate referent from both speaker and addressee (Stivers 2007). These forms give rise to special inferences that fit the action being performed.

This study builds on prior conversation analytic research on person reference in talk-in-interaction to analyse a specific practice deployed by Greek speakers for initial third person singular recognitional reference, that is, the use of demonstrative NPs. Data come from 40 everyday audio-recorded informal conversations among friends and relatives from the *Corpus of Spoken Greek* (Institute of Modern Greek Studies).<sup>3</sup> In coding instances of initial recognitional reference to third person I used the following criteria: i) the first mention of the referent was coded; ii) if recognition was not achieved and the first mention failed, the second mention of the referent was coded as well; iii) cases were coded whereby a referent was introduced at an earlier point in the talk, lost its previous activeness and was introduced again in a totally different context. I collected 594 instances. In this collection, the following recognitional forms were identified:

Recognitional forms	N
<b>Names</b> e.g. <i>η Έλλη</i> (DEF.F.NOM.SG Elli(F).NOM.SG) <i>ο Γιάννης</i> (DEF.M.NOM.SG Yannis(M).NOM.SG)	505 (85%)
<b>Kin terms</b> e.g. <i>τη μάνα μου</i> (DEF.F.ACC.SG mother(F).ACC.SG) <i>η θεία</i> (DEF.F.NOM.SG aunt(F).NOM.SG)	55 (9.3%)
<b>Descriptive NPs</b> e.g. <i>τον δήμαρχο</i> (DEF.M.ACC.SG mayor(M).ACC.SG) <i>τη συγκάτοικό μου</i> (DEF.F.ACC.SG roommate(F).ACC.SG my)	18 (3%)
<b>Demonstrative NPs</b> e.g. <i>αυτή η Καλλιρόη</i> (this.F.NOM.SG DEF.F.NOM.SG Kalliroi(F).NOM.SG) <i>εκείνο το Ρώσο</i> (that.M.ACC.SG DEF.M.ACC.SG Russian(M).ACC.SG)	16 (2.7%)
<b>Total</b>	594 (100%)

**Table 1 | Initial recognitional third person singular reference in Greek conversation**

The category ‘names’ includes first names, last names, nicknames, first and last name combinations, title plus name, and names embedded in complex NPs. Names are the most common forms (85% of the collection) and are preferred over other forms of recognitional reference (for the same pattern in English and other languages see Enfield and Stivers 2007).

The use of names as unmarked recognitional forms is illustrated with (1):

<sup>3</sup> See Pavlidou (2016: 41-59) for a description of the features of the corpus; more information is available at <http://corpus-ins.lit.auth.gr/corpus/>

### Example (1)<sup>4</sup>

1 →	Aleka	<b>Ο</b>	<b>Σταμάτης</b>	<b>θα</b>	<b>ῥθει:?</b>
		DEF.M.NOM.SG	Stamatis(M).NOM.SG	FUT	come.3SG.PFV
			‘Is Stamatis coming?’		
2			(0.6)		
3	Anna		↑Είπε: ότι θα περάσει αργότερα.		
			‘He said that he is coming later.’		
4	Aleka		Ωραία.		
			‘Good.’		

In line 1, Aleka uses a polar interrogative to request information about an absent third party. Reference is achieved via the NP *ο Σταμάτης* (‘Stamatis’) that consists of a male name plus definite article. In line 3, Anna displays no problem with recognizing the referent and delivers the information in question. In line 4, Aleka closes down the sequence. As Heritage (2007: 256) observes, “sequences in which person reference is accomplished ordinarily run off without any overt claim or demonstration of recognition from recipients”. In this example, referent recognition is tacitly managed as Anna responds to Aleka’s question and advances sequence progressivity.

What happens when Greek speakers deviate from this norm and use demonstrative NPs in initial position? This question is addressed in the next section.

## 4 Analysis

Demonstrative NPs in initial position are used as practices for resolving trouble in person recognition (section 4.1), and delivering assessments (section 4.2). As the analysis shows, the first function pairs with the recognitional use of demonstratives, whereas the second function pairs with the empathetic use of demonstratives.

### 4.1 Resolving trouble in person recognition

Speakers use demonstrative NPs when they encounter difficulties in the achievement of person recognition, that is, when the recognition and minimization preferences are in conflict. The preference for minimization is relaxed and speakers deploy demonstrative NPs as “try-markers” that “mark the reference as a “try” to achieve recognition with that reference form” (Schegloff 2007: 238) and are designed to elicit confirmation or disconfirmation of recognition from the recipient (Sacks and Schegloff 1979; Schegloff 1996). This use is visible in examples (2) and (3).

### Example (2)

1	Areti	Χθες το βράδυ ξεξ ποιος με πήρε τηλέφωνο?= ‘Do you know who called me last night?’
2	Yannis	=°Ποιος. ‘Who?’

<sup>4</sup> Conversations have been fully transcribed according to standard conversation analytic conventions (Jefferson 2004; <http://corpus-ins.lit.auth.gr/corpus/about/symbols.html>).

- 3 Areti Ο Χρήστος ο Νίκου (στις) τρεις η ώρα το βρά:δυ.=  
 ((noise.....))  
 ‘Christos Nikou called me at three o’clock at night.’
- 4 Yannis = >°Ποιος είν’ ο Χρήστος ο Νίκου.< =  
 .....))  
 ‘Who is Christos Nikou?’
- 5 → Areti =Ο:           ↑φίλος                   μου   αυτός  
 DEF.M.NOM.SG friend(M).NOM.SG my   this.M.NOM.SG
- 6 από: που: είχαμε βγει τις προάλλες για καφέ?=  
 ‘This friend of mine with whom we went out for coffee the other day?’
- 7 Yannis = >Τι ήθελε?<  
 ‘What did he want?’
- 8 (0.6)
- 9 Areti ↑Τι κá:νω. πού είσαι λέει. έξω είσαι? λέω όχι. κοιμά:μαι.  
 ((laughing....))  
 ‘He wanted to ask me how I am. He said, where are you? Are you out? I said, no. I am sleeping.’
- 10 και στο εντωμεταξύ ↑κοιμόμουνα.  
 .....))  
 ‘Anyway I was sleeping.’

In (2), after a pre-announcement sequence in lines 1-2, Areti delivers a news announcement in line 3. She refers to the person who called her last night via the NP *ο Χρήστος ο Νίκου* (‘DEF.M.NOM.SG Christos(M).NOM.SG DEF.M.NOM.SG Nikou’), namely, she uses a preferred recognitional reference form (combination of names), assuming that her recipient already knows the referent. Yannis fails to recognize the referent and initiates a repair sequence to resolve trouble in line 4. Areti delivers the repair at lines 5-6. She offers an alternative recognitional reference form with rising intonation that consists of a descriptor *ο: ↑φίλος μου* (‘DEF.M.NOM.SG friend(M).NOM.SG my’) followed by the demonstrative *αυτός* (‘this.M.NOM.SG’) and a clause (*από: που: είχαμε βγει τις προάλλες για καφέ* ‘with whom we went out for coffee the other day’). The demonstrative NP is a try-marked form designed to resolve trouble with person recognition, namely it ‘guides’ the recipient to identify and recognize the referent successfully by accessing shared knowledge about the referent. The demonstrative NP implies ‘you (recipient) know the referent’ from previous experience. In this example, the demonstrative *αυτός* functions as a recognitional demonstrative.

In (3), Dimitra informs her co-participants that some shops in Thessaloniki sell music discs (lines 1-2), and that she knows one of the shop owners (line 12).

### Example (3)

- 1 Dimitra >Στη Θεσσαλονίκη πάντως< υπάρχουνε κάνα τρία μαγαζιά  
 ‘Anyway, in Thessaloniki there are one or three stores’
- 2 στο κέντρο, που πουλάνε βινύλιο. ((she clears her throat))  
 ((noise))  
 ‘in the city centre, that sell disks’
- 3 (1.2)
- 4 Alekos Και κατινούριους?  
 ‘Do they sell new ones as well?’
- 5 (0.8)

6	Dimitra	<u>Και</u> καινούριους. 'New ones as well.'
7		(0.5)
8	Adriani	°Ναι. 'Yes.' <i>((noise starts))</i>
9		(.)
10	Zina?	°Ναι. 'Yes.'
11		(0.8)
12	Dimitra	Κι ο ένας είναι: γνωστός °μου.= 'And I know one of the owners.'
13	Alekos	=Πού είν' αυτά ρε? 'Hey where are these stores?'
14		(1.2)
15	Dimitra	Ε, το ένα το έχει ο: φίλος μιας φίλης μου:, (.) της Σούλα:ς, <i>((noise ends))</i> 'Eh, one of the owners is a friend of my friend, (.) Soula,'
16 →		<u>α.</u> <b>αυτή</b> <b>η</b> <b>ξανθιά:</b> PART   this.F.NOM.SG   DEF.F.NOM.SG   blond.F.NOM.SG 'Ah. This blond,'
17		<b>που έχεις γνωρίσει &gt;στο φεστιβάλ</b> 'That you met at the film festival,'
18		<b>κινηματογρά[φου, η Σού]λα,&lt; απ' τα [Καμένα]=</b> 'Soula, from Kamena'
19	Alekos	[°Α ναι. ] 'Ah yes.'
20	Adriani	[(.....)]=
21	Dimitra	=[Βούρλα,<] 'Vourla,'
22	Adriani	=[(.....] °...[.....])
23	Dimitra	[.h E o] φίλος της, ο Βαλάντης:, (.) ↑έχει 'h Eh her friend, Valandis, (.) has'
24		μαγαζί με βινύλιο. 'a store that sells discs.'

In line 13, Alekos requests information about the exact location of these shops. Instead of providing the information in question, Dimitra refers to the owner's identity in line 15. She refers to a third person via the non-recognitional form *ο φίλος μιας φίλης μου:* ('DEF.M.NOM.SG friend(M).NOM.SG one.F.GEN.SG friend(F).GEN.SG my') and uses the recognitional form *της Σούλα:ς* ('DEF.F.GEN.SG Soula(F).GEN.SG') to refer to her girlfriend. Vowel prolongation indicates speaker's hesitancy and anticipation of recipient's trouble with person recognition. The (possible) failure to secure recognition occasions an incidental sequence (Schegloff 2007: 241), in which the speaker uses a try-marked form to achieve recognition. In line 16, Dimitra uses the particle *a* to display a shift in her orientation toward the information at issue and in the next turn constructional units (lines 16-18) she uses an alternative recognitional form which consists of the descriptor *η ξανθιά* ('DEF.F.NOM.SG blond.F.NOM.SG') preceded by the recognitional demonstrative *αυτή* ('this.F.NOM.SG') and followed by the clause *που έχεις*

γνωρίσει >στο φεστιβάλ κινηματογράφου ('that you met at the film festival'). In line 19 Alekos delivers a brief claim of recognition, and Dimitra continues her telling.

In sum, demonstrative NPs in initial position are shown to be pragmatically marked reference forms. When the default form fails to achieve person recognition, speakers opt for the marked form, the demonstrative NP. In deploying demonstrative NPs as try-markers speakers refer to third person and invite recipients to draw on specific common knowledge about the referent in order to achieve person recognition.

#### 4.2 First position assessments

Demonstrative NPs are also found in first assessments whereby the assessable is a third person known to participants that is not present in the here and the now of the talk-in-interaction, as shown in examples (4) and (5).

##### Example (4)

1		(2.4)		
		((there is noise during the gap))		
2 →	Stathis	<b>Κι αυτή</b>	<b>η</b>	<b>Καλλιρόη</b>
		and this.F.NOM.SG	DEF.F.NOM.SG	Kalliroi(F).NOM.SG
		'And this Kalliroi'		
3		πολύ διαβαστερό παιδί είναι ρε παιδί μου.		
		'is a very studious kid.'		
4	Linus	Διαβάζ' [ένα ]		
		'She reads a'		
5	Stathis	[Διάβα]σε μια [σελίδα σε δεκαπέντε μέρες.]		
		'She read one page in fifteen days.'		
6	Linus	[διαβάζ' ένα, Πούλμαν εδώ πέρα,]		
		'She reads a book, an author named Pullman, over here,'		
7		έναν^ Μπούλμαν. Πούλμαν.		
		'Pullman. Pullman.'		
8	Roza	Τι 'ναι αυτό. ποιο διαβάζ'?=		
		'What's that? What is she reading?'		

In the talk preceding extract (4), a sequence has come to closure in which participants refer to books that their friends and relatives read. After a gap in line 1, Stathis initiates a new sequence in lines 2-3, using the conjunction *και* ('and'), which functions as a "skip-connecting" device that indicates a link between the speaker's current turn and some prior turn (Sacks 1992: 349). Stathis refers to Kalliroi via the demonstrative NP *αυτή η Καλλιρόη* ('this.F.NOM.SG DEF.F.NOM.SG Kalliroi(F).NOM.SG'). Kalliroi was mentioned for the first time some 450 lines before, that is, the referent is textually accessible but has lost its previous activeness and is introduced again in a totally different context. The speaker delivers a negative assessment about Kalliroi's reading skills. The irony is disclosed in Stathis' next turn in line 5 (*Διάβασε μια σελίδα σε δεκαπέντε μέρες* 'She read one page in fifteen days.'). The demonstrative NP expresses the speaker's stance toward the referent and, thus, "assists with the implementation of the action" (Stivers 2007: 85). In this example, the demonstrative *αυτή* functions as an empathetic demonstrative.

In (5), two couples, Vasilis and Natasa, and Yannis and Polykseni, talk about the problems they encountered in their neighbourhood due to bad weather. They made

repeated calls to the coordination centre run by the municipality asking for help but the municipality employees were not effective (lines 1-11).

**Example (5)**

- 1 Vasilis [E: πήρατε [ τηλέφω]]νο στη:ν^ γκοινότητα? στο δήμο?  
'Eh did you call the community? The municipality?'
- 2 Natasa [((giggle))]
- 3 Vasilis τι σας είπανε?  
'What did they tell you?'
- 4 (1.1)  
(*(there is noise during the gap)*)
- 5 Yannis Ναι. βέβαια.  
'Yes. Of course.'
- 6 (0.8)
- 7 Yannis [<Πολλές φορές> =  
(*(in a laughing tone)*)  
'Many times.'
- 8 Vasilis [(Ti:?) ]  
'What?'
- 9 Vasilis = >Πολλ[ές °(φορές).< ]  
'Many times.'
- 10 Yannis [ >(Αλλά κανένας)< ] δεν ήξερες πού θα την: να  
(*(in a laughing tone).....*)  
'(But no one) you didn't know where to- nobody knew'  
σου πει τίποτα.  
.....))  
'what to tell you.'
- 12 Vasilis Το ίδιο [παρατηρήσαμε (κι εμείς).]  
'(We also) noticed the same thing.'
- 13 Yannis [Είχαν ένα κέντρο συ]ντονισμού:, (.)  
'They had a coordination centre.'
- 14 Vasilis °Θέμα συντονι[σμού° και αποδιοργά]νωσης.=  
'They had a problem of coordination and disorder.'
- 15 Polykseni [Ποιο συντονισμό:.]  
'There was no coordination.'
- 16 Polykseni =Δεν είχαν συντονισμό καθόλου.  
'There was lack of coordination.'
- 17 πόσες φορές πήρε ο Γιάννης, και δεν^ γκζέραν ποιος,=  
'Yannis called them so many times, and they didn't know who,'
- 18 → Yannis =°Αυτή:° η περιβόητη <Μαρίνα.>]  
this.F.NOM.SG DEF.F.NOM.SG notorious.F.NOM.SG Marina(F).NOM.SG  
'This notorious Marina.'
- 19 Polykseni [πού βρίσκεται. σε ποιο δρόμο.] .hh  
'Where they are. In what street. .hh'
- 20 Vasilis Η: γνωστή Μαρίνα.=  
'The well-known Marina.'
- 21 Yannis =Η γνωστή Μαρίνα.=  
'The well-known Marina.'  
(*(laughing.....)*)
- 22 Vasilis =(....[.....])



23	Polykseni	[Η Μαρί]να είναι η: γραμματέας του δήμαρχ[ου?] 'Is Marina the mayor's secretary?'
24	Vasilis	[ Όχι. 'No.'
25		[[είναι                   μί]α υπάλληλος, η] οποία πρ- π- ε:: 'She is an employee, who- eh::'
26	Polykseni	[>°του δημάρχου?<] 'of the mayor?'
27	Natasa	[°Όχι                   όχι.                   είναι:] 'No no. She is'
28	Vasilis	προφανώς [       επι]φορτίστηκε για κάποιες ώρες 'Who apparently was responsible for some hours'
29	Natasa	[°(N:αι.)] 'Yes.'
30	Vasilis	να εξυπηρετεί: [τους πολίτες. εμάς.] 'for serving citizens. Us.'
31	Yannis	[(..... ναι.)] 'yes'
32		(0.7)
33	Vasilis	Αλλά: ο αποσυντονισμός ήτανε: <εύγλωττος.> 'But the lack of coordination was evident.'
34	Polykseni	>Ναι, ναι ναι.< 'Yes, yes yes.'

In lines 12 and 14, Vasilis reports that there was lack of coordination and disorder, and in lines 15-17, Polykseni confirms the assertion. In line 18, Yannis delivers an assessment. His turn consists of the elliptical construction *αυτή η περιβόητη Μαρίνα* ('this.F.NOM.SG DEF.F.NOM.SG notorious.F.NOM.SG Marina(F).NOM.SG') in which he introduces a third person via an empathetic demonstrative followed by a descriptor. The referent is associated with the events described in prior turns, and, thus, is inferentially accessible. Yannis' turn gives rise to special inferences. In line 20, Vasilis confirms his understanding of inferred meanings, by repeating the name and describing the person as well-known with emphasis (*H: γνωστή Μαρίνα*. 'The well-known Marina.'). In line 21, Yannis confirms Vasilis' understanding by repeating Vasilis' prior saying (*H γνωστή Μαρίνα*. 'The well-known Marina.'), while laughing. Participants' turns in lines 20-21 display their shared stance toward the third person being referred to. Yet, all participants do not share this knowledge. In line 23, Polykseni initiates a repair sequence about Marina's identity. Vasilis delivers the repair (lines 24-25) and provides an account for the negative assessment, making the inferences invoked in the prior turns explicit (lines 28, 30, 33): Marina was a municipality employee who was responsible for helping citizens but was not effective at her job.

In sum, the analysis shows that demonstrative NPs in initial position in first assessments are marked reference forms, as they display speaker's stance toward a third person and position the referent in shared cognitive and emotional space between interlocutors. The empathetic use of demonstratives gives rise to special inferences, which are exploited by speakers in carrying out assessments.

## 5 Concluding remarks

The analysis shows that speakers use demonstrative NPs in initial position to resolve trouble in person recognition and make assessments about third parties. In these cases demonstrative NPs are interpreted as doing more than simply referring: they invoke and foreground participants' shared knowledge about the referent, express speaker's stance toward the referent, and, thus, fit the action being performed. Future research will shed light on the full functional potential of demonstrative NPs in Greek conversation (deictic and anaphoric uses) as well as other aspects of third person reference organization in Greek conversation, which remain an under-examined area in Greek Linguistics.

## References

- Ariel, Mira. 1988. "Referring and Accessibility." *Journal of Linguistics* 24:67–87.
- Ariel, Mira. 1990. *Assessing Noun-Phrase Antecedents*. London: Routledge.
- Birner, Betty J., and Gregory Ward. 1998. *Informational Status and Noncanonical Word Order in English*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Bolinger, Dwight. 1977. "There." In *Meaning and Form*, 90–123. London: Longman.
- Chafe, Wallace. 1976. "Givenness, Contrastiveness, Definiteness, Subjects, Topics and Point of View." In *Subject and Topic*, edited by Charles N. Li, 25–55. New York: Academic Press.
- Chafe, Wallace. 1994. *Discourse, Consciousness and Time: The Flow and Displacement of Conscious Experience in Speaking and Writing*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Clark, Herbert H., and Catherine R. Marshall. 1981. "Definite Reference and Mutual Knowledge." In *Elements of Discourse Understanding*, edited by A. K. Joshi, B. L. Webber and I. A. Sag, 10–63. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Diessel, Holger. 1999. *Demonstratives: Form, Function, and Grammaticalization*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Dixon, R. M. W. 2010. *Basic Linguistic Theory. Grammatical Topics, Vol. 2*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Enfield, N. J. 2013. "Reference in Conversation." In *The Handbook of Conversation Analysis*, edited by Jack Sidnell and Tanya Stivers, 433–454. Boston: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Enfield, J. N., and Tanya Stivers, eds. 2007. *Person Reference in Interaction: Linguistic, Cultural and Social Perspectives*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Fox, Barbara A. 1987. *Discourse Structure and Anaphora: Written and Conversational English*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Fox, Barbara A, ed. 1996. *Studies in Anaphora*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Gundel, Jeanette K., Nancy Hedberg, and Ron Zacharski. 1993. "Cognitive Status and the Form of Referring Expressions in Discourse." *Language* 69:274–307.
- Heim, Irene R. 1983. "File Change Semantics and the Familiarity Theory of Definiteness." In *Meaning, Use and the Interpretation of Language*, edited by Rainer Bäuerle, Christoph Schwarze, and Arnim von Stechow, 164–189. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Heritage, John. 2007. "Intersubjectivity and Progressivity in References to Persons (and Places)." In *Person Reference in Interaction: Linguistic, Cultural and Social*

- Perspectives*, edited by J. N. Enfield and Tanya Stivers, 73–96. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Himmelmann, Nikolaus P. 1996. “Demonstratives in Narrative Discourse: A Taxonomy of Universal Uses.” In *Studies in Anaphora*, edited by Barbara A. Fox, 205–254. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Jefferson, G. 2004. “Glossary of Transcript Symbols with an Introduction.” In *Conversation Analysis: Studies from the First Generation*, edited by Gene H. Lerner, 13–31. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Lakoff, Robin. 1974. “Remarks on ‘this’ and ‘that’.” In *Papers from the 10<sup>th</sup> Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society*, edited by Michael LaGaly, Robert Fox and Anthony Bruck, 345–356. Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society.
- Lekakou, Marika, and Kriszta Szendrői. 2012. “Polydefinites in Greek: Ellipsis, Close Apposition and Expletive Determiners.” *Journal of Linguistics* 48(1):107–149.
- Levinson, Stephen C. 2004. “Deixis.” In *The Handbook of Pragmatics*, edited by Laurence R. Horn and Gregory Ward, 97–121. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Lyons, Christopher. 1999. *Definiteness*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lyons, John. 1977. *Semantics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Naruoka, Keiko. 2006. “The Interactional Functions of the Japanese Demonstratives in Conversation.” *Pragmatics* 16(4):475–512.
- Pavlidou, Th.-S. 2016. *Καταγράφοντας την Ελληνική Γλώσσα*. Θεσσαλονίκη: Ινστιτούτο Νεοελληνικών Σπουδών.
- Prince, Ellen F. 1992. “The ZPG Letter: Subjects, Definiteness, and Information Status.” In *Discourse Description: Diverse Linguistic Analyses of a Fund-Raising Text*, edited by William C. Mann and Sandra A. Thompson, 295–326. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Sacks, Harvey. 1992. *Lectures on Conversation*, volume 2, edited by Gail Jefferson. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Sacks, Harvey, and Emanuel A. Schegloff. 1979. “Two Preferences in the Organization of Reference to Persons in Conversation and their Interaction.” In *Everyday Language: Studies in Ethnomethodology*, edited by George Psathas, 15–21. New York: Irvington Publishers.
- Schegloff, Emanuel A. 1996. “Some Practices for Referring to Persons in Talk-in-Interaction: A Partial Sketch of a Systematics.” In *Studies in Anaphora*, edited by Barbara A. Fox, 437–485. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Schegloff, Emanuel A. 2007. *Sequence Organization in Interaction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Stivers, Tanya. 2007. “Alternative Recognitionals in Person Reference.” In *Person Reference in Interaction: Linguistic, Cultural and Social Perspectives*, edited by J. N. Enfield and Tanya Stivers, 73–96. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Stivers, Tanya, N. J. Enfield, and Stephen C. Levinson. 2007. “Person Reference in Interaction.” In *Person Reference in Interaction: Linguistic, Cultural and Social Perspectives*, edited by N. J. Enfield and Tanya Stivers, 1–20. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

**Abbreviations:** 3 – third person; DEF – definite; F – feminine; FUT – future; M – masculine; N – neuter; NOM – nominative; PART – particle; PFV – perfective; SG – singular