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**The distribution of Irish locatives (*seo, sin, siúd*):  
DP, AP, or other?**

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Abstract

This paper presents phonological and syntactic evidence from Irish demonstratives to argue for phrasal structure and an addition to the syntactic hierarchy of projections in the nominal domain – the demonstrative phrase (DemP).

Previously in the literature, demonstratives have been analyzed as belonging to the same category as adjectives (Leu 2008), or as belonging to the same category as determiners (Wiltschko 2009). In this paper, I explore the predictions made by these analyses by extending them to Irish. The Irish data refutes both of those analyses because of obligatory co-occurrence with determiners, and a lack of adjective agreement. Phonological evidence (consonantal weakening effects) further allow me to argue that, unlike what is proposed by Cinque (2005) or Roberts (*to appear*), the demonstrative projection is not low in the nominal structure, but is actually external to the determiner projection and very high in the structure.

I conclude this paper by making cross-linguistic predictions which are briefly extended to English demonstratives and outlining avenues for future research in applying these hypotheses to unrelated, non-Indo-European languages.

## 1. Introduction\*

The literature on demonstratives makes several opposing claims. Leu (2008)<sup>1</sup> argues that the correct categorization of demonstratives is the category A(djective) which may be valued as definite. Wiltschko (2009)<sup>2</sup> on the other hand argues that demonstratives are D(eterminers) merged with a [location] feature. McCloskey (2004:3), looking specifically at Irish, reaches a similar conclusion stating that "the Demonstrative 'particles' are heads (possibly themselves D) which select definite DP[s]." In this study, I argue that none of these previous analyses can capture all the facts of what are known as demonstratives in Irish grammars and learning aids (Ó Siadail 1995, na mBráithre Críostaí 1999, Mac Congáil 2005). The fact that demonstratives in Irish cannot be effectively categorized as either D or A begs the question: What is the correct syntactic categorization of demonstratives in Irish? I conclude that Irish locatives *seo* 'prox(imal)', *sin* 'dist(al)', and *siúd* 'invis(ible)' belong to their own category, Dem(onstrative) (Shlonsky 2004, Cinque 2005, Roberts *to appear*) which in turn heads its own projection – DemP. It could be argued that this proliferation of syntactic categories gives way to a weaker theory that fails to explain the similarities between demonstratives and either D or A as noted in McCloskey (2004) and Wiltschko (2009), and Leu (2008) respectively. I argue in favour of the DemP only after careful consideration of the evidence which clearly separates Irish locatives from either D or A.

This paper is organized as follows: Section 2 outlines the syntactic constructions that Irish demonstratives can appear in and discusses the relevant syntactic features that this analysis is concerned with. Section 3 provides evidence against demonstratives as belonging to the category A. Section 4 provides evidence against demonstratives as belonging to the category D. Section 5 proposes an analysis of the internal structure of the DemP and makes cross-linguistic comparisons. Section 6 concludes by summarizing the advantages and consequences of this analysis and identifying avenues for further research.

## 2. Demonstratives in Irish

Before proceeding into an analysis of Irish locatives, it is first important to highlight the relevant features this analysis will be concerned with, as well as providing examples to demonstrate the two possible syntactic constructions locatives may appear in.

Number is an active feature in Irish, expressed on many syntactic heads: Nouns and adjectives, verbs often show number agreement with subjects, and prepositions may be conjugated for person and number. It is therefore no surprise that determiners may be inflected for number as well. Irish has two definite determiners – singular (*an*) and plural (*na*). In the absence of an overt determiner, the nominal is interpreted as indefinite.

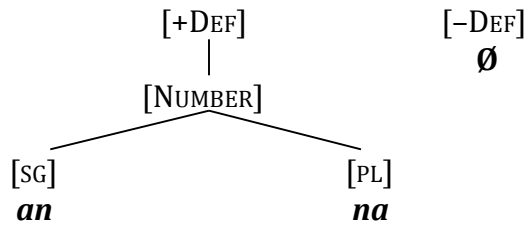
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\* I am grateful to Jim McCloskey (UC Santa Cruz), Andrew Carnie (University of Arizona at Tucson), Frances Kane (University of Ulster at Jordanstown), Elizabeth Ritter (University of Calgary) and the attendees of the 4th Verbatim annual conference and Celtic Linguistics Conference 7 for their helpful comments on earlier versions of this paper.

<sup>1</sup> Leu looks at many languages to make this argument, including: Swiss German, German, Norwegian, Colloquial Slovenian, Swedish, Colloquial Norwegian, Afrikaans, Old Zürich German, Trøndersk Norwegian, Japanese, Greek, Danish, English, Bafut, Icelandic, Romanian, and briefly – Irish.

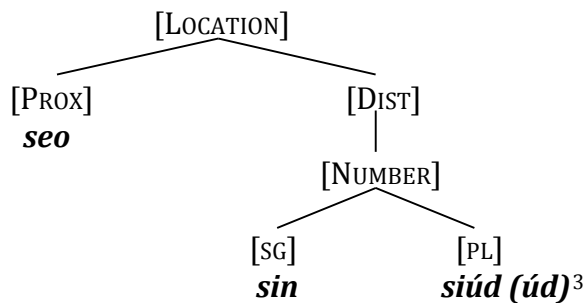
<sup>2</sup> Wiltschko looks at three languages to make her argument: Blackfoot, Halkomelem, and German.

## (1) Features expressed on the determiner



Given the abundance of categories which show singular/plural distinction in Irish, we should also expect that demonstratives (especially if they are really adjectives or determiners) should also participate in this distinction. Given this expectation, I will give a preliminary sketch of the features of demonstratives below in 2. The proximate demonstrative is *seo* whereas in the distal location, both singular *sin* and plural *siúd* are available. This raises the question: Why do only distal demonstratives make this distinction?

## (2) Features expressed on the demonstrative (preliminary version)



Using these features as a starting point on which to build an analysis, we can examine instances of what seems like plural agreement between demonstratives and pronouns.

(3) *seo/sin/siúd* and pronouns (Ó Siadhail 1995:36)

- a. *Tá sé seo go maith*  
 COP 3SG.M **PROX** PRT good  
 'this fellow/thing is good'
- b. *Bhí sí sin go deas*  
 COP.PST 3SG.F **DIST.SG** PRT nice  
 'that woman/thing was nice'

<sup>3</sup> *úd* is a reduced form of *siúd*. Ó Siadhail (1995: 36) states that the difference between these forms is that *úd* is most commonly found with nouns and *siúd* is most commonly found with pronouns – this is up to individual speaker variation though.

- c. *Ní bheidís siúd sásta*  
 NEG COP.COND.3PL DIST.PL satisfied  
 'they' would not be satisfied'

In the above examples, we can see the contrast between the demonstratives which combine with singular pronouns 3(a-b) and that which combines with the third person plural in 3c. This observation, however, is merely coincidence. Ó Siadhail (1995:36) emphasizes 'they' not because of its plural nature, but to highlight the referent's remote status. Ó Siadhail (1995:8) gives the meaning of the adverb *ansiúd* (and I extend this to the demonstrative *siúd/úd*) as meaning "'there' and emphasizes distance (i.e., not present or not previously mentioned), as opposed to *ansin* 'there' which simply points out where something is." The critical difference between these two can be seen in the example below where the referent of the bolded DP, 'the Twelve Bens... the large mountains north of Connemara' is previously mentioned in the discourse (D-linked).

(4) Plural agreement and demonstratives (Ó Conghaile 1999: 27)

*...amach faoi na cnoic, amach faoi na Beanna Beola*  
 out about DEF.PL hill.PL out about DEF.PL 'Twelve Bens'

**[na cnoic mhóra sin]**<sub>DP</sub> *taobh ó thuaidh de Chonamara*  
 DEF.PL hill.PL.F big.PL.F DIST side from north of Connemara  
 '...near the hills, near the Twelve Bens, those large mountains on the north side of Connemara'

If the demonstrative *siúd/úd* were truly agreeing with the determiner and noun for plural as suggested in examples 2 and 3, we would see it also surface in the bolded DP in 4. *Siúd/úd* does not surface here because the referent of the phrase is previously D-linked. D-linking is not the only instance where *sin* substitutes for *siúd/úd* though. Where, in Ó Siadhail's terms, distance is not emphasized and the speaker merely wants to point out where something is, *sin* is used. This is the case below in 5 where again, if there were plural agreement, we would expect to see *siúd/úd* surface instead of *sin*.

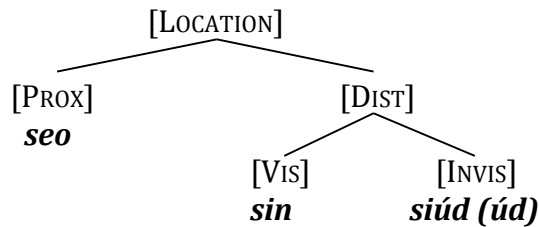
(5) Non D-linked plural agreement and demonstratives (Mac Congáil 2005: 165)

*Is feirmeoirí iad na fir sin*  
 COP farmer.PL 2PL DEF.PL man.PL DIST  
 'Those men are farmers'

I take this evidence as support for the feature distribution given below in 6 where the distal demonstratives are differentiated not by a singular/plural distinction but by a visible/invisible distinction.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> McCloskey (2004:2) also includes the form *udaí* in his discussion of Irish demonstratives. This form, he groups into the category of "most distal" together with *siúd/úd* and makes the narrow distinction between them by glossing *siúd/úd* as 'yon' and *udaí* as 'yonder.' I have not yet found any data to suggest that a

## (6) Features expressed on the demonstrative (final version)



Now that the relevant features expressed on the demonstrative are understood, I will highlight the various syntactic constructions that demonstratives can appear in.<sup>5</sup> The most common construction that demonstratives in Irish appear in is what I will call the 'sandwich construction' – so called because the determiner and demonstrative sandwich the nominal (and any adjectives) between them.

## (7) The 'sandwich' construction

- a. *Tá [an fear seo]<sub>DP</sub> sásta*  
 COP DEF man PROX satisfied  
 'this man is satisfied' (Ó Siadhail 1995: 36)
- b. *Tá [an chloch mhór sin]<sub>DP</sub> go deas*  
 COP DEF stone big DIST PRT nice  
 'that big stone is nice' (Ó Siadhail 1995: 36)
- c. *Níl [na fir úd]<sub>DP</sub> sásta*  
 COP.NEG DEF.PL man.PL DIST satisfied  
 'those' men are not satisfied' (Ó Siadhail 1995: 36)
- d. *\*Tá [∅ fear seo]<sub>DP</sub> sásta*  
 COP [-DEF] man PROX satisfied

The data above in 7(a-c) shows the fact that determiners and demonstratives are the peripheral members of the nominal domain. Crucially, example 7d shows that when the determiner is indefinite, use of a demonstrative is ungrammatical. McCloskey (2004:2) (although he does not agree with that analysis) identifies the most common view of this phenomenon as "discontinuous determiners" – something that will be discussed at length in section 4. When not organized with the definite determiner *an* or *na*, demonstratives may also combine with pronouns as in 8 (and above in 3), proper nouns as in 9, vocatives such as in 10, or appear as bare demonstratives as given in 11.

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meaningful distinction between these forms exists in Connemara Irish – the dialect my data are largely drawn from, and so I will not consider *udaí* in this paper.

<sup>5</sup> In this paper I consider only demonstratives which occur in the nominal domain. In Irish, demonstratives may also occur in sentence-initial position as what den Dikken (2006) calls a "defective copula." I leave the analysis of this form for future research.

## (8) Demonstratives plus pronouns (adapted from McCloskey 2004:2)

- a. *Chuaigh sé seo ar seachrán*  
 go.PST 3SG.M PROX on astray  
 'this person went astray'
- b. *b'fhearr liom é seo fanacht sa bhaile*  
 prefer with.1SG 3SG.M PROX stay at home  
 'I'd prefer for this person to stay at home'

I assume, following Postal (1970), Abney (1987), and Baggaley (1998) (among others) that pronouns belong to the category D – so example 8 still follows the sandwich construction. The same may not be able to be said about all the other constructions listed below.

## (9) Demonstratives plus proper nouns

- a. *Mháirtín sin* (Ó Shíadhail 1995:36)  
**Martin DIST**  
 'That Martin' (cp. 'Oh, that Martin, he's always late')
- b. *Jackie seo* (McCloskey 2004:2)  
**Jackie PROX**  
 'this Jackie person'
- c. *bhí urradh as miosúr i nGoll seo* (McCloskey 2004:2)  
 be.PST strength out-of measure in **Goll PROX**  
 'This guy Goll had astonishing strength'

(10) Demonstratives plus vocatives (adapted from McCloskey 2004: 3)<sup>6</sup>

- a. *a bhean seo*  
**VOC woman PROX**  
 'hey, you' (addressed to a woman)
- b. *a bhean sin*  
**Voc woman DIST**  
 'hey you (over there)' (addressed to a woman)

## (11) Bare demonstratives (adapted from McCloskey 2004: 2)

- a. *tabhair dhom sin*  
 give.IMP to.1SG **DIST**  
 'give me that'

<sup>6</sup> McCloskey notes that there is no direct translation of these forms into English, but this is a close approximation.

- b. *tá seo ag goillstean orm*  
 be.PRES PROX PROG bother on.1SG  
 'this is bothering me'

I will suggest that, although all of the above examples do not conform to the suggested structure of the 'sandwich construction', there is a commonality between all of these constructions. Rather than arguing for the account of the sandwich construction as discontinuous determiners, McCloskey (2004) suggests that the particle head of the demonstrative selects a definite DP. McCloskey cites Doyle (2002) as reaching a similar conclusion on "more or less independent grounds." Ignoring for the moment the status of the particle head, I suggest a slight revision to this statement: A demonstrative selects a DP who's referent is specific.<sup>7</sup> With respect to example 11, this seems to be more accurate, and I would hypothesize that these sentences would be ungrammatical without a gesture to a specific object (as in 11a) or without D-linking (as in 11b). This hypothesis still needs to be confirmed with native speakers, however.

Now that the constructions including demonstratives in Irish are understood, as well as the syntactic features they are concerned with, I proceed with an argument against classifying these elements as belonging to the category A.

### 3. Arguments against an AP interpretation

In his arguments for treating demonstratives as adjectives, Leu (2008:25), in a footnote, calls the demonstratives *seo/sin* reduced forms of *anseo/ansin* 'here/there'. If this observation is indeed correct, it is pertinent to better understand these adverbs and their relationship to the locatives.

#### 3.1. Adverbial 'here/there'

Given the sandwich construction outlined above as well as proposed DP-internal movement – either of N<sup>0</sup> to D (Guilfoyle 1988, Duffield 1995, Elfner 2012) or of snowballing to get the order Noun > Adjective (Shlonsky 2004, Cinque 2005) it is possible to conceive of *anseo/ansin/ansiúd* 'here/there/yonder' as compounds made up of the definite determiner *an* and a demonstrative. Leu (2008:24-5) claims that this is evidence of locative morphemes and their compositionality cross-linguistically which feeds into his analysis of demonstratives as adjectives which may be valued as definite through movement. This is fortunately a testable hypothesis in Irish.

Compounds in Irish such as *seanmháthair* (old+mother) 'grandmother' as well as the definite article plus noun i.e., *an tír* 'the land' or quantifiers and nouns i.e., *an tsaor* 'very-cheap' have a secondary-primary stress pattern owing to a recursive prosodic word structure which mirrors the syntax (see Green 2008 or Windsor 2011b for a full discussion). The compound stress pattern can be seen on the left below in 12 where the quantifier *an* 'very' has a minor pitch raise, followed by a much higher pitch peak in *(t)saor* 'cheap.' If the adverbs *anseo/ansin/ansiúd* were compositional, as Leu (2008:24-5) seems to claim, then we should see the same stress pattern in them as in other compositional words in Irish.

<sup>7</sup> Doyle (2002: section 5.4) argues in favor of a Ref(erential)P.





'the woman'. Crucial to this analysis, when a feminine noun is valued as definite, the noun and all of its adjectives lenite. The locative at the end of the adjective string does not participate in this adjective agreement though, as shown in 14a. Example 14b shows that the lack of lenition on the demonstrative is not due to it being too far removed (by multiple adjectives) from the noun.

(14) Lenition and adjectives

- a. an **chloch** **ghorm** **mhór** \***sheo**/\***shin**/seo/sin  
 DEF stone.F blue.F big.F PROX/DIST  
 'this/that big blue stone'
- b. an **chloch** \***sheo**/\***shin**/seo/sin  
 DEF stone.F PROX/DIST  
 'this/that stone'

Importantly, the ungrammaticality of lenition on the demonstratives also does not stem from the lexeme being somehow lexically immune to the process. In the correct morphosyntactic construction, demonstratives also lenite. This is the case below in 15 where the distal demonstrative follows the lenition-causing preposition *ó* 'from', and lenites as expected.

(15) Lenition of demonstratives (Mac Congáil 2005:112)

- a. *fada* *ó* *shin*  
 long from DIST  
 'long ago'
- b. *seachtain* *ó* *shin*  
 week from DIST  
 'a week ago'

The fact that demonstratives are not lexically immune to lenition, and they do not participate in adjective agreement leads me to conclude that they are not of the category A. Whereas Leu's (2008) analysis of demonstratives as adjectives cannot be extended to Irish, I will now turn to Wiltschko's (2009) proposal that demonstratives are location features merged in D.

#### 4. Arguments against a DP interpretation

Wiltschko (2009) argues that demonstratives are a [LOCATION] feature merged in the D<sup>0</sup> drawing a distinction between languages which have the [LOCATION] feature as an inherent feature on the D (i.e., Blackfoot) and languages where [LOCATION] is an optional modifying feature (i.e., German). One prediction that comes from this analysis is that if demonstratives are determiners, they cannot co-occur. Wiltschko (2009:5) gives a German example highlighting exactly this, showing that the co-occurrence of demonstratives and determiners is ungrammatical.

## (16) Ungrammaticality of Dem + D in German (Wiltschko 2009:5)

- a. \**Ich habe diesen den Mann gesehen.*  
I have this the man seen
- b. \**Ich habe den diesen Mann gesehen.*  
I have the this man seen

As we have seen in the sandwich construction, not only do determiners and demonstratives co-occur in Irish, but this co-occurrence is obligatory.

## 4.1. Co-occurrence

The sandwich construction, so named because nouns and adjectives when used with a demonstrative are obligatorily sandwiched between the demonstrative and a determiner, was given as 7 in section 2 and is repeated as 17 below. The fact that determiners and demonstratives not only co-occur in Irish, but are separable from each other by interceding nouns and adjectives makes it difficult to extend Wiltschko's analysis to Irish. In order to do so, we would need to propose that the structure of the sandwich constructions is: [<sub>DP</sub> Det [<sub>NP</sub> N] [<sub>AP</sub> A] [<sub>DP</sub> Dem]]. This, however, cannot be the case in Irish as the Irish DP is formed in what appears to be the *Construct State* (CS) (Guilfoyle 1988, Duffield 1995, Ó Donnchadha 2007) and the use of two determiners inside a single DP is ungrammatical as shown in 18.

## (17) Co-occurrence of determiners and demonstratives (Ó Siadhail 1995:36)

- a. *Tá an fear seo sásta*  
COP DEF man PROX satisfied  
'this man is satisfied'
- b. *Tá an chloch mhór sin go deas*  
COP DEF stone big DIST.VIS PRT nice  
'that big stone is nice'
- c. *Níl na fir úd sásta*  
COP.NEG DEF.PL man.PL DIST.INVIS satisfied  
'those' men are not satisfied'
- d. \**Tá Ø fear seo sásta*  
COP [-DEF] man PROX satisfied

## (18) Ungrammaticality of two determiners (Windsor 2011a)

- a. *hata an mhairnéalaigh*  
hat.SG.M DEF.SG.M.GEN sailor.SG.M.GEN  
'the hat of the sailor / the sailor's hat'

- b. *\*an hata an mhairnéalaigh*  
 DEF.SG.M hat.SG.M DEF.SG.M.GEN sailor.SG.M.GEN
- c. *an hata mhairnéalaigh*  
 DEF.SG.M hat.SG.M sailor.GEN(1st declension adjective)  
 'the sailor hat' (Mac Congáil 2005:86)

Because the appearance of two determiners is strictly prohibited in Irish, we have strong evidence to suspect that the determiner and demonstrative are not co-occurring D-heads unless they are exactly what McCloskey (2004) argues against – discontinuous determiners (a single D head being separated across the string of [D D...Dem] with any nouns and adjectives intervening).

#### 4.2. Arguments against a discontinuous determiner

There are two pieces of evidence against thinking that a discontinuous determiner is the correct analysis of Irish demonstratives: Number agreement and coordination. In section 2, I demonstrated that determiners and their complements (nouns and adjectives) agree in number, but demonstratives do not. I repeat the data from 5 below as 19.

(19) Non D-linked plural agreement and demonstratives (Mac Congáil 2005:165)

*Is feirmeoirí iad na fir sin*  
 COP farmer.PL 2PL DEF.PL man.PL DIST  
 'Those men are farmers'

If the sequence [D {N} {A<sub>n</sub>} Dem] were truly a discontinuous determiner, we would expect to see some form of plurality expressed on the demonstrative as well, but there is no lexeme for plural demonstratives. Further evidence against the idea of [D...Dem] being a discontinuous determiner comes from a coordination test provided by McCloskey (2004:4).

(20) Coordinate DPs (adapted from McCloskey 2004:4)

*na fir agus na mná sin...*  
 DEF.PL man.PL and DEF.PL woman.PL DIST.VIS...  
 'those men and woman'

According to McCloskey, the data in 20 is expected if we assume that the complement of the particle Dem head (which he states may be a D itself) is in fact a coordinated DP. It is much more difficult to explain this data if *na...sin* is analyzed as a single discontinuous syntactic element.

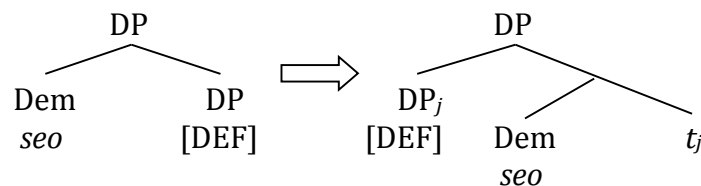
Given that determiners and demonstratives have different featural compositions (determiners may be inflected for plurality, demonstratives cannot) and that a single demonstrative may modify a coordinated DP both point to the conclusion that the string *na...sin* cannot be a discontinuous determiner. Likewise, the different featural compositions as well as the fact that two determiners within a single DP is ungrammatical in Irish means that demonstratives cannot be of the category D. Because Irish demonstratives do not

pattern with either adjectives or determiners, I propose that they must head their own phrase – DemP. I now proceed with a proposal for the structure of the DemP.

### 5. The structure of DemP

The subject of McCloskey’s (2004) paper was not to discern the category of demonstratives, but rather to determine whether or not demonstrative heads select definite DPs, and if the word order shown in the previous examples is derived through movement or if they appear in their base merge position. Regardless of the category of the demonstrative, McCloskey argues in favor of the structure given below as 21 where the DP is merged below Dem and raises to the specifier position.

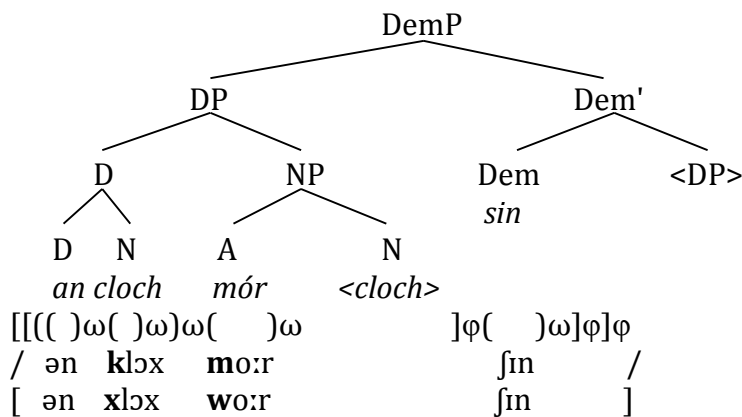
(21) DP raising to spec (adapted from McCloskey 2004:3)



I agree with the movement analysis expressed above, however, I will argue that the maximal projection which the definite DP specifies is in fact DemP.<sup>8</sup> The hypothesized structure is given below in 22. This example also highlights the phonological form of the sentence which will be used as further evidence that the demonstrative is outside of the DP.

(22) The DemP

*an chloch mhór sin*  
 DEF stone.F big.F DIST  
 'that blue stone'

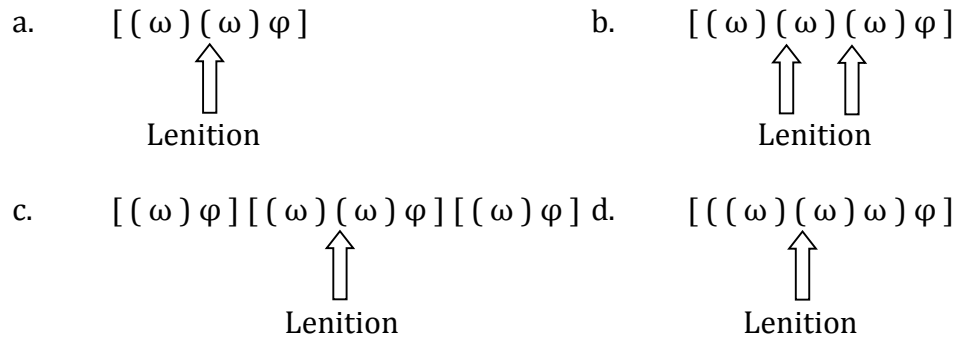


The above schematization shows the proposed structure for the Irish DemP and how it relates to the phonological output. What can be seen in this diagram is that the

<sup>8</sup> See McCloskey (2004) for a full discussion of movement tests for raising the definite DP to a higher specifier position based on relationship to the modifier *eile* ‘other’.

phonological component matches syntactic structure (Selkirk 2009; 2011) such that, in general terms, syntactic heads become prosodic words ( $\omega$ ) and syntactic phrases become prosodic phrases ( $\varphi$ ) (Windsor 2012). Of specific interest is the phonological environment for lenition: Wherever two or more  $\omega$ s are parsed into a single higher prosodic unit, lenition takes place at the left edge of the second or subsequent  $\omega$ . In other words, right  $\omega$  boundaries cause lenition to take place on left  $\omega$  boundaries provided they are not separated by a higher prosodic boundary i.e., not belong to different  $\varphi$ s.

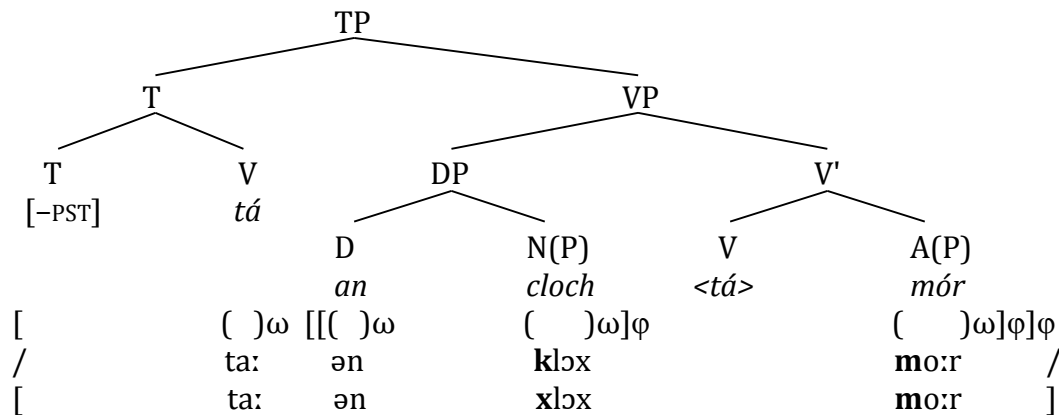
(23) Lenition environment (Windsor 2012:106)



The fact that, in the schematization given in 22, lenition is observable on the noun and adjective, but not on the demonstrative points to the conclusion that it is part of a separate  $\varphi$ , and by extension, a separate XP as well. This conclusion can be supported by comparing the lenition of the adjective in 22 with a copular example using the same adjective in which it is separated from the would-be lenition-causing noun by a phrasal boundary as schematized in 24.

(24) Copular modification and lenition (adapted from Carnie 1991; Windsor 2010)

*tá an chloch mór*  
 COP DEF stone big  
 'the stone is big'



The phonological evidence from lenition is contrary what would be expected if we followed the Low-Dem proposal of Roberts (*to appear*) which would place the demonstrative particle low within the DP structure below any adjectives. If this were the case, we would expect demonstratives to also show lenition, which they do not do in sandwich constructions. However, this evidence alone does not prevent the demonstrative particle from still being part of the category D, nor from projecting what could be analyzed as a recursive DP structure. In order to make this argument, I return to the argument surrounding the ungrammaticality of two determiners inside a single DP due to what has been analyzed as CS nominals. The data were presented above as 18 and are repeated below as 25.

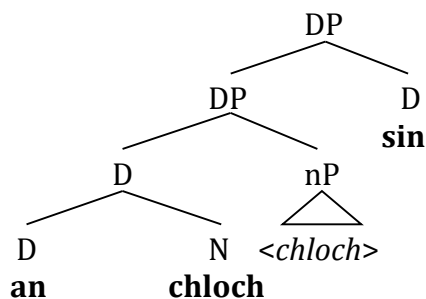
(25) The construct state

- a. *hata an mhairnéalaigh*  
 hat.SG.M DEF.SG.M.GEN sailor.SG.M.GEN  
 'the hat of the sailor / the sailor's hat'
- b. *\*an hata an mhairnéalaigh*  
 DEF.SG.M hat.SG.M DEF.SG.M.GEN sailor.SG.M.GEN
- c. *an hata mhairnéalaigh*  
 DEF.SG.M hat.SG.M sailor.GEN(1st declension adjective)  
 'the sailor hat' (Mac Congáil 2004: 86)

In the CS, a  $N^0$  raises to a  $D^0$  position preventing the spellout of an overt determiner in the higher position, but forming an agreement chain for definiteness with the remainder of the DP (see Ritter 1990 or Longobardi 2001 for full discussion). The result of this movement is a string of the type [DP D N *hata*<sub>i</sub> [NP [DP D *an* N *mhairnéalaigh*] N <*hata*<sub>i</sub>>]] in order to gain the structure given in 25a. In order to argue that demonstratives in Irish are  $D^0$ s themselves, or project a recursive DP, we would need to employ the structure below:

(26) Demonstratives as  $D^0$

*an chloch sin*  
 DEF stone.F DIST  
 'that stone'

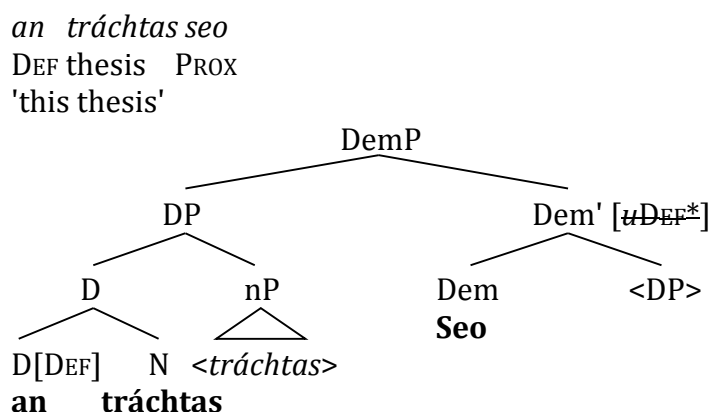


There are two major problems with this structure<sup>9</sup> the most grievous of which is that it does not predict the CS to hold. In Hebrew, there is optionality between using the CS or a free genitive (Ritter 1990) but in Irish, the construct state is obligatory. If demonstrative particles were really D<sup>0</sup>s though, we would expect more than ever that Wiltschko's (2009) criterion banning co-occurrence would hold. Additionally, this structure fails to predict why the demonstrative must select a definite DP, and not an indefinite DP.<sup>10</sup> I will argue that this structure is largely correct except for an additional movement and the label assigned to the demonstrative.

As previewed in example 22 above, I argue that in place of the demonstrative being labeled as an adjunct D<sup>0</sup>, it is actually the projecting head – Dem. Since Dem<sup>0</sup> projects a phrase, it is no longer in the adjunct position, and may (from a theoretical stance) have selectional features. In this case, I argue that that selectional feature looks for definiteness and may be either a strong or weak feature depending on the language in question. Exactly the opposite of Wiltschko's (2009) analysis, I argue that demonstratives are inherently definite (rather than determiners carrying the possibility of location as either an inherent or modifying feature). If demonstratives obligatorily (cross-linguistically) carry an uninterpretable feature [*u*DEF], we can now answer why, in Irish, a definite DP is obligatorily selected. Recall that in section 2, I argued that the tie that binds all of the possible constructions with Demonstratives in Irish (in combination with: Pronouns, proper nouns, vocatives, or bare demonstratives accompanied with a gesture or a D-linked argument) was that they were all definite.

The problem for the present analysis is that I have stated that this is cross-linguistically true, and that languages would show variation depending on whether the [*u*DEF] feature on the demonstrative is strong or weak. To provide initial evidence for this claim, I offer two schematizations – one in Irish with a strong [*u*DEF\*] feature (27), and the same sentence in English with a weak [*u*DEF] feature (28).

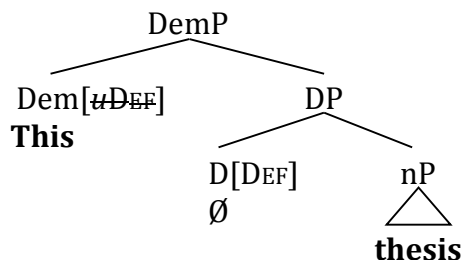
(27) Strong [*u*DEF\*] in Irish



<sup>9</sup> For a discussion of incorporation and head linearization in Irish, see Windsor 2012.

<sup>10</sup> Adjuncts are typically analyzed as not having selectional features.



(28) Weak [ $u_{DEF}$ ] in English

In the above two structures, there are two main differences: The strength of the [ $u_{DEF}$ ] feature which, if strong, requires overt movement to be valued, and the fact that a demonstrative in English selects a definite, but null determiner. However, it is possible to find a construction where the (normally) null determiner in English becomes overt such as: *It was that very analysis which convinced me* where the word *very* functions as a determiner.

If this analysis is correct, it resolves the problems with analyzing the demonstrative particles in Irish as  $D^0$ s: It does not contradict the fact that two overt determiners cannot be spelled out in a single DP; it allows demonstratives to select for definite features because they are no longer adjuncts, and as an additional advantage, it predicts and explains cross-linguistic variation such as the structure found in English.

## 6. Conclusion

In this paper, I have argued for the syntactic category DemP (demonstrative phrase) which dominates the previously motivated DP (determiner phrase) (Abney 1987 among many others) in the hierarchy of projections. In order to motivate this category, I have used both phonological and syntactic evidence from Irish to show that, contra previous work (Leu 2008 and Wiltschko 2009), demonstratives cannot belong to the category A or D. As mentioned earlier, it could be argued that this proliferation of syntactic categories leads to a weaker theory. I have argued that the Irish data gives positive evidence that this category is not just advantageous, but is needed, and that it offers borne-out predictions for cross-linguistic variation.

In terms of the Irish data, this analysis presents a number of advantages over other possible analyses: It explains the obligatory co-occurrence of determiners and demonstratives; it maintains a strictly left-branching structure – something that exists in all other parts of the Irish syntactic structure; it explains how demonstratives can select for definite features; it maintains a predictable phonology-syntax interface with reference to lenition patterns – and also explains why demonstratives do not participate in adjective agreement patterns, and finally, it predicts attested cross-linguistic variations which have successfully been extended to the observable pattern in English.

However, even with its many advantages, there are still several questions which need to be answered, and will be the subject of future research. It has previously been argued that in order to get case, nominals must be arguments, and to be arguments, they must have a DP layer (Longobardi 2001). This explains why nouns require DPs in their projections before merging with clausal structure, but does not motivate why a DemP layer would be required. Building on this consequence, if a DemP layer becomes required in the hierarchy of projections for the nominal domain but demonstratives themselves are not

always required we are left with additional vacuous structure. Further, if the DemP merges with clausal structure, why is extraction of the DP for subject raising (for example) to the exclusion of the demonstrative not possible? While a DemP layer makes the hierarchy of projections more parallel between the nominal and clausal domains (Szabolcsi 1994) (CP = DemP, TP = DP, vP = nP, VP = NP), and the impossibility of extraction is possibly handled through either feature percolation up to the DemP, or through a left-branching Island constraint (Ross 1967) it remains to be investigated as to whether any of these analyses makes better predictions than the others. While the present analysis offers a reason why demonstratives and determiners are so intertwined (demonstratives are obligatorily definite), the close relationship between demonstratives and adjectives (*à la* Leu 2008) is not yet understood. Finally, I have proposed a structure for English in which a null determiner is selected when a demonstrative is present (usually), however, it is not understood what this means for languages which do not have determiners, but only demonstratives – such as Korean or Blackfoot. Having provided an analysis which captures the facts of Irish and makes predictions that are borne out for at least one other language – English – future research on this topic is required using evidence from Blackfoot – a language which has five demonstratives each of which may be inflected for animacy, number, emphasis, or diminutive size, and is analyzed as having no determiners at all. I hypothesize that the phonological and syntactic facts of Blackfoot will support the proposed analysis of a DemP and will offer answers to the questions raised above.

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