

# THE SYNTAX AND SEMANTICS OF DEMONSTRATIVES: A DP-EXTERNAL APPROACH\*

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## 1. Introduction

Standard syntactic and semantic theories preclude the notion that Dem(onstratives), (e.g. *this* and *that*) and Det(erminers) (e.g. *the* and *a*) can co-occur in the same noun phrase, since they are traditionally classified as the same category (Wiltschko 2009). However, Classical Greek (CG) data is problematic for such a theory, where Dems and Dets do in fact co-occur (Lewis 2012). This article explores the question: where are Dems located in syntactic and semantic structures and what information and features do they express? Using CG and other language data, I show that Dems are neither Dets (*contra* Wiltschko 2009), nor Adjs (*contra* Leu 2008). Giusti (1994), Rosen (2003), Guardiano (2012), and Roberts (2011) claim that Dems are generated below D° and are located in a low position above nP or in a high position directly below D°. I propose that Dems are in their own phrase projection above the DP, which I base on empirical evidence from Greek, and Latin. I further show that analyzing Dems as Dets is problematic for semantic reasons as well. Additionally, I will discuss a temporal feature of Dems in Blackfoot (Algonquian). Section 2 will discuss the syntax of Dems and provide evidence for Dems being their own category, headed by the Dem, as well as show that Dems are external to the DP. Section 3 will discuss the Semantics of Dems.

## 2. The Syntax of Demonstratives

Following Windsor (2014), I argue in that Dems are neither Adj(ective)s (Leu 2008) or Determiners (Wiltschko 2009), but belong to their own syntactic category, Dem°.

### 2.1 Demonstratives are not Adjectives - Definite Spreading

One argument against analyzing Dems as Adjs is due to Definite Spreading (DS), which refers to a commonly found phenomenon in languages such as CG, Modern Greek (MG), Northern Swedish, and Bavarian German, where a Det occurs with a noun and on each of its Adjs (Alexiadou *et al.* 2007). An example of DS is shown via the CG data in (1). The basic word order is in (1a), and the DS construction is in (1b).

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\* I would like to thank my Blackfoot consultants Issapoikoan and Ahstanskiaki and my Modern Greek consultant Georgia Viozzi. Unless specified, all data is from these consultants.

- (1) a. he sofe gune  
 DET wise women  
 ‘the wise woman’
- b. he gune he sofe  
 DET women DET wise  
 ‘the wise woman’

(Morwood 2001: 125)

As seen in (1b), there is a second Det, which is coupled with the Adj, in addition to the one with the noun. Therefore, a construction is available which copies or “spreads” the definite article on to the Adj, while keeping a copy directly preceding the noun. DS is an optional construction and it is contrastively focused with the basic order (Grohmann & Panagiotidis 2004, Alexiadou *et al.* 2007, Leu 2008). Although DS can spread Dets to any number of Adjs (Alexiadou 2014), Dets never spread to Dems in CG or MG (Lewis 2012). The data DS constructions in (2) is ungrammatical in MG (unattested in CG).

- (2) \* e gune e afto e sofe  
 DET woman DET DEM DET wise  
 ‘that wise woman’

(Lewis 2012: 8)

Regardless of the ordering of Dems, Adjs, and Nouns, the definite article never spreads to the Dem. In my previous work I tried each of the above orderings in a corpus database search (Diogenes), with various inflections and various vocabulary in CG (Lewis 2012). Furthermore, it is uncertain whether or not Dems even appear in DS constructions in CG, which could mean that the presence of a Dem blocks DS constructions. In the next section further evidence against classifying Dems as Adjs is shown in their distribution.

### 2.1.1 The Distribution of Demonstratives and Adjectives

Although in CG both Dems and Adjs are prenominal in their basic word order, there are differences between them (Alexiadou *et al.* 2007). I will show these differences by comparing the distributions of Dems and Adjs. The basic word order in CG (and MG) follows the pattern, Det> Adj> (Adj)> noun, which is demonstrated by the data in (3).

- (3) ho kalos kagathos aner methustheie an  
 DET fine moral man made.drunk.OP PRT  
 ‘the good moral man should be made drunk’

(Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*: 86, 12)

The Det occurs prior to Adjs, following the same order as found in English. According to Alexiadou *et al.* (2007), constructions like (3) are the basic order for Adjs in CG, which I will assume in my analysis. Both Dems and Adjs in CG have a different position with respect to number. Dems occur prior to number, while Adjs occur after number, as in (4).

- (4) a. tauta ta duo biblia  
 DEM DET two book  
 'these two books'

(Galenus, Commentarii vi: 17a, 797, 6)

- b. hoi kilioi hoplitai athenaion  
 DET.NOM one.thousand.NOM heavily.armored.NOM men.from.athens.GEN  
 'one thousand heavily armored Athenian men'

(Thucydides, Historiae: 8, 25, 1, 2)

Due to the distribution of Dems and Adjs, I will assume the hierarchy of Dem> Det> Number> Adj> Noun> Possessive for CG and MG (Alexiadou *et al.* 2007), which corresponds to Greenberg's universal 20 (Greenberg 1963, Cinque 2005).

## 2.2 Demonstratives are not Determiners

Wiltschko (2009) claims that Dems are Dets, due to the complementary distribution of Dems and Dets in English. However, in many languages Dems and Det can co-occur, such as in Greek, Irish, Michif, and Romanian just to name a few (Giusti 1994; Rosen 2003; Alexiadou *et al.* 2007, 2014; Windsor 2014). An example of co-occurrence is shown in the CG example in (5a). An unacceptable MG example is in (5b).

- (5) a. ekeinos ho Kaisara  
 DEM DET elephant  
 'that elephant'

(Plutarchus, Brutus: 20, 11, 1)

- b. \*e e gene  
 DET DET woman  
 'the woman'

As shown in (5a), both the Dem and the Det can occur with a single noun. However, it is ungrammatical to have two Dets as shown in (5b). The Det is obligatory in Greek and the noun never occurs without it (Alexiadou *et al.* 2007). I will now discuss how DS constructions show that Dems are not Dets.

### 2.2.1 Definite Spreading

If Dems are in fact Dets, then it would be expected that they would be able to spread like Dets in DS constructions but, Dems do not copy onto Adjs in Greek. As shown by the ungrammatical MG data in (6), which is unattested in CG.

- (6) \* afto gune      afto sofe  
       DEM woman    DEM wise  
       ‘the wise woman’

Despite the ordering of the noun and Adj, the inclusion of the Det, and after trying various nouns and Adjs with all possible inflections, Dems do not spread (Alexiadou 2014). As far as I know no language that uses DS constructions have ever had a Dem spread in place of the Definite Det (Grohmann & Panagiotidis 2004, Alexidou *et al.* 2007, Leu 2008, Alexidou 2014). This suggests that Dems are not in the same category as Dets. I will now discuss the distribution of Dems and Dets.

### 2.2.2 The Distribution of Demonstratives and Determiners

Dems and Dets have a different distribution in Greek (Alexidou *et al.* 2007). Dets are obligatory and prenominal in Greek, while Dems are not obligatory and can appear in either a prenominal or postnominal position. In relation to one-another, Dems may either precede the Det or follow the noun, while Dems never directly follow a Det (without producing a null copula interpretation). The possible orders of Dems and Dets in CG are shown in (7).

- (7) a. ekeine    he    gune  
       DEM      DET woman  
       ‘that woman’
- b. he    gune      ekeine  
       DET woman    DEM  
       ‘that woman’

(Morwood 2001: 125)

As shown by the data Dems and Dets have a very different distribution from each other. The structures in (7) are grammatical in both CG and MG. If Dems and Dets are the same, then the order Det>Dem>noun or a postnominal Det should be attested in CG or grammatical in MG, which is not the case. Therefore since Dems and Dets do not have

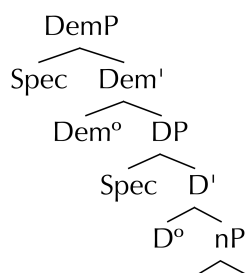
the same syntactic distribution, they should not have the same category (additional evidence against categorizing Dems as Dets will be discussed in section 3).

Since Dems do not behave in the same manner as Adjs or Det, I must therefore conclude that Dems must belong to a category unto themselves.

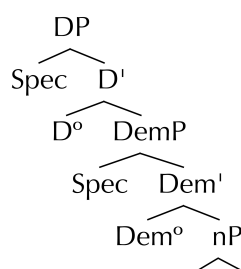
### 2.3 Demonstratives are External to the DP

The concept of a DemP is not new, but has been argued by Giusti (1994; 1996), Rosen (2003), Roberts (2011), Guardiano (2012), and Windsor (2014). Giusti, Rosen, Alexiadou *et al.* (2007), Roberts, Guardiano, and Lewis have claimed that Dems occur internal to the DP, while (Windsor 2014) claimed that Dems are external to the DP. The trees for the two structures are shown in (8). Although there is debate on whether Dems are in a high (above number) or low (below number) internal position, this paper is focused on an external account and therefore I will generalize the internal position in (8b) (Roberts (2011), Guardiano (2012)).

(8) a. DP-External



b. DP-Internal



I propose the structure in (8a) (contra Lewis 2012), that Dems are external to the DP. A DP-external approach accounts for all of the Dem data according to Guardiano's (2012) six types of Dem distributions. A DP-external approach also accounts for Greenberg's and Cinque's observations, in which they show the various surface orders Dems can appear, in relation to nouns, Adjs, and numbers (Greenberg 1963, Cinque 2005).

### 2.4 Demonstrative distributions

In this section I will discuss the various distributions of Dems according to Greenberg (Greenberg 1963, Cinque 2005) and Guardiano (2012), in order to show that a DP-external approach is preferable to an internal one. Greenberg's universal 20 examines the 24 possible word orders of Dems, Nums, Adjs, and nouns. Of the 24 possible combinations, 14 combinations are attested in the languages of the world (Greenberg 1963, Cinque 2005). Guardiano (2012) observes that Dems are universal in the languages

of the world and claims that Dems can be generalized into by their distributions. Based on her analysis, the following Dem orders in (9) are possible.

- (9) Generalized Dem Orders via Guardiano
- a. DEM/DET > NOUN
  - b. DEM > DET > NOUN
  - c. DET > NOUN > DEM

Based on Guardiano's (2012) generalizations, Dems occur either prior to the Det+noun or immediately following the noun. I also claim, following Roberts (2011) that in English Dem constructions (9a), the Det (or D<sup>o</sup>), which I assume is the locus of definiteness, is still present even when it is not overtly pronounced. This is due to the fact that Dems can also be indefinite rather than only definite, as demonstrated by the "story telling" speech (new discourse material) in (10), in which the Dem is more comparable to an indefinite article (the unpronounced Det will be discussed further in section 3).

- (10) So this/a/\*the guy bumped into me at the pub and spilt my drink!

By claiming that (9a) is in fact the same structure as (9b), it suggests that Dems can only occur on either side of the Det+noun (9b, c). This makes a DP-external analysis more plausible, since (9b) is the base generated order and (9c) can be explained by DP movement into Spec DemP. Crucially, there is no known language that has a Det>Dem>noun order (Greenberg 1963; Cinque 2005, Roberts 2011, Guardiano 2012). Therefore, I suggest that Dem>Det>noun is the universal order and I propose that English Dems can be valued definite or indefinite by the functional head D<sup>o</sup>. I will now discuss how internal and external analyses account for the data and suggest that an external theory universally accounts for Dem data.

#### 2.4.1 Accounting for the Data - a Unified Theory

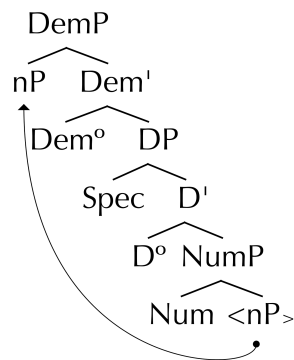
In this section I will present my hypothesis and show that an external account is explanatorily adequate and can handle all of the data shown in section 2. I will also demonstrate that an internal account is problematic and is also less economical, since more movement is required.

Following to Windsor (2014), I claim that Dems are base generated in Dem<sup>o</sup>, which is external to the DP, but part of the projection from the noun, yielding the hierarchy Dem>Det>noun. When Dems are prenominal they remain in their base generated order, when they are postnominal the DP moves into Spec of DemP. Such a structure can account for the Dem orders in (9) in the following ways. I claim that the movement into Spec of DemP is due to the result of a strong feature that drives the movement in certain

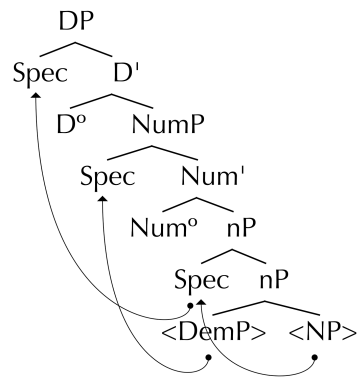
languages, such as in Celtic languages and Hebrew (Guardiano 2012), which is parallel to an EPP feature, making the movement obligatory. When the postnominal Dem position is optional, as found in languages such as in Greek (Alexiadou 2014), Michif (Rosen 2003), and other romance languages such as Spanish, Catalan, and Italian (Zubizarreta 1998), the movement into Spec DemP is contrastively focused with the base generated order (Zubizarreta 1998, Rosen 2003, Alexiadou *et. al* 2007, Leu 2008). I suggest that this optional movement is due to the presence or absence of a focus feature. In languages where Dems are only prenominal, such languages do not have the EPP-like feature, nor do they have the focus feature.

Roberts (2011) claims that the DemP is generated in a low position below number in the Spec of nP (which is an unattested base order). In such an approach, much more movement is required for constructions such as noun>Dem>Num (attested in Cinque 2005), as shown in (11b), compared with the DP-external account in (11a).

(11) a. DP-External



b. DP-Internal



As in (11b), a DP-internal account “involves NP-movement to Spec nP, Dem movement to Spec NumP and the NP-movement to Spec DP” (Roberts 2011: 19). However, in a DP-external approach (11a), the noun>Dem>Num order can be achieved by raising the nP into Spec DemP. Additionally, if DemP is in the Spec of nP, as Roberts suggests, then genitive constructions would require two Spec nPs or derivations would crash. The presence of two selected Specs seems unmotivated. Based on the movement required, a DP-external framework is more economical than an internal one.

#### 2.4.2 Latin Evidence for DP-External Account

Dems in Latin function in a unique way from the other Dem data discussed, which is problematic for a DP-internal approach. Latin does not have articles, but it does have three different Dems, *hic* (proximal), *iste* (immediate), and *ille* (distal) (Danckaert 2012). In Latin, the distal Dem, *ille*, can remain lower in the clause, while the DP is raised into a

higher topic or focus position (Iovino 2011, Danckaert 2012). In the example in (12a), the Dem that agrees with the raised noun or Adj remains below the verb, while the base generated order is shown in (12b) (Iovino 2011). I selected examples in the accusative for the Dem stranding to be more evident.

- (12) a. remove            **gladios**            parumper [DP illos            <gladios>]  
 remove.IMF        sword.M.PL.ACC little.while        Dem.M.PL.ACC  
 ‘remove those swords for a little while’  
 (M. Tullius Cicero: Philippicae, 2, 103, 1)

- b. [DP illos            fortissimos            viros]  
 DEM.M.PL.ACC        powerful.SUP.M.ACC.PL        men.M.PL.ACC  
 ‘those most powerful men’  
 (M. Tullius Cicero: De Lege Agraria: 1, 2, 7)

As shown in (12), both construction types are available to the same author. Similar to Italian, Latin topic or focus driven movement in the clausal domain frequently moves entire phrases into its clausal projections (Rizzi 1997, Danckaert 2012, Lewis 2013). The fact that Latin can topicalize a phrase with or without the Dem is problematic for a DP-internal approach. Since the entire DP is thought to move into the Spec of TopicP, the Dem should obligatorily move with the entire DP. However, if DemP is external, then the optionality of selecting the DP or DemP in topicalization can be explained.

## 2.5 Summary

Dems require their own unique categorization, since they are not Adjs or Dets. Greek Dems do not instantiate DS constructions, neither do they get a copy of a Det, when the Det spreads to Adjs. Dems have a different distribution from Adjs and Dets. Dems are in their own phrase, DemP, headed by Dem<sup>o</sup>. A DP-external approach is preferable to an internal one, since it can handle all of the Dem construction types (section 2.4), requires fewer movements, and does not violate relativized minimality (Rizzi 1990). Dem > Det > noun is the standard order for the languages discussed including English, which has a null D in Dem constructions, where the Det is not overtly pronounced. Additionally, the Latin Dem *ille*, is problematic for an internal approach since the Dem can be stranded when the rest of the DP is fronted for the purposes of topicalization or focalization. I will now demonstrate via semantics that Dems require their own category and are external.



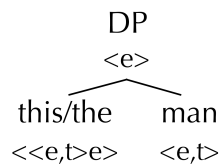
### 3. The Semantics of Demonstratives

According to Montague (*qtd.* in: Heim & Kratzer 1998), semantics can construct the same structures as seen in syntax. Building on the work of section 2, I will show that Dems are their own type and are generated in a position above the DP. I will also show that Dems are the conduit of temporal information in Blackfoot.

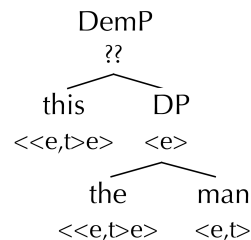
#### 3.1 Demonstratives are not Determiners

According to Heim & Kratzer (1998), Dets are of the type  $\langle\langle e,t\rangle e\rangle$  and verbs require an argument of the type  $\langle e\rangle$ . In English Dets and Dems do not co-occur, and classifying Dem as Dets seems to yield the correct results, as shown in (13a). However, once co-occurrence is factored in, a problem arises (13b).

(13) a.



b.



As can be seen, something of the type  $\langle\langle e,t\rangle e\rangle$  cannot take something of the type  $\langle e\rangle$ , which causes the structure in (13b) to crash. This requires that the denotation of either Dems or Dets must be altered. Rather than claiming that Dets are recursive, I will assume the assignment of Dets to remain of the type  $\langle\langle e,t\rangle e\rangle$  (with a slight modification) and I will suggest a different assignment for Dems (Heim & Kratzer 1998, Elbourne 2008).

This denotation of the definite article ‘the’ is a function of the type  $\langle\langle e,t\rangle e\rangle$ , in other words it takes a function ranging from entities to truth values and projects an entity. It suggests that there is one unique  $x$  (termed  $\iota x$ ), which accounts for the definiteness quality attributed to the definite article. Elbourne (2008) offers the following denotation for the definite article.

$$(14) \quad \llbracket \text{the} \rrbracket = \\
 \lambda \langle s_e, s_t \rangle. \lambda s. \iota x f(\lambda s'. x)(s) = 1$$

(Elbourne 2008: 5)

Similar to Heim & Kratzer’s denotation (1998), Elbourne (2008) assigns the definite article as a function of  $\langle\langle e,t\rangle e\rangle$ . However, he also allows for an additional variable,

marked  $s$ , situational time (time relative to the verb's tense), making it  $\langle\langle s,e \rangle \langle s,t \rangle \langle s,e \rangle\rangle$  (Enç 1986). He does this due to time interpretation mismatches between the verb and noun, which will be discussed in section 3.2. This now means that the verb will require something of the type  $\langle s,e \rangle$ . I will assume Elbourne's denotation for the definite article with the following modification.

$$(15) \quad \llbracket \text{the} \rrbracket = \\ \lambda \langle e,t \rangle f \lambda s. \lambda x f(x) \text{ in } s$$

This denotation  $\langle\langle e,t \rangle \langle s,e \rangle\rangle$ , preserves the previous two denotations, but suggests that situational time is introduced by  $D^0$ , rather than from the noun (I will explain this claim and situational time in section 3.2 below).

Regardless of the exact definition of Dems, they are semantically not Dets and must have a different denotation. Assuming that Dets are of the type  $\langle\langle e,t \rangle \langle s,e \rangle\rangle$ , Dems must be able to take a  $\langle s,e \rangle$  and project something of the type  $\langle s,e \rangle$  (Elbourne 2008), which is required by the verb. This implies again that Dets are always present in Dem constructions, even when not overtly pronounced, as in English. However, an  $\langle\langle s,e \rangle \langle s,e \rangle\rangle$  approach creates a similarity between Dems and Adjs, which will be discussed in section 3.3, after a brief overview of situational time.

### 3.2 Situational Time

According to Enç (1986) and Elbourne (2008) situational time is a time that is relative to the time of the main verb. For example, Enç's sentence in (16) is in the present tense, but the nominal has a past time referent.

(16) Every fugitive is now in jail.

(Enç 1986: 6)

Once a fugitive is currently in jail, he is no longer a fugitive, but rather, a prisoner and the sentence should be a contradiction. However, the sentence is grammatical in English and it is not a contradiction. This is a case of situational time, not to be confused with tense. The fugitive refers to entities who are past fugitives, and those past fugitives are currently back in jail. According to Kratzer (1998), Wiltschko (2003), and Lecarme (2008) there are time features associated with the nominal domain. For instance, in Upriver Halkomelem (a First Nations, Salishan language) the morpheme *-elh* can attach to Adjs, nouns (17), prepositions, negation, subject clitics, auxiliaries, etc.

- (17)      te-l                      xéltel-elh  
             DET-1SG.POSS   pencil-PAST  
             ‘my former pencil’

Wiltschko (2003: 665)

Following Wiltschko (2003) I assume that there is some level of tense interpretation on  $D^0$ , and propose that situational time originates as a functional projection of  $D$ .

### 3.3 Adjective-like

By assigning Dems to the type  $\langle\langle s,e\rangle\langle s,e\rangle\rangle$ , it makes a parallel with Adjs, due to their recursivity. According to Heim & Kratzer (1998), Adjs are of the type  $\langle\langle e,t\rangle\langle e,t\rangle\rangle$ . With the addition of situational time Adjs would become  $\langle\langle s,e\rangle\langle s,t\rangle\rangle\langle e,t\rangle$ . Both Dems and Adjs now display a recursive quality, since they both project the same function that they take. Although Dems are not syntactically recursive, they are given a recursive-looking function. However, if an additional Dem is added to the sentence structure, that Dem would either reinforce the first Dem if it agrees in proximal/distal qualities, as common with reinforcers (Bernstein 1997, Rosen 2003), or if there is disagreement in proximal/distal qualities, the sentence would crash. The difference between Dems and Adjs is that Adjs are functions of entities to truth values, which in turn returns a function from  $e$  to  $t$ , while Dems are functions from  $s$  to  $e$ , which accounts for situational time, which in turn returns a similar function as the Det to be checked with the verb. Although, the difference might seem small, they are still unique and are semantically different. Interestingly, in this analysis, Adjs are forced below the Det, while Dems are required to merge above the Det. In light of this and the syntactic arguments presented in section 2.1, Dems are indeed distinct from Adjs.

### 3.4 The features of Demonstratives

In this section I will discuss definiteness, proximity, the Blackfoot Dem *oma* and its relation with situational time. First, I will use the definiteness of Dems to motivate the unpronounced Det (Roberts 2011), and show that the features of the Det are still present and realized on the Dem. As mentioned in (10), (restated and expanded as (18)), Dems can, but do not always express something definite.

- (18)      So this/a/\*the guy bumped into me at the pub and spilt my drink!

The Dem *this* in certain cases is comparable to the indefinite article (18a). When using a story-telling narrative with using discourse new information, the proximal English Dem is frequently indefinite, to the extent that the speaker does not need to know who the referent is, as it could be just “some guy”. Therefore, some Dems can be indefinite, not

just definite. Although more research is required to make a general claim that proximal Dems can be universally indefinite, there is evidence that such a claim is possible. By showing that Dems can be definite or indefinite, it motivates an unpronounced Det (Roberts 2011), which can spread its definite feature onto the Dem. Since Dems can display certain features from Dets, such as definiteness, it is not a far stretch to claim that other features from the Det can be interpreted on the Dem, such as situational time. I will now look at Dems in relation to situational time.

### 3.4.1 Blackfoot Demonstratives

As Guardiano (2012) notes, the presence of Dems are universal. Dems can be proximal *this*, distal *that*, immediate *iste/ista/istud* (Latin). The Blackfoot Dems are based on both proximity and familiarity (Frantz 2009). I have observed both a three-way contrast (similar to *this/ that/ yonder*), and uses based on familiarity, motion, and time. The Blackfoot Dem *om* (distal), shows a situational time interpretation. Although Blackfoot is thought to be a tenseless language (Ritter & Wiltschko 2005), the Dem *om* routinely produces a past time interpretation, relative to the main verb, as shown in (19).

- (19) a. nit-si'kat-aa    amo    ninaa  
           1.SG-kick        DEM    man  
           ‘I kick (or insult) this man’  
           [Both Tenses -present and past]
- b. oma        ninaa    ispiyi  
               Dem        man        dance  
               ‘that man danced’  
               [past only]

Regardless of the animacy, person, number, or type of verb (stative, emotive, etc), transitive or intransitive, *amo* was interpreted as either past or present time, while *om* was only interpreted as past tense. Furthermore in Uhlenbeck’s (1912 *qtd.* in Schupbach 2012) translation of ‘the thunderbirds’ (a story in Blackfoot), each occurrence of *om* is translated in the past tense, while other Dems such as *am* use either present or past tense (although generally present tense, unless a different tense or aspect marker is present) in free variation. Since Blackfoot does not generally make an overt tense distinction between the past and the present tense (Ritter & Wiltschko 2005), It would seem that the situational time can affect the overall interpretation when the verb has no strong tense features. Interestingly, the past time interpretations on *om* are only apparent on the internal argument of a transitive verb (or in intransitive constructions), as shown in (20).

- (20) a. om ninaa si'kataa amo ninaa-(wa)  
 Dem man kicked Dem man  
 'that man kick/kicked this man'  
 [both tenses]
- b. oma ninaa si'kataa oma ninaa-(wa)  
 Dem man kick Dem man  
 'that man kicked that man'  
 [Past only]
- c. amo ninaa si'kataa oma ninaa-(wa)  
 Dem man kick Dem man  
 'this man kicked that man'  
 [Past only]
- d. amo ninaa si'kataa amo ninaa-(wa)  
 Dem man kicked Dem man  
 'that man kick/kicked this man'  
 [both tenses]

At first (20a) seems to break the pattern of *om*, when the consultant offered present and past interpretations of the sentence. However, as shown in (20a-c), the external argument does not impact the situational time interpretation in transitive constructions. By comparing (20a) to (20d), the two sentences are only altered by the initial Dem, however, there is no difference in the interpretations. But when (20c) is compared to (20d), the two sentences form a minimal pair, where only the internal (second) Dem is altered and there is a difference in the interpretations. When the internal Dem is distal *om*, only a past time interpretation is offered. This suggests that only the first merged argument can affect the situational time interpretation. Despite the fact that Blackfoot is not an ergative-absolute language, it does seem to have some similarities to such constructions via situational time, due to the fact that only the first merged argument in a transitive construction, or an intransitive argument can convey situational time.

The past time *om* interpretation is very tenuous. Once there is a different feature for tense, aspect, or modality on the verb, the past interpretation is lost, as shown in the future tense and durative aspect examples below.

- (21) a. na imitaa-(wa) aak-i'nit-ii-(wa) omi poos-i  
 DET dog-3SG aahk-need-kill-DIR-3SG DEM cat-4SG  
 'the dog will kill that cat'  
 [Future only]

- b. omahk    ninaa    a-ispīyi  
 DEM        man        DUR-dance  
 ‘yonder man is dancing’  
 [Present only]

The example in (21a) has a future morpheme *aak-*, and the overall tense interpretation is in the future, while (21b) has a durative morpheme *a-*, and the overall tense interpretation is in the present. It may be the case that only the verb without any tense, aspect, (or modality) is weak enough to be affected by the distal Dem overtly. The Dem *om* in Blackfoot constitutes a minimal pair with other Dems, such as *am*, creating a past tense interpretation. The reasoning for the interpretations may be similar to Musqueam locative auxiliaries. Suttles (*qtd.* in Ritter & Wiltschko 2005) claims that “the auxiliary *?i* ‘be here’ locates the event near the speaker at the time of utterance” (Suttles 2004 *qtd.* in Ritter & Wiltschko 2005). This suggests that the reason that the distal Dem, but not the other Dems, produces a past interpretation is partially based on pragmatics. Suggesting the possible reasoning: since the object is distal, and we are not there, it must be at a different time, and since the future (or other) morpheme is not used, it must be in the past. However, since situational time is projected from the Det, the denotations for Dems must include situational time (Enç 1986, Elbourne 2008).

#### 4. Conclusion

In this article, I have shown that Dems are neither Adjs or Dets. They are not Adjs, since Dems and Adjs have a different distribution, only Adjs are take on Dets in DS constructions in Greek. Dems are not Dets, since Dems and Dets have a different distribution, Dems do not spread to Adjs in DS constructions, and semantically Dems and Dets cannot take the same denotation. Dems must head their own category external to the DP and are of the type  $\langle\langle s,e \rangle\langle s,e \rangle\rangle$ . An external hypothesis, can account for the various Dem data, and appears to work as a unified theory. Unlike an internal account, an external theory requires less movement and can account for Latin Dem extraction data, where the DP is moved into a topic or focus position, while the Dem is stranded. Finally, some Dems, such as *om* in Blackfoot can project situational time from the  $D^{\circ}$ .

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