Bare Singulars and So-Called Bare Singulars

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Abstract

This thesis investigates bare singular nouns from a cross-linguistic perspective, with an emphasis on Spanish. While there has been considerable work on bare plural and bare mass nominals, there is, in comparison, little work on bare singulars and this dissertation aims to fill that gap. I examine the behaviour of bare singulars in argumental position in Rioplatense Spanish (RS), Catalan, Greek, Norwegian, Brazilian Portuguese (BP), Persian and Afro-Bolivian Spanish (ABS) – all of which make use of bare singulars even if they have an indefinite determiner as part of their functional array. I argue that these languages can be split into two groups depending on the position and interpretation that bare singulars occupy. For the first group (RS, Catalan, Greek and Norwegian) I argue against a number neutral (pseudo)incorporation analysis. Based on their referential properties, binding pos- sibilities and singular number specification, I propose that they are DPs, albeit of a defective type. Group 2 bare singulars (BP, Persian and ABS) are truly number neutral DPs. I propose that this is the case as bare plurals, standardly assumed to be number neutral, cannot fulfil that role in these languages. The second part of my dissertation focuses on predicate nominals, both bare and with the indefinite article, in Spanish. Following Roy (2013), I defend the idea that the relation of predication is only one and that the different interpretations available depend on the size of the predicate nominal. Bare predicate nominals in Spanish behave by and large like their French counterparts – any noun can appear bare as long as it is interpreted as the ascription of a property to the subject. Predicate nominals with the indefinite article, on the other hand, will be analysed as containing a degree phrase. The third part of my dissertation deals with the two copulas in Spanish.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

This thesis aims to provide some new observations on and explanations for the behaviours and patterns of (so-called) bare singular nouns across different languages, both in argumental and predicative position. In the literature on the topic, it has become customary to use the term 'bare singular nouns' to refer to nominals that appear without an article and which i) do not have a plural marking and ii) do not receive a mass interpretation. While the term might not be the most accurate for all languages, insofar as it implies singular number marking for such nouns, I will adopt it throughout this dissertation. Some examples of this phenomenon can be found below:

Spanish

(1) Busco   **niñera** que hable   francés.
     look.for **nanny** that speaks French
     'I am looking for a nanny that speaks French'

(2) Mi hermana tiene **casa** en Mar del Plata
     my sister   has   **house** in Mar del Plata
     'My sister has a house in Mar del Plata'

Brazilian Portuguese

(3) Ela tem **casa**   na   praia
     she has **house** in.the beach
     'She has a house/houses on the beach'

(4) **Criança** gosta de brincar
     child   likes of play
     'Children like to play'

While there has been a considerable amount of work on bare plurals and bare mass, especially since Carlson (1977), there is, in comparison, little work cross-linguistically on bare singulars, and this dissertation aims to fill that gap. More specifically, I focus on the behaviour of bare singulars in languages that have an indefinite determiner as part of their functional array. In particular, this work discusses bare singulars in argumental position in Rioplatense Spanish[1], Brazilian Portuguese, Norwegian, Greek, Persian and Afro-Bolivian Spanish.

One of my main assumptions throughout this dissertation is that there is a uniform nominal structure and, in order to provide a fuller picture of the distribution and interpretation of bare singulars, it is necessary for me to discuss not only argumental bare singulars, like the ones exemplified in sentences (1)-(4) above, but also bare predicate nominals.

In the case of predicate nominals, my main focus is on Spanish. Nominal predication in this language occurs both with and without the indefinite article, but I claim that this is not an optional choice. Nominals that are modified, for instance, among other cases discussed in chapter 4, trigger article insertion:

(5) Mi amiga es abogada
     my friend is lawyer
     'My friend is a lawyer'

---

[1] A variety of Spanish spoken mainly around the River Plate basin in Argentina and Uruguay.

(6)   Mi amiga es una abogada exitosa
        my friend is a   lawyer   successful
        'My friend is a successful lawyer'

The presence or absence of the article gives rise to different interpretations - a bare predicate nominal merely ascribes a property to the subject, whereas the version with the article allows us to identify or evaluate an individual.

Discussing the distribution and interpretation of predicate nominals led me to the other aspect of this dissertation, which is the distribution of the two copulas in Spanish (*ser* and *estar*). While it has been generally assumed that predicate nominals can only appear with copula *ser* (cf. Pustet, 2003, for instance), I will show that this is not always the case. Copula *estar* can also occur with nominals, as exemplified below:

(7)   Esta comida está   un asco
        this food   is.ESTAR a   disgust'
        'This food is disgusting'

Taking all these factors into consideration, I intend to answer the following questions:

- What are the characteristics of bare singular nouns in different languages? When can they occur and what are the restrictions on their occurrence?

- Is this the same phenomenon in different languages?

- How are bare singulars different from bare plurals and bare mass nouns? How are they different from singular indefinites?

- What is the relationship between bare singular nouns as arguments and bare predicate nominals?

- What do bare singulars (both argumental and predicative) denote? What is the relation between meaning and structure?

- How can these characteristics be accommodated within a constrained theory of DP structure, which builds on established syntactic results, and which interfaces appropriately with formal semantics?

- What are the implications for the structure of nominals and, more generally, for the architecture of the grammar?

- How can the distribution of the two copulas in Spanish be explained?

1.1 Theoretical assumptions: The Nominal Projection

It was during the 1980s that Chomsky developed the idea that the lexical projection of VPs was dominated by a number of functional projections, namely IP and CP at the time (see Chomsky, 1986). Around the same period, other researchers investigated the possibility of functional projections in the nominal domain given that nominal phrases also display clausal properties.

Szabolcsi (1983), and subsequent work (Szabolcsi, 1989, 1994), was a crucial starting point. She argued that noun phrases in Hungarian are sentence-like in that they have an inflection and a peripheral position. Evidence for this comes from agreement facts - the language shows identical agreement affixes on nouns and verbs. In the possessor structures below (from Szabolcsi, 1983), we can see that the possessor is case-marked and the head noun agrees with it in person and number (examples (8), (9) and (10)). Similarly, at sentence-level, the subject is marked for case and the verb has to agree with it in person and number, as in (11):

(8)   az én-∅   vendég-e-m
         the I-nom guest-poss-1SG
         'my guest'

(9)   a   te-∅   vendég-e-d
        the thou-nom guest-poss-2SG
        'thy guest'

(10)   (a) Mari-∅   vendég-e-∅
        the Mary-nom guest-poss-3SG
        'Mary's guest'

(11)   Mari-∅   alud-t-∅
        Mary-nom sleep-PST-3SG
        'Mary slept'

Szabolcsi points out that the possessor structures without the possessor agreement morphemes are as ungrammatical as (11) is without the *past-3sg* morphemes. Given this, she concludes that "it is reasonable to suppose that NP in Hungarian has its own INFL, which, under similar conditions as INFL of a configuration S, governs the subject and assigns it nominative case." (p. 90)

Following this line of thought, Abney (1987) proposed that the maximal functional category of the nominal phrase is D (see also Horrocks and Stavrou, 1987). Szabolcsi's later work adopts DP as the label for the whole nominal phrase and, while there are some differences between the two authors (for instance, whether CP or IP is in the clausal domain what DP is in the nominal one, and whether all determiners belong to the category D), both Szabolcsi and Abney agree that the noun phrase is headed by a determiner, which is an idea that I adopt throughout this dissertation.

Besides assuming that there is a D layer which is the locus of reference (Abney, 1987; Longobardi, 1994), I assume that there are other functional projections between DP and NP, each contributing in some way to the meaning of the whole phrase. I specifically adopt Borer's (2005) framework in which nominal phrases contain, at least, two other functional projections.

Classifier phrase (ClP) is the locus of the count/mass distinction as it is the element responsible for portioning out 'stuff'. Above ClP, there is a #P node, in which

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quantity is encoded. While there is a strict ordering in the projection of functional elements (the order being [DP [#P [ClP [NP]]]]), the projection of each particular node is not obligatory. We will see that certain projections can be missing and this, of course, results in different semantic interpretations.

1.1.1 The Cl layer

ClP is the lowest functional projection present in the nominal phrase assumed here, and it is the place where classifiers occur (in the languages that have them):

(12)   yi ge ren
        one CL person
        'one person'

(13)   yi li mi
        one CL rice
        'one grain of rice'   (Borer, 2005, p. 86)

(14)   henduo shui
        much   water
        'much water' (mass reading, no classifier)

In the examples from Chinese above, what distinguishes a count (12), (13) vs. mass reading (14) is the projection of the classifier layer. It is the classifier that portions out the NP, giving it a count reading. Borer further assumes that syntactic nominal structures which do not contain a count node (i.e., ClP) are mass, not only in Chinese (and other classifier languages), but across all languages. The key point of the proposal is that both count and mass are grammatically constructed notions and not properties of lexical nouns. A count reading is obtained in the presence of a classifier phrase and a mass interpretation is the result of the lack of such a projection. Nouns need to be portioned out before they can interact with the count system.

If the classifier phrase is the place where the count reading is instantiated, what happens with languages that do not have classifiers? How do they instantiate the

count vs. mass split? Borer argues that plural morphology is what does the portioning out in languages without classifiers. Following the observation made by T'sou (1976) that nominal classifiers and plural inflection are in complementary distribution[2], Borer argues that both elements are simply two different instantiations of the classifier system, i.e., plural inflection is classifier inflection.

(15)   Classifier inflection

```
              ClP
             /  \
           Cl    NP
           li     /\
                 mi
```
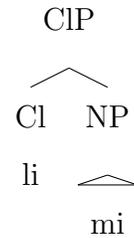
(16)   Plural inflection

```
              ClP
             /  \
           Cl    NP
           -s     /\
                 boy
```
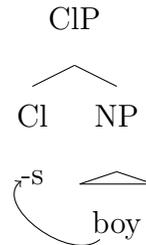
1.1.2   The # layer

Moving up on the nominal projection, we have the quantity phrase (#P), which, as its name indicates, is responsible for assigning quantity to either mass or to divisions of it. I mention both options as the assumption is that functional projections are optional. Hence, it is possible for #P to merge in the absence of ClP, as in (17) below given that it can quantify over mass, as well as #P dominating ClP in the case of count nouns, as in (18):

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[2] "The study of nominal classifier systems suggests an important hypothesis that the use of nominal classifiers and the use of plural morpheme [is] in complementary distribution in natural language. More correctly, it suggests that either a) a natural language has either nominal classifiers or plural morphemes, or b) if a natural language has both kinds of morphemes, then their use is in complementary distribution." (T'sou 1976, p. 216, cited in Borer, 2005, p. 93)

(17)

```
                    #P
                   /\
                #P    NP
               much    /\
                      salt
```

(18)

```
                    #P
                   /  \
                #P      ClP
               many    /\
                     Cl   NP
                     -s    /\
                         boy
```
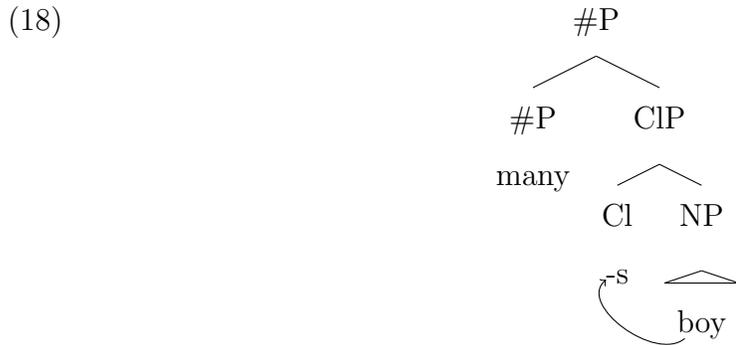
Just as ClP may be absent from the structure, so may #P. This will correlate with different semantic interpretations of the nominal. Absence of ClP gives rise to a mass reading, absence of #P gives rise to a non-quantity interpretation (both within a DP structure). Bare mass nominals, for instance, lack both ClP and #P, whereas bare plurals, being interpreted as count, will project a ClP, but will lack #P.

1.1.3 The D layer

With the idea of formalising the parallelism between clauses and nominal phrases, Szabolcsi pointed out that DP is in the nominal domain what CP is in the verbal one. Both D and C are subordinators in the sense that they enable "a 'propositional' entity to act as an argument to a higher predicate" (Szabolcsi, 1994, p. 26). Longobardi (1994), along the same lines, proposed that a nominal expression is an argument only if it is introduced by a determiner (overt or covert).

Following this line of thought, I assume that arguments are DPs and that, crucially, D is the layer where reference is encoded. Predicate nominals, on the other hand, not being argumental, will not project a D layer. The claim that arguments are DPs extends also to languages that do not have articles[3]. Cheng and Sybesma (1999) show that the distribution of bare nominals in Mandarin and Cantonese shows similar restrictions to bare nouns in other languages. Consider the following example from Mandarin, for instance:

(19) *Gau soeng gwo maalou
       dog want cross road
       'A dog wants to cross the road'

(20)   Hufei mai shu   qu le
       Hufei buy book go SFP
       'Hufei went to buy a book/books'

(Examples from Cheng and Sybesma, 1999)

Sentence (19) shows that Mandarin does not allow bare nouns in pre-verbal position with an indefinite reading, while (20) shows that this reading is possible for a bare noun postverbally. These facts can be explained by assuming a null D that has to be properly licensed, like the cases in Italian below:

(21) *Bambini sono venuti da noi
       'Kids came by us.'

(22)   Ho preso biscotti con il mio latte.
       '(I) had cookies with my milk.'

(Examples from Chierchia, 1998)

The nominal structures that result from the assumptions made above are the following:

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[3]Cf. Bošković (2005, 2008) and subsequent work for an alternative view.

(23)   *'Water'* (Bare mass)

```
        DP
       /  \
      ∅    NP
           |
         water
```

(24)   *'Boys'* (Bare plural)

```
        DP
       /  \
      ∅    ClP
          /  \
         Cl   NP
         |     |
        -s    boy
```

(25)   *'The many boys'*

```
          DP
         /  \
        D    #P
       the   /  \
           #P    ClP
          many   /  \
               Cl    NP
               |      |
              -s     boy
```
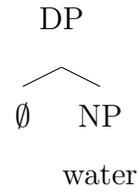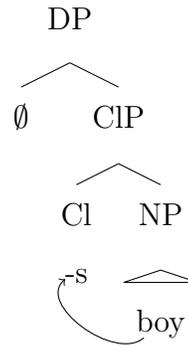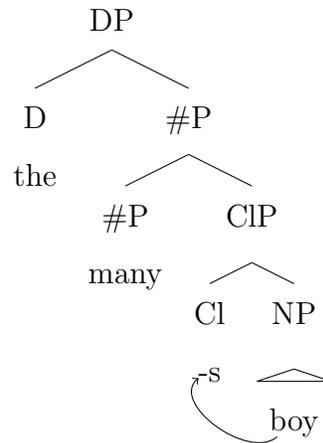
1.2   The questions and debates

The starting points of the discussion in this thesis are the structure and interpretation of the DP and, in particular, that of singular count nominals that appear

without an indefinite article (in languages that have one). Specifically, I argue that although bare singulars are always DPs, they are divided into two structurally different groups. I then move on to predicate nominals, both bare and with the indefinite article, which, I argue, are not DPs. Underlying my claims, which are spelled out in section 1.3 below, is the desirability of a coherent structural account for bare nominal types, all relating to the same structure, as well as the attribution of a fixed role to any particular functional projection.

Bare nominals, both singular and plural, have been a topic of much debate over the last decades with debates revolving around a number of key areas, involving, in particular, incorporation, number neutrality, and the individual level (IL) / stage-level (SL) distinction. In the next subsections I summarise these debates.

1.2.1 Incorporation (of some kind)

Important questions concerning bare singulars involve, at the very least, the following:

- Are they full DPs or are they smaller?

- Are they real arguments of the verb?

- Do they denote individuals or are they property-denoting modifiers?

The investigation of these issues created an inevitable link between the study of bare nouns and noun incorporation, a phenomenon that has received considerable attention since the 1980s (cf. Sadock, 1980; Mithun, 1984, 1986; Baker, 1988; Rosen, 1989, a.o.).

In its narrow sense, noun incorporation refers to a morpho-syntactic process by which a noun, without any markings, incorporates into the verb, via head movement (see Roberts, 2001), e.g. as in the analysis proposed by Baker (1988):

(26)　**Seuan**-ide ti-mũ-ban
　　　man-SUF　1s:A-see-PAST
　　　'I saw the/a man'

(27)　Ti-**seuan**-mũ-ban
　　　1s:A-**man**-see-PAST
　　　'I saw the/a man'

(Southern Tiwa - example from Allen et al., 1984)

Example (26) has the standard structure with a verb and an independent direct object. By contrast, in (27) the noun loses its suffix and appears inside the verbal complex - it has been incorporated.

Several authors noted that incorporation also gives rise to certain semantic effects, such as narrow scope and restricted referential properties of the incorporated noun, which have resulted in semantic rather than syntactic analyses of incorporation (cf. Bittner, 1994 and van Geenhoven, 1998). van Geenhoven (1998), for instance, draws a parallelism between English bare plurals and semantically incorporated nominals in West Greenlandic - both can only receive narrow scope. She proposes then that both type of nominals denote a property <e,t> that combines with the main predicate and restricts its denotation. In West Greenlandic, incorporation is restricted to a particular set of verbs, so van Geenhoven (1998) proposes two lexical entries for these predicates: one incorporating one, one non-incorporating. In the incorporating entry, the verb contributes an existential quantifier that binds its internal argument's variable. Chung and Ladusaw (2003) also postulate a property analysis of indefinites in Maori and Chamorro. Unlike van Geenhoven, they keep the same lexical entry for incorporating and non-incorporating nouns, but they propose instead a new compositional mode besides functional application which they call RESTRICT.

These semantic analyses, as Borik and Gehrke (2015) note, "opened up a way to

analyze NI [noun incorporation] as a much broader phenomenon and to take into consideration nominals which might not exhibit all the formal or morphosyntactic characteristics of INs [incorporated nouns] in the strict sense, but which share the same semantic properties with INs..." (p. 10). This broader view of incorporation is known as 'pseudo noun incorporation', following the terminology first introduced by Massam (2001).

Massam (2001), in her analysis of Niuean, coined the term 'pseudo noun incorporation' (henceforth, PNI) to account for the behaviour of nominals in some contexts in that language. In her account, PNI involves the base-generation of an NP without an extended functional projection, and a subsequent fronting of the VP that contains the NP. Massam's (2001) analysis was a language-specific proposal, mainly to analyse something that resembled incorporation but was not. However, the term pseudo noun incorporation is now being used to broadly refer to any type of 'incorporation' that is not strictly syntactic à la Baker (1988), and a common assumption in the literature has been that bare singulars undergo PNI.

PNI-type analyses of bare singulars have been proposed in various unrelated languages, including Dayal (2011) for Hindi, Enç (1991) for Turkish, Espinal and McNally (2011) for Spanish and Catalan, Farkas and de Swart (2003) for Hungarian, Ganjavi (2007) and Modarresi (2014) for Persian (the latter proposes 'quasi noun incorporation'), among others. The reasoning behind this move is to account for the obligatory narrow scope of bare singulars, together with their presumed inability to support discourse anaphora and the lack of number specification.

However, a problem for PNI analyses emerges directly from the fact that there is no uniformity across languages in terms of what the relevant phenomena look like. For instance, it has been proposed that among the stable characteristics of PNI nominals, there is obligatory narrow scope, lack of number specification, discourse opacity, reference to institutionalised activities and lack of free modification. How-

ever, analyses of different so-called PNI nominals in different languages show that, narrow scope aside, these characteristics are far from stable.

There are differences, as well, in terms of what PNI is targets. In Hindi, for instance, Dayal argues that the incorporated nominal is singular, so the target of incorporation is a NumP and not a bare NP[4]; in Hungarian, pseudo noun incorporated nominals are still marked for case; in Catalan and Spanish, according to Espinal and McNally (2011), the target of PNI is an NP that is not marked for number. What they all have in common is the fact that they are not strictly syntactically incorporated and that they can only receive narrow scope, but there is no obvious answer as to whether the target of PNI is number, case, or a bare NP. In turn, the fact that PNI seems to take different forms in different languages raises the question of whether we can actually refer to it, in these distinct languages, as syntactically or semantically identical. While it is not the aim of this dissertation to decide on the status of PNI in general, it is indeed my aim throughout chapters 2 and 3 to show that it is not a suitable analysis for bare singulars in the languages under consideration here.

1.2.2 Number neutrality

One of the stable properties of pseudo noun incorporation listed by Borik and Gehrke (2015) is number neutrality. The authors actually go beyond just saying that it is a stable property, rather "number neutrality is often taken to be a true hallmark of both NI and PNI" (p. 14). A number neutral predicate is one that is "unspecified for cardinality" (Zweig, 2008, 2009) or "unmarked for number" (Farkas and de Swart, 2003, p.13).

Several analyses of bare singulars in the literature are based on the claim that they are number neutral. Proposals along these lines include Dobrovie-Sorin et al.

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[4]In Dayal's proposal, the number neutral interpretation will result when the nominal is combined with an atelic predicate and aspectual expressions that can give rise to an iterative reading.

(2006), Espinal and McNally (2009), Espinal (2010), Espinal and McNally (2011), de Swart and Zwarts (2009a), Müller and Oliveira (2004), Schmitt (1996), Schmitt and Munn (1999, 2000), Munn and Schmitt (1999, 2005), among others. These authors can be broadly split into two camps.

On the one hand, certain works link number neutrality to PNI, which necessarily means that the nominal phrase is not treated as a DP. If these bare singulars are pseudo-incorporated, they then lack a D and also the projection for number[5]. On the other hand, some other authors do recognise that certain bare singulars are number neutral, but that does not necessarily mean that they are incorporated. This is the case for the majority of the literature on Brazilian Portuguese bare singulars.

Schmitt (1996), Schmitt and Munn (1999) and Munn and Schmitt (1999) were, to the best of my knowledge, the first works that argued that bare singulars (in Brazilian Portuguese in these cases) are unmarked for number. However, their analysis shows that in BP bare singulars are DPs, hence not (pseudo)-incorporated. These authors note, correctly in my view, that BP bare singulars are referential and as such, cannot be simply NPs. One piece of evidence supporting this point comes from conjoined bare singulars. The assumption is that two predicate-denoting NPs conjoined under the same determiner should only give rise to another predicate, as the example below shows:

(28)   Ele encontrou o   amigo e   parente no   aeroporto
        he met   the friend and relative in.the airport
        'He met the (person who is both a) friend and relative at the airport.'

If bare singulars were simple NPs, then the only interpretation available should be the conjoined interpretation (i.e., one that does not refer to two different individu-

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[5]This is not the case for Dayal, as mentioned above, as in her analysis Hindi bare singulars are specified for number. Number neutrality arises in atelic contexts.

als), but that is not the case. Sentence (29) below means that 'I met people who were friends, and people who were relatives at the airport':

(29) Eu encontrei amigo e   parente no   aeroporto
      I   met   friend and relative in.the airport
      'I met (people who were) friends and (people who were) relatives at the airport'

<div align="right">(Examples from Schmitt and Munn, 1999)</div>

The authors conclude that BP bare singulars are DPs that are unmarked for number, i.e., number neutral.

Among the tests that are usually employed to determine number neutrality we have: the possibility for felicitous continuation in the discourse making plural reference (30-a), the possibility of using both singular and plural pronouns to refer back to the bare singular (31-a) and what I refer to as Dayal's 'compare/unite' test (32-a). The idea behind this is that nouns that are truly singular would not be able to occur in these contexts, as the *b* examples show:

(30) a. Busco   **pis**.   Un a Barcelona i   un a Girona
          look.for.1SG **apartment** one in Barcelona and one in Girona
          'I'm looking for a flat. One in Barcelona and one in Girona'

      b. #Busco   un pis.   Un a Barcelona i   un a Girona
          look.for.1SG an apartment one in Barcelona and one in Girona
          'I'm looking for a flat. One in Barcelona and one in Girona'

<div align="right">(Catalan, Espinal and McNally, 2011)</div>

(31) a. Eu vi **criança** na   sala. E   **ela** estava / **elas** estavam
          I   saw **child**   in.the room and **she** was   / **they** were
          ouvindo
          listening
          'I saw a child/children in the room. And she was/they were crying'

b. Eu vi   uma criança na   sala. E   ela estava / *elas estavam
I   saw a   child   in.the room and she was   / *they were
ouvindo
listening
'I saw a child/children in the room. And she was/they were crying'

(BP, example A from Schmitt and Munn, 1999)

(32)   a. Comparar **preço** no   Brasil e   no   Méxio é juntar
compare   **price** in.the Brazil and in.the Mexico is put.together
banana com abacaxi
banana with pineapple
'Comparing prices in Brazil and in Mexico is like putting together

bananas with pineapples[6]'

b. *Comparar un preço no   Brasil....
compare   a   price in.the Brasil
'Comparing a price'

Dayal (2011) claims that predicates like 'compare' or 'unite' necessarily take a plural object, as it is not possible to either compare or unite just one thing at a time. The example above clearly shows that BP bare singulars can denote a plural. More discussion on this test can be found in chapters 2 and 3.

The proposal that I will flesh out in chapters 2 and 3 shows that so called bare singulars do not form a homogeneous class. I claim that bare singulars can be split into two groups, neither of which is (pseudo)-incorporated. On the one hand, we have bare singulars that are number neutral, like the cases in Brazilian Portuguese (where 'bare singular' is in reference to an unmarked count noun, as noted). I will refer to these as 'so-called bare singulars' (SCBSs), and I discuss them in chapter 3. On the other hand, we have bare singulars that are truly singular, which is, I claim, the case for Rioplatense Spanish, Norwegian and Greek, and which I discuss at length in chapter 2.

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[6]https://www.blogauto.com.br/belini-comparar-preco-no-brasil-e-no-mexico-e-juntar-banana-com-abacaxi/

1.2.3 Individual Level vs Stage Level distinction

Another issue that will be discussed throughout this dissertation is the stage-level (SL) vs. individual-level distinction (IL), specifically in the context of predicate nominals and with respect to the two copulas in Spanish.

Postcopular expressions can be interpreted roughly as permanent or stable properties (e.g. 'intelligent' or 'tall') or episodic/accidental ones (e.g. 'drunk' or 'naked'). This distinction has come to be known as the IL/SL distinction since the works of Milsark (1974) and Carlson (1977) and it has been claimed to be a contrast that has grammatical effects.

Milsark (1974) notes, for instance, that individual-level predicates (ILPs) are not possible in the coda of an existential sentence, whereas stage-level predicates (SLPs) are perfectly grammatical in that context:

(33)   a.   *There are many people tall
        b.   There were many people sick

(Examples from Milsark, 1974, p. 39)

Carlson's (1977) work also notes that bare plurals in subject position are interpreted differently if they occur with an SL or IL predicate. If the bare plural occurs with an ILP, it can only get a generic interpretation (34-a), but a subject bare plural is ambiguous between a generic and an existential reading when it appears with an SL predicate (34-b):

(34)   a.   Bears like to eat meat (only generic)
        b.   Bears seemed to eat meat (ambiguous)

(Examples from Carlson, 1977, p. 118)

Another syntactic context that shows the SL/IL distinction is the complement of perception verbs - only SLPs can appear in that position:

(35)   a.   Martha saw the policemen nude

          b. *Martha saw the policemen intelligent

<div align="right">(Examples from Carlson, 1977, p. 125)</div>

In terms of grammatical categories, it has generally been accepted that adjectives can have an SL/IL reading, but nominals can only be ILPs. This explains why only the generic reading is allowed in (36), why they are barred from the coda position in existential sentences (37) and why they cannot occur as complements of perception verbs (38):

(36)   a.   Penguins are birds

          b.   Doctors are heroes

(37)   a. *There are people dancers

          b. *There is a woman a doctor

(38)   *Martha saw John a policeman

However, Roy's (2013) work has shown convincingly that nominals do not necessarily fall in the ILP category. French, for instance, has cases of nominals in contexts that are traditionally assumed to be reserved for SLPs:

(39)   J'ai   vu   Paul enfant une seule fois
          I.have seen Paul child   one only time
          'I have seen Paul as a child only once'

(40)   Il y a   des   hommes bons   danseurs
          there.is INDEF.PL men   good.PL dancer.PL
          'There are men that are good dancers'

<div align="right">(Examples from Roy, 2013, p. 28)</div>

The examples above show that some nominals can indeed be stage-level. However, as Roy notes, the picture is more complicated than that because even if we accept that certain nominals can be SLPs, there still exist certain SL contexts where they cannot occur, for instance, the answer to a 'What's going on?' question. An SL adjective is perfectly acceptable in that context (*He is drunk*), but the nominal is not (#*John is a drunkard*). Roy concludes that the SL/IL contrast cannot really capture the distinctions among nominals. In addition, when we look at predicate nominals beyond English, the picture becomes richer as we find even more room for variation - what is the distinction between nominals with or without an article in languages like French and Spanish, for instance? These facts call for a more fine-grained distinction than the binary SL/IL can provide.

Scholars have also appealed to the SL/IL contrast to account for the distribution of Spanish *ser* and *estar* (see, for instance, Fernández Leborans, 1999). The assumption has been that *estar* is the SL copula and *ser* the IL one. If we adopted, for instance, an analysis of the SL/IL distinction like the one by Kratzer (1995), who argues for a contrast in terms of argument structure (SLPs have an event argument, ILPs do not), then we would expect *estar* to have an event argument and to pass all the SL tests, whereas *ser* should fail all of them. This, however, is not the case.

As noted by Schmitt (1996) for Brazilian Portuguese, *estar* cannot occur as the complement of perception verbs, which is a typical SL context. The same point holds for Spanish[7]:

(41)   *Vi a metalúrgicos estar ansiosos/en huelga

     I saw steelworkers be anxious/on strike

Another test to distinguish between SLPs and ILPs is by using *when(ever)* clauses.

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[7]The example is from Schmitt (1996) from Brazilian Portuguese, but tranlated into Spanish.

These clauses restrict a temporal operator "always", which has to bind a variable in the restrictive clause. This variable either comes from an event argument (present in SLPs) or from an indefinite:

(42)   *Whenever Mary knows French, she knows it well.

Sentence (42) is ungrammatical because there is no variable to bind - the predicate *knows* is an ILP and there is no indefinite in the sentence either. By contrast, (43) below is grammatical because the indefinite *a Moroccan* is providing the variable.

(43)   Whenever a Moroccan knows French, she knows it well

Similarly, a sentence containing an SLP is predicted to be grammatical as it is providing an event argument:

(44)   Whenever Mary speaks French, she speaks it well.

Schmitt (1996) shows that if we follow this line of reasoning, we expect a *ser* sentence without an indefinite to be ungrammatical given that there would be no variable to bind - there is no indefinite, and *ser*, being the IL copula, is assumed to lack an event argument. This prediction is not borne out:

(45)   Siempre que María es cruel, ella es realmente cruel
        'Whenever Mary is cruel, she is really cruel'

These facts, together with some additional tests that will be discussed in chapter 5, show that the SL/IL distinction also fails to capture the complexity of the Spanish copulas.

1.3   Thesis overview and main claims

The aim of this thesis is to discuss the patterns and behaviour of bare singular nouns in languages that have an indefinite article. The assumptions I make re-

garding the nominal structure have been presented in the section above.

Chapters 2 and 3 deal with bare singular nouns in argumental position. I argue throughout this thesis that the behaviour of these nominals is not really language specific and I propose two groupings based on the position these nominals can occupy and the range of possible interpretations they can receive. Chapter 2 deals with Group 1 languages (Rioplatense Spanish, Greek and Norwegian), where bare singulars are (mostly) restricted to object position of a specific group of verbs that license them. Chapter 3 presents the second group of languages (Brazilian Portuguese, Persian and Afro-Bolivian Spanish), where bare singulars occur both in subject and object position without being restricted to particular predicates. Throughout both chapters, my aim is to show that despite their bare appearance, these nominals are DPs, albeit of a different kind. I also argue, at length, against a (pseudo-)noun incorporation analysis.

Chapter 4 focuses on predicate nominals, both with and without the article. I begin by summarising Roy's (2013) seminal work on the topic and then move on to show that while Spanish bare predicates give rise to the same reading as their French counterparts, *un* nominals show a different behaviour and I propose a modification of Roy's account. The main claim I make in that chapter is that in predicative contexts (as well as in light verb constructions), the indefinite article in Spanish and French is actually a degree expression. This proposal allows us to account for the difference between Spanish and French as well as adding modified predicate nominals into the picture, thus expanding on the data that can be covered.

The properties of Spanish predicate nominals cannot be described adequately without considering the distribution of the two copulas in Spanish, a matter to which I turn in Chapters 5 and 6. Chapter 5 is mainly a review of some of the most recent developments in this domain. In particular, I discuss some well-known puzzles, such as the obligatory use of *ser* with event nominals in the context of PP

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and AdvP predication and the various attempts to account for all the data.

In chapter 6 I propose an analysis of the two copulas building on some of the proposals reviewed in chapter 5. I also introduce some novel data in terms of nominals that appear with *estar* and discuss the normally neglected *estar de* construction.

Finally, in chapter 7, I summarise the main conclusions of the thesis and raise questions which require further research.

Chapter 2

Bare Singulars in Argumental Position (Group 1)

2.1 Introduction

The main aim of chapters 2 and 3 is to investigate bare singular nominals in argument position from a cross-linguistic perspective. While bare plural and bare mass nominals have been extensively researched over the past few decades, there is, in comparison, little work on bare singulars.

This chapter and the following one deal with bare singulars in Spanish[1], Catalan, Brazilian Portuguese (henceforth, BP), Greek, Norwegian, Persian and Afro-Bolivian Spanish (henceforth, ABS[2]). The reason I opted for these languages for my research is that they all make use of bare singulars to a different extent even when they have an indefinite determiner as part of their functional array. Examples of bare singulars in these languages are provided below:

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[1]Unless otherwise stated, the Spanish examples are from Rioplatense Spanish, a variety spoken mainly around the River Plate basin in both Argentina and Uruguay.

[2]All the examples from ABS are from Gutiérrez-Rexach and Sessarego (2010) and Sessarego (2014)

Afro-Bolivian Spanish

(1)   Yo tiene **hijo**. El/Eyu   vive a Mururata
       I   have child. He/They live to Mururata
       'I have a child/children. He/They live in Mururata'

(2)   **Oro** ta caro
       gold is expensive
       'Gold is expensive'

Brazilian Portuguese

(3)   Procuro   **baba** para cuidar   do meu bebé
       look.for.1SG nanny to   look.after of my   baby
       'I look for a nanny to look after my baby'

(4)   Eu tenho **melancia**   na   geladeira
       I   have watermelon in.the fridge
       'I have a watermelon / watermelons in the fridge'

Catalan

(5)   La María busca   **parella**
       the Maria looks.for partner
       'María is looking for a partner'

(6)   Tinc   **cotxe**
       have.1SG car
       'I have a car'

Greek

(7)   Eho   **aderfi** sto   Londino
       have.1SG sister   in.the London
       'I have a sister in London'

(8)   O   Michalis psahni   **spiti**
       the Michalis look.for.3SG house
       'Michalis is looking for a house'

Norwegian[3]

(9)   Jeg ønsker meg   **sykkel** til jul
      I   want   REFL bike   to Christmas
      'I want a bike for Christmas'

(10) Per har fin   **bil**
      Per has nice.COMM.SG car.MASC
      'Per has a nice car'

Persian

(11) **Ketab** khæridæm
      book   buy.1SG.PST
      'I bought a book / books'

(12) Man **nomeh** neveshtan
      I   letter   write.1SG.PST
      'I wrote a letter / letters'

Spanish

(13) Tengo   **casa**
      have.1SG house
      'I have a house'

(14) Mi hermana necesita **plomero** que hable   español
      my sister   need.3SG plumber   that speak.3SG.SUBJ Spanish
      'My sister needs a plumber that speaks Spanish'

All of these languages also have the option of using the indefinite article (marked in bold):

(15)   a.   Yo tiene **un** caramelo (I have a candy) (ABS)

       b.   Eu tenho **uma** filha (I have a daughter) (BP)

       c.   Busco **un** pis (I am looking for a flat) (Catalan)

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[3]Examples from Borthen (2003)

d. O Michalis ehi **ena** aftokinito (Michalis has a car) (Greek)

e. Jeg kjøpte **en** bok (I bought a book) (Norwegian)

f. Ketab**i** khæridæm (I bought a book) (Persian)

g. Necesito **una** solución (I need a solution) (Spanish)

At first glance, it might seem that the behaviour of bare singulars is language-specific and that no cross-linguistic generalization can emerge from them. However, I would like to claim that a pattern presents itself if we focus on the position that these nominals can occupy. For instance, the first group of languages only allows bare singulars to occur in object position of a restricted set of verbs (typically referred to as HAVE-predicates) and they are only compatible with an atomic reading, i.e., they are singular. This is the case for Spanish, Greek and Norwegian. It should be noted, though, that Greek and Norwegian allow certain bare singulars to occur in subject position, but these, as will be shown in the next section, are in reality the underlying objects of the verbs. The only case in which bare singulars occur as subjects in these languages is in passivized sentences of HAVE-predicates. Bare singulars in this first group never occur in prototypical subject position (i.e. agents).

In the second group of languages, comprising ABS, BP and Persian, bare singulars occur in both subject and object position. In subject position, these nominals receive a generic interpretation[4], whereas in object position they are interpreted as indefinites. Unlike bare singulars in the first group, these do not have any restrictions as to the type of predicate that can license them and, in addition, they are number neutral, where by number neutrality I mean that they lack a number

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[4]In Persian, bare singulars can also get a definite reading in subject position; this might be linked to the lack of a definite determiner in the language - unlike Brazilian Portuguese. Ghomeshi (2003) states in this respect: "There is no overt definite article in Persian. Putting aside generic noun phrases, this means that bare nouns in subject position are construed as definite" (p. 57). I will concentrate on the generic interpretation in subject position only and leave the definite reading for future research.

projection and can thus receive both an atomic and non-atomic interpretation.

As a result, I claim that there is a preliminary generalization that can be drawn from this:

- **Group 1: Object Position only**

  In those languages where bare singulars cannot get a generic interpretation in subject position, they will be restricted to object position of a specific group of verbs and they will be interpreted as singular indefinites. (Spanish, Greek and Norwegian)

- **Group 2: Subject and Object Position**

  In those languages where bare singulars can get a generic interpretation in subject position, they will also be able to occur in object position, in which case they will be interpreted as indefinites and number neutral. (ABS, BP and Persian).

Crucially, a generalization that can be drawn from the data is that bare singulars can be number neutral in a given language if, and only if, for whatever reason, bare plurals cannot do that job. In the table below we can see that this is the case for our Group 2 languages. ABS does not have bare plurals given that there does not exist plural marking on nouns (plural is marked on the determiner only); BP does have bare plurals, but as I note below in table 2.1, they belong to a different register and sound old-fashioned - the default option being the bare singular version; Persian does have a plural suffix but, in the absence of an indefinite article, plural forms are interpreted as definite[5]. My claim is that only when bare plurals cannot offer a number neutral interpretation can a bare singular in that language do that job. If bare plurals are interpreted as number neutral, then bare singulars will necessarily be specified for number, as in Group 1 languages.

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[5] "The presence of a plural marker triggers a definite meaning for the noun to which it is attached...Bare plurals in Persian must be construed as definite." (Ghomeshi, 2003, p. 57)

Table 2.1: Bare Nominals and Readings

	Generics	Existential (sg/pl)	Singular
English	Bare Plural	Bare Plural	*
Rioplatense Spanish	*	Bare Plural	Bare Singular (not subject)
Greek	*	Bare Plural	Bare Singular (not subject)
Afro-Bolivian Spanish	Bare Singular	Bare Singular	Bare Singular
Brazilian Portuguese	Bare Singular[6]	Bare Singular (not subject)	Bare Singular
Persian	Bare Singular	Bare Singular (not subject)	Bare Singular

The structure of this chapter is as follows: in section 2.2 I will deal with the properties of bare singulars in the first group of languages. Section 2.3 will be devoted to a discussion of HAVE-predicates. In section 2.4 I will discuss the general theoretical perspective I have adopted, together with a short part on Hebrew bare singulars. An analysis of bare singulars in group 1 is provided in section 2.5. The properties of bare singulars in group 2 and an analysis will be provided in chapter 3.

2.2   Group 1 - Only Object Position

2.2.1   Overview

Bare singulars in Spanish are restricted to object position, as in (17). They are ungrammatical as subjects of unergative verbs, as in (18) and (19)[7] and unaccus-

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[6]The speakers consulted note that bare plurals, which behave like English bare plurals, belong to a different register and sound a bit old-fashioned. They consistently preferred using bare singulars. I will therefore leave aside the distribution of bare plurals.

[7]I placed the prepositional phrase at the beginning of the sentence as it is well-known that locative inversion structures license other bare nominals in postverbal subject position:

(16)   En esta plaza   cantaron   artistas famosos
        in this square sing.3PL.PST artists   famous
        'In this square famous artists sang'

ative verbs, (20) and (21). This is the case both pre- and post-verbally. They are also ungrammatical as subjects of transitive verbs, as shown in (22).

(17) Busco   marido   millonario
      look.for.1SG husband millonaire
      'I'm looking for a millonaire husband'

(18) *Mujer   está bailando en la   calle
       woman is   dancing in the street
      Intended: 'A woman in dancing in the street'

(19) *En la   calle   está bailando mujer
       in the street is   dancing woman
      Intended: 'A woman is dancing in the street'

(20) *Hombre viene   del   hospital
       man   come.3SG from.the hospital
      Intended: 'A man comes from the hospital'

(21) *Viene   hombre del   hospital
       come.3SG man   from.the hospital
      Intended: 'A man comes from the hospital'

(22) *Estudiante estudia   sintaxis
       student   study.3SG syntax
      Intended: 'A student studies syntax'

Within the set of verbs that license bare singulars we find *tener* 'have', *poseer* 'possess', a few intensional verbs (such as *necesitar* 'need', *buscar* 'look for'), which still entail a relation "that could be expressed via a verb of having in the relevant possible world" (Espinal and McNally, 2011, p. 99 for European Spanish and Catalan) and a few extensional verbs that also express either a possessive or a locative relation, such as *ponerse* 'put on', *usar* 'use, wear', *llevar* 'carry, wear' and *encontrar* 'find'. The bare singular object always receives an existential interpretation:

(23) Ella siempre usa   pollera corta, incluso en invierno   (SP)
      She always wear.3SG skirt   short even   in winter
      'She always wears a short skirt, even in winter'

(24) Juan tiene   casa   en Mar del Plata
      Juan have.3SG house in Mar del Plata
      'Juan has a house in Mar del Plata'

(25) Avui porta   barret   (C)
      today wear.3SG hat
      'Today s/he is wearing a hat'

It is interesting to note that in the variety of Rioplatense Spanish spoken in Uruguay bare singulars are also licensed by verbs of creation (cf. Oggiani, 2015):

(26) Manuel escribe   monografía, que   trata   de los
      Manuel write.3SG monograph   which deal.with.3SG of the
      afrouruguayos
      Afrouruguayans
      'Manuel is writing a monograph, which is about Afrouruguayans'

(27) En invierno escribo   tesis y   termino   un trabajo
      in winter   write.1SG thesis and finish.1SG a   job
      'In winter I'll write a thesis and finish an assignment'

                                                    (Examples from Oggiani, 2015)

Greek bare singulars have very similar properties. They are also found in object position only[8] and are always interpreted as indefinites. They are also licensed by verbs of possession and can occur with most accomplishment verbs, as in (31) and (32):

(29) Ehi   meghali miti ke   dhen tu   aresi
      have.3SG big   nose and not   him like
      'He has a big nose and he doesn't like it'

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[8]Lazaridou-Chatzigoga (2011) notes that bare singulars in subject position in Greek are not very common as they are only licensed when items are "stressed in contrastive focus and/or have undergone movement" (p.3):

(28) YATROS   tin filise, ohi dikigoros
      doctor.FOC her kissed not lawyer
      'It was a doctor who kissed her, not a lawyer.'

(30) Epidhi eho   aftokinito, boro na   pigheno pola taksidia
      because have.1SG car   can SUBJ go   many trips
      'Since I have a car, I can travel a lot'

(31) O Victor dhen vgheni   katholu teleftea, giati   ghrafi   vivlio
      the Victor not go.out.3SG at.all   lately   because write.3SG book
      'Victor has not been going out at all lately because he is writing a book'

(32) Htizi   spiti stin Costa Brava
      build.3SG house in.the Costa Brava
      'She is building a house in Costa Brava'

(Examples from Lazaridou-Chatzigoga, 2011)

Norwegian bare singulars are mainly attested in object position, where they are
interpreted as indefinites. Borthen (2003) proposes four main constructions that
license bare singulars:

- The conventional situation type construction (33), (34)

- The profiled HAVE-relation construction (35), (36)

- The comparison of types construction (37)

- The covert infinitival clause construction (38)

(33) Hun kjører   bil
      she drive.3SG car
      'She is a driver / She is driving a car'

(34) Hun har lærerjobb
      she has teacher-job
      'She has a teaching position'

(35) Han hadde rød   ytterfrakk
      she had   read coat
      'She had a red coat'

(36) Vi trenger nytt telt
      we need   new tent
      'We need a new tent'

(37)   Bil er ikke det samme som buss
         car is not the same   as   bus
         'A car is not the same as a bus'

(38)   Bil   er kult
         car.MASC is cool.NEUT
         'To drive a car is cool'

Only rarely do bare singulars occur in subject position and if they do, they do not occur as prototypical subjects (i.e. agents):

(39)   *Snømann smelta
         snowman melted

(40)   *Jeger   drepte bjørnen
         hunter killed   bear.DEFSUFF

The only grammatical cases of bare singulars in subject position Borthen (2003) notes are in passive constructions of HAVE-predicates (41) and (42), with presentational verbs (43), and in copular sentences with raising adjectives (44):

(41)   Nytt telt trengs   virkelig
         new   tent need.PRES.PASS really
         'A new tent is really needed'

(42)   Billett ble bestilt   allerede første kvelden
         ticket was ordered already first   evening.DEFSUFF
         'A ticket was already ordered for the first evening'

(43)   Dykker ankom tidligere i   dag
         diver   arrived earlier   in day
         'A diver arrived earlier today'

(44)   Bil er kjekt   å ha
         car is handy to have
         ''A car is handy to have'

As was pointed out in the previous section, these bare singulars are not true subjects. In the case of (41), the bare singular is the underlying object of the verb, as can be seen in the active voice counterpart:

(45) Vi trenger nytt telt
      we need   new tent
      'We need a new tent'

Borthen points out that with presentational sentences, such as (43), a similar phenomenon takes place. The bare singular subject in that construction has to be able to occur as an object in a presentational sentence with an impersonal subject, as in:

(46) Det ankommer dykker senere i dag
      it arrives   diver later in day
      'A diver will arrive later on today'

Similarly, the bare singular in the raising adjective construction is underlyingly an object of the adjective's complement clause. Hence, (44) is synonymous with:

(47) Det er kjekt å ha   bil
      it is handy to have car
      'It is handy to have a car'

Given that in all these cases, the bare singular subject is not a true agentive subject, I will maintain that Norwegian belongs to Group 1 as the occurrences of bare singulars are limited to object position.

2.2.2   Adjacency and (Pseudo) Noun Incorporation

Bare singulars are often, but need not be, adjacent to the verb that licenses them. It is possible to have intervening material between the verb and the noun:

(48) Juan tiene   **todavía** casa   en su ciudad natal   (SP)
      Juan have.3SG still   house in his village home
      'John still has a house in his home village'

(Example from Dobrovie-Sorin et al., 2006)

(49)   Ella usa   **siempre** pollera larga
        She wear.3sɢ always   skirt   long
        'She always wears a long skirt'

(50)   Él   lleva   **siempre** pistola cuando viaja   con plata
        He carry.3sɢ always   pistol when   travel.3sɢ with money
        'He always carries a pistol when he travels with money'

The adjacency test is relevant in that it shows that bare singulars cannot be incorporated à la Baker (1988), as strict adjacency is the result of syntactic incorporation. Baker (1996), in his analysis of Mohawk, also maintains that incorporated nominals cannot have focal or contrastive stress; the reason for this being that the noun loses prominence when it is incorporated into the verb. Bare singulars in Spanish can indeed be contrastive:

(51)   CASA necesito, no departamento
        house need.1sɢ not apartment
        'It is a house that I need, not an apartment'

It is the case, then, that a strict syntactic incorporation analysis is not tenable for these nominals.

Given that a strict incorporation analysis does not seem to be the relevant explanation for the behaviour of bare singulars, there have been proposals, such as Dobrovie-Sorin et al. (2006), postulating that bare singulars are instances of so-called pseudo noun incorporation (henceforth, PNI). However, as I will show below, the use of the term 'pseudo incorporation' to describe the phenomenon in Romance is incoherent.

PNI is a term first introduced by Massam (2001) in her analysis of Niuean, an Austronesian language. PNI involves the base generation of an NP object without any extended functional projection and a subsequent fronting of the VP containing it to the specifier position of IP, given that Niuean is a predicate fronting language. One reason why Niuean is considered to involve some kind of incorporation is be-

cause the noun "appears immediately adjacent to the verb, preceding all postverbal particles" (Massam, 2001, p. 178). This also affects the position of adverbs, as can be seen in her examples:

(52)   Takafaga tumau ni   e   ia e   tau ika
        hunt   always EMPH ERG he ABS PL fish
        'He is always fishing' (unincorporated version)

(53)   Takafaga ika tuimau ni   a   ia
        hunt   fish always EMPH ABS he
        'He is always fishing' (PNI version)

In the unincorporated version, the adverb appears between the verb and the noun, whereas in the PNI sentence, the verb and the noun have a tighter relationship, which allows them to front together, inevitably leaving the adverb in a postnominal position.

As was pointed out above, I am against the use of the term PNI to describe bare singulars in group 1. Massam showed that Niuean does not undergo strict incorporation and coined the term 'pseudo incorporation' to describe a language-specific construction, whose main property is the fact that nominals fail to project a D and end up being adjacent to the verb after VP fronting. Dobrovie-Sorin et al. (2006), however, are making use of the term to describe something that is neither strict incorporation, nor PNI in the sense of Niuean. Their proposal is summarised below.

Dobrovie-Sorin et al. (2006) analyse bare nominal expressions in both Spanish and Romanian to be lacking a DP level altogether. In their system, projecting a D is not a necessary syntactic condition for the noun to be able to occupy an argument position (contra Longobardi, 1994), but "rather, this condition is necessary for a nominal projection to have the canonical denotation of arguments (individual or generalized quantifier)...property-denoting constituents can occupy syntactic argument positions." (pp. 60-61).

Dobrovie-Sorin et al. (2006) analyse bare plurals and bare mass as NumPs and bare singulars as NPs. They distinguish DPs from lower categories by the necessity of the former to check their case features outside the VP and they further assume that neither NPs, nor NumPs have case features. However, it is not evident to me that these expressions have different case properties. Case is not visible on nominal expressions in Romance, so it is difficult to ascertain whether bare singulars are caseless or not. Having said that, however, it is interesting to note that if we were to replace a bare singular with a pronominal clitic, this would be an accusative one. Similarly, if we want to refer back to a bare singular, we would use an accusative clitic (if in object position). This seems to indicate that the bare singular in object position is accusative case marked, just like a singular indefinite in that position is.

As we have seen above, adverbs can appear between the verb and the bare singular in Spanish, but not in PNI in Niuean, a fact also noted by Dobrovie-Sorin et al. They claim that in Niuean the VP fronts and it is precisely this movement that renders PNI visible, whereas in Romance, the verb undergoes head movement and breaks the adjacency between the verb and the object. Given this, they define a pseudo incorporated NP as "not one that is fused morphologically with a verb, but rather one that has remained inside the VP" (p.62). However, the fact that it is possible to focus a bare singular, as in (51), shows that the nominal need not stay inside VP, which should not be possible in a PNI account. The only similarity that Niuean and Romance have, then, (as proposed by Dobrovie-Sorin et al.) is the fact that bare nominals do not project up to DP.

Some evidence that would seem to support a bare NP account comes from the discourse referential properties of bare singulars. The claim that bare singulars cannot take on any discourse referential properties has been made for various languages. Dayal (1999) claims that bare singulars in Hindi are discourse opaque; Farkas and de Swart (2003) maintain that morphologically singular incorporated nouns in Hungarian are discourse opaque with respect to overt pronouns; de Swart

and Zwarts (2009a) and (2009b) use examples in Dutch to postulate that incorporated objects are often discourse opaque and Espinal and McNally (2011) argue that bare singulars in Spanish and Catalan are very limited in their ability to serve as antecedents of personal pronouns. However, a closer look at the languages in Group 1 reveals significant counterexamples:

(54)   Encontré   casa y   ya   la compré   (SP)
    find.1SG-PST house and already it buy.1SG-PST
    'I found a house and I have already bought it'

(55)   Psahno   idravliko. Ton hriazome oso to   sintomotero   (GR)
    look.for.1SG plumber   him need.1SG the soonest
    'I'm looking for a plumber. I need him as soon as possible'

(56)   Foruse   pukamiso htes   sto   parti. To ihe aghorasi sti
    Wore.3G shirt   yesterday in.the party it had bought in.the
    Varkeloni
    Barcelona
    'Yesterday at the party he had a shirt on. He had bought it in Barcelona'

(Last example from Lazaridou-Chatzigoga, 2011)

Lazaridou-Chatzigoga (2011) claims that whether a bare singular can give rise to token anaphora is linked to factors such as tense and possible adverbial modifications. However, if we look at the examples that do not license an accusative pronoun to refer back to the bare singular, we can see that it is because of the verb used, not because of the nominal itself. The ungrammatical cases, which are given below, include the verb 'find', and using an accusative clitic pronoun after this verb means that we are talking about a specific entity, a reading that clashes with the non-specific meaning of the previous clause:

(57)   *O   Yanis psahni   (ena) idravliko alla dhe ton   vriski   puthena
        the Yanis look.for.3SG (a)   plumber but not *him find.3SG anywhere
        '*Yanis is looking for a(ny) plumber but cannot find him anywhere'

(58)   *I   Maria epsahne   dada ena hrono ke   telika ti
        the Maria was.looking.for.3SG nanny one year   and finally her
        vrike   meso   mias gnotis
        found.3SG through an   acquaintance
        '*Maria was looking for a(ny) nanny for a year and she finally found her

        through an acquaintance'

As can be seen from example (57) above, the same holds for bare singulars and
singular indefinites, so the restriction is not specific to the former nominals. The
fact that bare singulars can be referred back by means of pronouns shows that
they are not discourse opaque.

Catalan data further supports this point. The speakers consulted disagree with
the judgements provided in Espinal (2010) and Espinal and McNally (2011) and
do, in fact, accept pronominal resumption in all cases, as exemplified below[9]:

(59)   Avui porta   faldilla. La hi vam   regalar l'anny   passat
        today wear.3SG skirt   it   her PST.1PL give   the.year last
        'Today she is wearing a skirt. We gave it to her as a present last year'

(60)   Excepcionalmeente ahir   a la   tarda   va   portar rellotge. El
        exceptionally   yesterday in the afternoon PST wear   watch   it
        va   portar fins a la   nit
        PST wear   until to the night
        'Exceptionally yesterday afternoon s/he wore a watch. S/he wore it until

        nightfall'

---

[9]I have not been able to find native speakers of Catalan that share the same grammaticality
judgements as the ones offered by Espinal (2010) and Espinal and McNally (2011). I have
provided some of the sentences present in their papers but with the judgements of the people I
consulted. I have no explanation for the data that those papers present and I will leave analysis
of those judgements for future research.

Norwegian bare nouns can also introduce discourse referents:

(61) Jeg ønsker meg   sykkel til jul.   Den skal være blå
      I   want   REFL bike   to Christmas it   shall be   blue
      'I want a bike for Christmas. It must be blue'

<div align="right">(Example from Borthen, 2003)</div>

(62) Jeg har fått   sykkel. Den er knallblå. Den er en drøm å sykle på..
      I   have gotten bike.   It is blue.   It is a dream to ride
      'I have got a bike. It is blue. It is a dream to ride'

(63) Jeg har kjøpt   meg bil. Den er grønn. Varmen   fungerer
      I   have bought me   car it   is green   heat.DEF is.functioning..
      'I have bought myself a car. It is green. The heat is functioning.."

<div align="right">(Examples (62) and (63) from Halmøy, 2010)</div>

This shows that while discourse opacity may be a property of bare singulars in Hungarian, Hindi and Dutch, as claimed by various authors, it is not the case for bare singulars in Group 1. A second problem for a bare NP account is the ability of bare singulars in this group to control an implicit subject:

(64) Busco   niñera responsable para PRO cuidar   a mis hijos   (SP)
      look.for-1SG nanny responsible to   PRO look.after to my kids
      'I'm looking for a responsible nanny to look after my kids'

(65) Epsakse   gouvernada gia na prosechi   ta pedia   tis (GR)
      Looked.for.3SG nanny   for to look.after.SUBJ the children her
      'She looked for a nanny to look after her children'

Therefore, a bare NP does not seem to be the right analysis of bare singulars in group 1[10].

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[10]I do not discard some incorporation account as a suitable explanation for the behaviour of bare singulars in other languages, such as Hindi and Hungarian, which I have briefly looked at. However, I will not pursue the issue of incorporation any further in this chapter as the discourse referential properties, ability to control implicit subjects and control of reflexives suggests that bare singulars in group 1 are not incorporated.

2.2.3 Reflexive Binding

One argument that has been put forth in the literature to argue for an NP analysis of bare singulars is the fact that these nominals are unable to act as antecedents of reflexives. However, when we look at the data, we have compelling evidence to reject this claim:

(66) Busco   novio   que se   bañe   todos los días   (SP)
      look.for.1SG boyfriend that REFL shower.3SG all   the days
      'I'm looking for a boyfriend that showers everyday'

(67) Vrika   gomeno   pu agapa   ton eafto tu   (GR)
      find.1SG.PST boyfriend that love.3SG the self   his
      'I found a boyfriend who loves himself'

The fact that they are possible is interesting in that it shows us that bare singulars are quite similar to singular indefinites, in that they denote individuals, which is one more reason to believe that bare singulars are not that bare.

Besides the Greek and Spanish data, it is interesting to note what happens in Norwegian. Pereltsvaig (2006), for instance, gives the following example:

(68) a. Den første oppgåven var å mate [$_{NP}$krokodille].
          the first   task.DEF was to feed   crocodile
          'The first task was to feed a crocodile'

      b. *Den tredje oppgåven var å sette [$_{NP}$ papegøye$_i$] [på pinnen
          the third task.DEF was to put   parrot   on perch.DEF
          sin$_i$]
          3.REFL.POSS
          intended: 'The third task was to place a parrot on its perch'

(69) Den tredje oppgåven var å sette [$_{DP}$ en papegøye$_i$] / [$_{DP}$papegøyen$_i$] [på
      the third task.DEF was to put   a parrot   parrot.DEF   on
      pinnen   sin$_i$]
      perch.DEF 3.REFL.POSS
      'The third task was to place a/the parrot on its perch'

I claim that there are independent reasons for why (68-b) is ungrammatical. Norwegian has quite a complex system of anaphoric elements. Dalrymple (1993) states that some anaphoric elements in this language behave both like reflexives and pronominals as they need to have an antecedent within a wide domain, and they also have to be noncoreferent with certain elements within a narrow domain. The reflexive used in this particular example, *sin*, obeys the Subject Binding Condition, which means that it must be bound in the minimal finite domain by a subject. If we took the whole sentence as the minimal finite domain, we can see straighforwardly that the reflexive is not coreferent with the main subject. Another option would be to treat the complement of the verb *put* as a small clause minimal domain. One reason to believe that this could be a plausible analysis is the fact that the same sentence with either a singular indefinite or a definite nominal is grammatical, as noted by Pereltsvaig in (69) above.

However, the fact that a bare singular cannot act as an antecedent of a reflexive might be due to independent reasons. The speakers consulted do indeed consider (68-b) to be ungrammatical, but by the same token, they regard (68-a) to be unacceptable. This is actually not surprising, giving that neither *put* nor *feed* is a HAVE-predicate or a creation verb, hence their incapability to license bare singulars is expected, irrespective of the presence/absence of the reflexive.

If the sentence has a HAVE-predicate, then binding of a reflexive is possible, as the following examples show:

(70)   Jeg har kjæreste   som barberer seg   hver dag
        I   have boyfriend who shaves   himself every day
        'I have a boyfriend that shaves himself every day'

(71)   Jeg leter etter mann som vasker seg   hver dag
        I   look for   man who washes himself every day
        'I'm looking for a husband who washes himself every day'

In addition to the reflexive facts, it is worth mentioning that in examples (66) and (67), as well as the two sentences above, the bare singular can head a relative clause, which makes the bare NP argument even weaker. I note as well that bare singulars seem to be able to license a non-restrictive relative clause, as can be seen in the Spanish, Catalan and Norwegian examples below:

(72) Encontré   departamento, que   voy   a renovar pronto, para
      find.1SG.PST flat   which go.1SG to refurbish soon   to
      poder venderlo
      can   sell.it
      'I found an apartment, which I will refurbish soon, to be able to sell it'

(73) Per fi   hem   trobat pis,   que començarem   a reformar
      for final have.1PL found apartment that begin.1PL-FUT to renovate
      molt aviat
      very soon
      'At last we have found an apartment, which we will start to renovate very

      soon'

(Catalan example from Espinal and McNally, 2011, judgement from consultants)

(74) Ola ønsker seg   bil, som   han egentlig ikke trenger
      Ola wants REFL car which he   really   not needs
      'Ola wants a car, which he really doesn't need'

(Norwegian, Borthen, 2003)

Potts (2005) maintains that non-restrictive modifiers can only associate with referring expressions; that is to say, that the anchor of a non-restrictive relative clause must be referential. The fact that bare singulars can license relative clauses is another indication that they cannot be just NPs.

2.2.4   Scope

One property that all bare singulars - both in group 1 and group 2- have in common is the fact that they take obligatory narrow scope with respect to negation and

quantifiers. This is a property they also share with bare plural expressions:

(75) a. No busco   casa
          not look.for.1sg house
          'I'm not looking for a(ny) house'

      b. No busco   casas
          not look.for.1sg houses
          'I'm not looking for (any) houses'

      c. No busco   una casa
          not look.for.1sg a   house
          'I'm not looking for any house / There's a house that I'm not looking

          for'

                                                        (Spanish)

(76) a. Dhen psahno   spiti
          not   look.for.1sg house
          'I'm not looking for a(ny) house'

      b. Dhen psahno   spitia
          Not   look.for.1sg houses
          'I am not looking for (any) houses'

      c. Dhen psahno   ena spiti
          not   look.for.1sg a   house
          'I'm not looking for any house / There's a house that I'm not looking

          for'

                          (Greek - Example from Lazaridou-Chatzigoga, 2011)

(77) a. Alle barna   prøvde en jakke
          all children.DEFSUFF tried a jacket
          'All the children tried on a jacket'

      b. Alle barna   prøvde jakke
          all children.DEFSUFF tried jacket
          'All the children tried on some jacket or other'

                              (Norwegian - Example from Borthen, 2003)

The fact that bare singulars have obligatory narrow scope has been taken as an indication that they cannot be full DPs. If we wanted to pursue this path, there are two other options to test with the structure of DP that we are currently assuming - bare singulars could be #P or NPs. We have already seen that an NP (incorporation) analysis faces serious problems to account for the data, in particular regarding reference, binding possibilities and PRO control. We will see in the coming sections that it also fails to account for telicity and number specification facts. We will pursue the option of argumental #Ps in section 2.5.3 below but this analysis will also be discarded. I claim that it is possible to appeal to a DP analysis of the construction that still can account for its scopelessness. This is what I will do in section 2.5.4.

2.2.5 Telicity

Bare singulars and singular indefinites pattern alike in that they are compatible with both telic and atelic modifiers. In Spanish, for example, both nominals can occur with the temporal adjunct *en* 'in', which is admitted by telic predicates, unlike bare plurals, which only allow a durative modifier:

(78)   Spanish

    a. Ella buscó   departamento en una semana / durante una
         she looked.for.3SG apartment   in a   week   during a
         semana
         week
         'She looked for an apartment in a week (and found it) / during a week'

    b. Ella buscó   departamentos #en una semana / durante una
         she looked.for.3SG apartments   in   a   week   during a
         semana
         week
         'She looked for apartments #in a week / during a week'

    c. Ella buscó   un departamento en una semana / durante una
         she looked.for.3SG an apartment   in one week   during one

semana
week
'She looked for an apartment in one week (and found it) / during one

week'

This fact was also noted by Laca (1999) and Espinal and Dobrovie-Sorin (2005)
as their following Spanish examples show:

(79)   Consiguió piso en pocos días
        got.3SG   flat in few   days
        'He/She got a flat in a few days'

(80)   En cuanto compre   casa, te   lo haré saber
        in when   buy.1SG.SUBJ house you it make know
        'As soon as I buy a house, I will let you know'

(81)   Tuvimos secretaria en una hora
        had.1PL secretary in one hour
        'We had a secretary in an hour'

The same point holds for Catalan:

(82)   Ha   buscat/trobat   pis en una semana
        have.3SG looked.for/found flat in a   week
        'She has looked for/found a flat in a week'

If we use the same test for telicity ('in' vs 'for' x time) on Greek bare singulars,
we can see that they can also be telic, like singular indefinites:

(83)   Egrapsa   gramma se pede lepta
        write.1SG.PST letter   in five minutes
        'I wrote a letter in five minutes'

(84)   Egrapsa   ptichiaki   se ena mina
        write.1SG.PST dissertation in one month
        'I wrote a dissertation in one month'

(85)   Estise   spiti se mia vðomaða
        build.3SG.PST house in one week
        'She built a house in one week'

The same applies to Norwegian:

(86) Peter bydge hytte   i   3 uker
      Peter built   cottage in 3 weeks
      'Peter built a cottage in three weeks'

(87) Jeg lette   etter leilighet   i   en   uke
      I   looked for   apartment in one week
      'I looked for an apartment in one week'

The reason why this test is relevant is that telicity provides evidence that there is a quantity structure present in the nominal projection. Structures that fail to induce telicity, such as weak determinerless plurals and mass nominals, lack a quantity phrase (Borer, 2005).

2.2.6   Number specification

Bare singulars in group 1 share with singular indefinites the property of being specified for number. Several proposals in the literature treat bare singulars as number neutral (Espinal, 2010 and Espinal and McNally, 2011 for Spanish and Catalan; Farkas and de Swart, 2003 for Hungarian; Müller and Oliveira, 2004 and Munn and Schmitt, 1999, 2005 for Brazilian Portuguese) and the tests used to determine such number neutrality include the possibilities for felicitous continuations, discourse anaphora, and what I will refer to as the 'compare/unite' test (cf. Dayal, 2011).

Dayal (2011) uses the 'compare/unite' test on bare singulars in Hungarian. In this language, bare singulars are attested as objects with a wide variety of verbs (e.g. 'look for', 'sell', 'cook', 'collect', 'expect') but they are ungrammatical with verbs such as 'compare' and 'unite'. Dayal maintains that this is so because they are truly singular. On the difference between 'compare' and 'collect' she says: "the core process involved in collection does not have a plurality requirement, while the core process involved in comparison does" (Dayal, 2011, p. 155). One can collect

one thing at a time, but it is not possible to compare or to unite one thing at a
time; the two elements have to be compared or united simultaneously. The fact
that bare singulars in Hungarian cannot occur with verbs that require a plural
object suggests that they are not number neutral, but singular.

The 'compare/unite' test cannot be applied to group 1 languages as the verbs that
license bare singulars tend to be verbs of possession and neither 'compare' nor
'unite' falls into this category. However, this test will be relevant when discussing
the properties of group 2 languages in the next chapter. Therefore, the only ways
we can ascertain the number specification of bare singulars in group 1 are by check-
ing the possibilities for felicitous continuations in the discourse and by creating a
context where there is a clear reference to more than one atomic individual and
testing whether a bare singular could be used.

In group 1 languages, when a bare singular is introduced into the discourse, the
possibilities for felicitous continuations show sensitivity to number. With both bare
singulars and singular indefinites, the implication is that one atomic individual is
being described. By contrast, if a bare plural is used, then the reading makes
reference to non-atomic individuals. Given that bare singulars can only denote in
the singular, I maintain that they are not number neutral:

(88)   Spanish

    a.   Finalmente encontré   una casa. # Una en Buenos Aires y
         finally   find.1SG.PST a   house   one in Buenos Aires and
         una en La Plata
         one in La Plata

    b.   Finalmente encontré   casas. Una en Buenos Aires y   una en
         finally   find.1SG.PST houses one in Buenos Aires and one in
         La Plata
         La Plata

    c.   Finalmente encontré   casa. # Una en Buenos Aires y   una en
         finally   find.1SG.PST house   one in Buenos Aires and one in

La Plata
La Plata

Greek bare singulars are not number neutral either as they are only compatible with an atomic reading (cf. Alexopoulou and Folli, 2010):

(89)   Dhiavase efimeridha
        read.3SG newspaper
        'S/he read a newspaper' (reading of one newspaper)

Moreover, the possibilities for felicitous continuations are the same as singular indefinites:

(90)   Vrika   telika spiti sto   Londino. # Ena sto Hackney ke   ena
        found.1SG finally house in.the London   one in Hackney and one
        sto   City
        in.the City
        'I finally found a house in London. # One in Hackney and one in the City'

(Example from Lazaridou-Chatzigoga, 2011)

If we create a context in which the nominal is meant to refer to plural objects, a bare singular is infelicitous:

Situation 1 - Spanish: A and B are talking about presents for Christmas while there are two toys on a table. A utters the following sentence:

(91)   Encontré   juguete para mi hijo
        find.1SG.PST toy   for   my son
        'I found a toy for my son'

B is very likely to ask about the other toy as the bare singular does not make reference to plural objects. Similarly, if we talk about Joe Darger, for instance, the somewhat famous polygamist in Utah who has 3 wives, the following sentence is not felicitous:

(92) #Joe Darger tiene esposa
      Joe Darger has   wife
      '#Joe Darger has a wife'

In Catalan, the speakers consulted accept (93) (a fact consistent with the judgements reported in Espinal and McNally, 2011), which at first sight, casts doubt on their singular interpretation:

(93) Busco   pis. Un a Barcelona i   un a Madrid
      look.for.1SG flat one in Barcelona and one in Madrid
      'I'm looking for a flat. One in Barcelona and one in Madrid'

However, speakers systematically reject the use of a plural pronoun to refer back to the bare singular, as in (94), which is unexpected if bare singulars are number neutral:

(94) *Ja   vaig   trobar pis. Els   vaig comprar ahir
       already PST.1SG find   flat they PST buy   yesterday
       Intended: 'I already found flat. I bought them yesterday'

In addition, when it is clear that the context makes reference to more than one object, speakers categorically reject the use of a bare singular:

Situation 2 - Catalan: You have 4 children and are looking for a toy for each of them. You go to a toy shop and someone asks you what you are doing there:

(95) #Estic buscant   joguina per als meus fills
       am   looking.for toy   for the my   kids
       'I'm looking for a toy for my kids'

This leads me to believe that the Catalan equivalent of (88-c) is interpreted as 'I'm looking for one house in Buenos Aires and I'm looking for one house in Madrid'.

Situation 3 - Greek: There are five letters on a table and A asks B what s/he did in the morning. B would not be able to use a bare singular to refer to all the letters.

If s/he did, A would most likely ask about the other four:

(5 letters on the table) What did you do this morning?

(96) #egrapsa   gramma
       write.1SG.PST letter
       'I wrote a letter'

Norwegian bare singulars are also singular, and not underspecified for number. Borthen (2003) argues that this is suggested by both their singular form and the fact that adjectives modifying these nominals have to be singular as well. Bare singulars have a clear count interpretation in addition to an indefinite interpretation, both in a morphosyntactic and semantic sense. As can be seen in the examples below, a bare singular with a plural anaphor is totally incoherent:

(97)   Per bygger hytte. # Alle tre   blir   fine
        Per builds cottage   all   three become nice
        '#Per is building a cottage. All three will be nice'

(98)   Kari strikker genser. # Alle tre   blir   fine
        Kari knits   sweater   all   three become nice
        '#Kari is knitting a sweater. All three of them will be nice'

                                        (Examples from Borthen, 2003)

There are some cases, however, in which bare singulars seem to have a vague number specification. This occurs when they occur in a conventional situation type context that allows for the possibility of inferring several events of the situation type:

(99)   Jeg kjørte bil til jobben   i dag, selv om jeg måtte kjøre tre
        I   drove car to work.DEFSUFF in day, even if   I   had.to drive three
        stykker for å nå   fram.
        ones   for to reach ahead
        'I drove to work today, even though I had to drive three cars to get there'

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Borthen (2003) maintains that in these cases the plural expression used to refer back to the bare singular is an *inferrable*. "Inferrables are nominal expressions whose interpretation is inferred via logical or plausible reasoning from participants not explicitly mentioned in the previous discourse. While pronominal inferrables do occur, they are rare" (Borthen, 2003, p. 147). If the plural expression in (99) is an inferrable, then the number specification of the antecedent is irrelevant as inferrables do not need any antecedents at all. It is also interesting to note that only plural expressions, but not plural pronouns are acceptable in this context. Bare singulars do not license plural anaphoric pronouns, further suggesting that they are really singular:

(100)   Jeg kjørte bil til jobben   i   dag, # selv om de   gikk i
         I   drove car to work-DEFSUFF in day   even if   they went in
         stykker
         pieces
         '#I drove car to work today, even though they broke down'

In conclusion, bare singulars in Catalan, Greek, Norwegian and Spanish are truly singular terms. This is relevant for the structure of nominals I am assuming, given that the fact that they are specified for number suggests that they are not bare NPs as has been previously proposed. Following the structure of DP in Borer (2005), I argue that bare singulars will project at least to the #P level. A discussion of whether they should project a D layer will be provided in section 2.5.3 below.

2.3   HAVE-predicates

One property that the languages in group 1 have in common is that they all allow bare singulars with the so-called HAVE-predicates. This class of predicates was first identified by Borthen (2003) in her study of Norwegian bare singulars and has been a term employed in the literature on bare singulars cross-linguistically ever since. A HAVE-predicate is "a word that introduces a HAVE-relation (either explicitly or implicitly). A HAVE-relation is an asymmetrical coexistence relation between two

arguments, called the possessor and the possessed, where the possessor is superior to the possessed rather than the other way around. An argument can be superior to some other argument in terms of control, part-whole dependency, animacy, or point of view" (p.190).

However, not all bare singulars in Norwegian are accepted as object of HAVE-predicates, as Borthen points out. The relationship has to be focused or profiled. She provides the following example:

(101)   ??Kari tok   kopp
        Kari took cup
        'Kari took a cup'

The sentence above is not felicitous in every single context. For example, it is infelicitous to utter (101) to mean that someone grabbed a cup. However, if a context is created, then the sentence is perfectly grammatical. For example, Borthen claims that in a conference setting, in which participants are allowed to take a souvenir out of a choice of three (a cup, a pen or an umbrella), the sentence in (101) would be an acceptable response to the question 'What souvenir did Kari take?'

In Spanish, a similar phenomenon takes place. Espinal and McNally (2011) claim that a bare singular is licensed only if "the verb phrase denotes a characterizing property of the external argument" (p.101). A 'characterizing property' in their system is one that is relevant in a certain context to distinguish whether an individual has the property in question or not. This means that, whereas the lexical class of verbs that can license bare singulars is restricted, the bare singular nouns that can occur in object position are subject to contextual restrictions. To illustrate this, consider the following example:

(102)   ??María tiene   libro
        Mary have.3sɢ book
        'Mary has a book'

Example (102) would sound quite odd if uttered out of the blue. However, one
can easily construct a situation in which the sentence would be felicitous. Imagine
a class situation in which the teacher is trying to get students to do an exercise
from the textbook and one of the students says that he left his at home. In this
context, the teacher may utter (102) to state that there is a way for the student to
take part in the activity. It is very likely that there would be a follow-up sentence,
such as:

(103)   María tiene   libro. Sentáte al   lado de ella así lo comparten
        Mary have.3sɢ book sit.ɪᴍᴘ to.the side of her so it share.2ᴘʟ
        'Mary has a book. Sit next to her so that you can share it'

This shows that the context can be created, as is the case in Norwegian. A bare
singular can be forced in a given context as long as the verb is a ʜᴀᴠᴇ-predicate,
and creation verbs in the case of Norwegian, Greek and Rioplatense Spanish spoken
in Uruguay.

2.3.1   Espinal and McNally's proposal (2011)

Espinal and McNally's (2011) analysis (henceforth, E&M) claim that the bare
singular in Spanish and Catalan is a syntactic complement to the verb, but not
a semantic argument. They assume a monadic syntactic structure in the sense of
Hale and Keyser (1998) as in:

(104)   V
                                          ╱╲
                                      V   N

Hale and Keyser (1998) use the structure in (104) for denominal verbs like 'laugh'
and for certain analytical verbal expressions such as 'do work'. E&M assume that

the V+N sequence is a complex predicate that characterizes the VP-external subject. In this structure, the syntactic projection including the verb and the bare singular does not include a specifier, and the head V is semantically constrained to the HAVE category [11].

Espinal and McNally (2011) note that, although they are using the structure in (104), there are differences between the behaviour of bare singulars and the denominal verbs that Hale and Keyser (1998) analysed. To begin with, the verbs that are under discussion here are not abstract and because of this, the nominal will not conflate into the verb, but rather, it remains in situ. The second difference that the authors note is that in some cases, the N will have to be substituted by an NP as it is possible to have some kind of modification as in:

(105)   Siempre usa   vestido largo
         always   wear.3SG dress   long
         'She always wears a long dress'

In addition, it is possible to have intervening material between the V and the N, so the N cannot syntactically incorporate into the V:

(106)   Usa   siempre vestido largo
         wear.3SG always   dress   long
         'She always wears a long dress'

The main gist of E&M's proposal is that bare singulars denote properties and function as verb modifiers. To get the right semantic composition, E&M propose a lexical rule that generates the class of verbs that can combine with bare singulars and a composition rule that treats bare singulars as modifiers of the verb.

The lexical rule they propose applies only to HAVE-predicates. It suppresses the

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[11]This, as E&M state, is based on Mateu's (2002) proposal that each basic syntactic configuration is projected by associating certain semantic properties with abstract relational heads, such as HAVE, DO and CAUSE. For previous related proposals, cf. Espinal and McNally (2009) and Espinal (2010)

theme argument of the predicate and it has a condition on use to account for its potentially characterizing nature (Espinal and McNally, 2011, pp. 110-111):

Input:

$\lambda y \lambda e[\mathbf{V}(e) \wedge \Theta(e) = y \wedge \exists w[C(w)][\exists e'[\mathbf{depend}(e,e',w) \wedge \mathbf{have}(e') \wedge \mathbf{havee}(e') = y]]]$

Output:

$\lambda e[\mathbf{V}(e) \wedge \exists w[C(w)][\exists e'[\mathbf{depend}(e,e',w) \wedge \mathbf{have}(e') \wedge \mathbf{havee}(e') = \theta(e)]]]]$

Condition on use of output:The issue of whether the referent introduced by the external argument participates or does not participate in *e* must be crucial for characterizing that referent in some way that is immediately relevant in the context.

The object of the verb disappears in the output of this rule, which helps to explain the inability of bare singulars to be picked up by discourse anaphoric expressions, according to E&M. However, as we have seen, bare singulars in Spanish (and also in Catalan, Norwegian and Greek) are not discourse opaque. Hence, if we apply this rule and the object disappears, then what is the anaphoric pronoun referring to? E&M accept some cases of discourse anaphora and they provide an explanation for these cases in terms of the notion of accommodation. By this, they mean that the pronoun used is not directly anaphoric to the bare singular, but it is accommodated by the hearer into the common ground. However, it is not immediately obvious what the limits of accommodation are or how exactly accommodation works. Why can some pronouns be accommodated in their analysis, but others cannot? As I mentioned in the preceding sections, the native speakers I consulted accept pronominal anaphora in all examples, which leads me to discard accommodation as a plausible explanation.

The second part of E&M's proposal has to do with combining the bare singular with the verb. In order to do this, they put forth a compositional rule that allows them

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to maintain that the bare singular is a verb modifier which denotes a property:

(107)   If $\llbracket V \rrbracket = \lambda e[\mathbf{V}(e)]$ and θ is an implicit role function defined for V,

and if $\llbracket N \rrbracket = \mathbf{N}$, a property,

then $\llbracket [_v VN] \rrbracket = \lambda e[\mathbf{V}(e) \wedge \mathbf{N} \ (\theta(e))]$

All the characteristics E&M listed for bare singular nouns follow from the rules they postulated. The input rule restricts the class of verbs to HAVE-predicates and the condition on use of the V+N structure ensures that only bare singulars that can create characterizing properties are licensed. As they suppress the internal argument of the verb, the only option for the verb to combine with the bare singular is by means of the compositional rule proposed, which treats the nominal as a modifier.

Finally, E&M maintain that the (presumed) failure of bare singulars to license discourse anaphora, to take non-restrictive relative clauses and to control implicit subjects follows directly from the elimination of the internal argument. However, it is worth mentioning that the number neutrality of the bare singular is an extra assumption, together with the compositional rule proposed. My main objection to this is that bare singulars in group 1 languages can license discourse anaphora, as shown in (54)-(56) and (59)-(63). They can also control implicit subjects, as seen in (64) and (65), and there are some cases where they also seem to license non-defining relative clauses. The first example was shown above but is repeated here for convenience:

(108)   Encontré   departamento, que   voy   a renovar   pronto, para
         find.1SG.PST flat   which go.1SG to refurbish soon   to
         poder venderlo
         can   sell.it
         'I found and apartment, which I will refurbish soon, to be able to sell it'

(109) Conseguí   niñera, que va   a empezar a trabajar la semana
       find.1SG.PST nanny who go.3SG to start   to work   the week
       que viene,   para cuidar   a mi bebé
       that come.3SG to   look.after to my baby
       'I found a nanny, who will start working next week, to look after my

       baby'

Hence, E&M's analysis does not seem to be the right analysis for group 1 bare
singulars.

2.3.2 LeBruyn, de Swart and Zwarts' proposal (2014)

Le Bruyn et al. (2014)'s proposal is based on the assumption that *have* is a verb
that draws its content from the object it combines with. It has no lexical content
of its own, and hence depends on the lexical semantics of the object it combines
with to provide the relation that it establishes between the subject and the object.
To formalize this, they propose that *have* is a verb that always selects predicates
rather than referential arguments. This is an advantage to previous analyses in
that it gives a uniform account of *have* in all its uses, instead of assuming that
there is a special shift that allows it to function as an incorporating verb.

It is worth noting that the authors make a distinction between this type of *have*
and another variant, which they call *have*$_\text{heavy}$. *Have*$_\text{heavy}$ can select a definite nom-
inal expression or 'a certain' noun phrase, as in the following examples:

(Context: Game in which the goal is to write down the names of the members of
the Simpson family)

(110)   a.   I already have the mother
         b.   She doesn't have a certain sister.

Have$_\text{heavy}$ selects arguments and introduces a pragmatic relation that creates a link
between its subject and its object. The authors, however, are not concerned with

this type of *have* in their paper.

Le Bruyn et al. (2014) assume that many nouns come with implicit arguments next to their explicit ones. Therefore, in the case of a noun like *blog*, they assume that it comes with an explicit, sortal argument, but it also comes with at least one implicit one, the 'creator' argument, which they refer to as the relational argument, as it stands in a specific relation to the sortal one. They propose that nouns with implicit relational arguments are one-place predicates whose implicit argument has been dynamically existentially closed off (following the Dynamic Montague Grammar framework). The entry for *blog* in 'John has a blog' looks like[12]

(111) $[\![blog_{dynamic}]\!] = \lambda x \varepsilon d_i(\uparrow blog\text{-}created\text{-}by(\uparrow d_i)(x))$

which, in a more familiar notation, has the following formula:

(112) $[\![blog_{static}]\!] = \lambda x \exists (blog\text{-}created\text{-}by(y)(x))$

Another crucial part of their theory is the operation they refer to as *explicitation* (EXPL for short), which is an operation that will turn implicit relational arguments explicit. "The intuitive gist of the proposal is to add a silent *of him* behind a noun like *blog* where *him* stands for an argument that still needs to be added. Dynamically, this effect is obtained through the introduction of an equation between the implicit relational argument and a new variable that is abstracted over" (p.5) :

(113) $[\![EXPL(P)]\!] = \lambda x \lambda y (P(y); \uparrow d_n \cong x)$ for any one-place predicate P including the implicit argument d_n where n ranges over i, ii, iii, iv, ...

(114) $[\![EXPL(blog_{dynamic})]\!] = \lambda y \lambda x \varepsilon d_i(\uparrow blog\text{-}created\text{-}by(\uparrow d_i)(x); \uparrow d_i \cong y)$

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[12]ε is the dynamic counterpart of $\exists$ and there is also a new type of variable, d_i, where 'd' stands for 'discourse marker'. The role of the up arrow is to mark a shift from static expressions to dynamic ones. The authors opted for a dynamic account of implicit arguments as it allows the modelling of information updates. This point is not particularly relevant for our discussion, so I will not be commenting on it further.

After EXPL has taken place, *blog* is no longer a simple one-place noun, but has been turned into a relational (two-place) noun. The authors argue that this operation is useful to make nouns compatible with prenominal genitives, which, they assume, need to be combined with relational expressions.

Their proposal can be summarised as follows. The authors link the lack of lexical content of *have* to the fact that it does not take individuals but predicates. They assume that *have* selects one-place predicates and comes with a built-in version of EXPL. *Have*, therefore, selects nouns with implicit arguments, existentially closes off their explicit argument and makes the implicit argument available for the subject to bind, i.e., *have* links the subject and the relational argument of the object noun (*John has a child*, under this account, is paraphrased as *John is the individual that the object is said to be a child of*). The semantics they assume for *have* is:

(115) $\lambda P \lambda z(\varepsilon d_i(\text{EXPL}(P))(z)(\uparrow d_i))$

They provide an example with a full derivation for the Romanian sentence *Ion are copil* 'Ion has child':

(116)   ⟦Ion are copil⟧
         ⟦Ion have child⟧=
         ⟦child⟧= $\lambda x \varepsilon d_i(\uparrow \text{child-of}(\uparrow d_i)(x))$
         ⟦have child⟧[13]= $\lambda P \lambda z(\varepsilon d_i(\text{EXPL}(P))(z)(\uparrow d_i))$ $\lambda x \varepsilon d_i(\uparrow \text{child-of}(\uparrow d_i)(x))$
         (λ-application) $\lambda z(\varepsilon d_i(\text{EXPL}(\lambda x \varepsilon d_i(\uparrow \text{child-of}(\uparrow d_i)(x))))(z)(\uparrow d_i))$
         (explicitation) $\lambda z(\varepsilon d_i(\lambda v \lambda w(\varepsilon d_i(\uparrow \text{child-of}(\uparrow d_i)(w)); \uparrow d_i \cong v))(z)(\uparrow d_i))$
         (λ-conversion) $\lambda z(\varepsilon d_i(\varepsilon d_i(\uparrow \text{child-of}(\uparrow d_i)(\uparrow d_i); \uparrow d_i \cong z))$
         ⟦John⟧= $\uparrow$John
         ⟦John have child⟧= $\lambda z(\varepsilon d_i(\varepsilon d_i(\uparrow \text{child-of}(\uparrow d_i)(\uparrow d_i); \uparrow d_i \cong z))$ ($\uparrow$John)

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[13]I think there might be a typo in the formula as there is a λy in the denotation of 'have', which was not present in the semantics they assumed for (115). I have used λz throughout.

(λ-application)	$\varepsilon d_i(\varepsilon d_i(\uparrow\text{child-of}(\uparrow d_i)(\uparrow d_i); \uparrow d_i \cong \uparrow\text{John})$
(statically)	$\exists x(\text{child-of}(\text{John})(x))$

The explicit argument is existentially closed off and the internal argument is equated with *John*. This means that there is an individual who is a child of somebody who is identical to Ion.

While their proposal is attractive in that treating *have* as a verb that selects predicates rather than arguments allows them to explain not only its incorporation potential, but also its behaviour in terms of scope and definites in English, it needs a type-shifting operation for the cases in which *have* combines with an expression that is of an argument type, as a singular indefinite. Hence, if the sentence had been 'John has a child', they need to make use of the argument to predicate shift known as BE, an option that does not seem to be very appealing. In addition, they need to postulate multiple lexical entries (one incorporating, one regular one) for those verbs that license bare singulars but are not HAVE-predicates, such as creation verbs.

2.4   General Theoretical Perspective

The analysis to be proposed here assumes a particular approach to the structure of nominals and to the syntax-semantics interface. I will assume the articulated nominal functional structure proposed in Borer (2005): [DP [#P [ClassifierP [NP]]]]. Borer argues that all nouns in all languages are lexically unmarked for either count or mass and it is the presence or absence of structure that determines their interpretation. This means that being mass or count is a characteristic of functional projections and not an inherent property of lexical items. In the absence of dividing structure, accomplished by the Classifier Phrase, the default interpretation is mass. If, however, a nominal expression is to be interpreted as countable,

it has to be portioned out before it can interact with the count system[14].

In languages such as Chinese, it is classifiers that are responsible for portioning out mass, whereas in English, it is plural inflection. "Not only is it the case that classifier languages do not (appear to) have plural inflection, but languages which mark plural do not appear to have classifier inflection. In other words, it would appear that classifier inflection and plural inflection are in complementary distribution...they are simply distinct instantiations of the classifier system" (Borer, 2005, pp. 92-93).

Within this approach, the expectation is that interpretational aspects of nominals have a syntactic reflection which in turn should give rise to specific structural predictions that could be tested, and which should thus distinguish the nominals under investigation from other nominal constructions. Thus, the research agenda, if successful, will constitute an increase in our understanding of nominal structure in particular, and the nature of the human grammatical faculty in general.

Before going into the analysis of bare singulars, I will digress briefly to discuss the properties of bare singulars in Hebrew. I will show that the range of properties assigned to bare singulars in group 1 follow some of the diagnostics articulated in Borer (2005) for Hebrew bare singulars.

2.4.1 Hebrew bare singulars

Bare singulars in Hebrew[15] are widely used given that the language does not have an indefinite determiner. Unlike bare singulars in group 1, there are no restrictions on the verbs that can license these nominals but, like their group 1 counterparts,

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[14]The heads of these functional structures are open values that are labelled categorically and that have to be assigned range by the relevant operator. According to Borer, there are two types of range assigners: the first type is comprised of independent morphemes (which she calls f-morphs) and the other type contains abstract head features, which normally involve obligatory head movement in such contexts.

[15]All the examples from Hebrew were taken from Borer (2005).

bare singulars cannot get a strong interpretation:

(117)   Yeš xatula ba-gan
        EXT cat   in-the.garden
        'There is cat in the garden'

Hebrew bare singulars cannot occur in preverbal subject position:

(118)   *seper niktab   ha.šana cal   zihum   'avir
        book written.PASS-PST the.year about pollution air
        'Intended: A book was written this year about pollution'

They can be passivized, as long as they do not occur preverbally:

(119)   Ha.šana niktab   seper ᶜal   zihum   'avir
        the.year writtenPASS.PST book about pollution air
        'There was a book written this year about air pollution'

They may also occur with a telic structure:

(120)   Rina 'akla 'dag tok ša ᶜa
        Rina ate   fish in an.hour
        'Rina ate a single whole fish in an hour'

        '*Rina ate fish stuff in an hour'

The two restrictions that Hebrew bare singulars have are the lack of a strong interpretation and the impossibility of occurring as preverbal subjects.

The singular interpretation of these nominals will be the result of a head feature which assigns range to both $<e>_{\text{DIV}}$ (in ClP) and $<e>_{\#}$ (in #P). Why should the singular head feature assign range to both values? Borer argues that whereas plural marking is just restricted to dividing 'stuff', without having any quantification function whatsoever, for singulars, the dividing and the counting function are the same. Dividing and counting are two sides of the same coin for singulars as a singular reading emerges from range assignment to both ClP and #P by the

same element. In the case of bare singulars, the counting and dividing functions are carried out by a head feature that is phonologically abstract and that "does not give rise to a phonological modification of the N-stem that supports it" (Borer 2005, p. 201). This head feature is <div.#>.

<div.#> is like a silent counterpart of the indefinite determiner 'a' with the only difference that it can only produce a weak reading, whereas the indefinite determiner can give rise to both weak and strong interpretations. In other words, <div.#> can assign range to $<e>_{DIV}$ and $<e>_{\#}$, but not to $<e>_{d}$. The consequence of this is that bare singulars will only get a weak reading and $<e>_{d}$ will be assigned range through existential closure.

The structure of a Hebrew bare singular will thus be:

(121) $\exists^{i}$ [$_{DP}$ $<e^{i}>_{d}$[$_{\#P}$ tinoq <div.#> $<e>_{\#(DIV)}$[$_{CLP}$ ~~tinoq~~
         baby   baby

         <div.#> $<e>_{DIV(\#)}$[$_{NP}$ ~~tinoq~~]]]]
                                         baby

2.5 A proposal

2.5.1 Introduction

In this section, I will try to show that the restrictions on the occurrence of bare singulars can be accounted for by means of a null D (modified) analysis. A null D proposal would be in line with Borer's structure of DP, as a null D bound by an existential operator gives rise to an indefinite interpretation. A null D analysis would also allow us to maintain a uniform treatment of all bare nominals given that, in this account, bare plurals and bare mass also contain a DP node. The difference between bare plurals and bare singulars will thus lie in the presence of #P for the latter. Bare mass will be distinguished from the other bare nominals by the absence of both a classifier and quantity phrase. In addition, the special

properties of bare singulars will be accounted for by the special properties that
HAVE-predicates have.

2.5.2 Bare Singulars and the Structure of DP

Following Borer's system, the DP structure of a bare plural and bare mass with a
weak reading is as follows:

(122) $[_{\text{DP}} <\!e\!>_{\text{d}} [_{\text{CLP}}\text{cat.}\!<\!\text{div}\!>\!<\!e\!>_{\text{DIV}}[_{\text{NP}} \text{ ~~eat~~}]]] = \text{cats}$

(123) $[_{\text{DP}} <\!e\!>_{\text{d}} \qquad\qquad\qquad [_{\text{NP}} \text{ salt}]] = \text{salt}$

Bare plurals have a classifier phrase, which is responsible for portioning out 'stuff'
so as to avoid a mass interpretation. The absence of a quantity phrase in both
cases is connected to the fact that both weak determinerless mass and plurals lack
a quantity interpretation and fail to induce telicity, as evidenced by:

(124)   Mary ate cookies (*in five minutes) / Mary drank juice (*in two hours)

Regarding singular indefinites, in Borer's system, the indefinite determiner is a true
counter. As was mentioned above, in the case of singulars, whether bare or not,
the counting and the dividing function are carried out by the same element. For
bare singulars, the element is $<\!\text{div.}\#\!>$, whereas in the case of singular indefinites,
it is the responsibility of the indefinite determiner. Therefore, for singulars, the
value of DIV and the value of $\#$ are merged given that 'a' assigns range to both
$<\!e\!>_{\text{DIV}}$ and $<\!e\!>_{\#}$ simultaneously, hence the notation $\#(\text{DIV})$ and $\text{DIV}(\#)$ below.
The structure of singular indefinites will thus be:

(125) $[_{\text{DP}} <\!e\!>_{\text{d}}[_{\#\text{P}} \text{ a } <\!e\!>_{\#(\text{DIV})}[_{\text{CLP}} \text{ ~~a~~ } <\!e\!>_{\text{DIV}(\#)}[_{\text{NP}}\text{house }]]]] = \text{a house}$

What would be a plausible analysis for bare singulars in Group 1? How much func-
tional structure is there? To start with, bare singulars in this group are countable
nouns. In addition, they have a quantity interpretation, which is always singular,

and they can induce telicity, which is a property of quantity structures. Given this, it is evident that bare singulars in this group need to be embedded in a classifier phrase as this would mean that 'stuff' can be portioned out before interacting with the count system. Moreover, a quantity phrase must be projected to allow for a quantity reading and a telic interpretation.

2.5.3 Null D or no null D?

It is quite evident from the sections above that bare singulars in group 1 project at least to #P. The question that we are left with now is whether there should be a null D on top of #P, or whether bare singulars are simply #Ps which do not project any further. I will claim that the former option is more explanatory.

To start with, let's have a look at what a #P analysis predicts. The idea that there are certain arguments that are smaller than DP is not new. Several authors, including Dobrovie-Sorin et al. (2006), Pereltsvaig (2006), Li (1996, 1998) and Huang et al. (2009), put forth proposals of #P as arguments [16]. Pereltsvaig (2006) proposes the existence of argumental small nominals to account for the behaviour of certain nominal expressions in Russian, where by small nominals she means either #Ps or NPs. While I do believe that her explanations can account for the Russian facts, the characteristics that she pinpoints as features of small nominals are not the ones that we find in Group 1 bare singulars. More specifically, her small nominals have the following properties:

1. Cannot be referential

2. Cannot get a specific interpretation

3. Cannot get a partitive interpretation

4. Only get narrow scope

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[16]I will keep referring to these phrases as #Ps, but note that Pereltsvaig refers to them as QPs and Li uses the term Number Phrases.

5. Cannot control PRO

6. Cannot serve as antecedents of reflexives/reciprocals

7. Do not trigger agreement on the predicate

Similarly, Li (1996, 1998) proposes the existence of argumental #Ps in Chinese and English. Focussing on the English examples she provides, we find:

(126) a. That bed sleeps three small children.

   b. This big sofa seated five adults yesterday.

   c. That hotel suite accommodated 100 guests.

Li identifies the following properties in #Ps:

1. Both #Ps (quantity denoting expressions) and DPs (individual denoting expressions) can be arguments.

2. #Ps cannot bind a pronoun

3. #Ps cannot bind a reflexive

4. #Ps always have narrow scope

5. #Ps have no referential index

From the diagnostics identified by both authors, bare singulars in group 1 comply with just a few, namely the obligatory narrow scope and their non-specific, non-partitive interpretation. The fact that they cannot get a partitive interpretation follows from the fact that they cannot be specific, and this, in turn, can also be accommodated in a DP analysis of the construction. If we assume that in order to get a strong interpretation, the bare singular should move to D, we can account for the unavailability of a strong reading / wide scope if D is closed off via existential closure. Hence, these properties can be accounted for by either a #P or a DP analysis.

However, it is difficult to account for the other properties that bare singulars in Group 1 have if we want to stick to a #P analysis. While I agree with Li's analysis of argumental #Ps for nominal expressions that only denote quantities, both in Chinese and English, I do not think that it can be extended to the bare singulars under consideration. As we have seen in the preceding sections, bare singulars can be referential, can control PRO and can serve as antecedents of reflexives (the impossibility of binding reciprocals is expected given that these require a plural antecedent). If we assume that D is the locus of reference, then we have to claim that bare singulars also project a D; otherwise, its discourse referential properties and binding possibilities remain unexplained.

Having established then that bare singulars in Group 1 need to project a D, we are left with the following questions: why cannot we get bare singulars in group 1 with the same properties as the Hebrew ones? More generally, what is the difference between bare singulars in group 1, taking Spanish as an example, that does not allow them to occur in postverbal subject position, and bare plurals and bare mass? Clearly, some sort of stipulation has to be made - the bare singular is special, the verbs that license them are or both. I will propose an analysis that treats both elements as special, but without resorting to incorporation. I argue that the nominals are defective indeed, along the lines of E&M, Li and Pereltsvaig, but unlike them, I assume that these nominals are DPs. This leads me to postulate that the licensing of the structure is what makes bare singulars special. I claim that HAVE-predicates have a built-in existential quantifier that allows them to bind not only the value in D, but also # and Cl.

2.5.4   Towards an analysis

The aim of this section is to show that the structure of DP we have assumed so far ([DP[#P[ClP[NP]]]]) can capture the behaviour of the bare singulars discussed in this chapter if we assume that these nominals are somehow defective DPs. Before showing exactly what I mean by this, I will start by recapping all the options that

I have discarded so far.

The first analysis to be rejected was treating bare singulars as simple NPs. This is what Espinal (2009) and Espinal and McNally (2011) have done. While I agree with the fact that bare singulars do not behave exactly like full DPs, I have shown throughout this chapter that they clearly do not behave like NPs.

Irrespective of the issue of number, which is also problematic for an NP account, there is the more concerning issue of reference. We have seen several examples in different languages that show that bare singulars can be referential, a behaviour that differs from nominals that are known to be NPs, such as nominals inside compounds:

(127)   Ayer   vi   al   papa$_i$movil en el   centro. #Él$_i$ es
         yesterday saw.1SG to.the popomobile in the centre he   is
         argentino.
         Argentinian
         'Yesterday I saw the popemobile downtown. #He is Argentinian'

If bare singulars are also NPs, why can they be referred to? Why is it not possible for nouns inside compounds to ever get some sort of reference? Why doesn't accommodation work in this case? Of course, it is possible to claim that compounds are the result of some sort of incorporation analysis which renders the whole nominal a closed off element, inaccessible for pronoun resumption to the 'incorporated' noun. Under these assumptions, the behaviour of compounds can be easily explained. What is not so easy to explain, however, is why bare singulars would behave differently from other nominals also traditionally assumed to be NPs, but definitely not incorporated. This is the case of bare predicate nominals.

Bare predicate nominals, which will be discussed in detail in chapter 4, are not referential. They can, though, be referred back by means of a pronoun, but this is always the default clitic *lo* in Spanish. Agreement, both in gender and number,

leads to ungrammaticality:

(128) Mi hermana es abogada   y   mi prima   también lo/
       my sister   is lawyer.FEM and my cousin.FEM also   it.SG.MASC/
       *la   es
       *it.SG.FEM is
       'My sister is a lawyer and my cousin is too'

(129) Mis hermanos son cantantes y   mis primas   también lo
       My siblings   are singers   and my cousins.FEM also   it.SG.MASC
       / *los   / *las   son
       / *PL.MASC / *PL.FEM
       'My siblings are singers and my female cousins are as well'

In the case of bare singulars in argumental position, it is necessary for the clitic to agree in gender and number. Using the default clitic, which is masculine, with a feminine antecedent, for instance, leads to ungrammaticality:

(130) Ya   encontré niñera.   La/*lo   contraté ayer
       already found.1SG nanny.FEM. CL.FEM/*CL.MASC hired.1SG yesterday
       'I already found a nanny. I hired her yesterday'

If both bare singulars in argumental position and bare predicate nominals are NPs with no referential properties, the facts shown above regarding pronominal resumption fail to be explained. Given this, I argue that it is impossible for bare singulars in group 1 to be simple NPs.

The second option would be to assume that they are #Ps. While this solves the number specification problem, it still cannot account for reference (in addition to PRO control, reflexive binding and non-defining relative clause licensing).

The only option we are left with within the current structure of DP is to assume that they are actually DPs. This automatically explains the referential properties of bare singulars but it does not explain one issue that I have not addressed up to now - that is, adjectival modification. Bare singulars can be modified, but only

by adjectives that are really low in the structure - those adjectives that typically refer to kind:

(131)   Busco   profesor universitario
            look.for.1SG professor universitary
            'I'm looking for a university professor'

(132)   *Busco   profesor excelente
            look.for.1SG professor excellent
            'I'm looking for an excellent professor'

This fact, together with the fact that bare singulars cannot license secondary predication (*Tengo coche listo, 'I have car ready'), leads me to believe that even if they are not exactly like fully-fledged DPs, they share a number of properties - they are specified for number; they can control PRO; they can bind reflexives and they can be referential, facts that are difficult to explain if they are not DPs.

What I will suggest is that these nominals are DPs, but a sort of defective one. Normally, in the derivation of a weak indefinite nominal in languages with an indefinite article we have the noun base generated inside the NP, the classifier head being occupied by the article, which then moves to #P, and D being licensed via existential closure. In the case of languages like Hebrew, it is head movement of the noun that values both ClP and #P. I assume that bare singulars in Group 1 are special because they are DPs which need a different sort of licensing of the Cl and # functional projections. The nominal in Spanish cannot undergo head movement as their Hebrew counterpart - if that was possible we would expect bare singulars across the board, which is not the case - and there is no article to license ClP and #P, yet we know that the interpretation they get is that of a weak singular indefinite.

Given this picture, we need to get something to license Cl and #, which cannot be via head movement or via the insertion of an article. I claim that licensing of these nodes is only possible with HAVE-predicates. HAVE-predicates are special in

that they come with an existential quantifier. This is, crucially, something that is present with this type of predicates but not with any other verbs; otherwise, I would predict the existence of bare singulars with all verbs in group 1 languages.

The idea that *have* comes with a built-in version of existential closure has been around for a while. van Geenhoven (1998) introduces the existential quantifier on West Greenlandic incorporating verbs, which include *have*, based on Carlson's (1977) analysis of bare plurals. As we have seen in section 2.3.2, Le Bruyn et al. (2014) assume that *have* has no semantic content (a proposal also made by Ritter and Rosen, 1997) and that it only comes with an existential quantifier. What is different from those proposals is that I am trying to pursue an analysis in which bare singulars are still treated as arguments, rather than predicates, by positing the existence of a different existential quantifier for HAVE-predicates that is more powerful than the regular existential closure introduced at the VP level.

The standard $\exists$ (in the sense of Diesing, 1992) operates at the level of VP and can bind the value in D. I would like to claim that the $\exists$ that is introduced by *have* (henceforth $\exists_H$) is different in that it can bind not only bind the value in D but also the the values in #P and ClP. Bare singulars in group 1 project a ClP and a #P, but unlike their Hebrew counterparts, the noun does not move from NP through the different functional projections. Rather, the existential operator introduced by *have* binds the values of the three functional projections, which means that the verb licenses the whole structure:

(133)   HAVE-$\exists_H{}^i$ $[_{DP2} <e^i>_d[_{\#P} <e^i>_{\#(DIV)}[_{ClP} <e^i>_{DIV(\#)}[_{NP}$ house]]]]

As a consequence, the result interpretation will be weak, as the DP is existentially bound, and singular, as singularity emerges from the range assignment of #P and ClP by the same element. This existential operator only occurs when a HAVE-predicate in these languages combines with a nominal expression that has all the functional projections up to DP and when it occurs, it blocks the regular $\exists$ that

operates at the VP level.

Given this picture, I think that working on the assumption that HAVE-predicates have a different kind of existential quantifier is a plausible explanation. After all, the fact that *have* is special has been noted by various authors in the literature. In addition, placing the burden on the type of existential quantifier allows us to maintain that bare singulars are arguments, both syntactically and semantically, and are defective DPs, in line with Longobardi's (1994) claim that all arguments have to project a D either overtly or covertly.

The fact that the existential quantifier introduced by HAVE-predicates licenses the whole structure makes [DP[#P [ClP]]] act like a block, where no other material can be introduced in the derivation. This means that high adjectives will not have a place to merge. This idea that high adjectival modification is blocked simply because of structural reasons gets some support from examples like the ones below:

(134)   *Estoy buscando   auto lindo/barato
        am   looking.for car   pretty/cheap
        Intended: 'I'm looking for a nice/cheap car'

(135)   Estoy buscando   auto y   tiene   que ser lindo y   barato
        am   looking.for car and have.3SG to be nice   and cheap
        'I'm looking for a car and it has to be nice and cheap'

As can be seen from the examples above, it is not the case that bare singulars can only be modified by low adjectives because they denote kinds. If that was the case, then (135), which contains adjectives that do not modify kind, should be ungrammatical. The fact that it is indeed possible to utter (135) lends support to the idea that bare singulars are defective DPs and, as such, cannot be fully modified inside that defective domain. It is simply a structural matter, not an issue of interpretation.

With respect to the other verbs that license bare singulars in Greek and Norwe-

gian, we find that they have one aspect in common - the coming into existence factor. The majority of the other verbs that license bare singulars are creation verbs, which entail the existence of the object. Therefore, I would like to claim that $\exists_H$ is also present in those verbs.

In my analysis, then, $\exists_H$ can only occur when verb combines with a nominal expression that has projected all the functional projections in the DP. If either ClP or #P fail to project, then $\exists_H$ cannot apply. This rules out the occurrence of $\exists_H$ with bare plurals and bare mass, which correctly predicts their less restricted distribution. In the case of bare singulars, languages differ whether $\exists_H$ is available or not. For group 1 bare singulars, this option is there, which restricts the occurrence of bare singulars to be the objects of only those verbs that have $\exists_H$. In the case of Hebrew, for example, $\exists_H$ is not present, which makes its bare singulars less restricted - they can occur with any verbs and can also occur in postverbal subject position (just like Romance bare plurals and bare mass). $\exists_H$ would also be blocked by the presence of the indefinite determiner, as this merges in the ClP and as a consequence $\exists_H$ cannot bind the three functional projections.

The only subgroup of verbs that I cannot fit in this are the Greek cases of institutionalized activities, such as *dhyavazo efimeridha* 'read newspaper', *vlepo/parakolutho tileorasi* 'watch TV', *akuo radhiofono* 'listen to radio'. However, it is interesting to note that in other languages, like English and Spanish, these would be expressed by means of a weak definite. It may be the case that these institutionalized activities can be analysed as weak definites with a silent counterpart of 'the'. Aguilar Guevara (2014) argues that bare singulars are in cross-linguistic complementary distribution with weak definites. "This means that what is expressed by means of a weak definite in a dialect or language is expressed by means of a bare singular in another on" (Aguilar-Guevara 2014, p. 25). This is a topic I leave for future research.

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2.6 Chapter summary

The aim of this chapter was to show that the behaviour of bare singular nominals is not really language specific and that some generalizations can be drawn if we focus on the position these nouns occupy as well as the interpretations that they can receive. Specifically I proposed that there are, at least, two groups of languages. The first group, which is what this chapter focused on, comprises languages that only allow bare singulars in object position of a specific group of verbs (HAVE-predicates). In this group we have Spanish, Norwegian and Greek.

I argued throughout this chapter that, based on the characteristics of these nominals (referentiality, implicit subject control, binding of reflexives, relative clause licensing, telicity facts and number specification), they cannot and should not be analysed as bare NPs. I also reject an analysis in terms of (pseudo) noun incorporation. These nominals are DPs, albeit of a defective type, as there is no indefinite article to license the functional projections in the DP, and the noun itself cannot undergo head movement up to #P. At the same time, HAVE-predicates are special in that they come with an existential quantifier that can license the whole structure.

In the next chapter, I will discuss the second group of languages (comprising Brazilian Portuguese, Persian and Afro-Bolivian Spanish). Here, the bare singulars can occur both in subject and object position and, unlike their group 1 counterparts, these nominals are number neutral and not singular. Given this, I refer to them as 'so-called bare singulars' (SCBSs).

Chapter 3

Bare Singulars in Argumental Position (Group II)

3.1   Overview

As was mentioned in the introduction to chapter 2, so-called bare singulars (henceforth, SCBSs) in this second group are both attested in subject and object position. In subject position they are interpreted as generics, whereas in object position they are interpreted as indefinites and are unspecified for number. Brazilian Portuguese (BP), Afro-Bolivian Spanish (ABS) and Persian are examples of this group. One main characteristic of this group is that so-called bare singulars (SCBSs) are not restricted to a specific set of verbs.

Brazilian Portuguese is a language in which SCBSs, whether modified or not, are widely used. They constitute the unmarked form and seem to belong to a less formal register (in comparison with bare plurals[1]). In subject position, Brazilian

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[1] "Marking morphologically the plural is associated with the norm of prestige in Brazil, being evaluated as the right way to speak..." Beviláqua and Pires de Oliveira (2018); "The bare plural belongs very much to the written language register. The most usual oral nominal forms that express genericity in BP are either the definite singular or the bare singular." (Müller, 2002,

Portuguese SCBSs are interpreted as generics, as in (2). SCBSs with existential predicates are ungrammatical unless they are contrastive, as in (3)[2]

(2)   Elefante é inteligente
        elephant is inteligent
        'Elephants are intelligent'

(3)   *Amigo partiu ontem
        friend left   yesterday
        Intended: '(Some) friends left yesterday'

(Examples from Müller and Oliveira, 2004)

Similarly, Persian SCBSs are interpreted as generics when in subject position[3]:

(4)   Zan   ashegh   e kharide
        woman love.3SG of shopping
        'Women love shopping'

(5)   Bache geryeh mikenad
        baby   crying do.3SG
        'Babies cry'

Modarresi (2014) claims that these nominals in subject position can also receive an existential interpretation. However, she only provides one example of such a case:

(6)   væqt-i-ke   æsb amade.æst, ma-ra xæbær-kon-id
        when-i-that horse ready.3SG   me-ra news-do-IMP-2PL

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p.292)

[2]Only bare plurals are acceptable in subject position of episodic predicates with an indefinite interpretation:

(1)   Helicopteros estavan sobrevoando minha rua
        helicopters   were   flying.over   my   street
        'Helicopters were flying over my street'

(Example from Marcelo Ferreira, p.c.)

[3]They can also get a definite interpretation, which I will not discuss here.

'When horses are ready, let me know'

This example is from Windfuhr (1994), who is in turn citing this sentence from a 19th century textbook of Persian for Englishmen. Belyaev (2009) states that it is uncertain how these cases should be dealt with, if they survive in the modern language at all. Given that this is the only case in the literature and that my informants do not agree with the judgements, I will disregard this reading in subject position.

Afro-Bolivian Spanish[4] SCBSs in subject position can be interpreted as generic (7), kind (8) or existential (9):

(7)   Perro come galleta
        dog   eats cookie
        'Dogs eat cookies'

(8)   Chancho es muy común   a Tocaña
        wild-pork is very common in Tocaña
        'Wild porks are very common in Tocaña'

(9)   Agua ta friu
        water is cold
        'The water is cold'

Sessarego states that normally, SCBSs in subject position get a generic interpretation, whereas indefinites get a generic or a specific one:

(10)   Un boliviano come lechón hoy
        A Bolivian eats lechón today
        'A Bolivian eats lechón today'

        (either 'a certain Bolivian' or 'Bolivians in general')

(11)   Boliviano come lechón hoy
        Bolivian eats lechón today
        'Bolivians eat lechón today' (only generic)

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[4]All the ABS data is from Gutiérrez-Rexach and Sessarego (2010) and Sessarego (2014).

In object position, SCBSs in Afro-Bolivian Spanish, Brazilian Portuguese and Persian are interpreted as indefinites, except when they occur after psych verbs, in which case they get a generic interpretation:

(12)   Tiene   gallina en la   casa   (ABS)
         have.3SG chicken in the house
         'There is a chicken/chickens in the house'

(13)   A mí me gusta   gato
         to me me like.3SG cat
         'I like cats'

(14)   Eu comprei   livro na   livreria   (BP)
         I   buy.1SG.PST book in.the bookshop
         'I bought a book / some books in the bookshop'

(15)   Eu amo sapato
         I   love shoe
         'I love shoes'

(16)   ketab khæridæm   (PE)
         book buy.1SG.PST
         'I bought a book / I bought some books'

(17)   Batcheha az rouh mitarsan
         child.PL   of ghost fear.3PL
         'Children fear ghosts'

3.1.1 Discourse referential properties

Group 2 SCBSs introduce a referent into the discourse and, as a consequence, can serve as antecedents to personal pronouns:

(18)   Yo tiene hijo. El/Eyu   vive a Mururata   (ABS)
         I   have child. He/They live to Mururata
         'I have a child/children. He/They live in Mururata'

(19)   Eu tenho melancia   na   geladeira. Comprei ela/elas ontem   (BP)
         I   have watermelon in.the fridge   bought   it/them yesterday

'I have a watermelon/watermelons in the fridge. I bought it/them yester-
day'

(20) Mæn sib   khæridæm. Kheily khoshmæzeh æst   (PE)
      I   apple bought.1SG very   tasty   is.3SG.PRES
      'I bought an apple. It is tasty'

Cyrino and Espinal (2015) claim that the bare nominal that occurs after HAVE-
predicates in BP is an NP. The first piece of evidence that they use is that third
person pronouns cannot be used to refer back to the SCBS, a judgement that is
not borne out, as was seen above in (19). Their second argument is connected with
anaphor binding. To show that the objects of HAVE-predicates are not full DPs,
Cyrino and Espinal (2015) argue, following Pereltsvaig (2006), that small nominals
cannot act as antecedents of anaphors. Cyrino and Espinal (2015) claim that the
anaphor can only refer back to the subject of the sentence and not to the object
in (21-a), unlike the versions with a singular indefinite, (21-b), or with another
predicate, (21-c), in which case the reflexive can be anaphoric to either the subject
or the object:

(21) a. A Maria$_i$ tem   empregada$_j$ para se$_{i/\#j}$ vestir de odalisca
          the Maria have.3SG maid   to   SE   dress of odalisque
          no   carnaval.
          in.the carnival
          'Maria has a maid to dress herself as an odalisque for the carnival'

      b. A Maria$_i$ tem   uma empregada$_j$ para se$_{i/j}$ vestir de odalisca
          the Maria have.3SG one maid   to   SE   dress of odalisque
          no   carnaval.
          in.the carnival
          'Maria has a maid to dress herself as an odalisque for the carnival'

      c. A Maria$_i$ contratou empregada$_j$ para se$_{i/j}$ vestir de odalisca
          the Maria hired.3SG maid   to   SE   dress of odalisque
          no   carnaval.
          in.the carnival
          'Maria hired a maid to dress herself as an odalisque for the carnival'

In fact, it is possible in all the cases above for the reflexive to refer to either the

subject or the object. This is clear in the example below, in which the only possible interpretation is the one in which the reflexive is coindexed with the object of a HAVE-predicate:

(22)   A   Maria$_i$ tem empregado$_j$ para se$_{*i}$/$_j$ vestir de Papa Noel
       the Maria has servant.MASC to   SE   dress of Santa Claus
       'Maria has a servant to dress him as Santa Claus'

It seems then, that neither of the tests proposed to analyse them as NPs work, which seems to indicate that they do indeed project some functional structure on top of the basic NP. Moreover, SCBSs in group 2 can control implicit subjects and can be coordinated with overt DPs. I am aware that coordination is probably the weakest of all these tests, but, assuming that, in general, it is only possible to coordinate constituents of the same category, we get further indications that these nominals are also DPs:

(23)   Procuro   professora   de natação   para crianças para PRO dar
       look.for1SG teacher-FEM of swimming for   children for   PRO give
       aula em Macacos
       class in Macacos
       'I'm looking for a swimming instruction for children to deliver classes in

       Macacos'

(24)   Eu tenho maçã e   uma melancia   (BP)
       I   have apple and a   watermelon
       'I have an apple/apples and a watermelon'

(25)   Mæn ketab va   yek majaleh   khæridæm   (PE)
       I   book and one magazine buy.1SG.PST
       'I bought a book/books and a magazine'

One important point, as noted by Schmitt and Kester (2005), is that when two SCBSs are conjoined, the resulting interpretation is that the nominals make reference to different individuals or to a plurality of individuals, a fact which is expected if they are DPs:

(26)   Eu encontrei amigo e   colega   em Curaçao
             I   met   friend and colleague in   Curaçao
             'I met friends and colleagues in Curaçao'

(Example from Schmitt and Kester, 2005)

3.1.2   Scope

SCBSs in group 2, when in object position, share with bare singulars in group 1 the property of scope. They can only take narrow scope with respect to negation as can be seen in:

(27)   Oté no   vió   mancha en la   ventana   (ABS)
             you not saw spot   in   the window
             'You did not see spots in the window/s'

             '*There are spots in the window/s that you did not see'

(28)   João não viu   mancha no   chão   (BP)
             João not   saw spot   on.the floor
             'João didn't see a spot/spots on the floor'

             '*There is a spot on the floor that João didn't see'

(29)   Mæn ketab na.khæridæn   (PE)
             I   book   not.buy.1SG.PST
             'I didn't buy (any) books'

             '*There is a book that I didn't buy'

3.1.3   Number

SCBSs in this group are different from bare singulars in group 1 in that they are not specified for number; therefore, they can be interpreted either as singular or plural (hence my point in referring to them as so-called bare singulars). In this respect, they are different from bare plurals given that the latter, but not the former, seem to only indicate plurality:

(30)   a.   Tinha meninas na   sala. Elas estavan dormindo
                have   girls   in.the room they were   sleeping
                'There were girls in the room. They were sleeping'

        b.   Tinha meninas na   sala.   *Ela estava dormindo
                have   girls   in.the roomm. she was   sleeping
                '# There were girls in the room. She was sleeping'

        c.   Tinha menina na   sala. Ela/Elas estava(m) dormindo
                have   girl   in.the room she/they was/were sleeping
                'There was/were a girl/girls in the room. She/They was/were sleep-

                ing'

                                    (BP, examples from Marcelo Ferreira, p.c.)

(31)   Ayer   yo compró tarta de chocolate   (ABS)
        yesterday I   bought cake of chocolate
        'Yesterday I bought a/some chocolate cake/s'

The same phenomenon can be observed in Persian:

(32)   Bæra-t medad avord-æm   (PE)
        for-you pencil brought-1SG
        'I brought you (one or more) pencils'

                                  (Example from Modarresi, 2014)

We can also create a context where there is reference to more than one object and use a SCBS. Given a situation where there are 5 letters on a table and A asks B what s/he did in the morning, B can answer 'I letter wrote' to refer to all of them:

(33)   Man nomeh neveshtan   (PE)
        I   letter   wrote
        'I wrote letters'

These languages also pass Dayal's 'compare/unite' test, which shows that they are really number neutral:

(34)   Nós estamos comparando exemplo   (BP)
         we   are   comparing   example
         'We are comparing examples'

(35)   Pedro coleciona   selo
         Pedro collect.3sg stamp
         'Pedro collects stamps'

                                    (Example (35) from Schmitt and Kester, 2005)

(36)   Emperatur keshvar motahed kard   (PE)
         emperor   country unite   did
         'The emperor united countries'

3.1.4   Telicity

Neither Brazilian Portuguese nor Persian SCBSs are able to induce telicity. This
seems to suggest that these nominals lack a quantity structure, a fact also suppor-
ted by their number neutral interpretation:

(37)   Oo   bæraye do sa'æt ketab khoonnd/* dar do sa'æt   (PE)
         He/she for   two hours book read.3sg   in two hours
         'He/She read books for two hours / *in two hours'

                                              (Example from Modarresi, 2014)

(38)   *Eu comi   maçã em dois minutos   (BP)
         I   eat.3sg.pst apple in two minutes
         'Intended: I ate an apple in two minutes'

3.1.5   Adjacency

SCBSs in this group need not be adjacent to the verb that licenses them. There
can be material intervening between the verb and the nominal:

(39)　Hæmeh　　film too khooneh mi-bin-ænd　　　　　　　　(PE)
　　　everybody film in　house　　DUR-watch-3PL
　　　'Everybody watches movies at home'

(Example from Modarresi, 2014)

(40)　Rezâ film-e　　xub　ham mi-bin-e
　　　Reza movie-EZ good also　DUR-see-3SG
　　　'Reza also watches good movies'

(Example from Ganjavi, 2007)

(41)　Ela usa　　　sempre saia　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(BP)
　　　she wear.3SG always skirt
　　　'She always wears skirts'

(42)　Ela lê　　　sempre livro de literatura
　　　she read.3SG always book of literature
　　　'She always reads literature books'

3.1.6　No Incorporation

All of the tests above show that it is not possible to appeal to incorporation of any kind to explain the distribution of these nominals. Syntactic incorporation can be easily ruled out if we start from the fact that so-called bare singulars in group 2 appear in subject position and it is a well-known fact that subjects do not incorporate (Baker, 1988, p. 81). In addition, there is no strict adjacency requirement in object position as there can be intervening material between the verb and the object.

Pseudo-noun incorporation is not a viable option either given the nominals' referential properties and binding possibilities. In addition, as Carlson (2006) suggested, Brazilian Portuguese should be excluded from an incorporation analysis as "there are no restrictions on their appearance or combination." (p. 46). This can be

extended to the other languages in Group 2. Although the specifics of her analysis differ from mine, this is a point also made by Megerdoomian (2008), who argues against a pseudo noun incorporation analysis of Persian so-called bare singulars.

3.2 Group II and the Nominal Mapping Parameter

One major proposal to account for the distribution of bare nominals has been put forth by Chierchia (1998). Chierchia maintains that languages differ in the denotations of their NPs. His typology, known as the *Nominal Mapping Parameter* (NMP), distinguishes between three different types of languages. In some languages, NPs are argumental (denoting names of kinds) and can occur without a determiner in argument position; in others, NPs are predicates and thus cannot occur in argument positions unless a D is projected, and in the third type, both argumental and predicative NPs are allowed:

Type 1: [+arg, -pred] (e.g. Chinese)

- There are generalised bare arguments

- All nouns are mass

- There is a classifier system (and no plural morphology)

Type 2: [-arg, +pred] (e.g. French)

- no bare nominals in argument position

- There is a count/mass distinction

- There is plural morphology

Type 3: [+arg, +pred] (e.g. English)

- Bare plurals and bare mass can occur in argument position

- There are no bare singulars

- There is plural morphology

Romance languages fall within type 2, which means that NPs are predicates and as such cannot occur in argument position unless they project a null D. This null D is a type-shifter as it shifts a predicate ($< e, t >$) into an argument ($< e >$). Null D should be governed by a lexical (verbal) head, which explains why bare nominals can occur in object position in Italian, but not as subjects:

(43)   *Bambini sono venuti da noi
         'Kids came by us.'

(44)   Ho preso biscotti con il mio latte.
         '(I) had cookies with my milk.'

(Examples from Chierchia, 1998)

From Chierchia's typology, it follows that only languages that are [-pred] should allow argumental bare singulars as all nouns denote mass in these languages. [-Arg] languages allow bare nouns if they project a null determiner, but this is only restricted to bare plurals and bare mass. Chierchia (1998) states that "in both Germanic and Romance, bare singular arguments are totally impossible (if the noun is not mass)" (p. 341).

Within the literature on (so-called) bare singulars, Schmitt and Munn (1999) were the first to point out that Brazilian Portuguese did not quite fit Chierchia's typology - BP is a type 2 language as it has a count/mass distinction and there is plural morphology, yet so-called bare singulars appear in argumental positions (subject

and object). Besides Brazilian Portuguese, claims against the NMP were made by Déprez (2001) for Haitian French; Baptista (2007) for Cape Verde Creole; Kester and Schmitt (2007) for Papiamentu, and Gutiérrez-Rexach and Sessarego (2010) for Afro-Bolivian Spanish, among others.

Arguing against a mass interpretation of SCBSs (and, as a consequence, of the NMP to account for Brazilian Portuguese), we find Schmitt and Munn (1999, 2000); Munn and Schmitt (1999, 2005); Schmitt and Kester (2005) and Kester and Schmitt (2007). Although they differ in the specific details of the analysis, they all share in common the idea that SCBSs in Brazilian Portuguese are number neutral, count nominals that project up to DP, a proposal I will adopt here.

These authors note that typical mass nouns are incompatible with predicates that require atomisation/individuation, for instance *weigh two grams*:

(45)   *Ouro pesa duas gramas
         *Gold weighs two grams

(46)   Ouro é caro
         Gold is expensive (no individuation required)

If SCBSs were mass, the same restriction should apply, but this is not the case:

(47)   Criança pesa   20 quilos nesta idade
         child   weighs 20 kilos   at.this age
         'Children weigh 20 kilos at this age'

Another piece of evidence comes from reflexives and reciprocals:

(48)   Criança briga uma com a   outra
         child   fights one with the other
         'Children fight with each other'

(49)   Criança sabe se   lavar sozinha
         child   know how to   wash   SELF alone

'Children know how to wash themselves alone'

(Examples from Schmitt and Munn, 1999)

Given this, the authors conclude that it is highly unlikely that SCBSs are mass denoting terms. Pires de Oliveira and Rothstein (2011a,b), on the other hand, put forth a proposal to the contrary.

Pires de Oliveira and Rothstein argue that SCBSs in Brazilian Portuguese are mass nouns denoting kinds. They point out that previous literature has compared SCBSs with non atomic mass nouns (such as 'gold') and the results in that case show considerable differences between the two types of nominals. However, they argue, if SCBSs are compared with naturally atomic mass nouns such as 'mobília' (furniture), then SCBSs and this type of mass nouns behave alike.

Rothstein (2010) makes a distinction between 'natural atomicity' and 'semantic atomicity'. Natural atomicity can be a property of both count and mass nouns and is a 'characteristic of predicates which denote a set of entities where the minimal atomic units are not context dependent' (Pires de Oliveira and Rothstein, 2011a, p. 2156). The noun 'furniture', for instance, is a case of a naturally atomic mass predicate and 'child' is a naturally atomic count predicate. A non naturally atomic count predicate would be 'fence' for instance as what counts as one fence is contextually determined[5]. Semantic atomicity on the other hand is a property of count nouns, 'which denote sets of atoms indexed for the context in which they count as atomic' (p. 2156).

Pires de Oliveira and Rothstein (2011a) then show that naturally atomic mass

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[5]Rothstein gives the example of four farmers building a fence between their land and an adjoining common field. If the common field is in the middle, and each farmer builds a fence on each side, forming a square, what counts as a fence? If we count each of the events, then there are four fences (one on each side of the square), but if we count a continuous stretch of fencing as one fence, then there is only one fence that encloses the common field.

(like 'furniture') behave like count nouns regarding distributivity, reflexivity and reciprocity:

(50)   Mobília   (nesta loja) pesa   20 kilos
        furniture in.this store weighs 20 kilos
        'Furniture (in this store) weighs 20 kilos'

(51)   Bijuteria (nesta loja) custa 3 reais
        jewellery in.this store costs 3 reais
        'Jewellery (in this store) costs 3 reais'

(52)   Mobília   (dessa marca) encaixa uma na   outra
        jewellery (of.this brand) fit.3SG one in.the other
        'Pieces of furniture (of this brand) fit into each other'

<div align="right">(Examples from Pires de Oliveira and Rothstein, 2011a)</div>

Further evidence that SCBSs and bare mass pattern alike comes from the fact that neither of them can be used as the subject of a verb with perfective aspect, unless the nominal is focalised or receives a list interpretation:

(53)   ??Menino jog-ou   bola
          boy   play-PERF ball
          'Boys played soccer'

(54)   Menino jog-aram   bola
        boy   play-IMPFV ball
        'Boys played soccer'

(55)   ??Cerveja cust-ou   caro
          beer   cost-PERF expensive
          'Beer was expensive'

(56)   Cerveja cust-ava   caro
        beer   cost-IMPFV expensive
        'Beer used to be expensive'

<div align="right">(Examples from Pires de Oliveira and Rothstein, 2011a)</div>

Another argument that seems to support a mass interpretation of SCBSs is the behaviour of these nominals in comparatives. The authors argue that if one compares count nouns, the comparison involves cardinality, whereas comparisons involving mass nouns may access different scales. "Comparing *mobília* 'furniture', for instance, may involve comparing the volume of two quantities of furniture or the number of pieces of furniture because it is a naturally atomic, but mass predicate. Comparing two sums in the denotation of *meninos* 'boys', can only be a comparison of cardinalities since *meninos* 'boys' is a count noun" (Pires de Oliveira and Rothstein, 2011a, p. 2173).

Several experimental studies have explored the behaviour of SCBSs and bare plurals in comparison structures, but the results have been varied. The prediction is that if bare singulars are mass, then they should allow a volume interpretation. Beviláqua and Pires de Oliveira (2014) were the first to test this in an offline experiment using a Quantity Judgement Test. Participants were shown two pictures, each containing one person, some balls and a basket and, as contextual information, they listened to a short narrative stating that the people in the photos wanted to fill the basket. As a task, participants had to choose the best answer to the question *Quem tem mais bola para encher o cesto?* 'Who has more ball to fill the basket?'. In picture 1, the cardinal situation, the person had a higher number of balls. In the other picture, the volume situation, the person had fewer but bigger balls. The results showed that SCBSs tend towards a mass interpretation, whereas bare plurals have a count one. However, SCBSs in this experiment were tested in a biased context favouring volume answers, as the own researchers pointed out.

A later experiment by Lima and Gomes (2016) tested the preferred interpretation of SCBSs in neutral contexts (unlike the previous study) and this provided different results. This particular experiment involved two different studies - a truth conditional judgement test with comparatives (*Pedro tem mais carro que Júlia*, 'Pedro has more car than Julia') and another one with absolute constructions (*João não*

tem muita bola, mas Carlos tem, 'João does not have much/many ball/s, but Carlos does'). Both studies showed a clear preference for SCBSs to be measured by cardinality. Beviláqua et al.'s (2016) results also point to a default cardinal interpretation for SCBSs[6], casting doubt on their mass interpretation.

3.3   So-called bare singulars structure

It is clear that SCBSs in this group are also arguments of the verb. The main differences, however, between the nominals in group 1 and the ones in group 2 are that the latter can occur as both subjects and objects, are not restricted to a specific set of verbs, and they are unspecified for number. Group 2 SCBSs can occur with predicates that have a plurality requirement, such as 'compare/unite', which clearly shows that they are not truly singular terms.

Given their discourse referential properties, it seems quite evident that they should project up to DP. In addition, the fact that they are countable suggests that a Classifier Phrase should be projected. The question that I am left with now is to decide whether they also project a Quantity Phrase (#P) or not.

Munn and Schmitt (1999) and Munn and Schmitt (2005) propose that SCBSs in BP are DPs with no Number Projection. They attribute the difference between English and Romance to the Free Agr Parameter, which allows Number to be missing in Romance when it is not semantically required - as in most predicative constructions. However, with the structure of DP I am assuming, if I leave the #P out, I would be left with the same structure I am assuming for bare plurals, as in (122), repeated here for convenience:

(57) $[_{DP} <e>_d [_{CLP} cat.<div><e>_{DIV}[_{NP} \text{eat}]]] = $ cats

This is, I claim, possible mainly because bare plurals are not in competition with

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[6] Also see Beviláqua and Pires de Oliveira (2017, 2018) for some more hybrid results.

SCBSs in these languages. As I mentioned above, the main point that I want to make is that SCBSs in these languages are number neutral because they do not compete with bare plurals for the same reading. Bare plurals in Brazilian Portuguese belong to a different register, are old-fashioned and are falling into disuse. Persian does not have indefinite bare plurals as their plural suffix is both plural and definite. It is, of course, possible to get an indefinite plural reading, but that only comes up when the indefinite suffix is merged after the plural definite one. ABS does not have plural marking on nouns, only on determiners, so there is no bare plural vs bare singular competition. This is also a reason for me to discard a number neutral account of bare singulars in group 1. In group 1 languages, bare plurals are number neutral so there is no good reason why a language would employ two different forms to convey exactly the same meaning.

So-called bare singulars then in Group II languages have the structure that English bare plurals have, which is the structure in (57) above:

(58)   *'Menino'* 'Boy' (So-called bare singular)
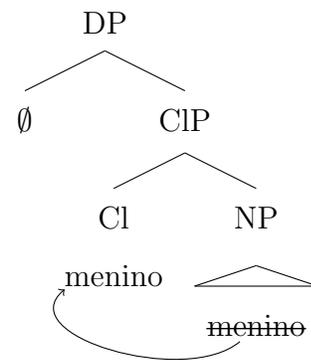
In the case of generic bare singulars in object position, the assumption is that they can escape the nuclear scope of ∃ and can scramble out of the VP at LF and will, therefore, be mapped into the restrictive clause, where they are bound by GEN (Diesing 1992). Alternatively, it is possible to assume that objects of psych verbs merge higher.

In subject position, so-called bare singulars are outside the scope of existential closure and are, thus, bound by the generic operator[7], which assigns range to both $<e>_d$ and $<e>_\#$ (Borer 2005, p. 138):

(59)   GEN^i [$_{DP}$ $<e^i>_d$ [$_{\#P}$ $<e^i>_{\#DIV}$ [$_{CLP}$ Bache $<e>_{DIV(\#)}$ [$_{NP}$ ~~Bache~~ ... [geryeh
                                                    child   ~~child~~   crying

        mikenad]]
        do

3.4   Chapter summary

This chapter showed the distribution and interpretation of so-called bare singulars in group II (Brazilian Portuguese, Afro-Bolivian Spanish and Persian). The nominals under consideration here have no restrictions in terms of verbs that can license them, which makes an incorporation account very unlikely. These nominals, unlike the ones in Group I, are truly number neutral, which is why they accept both singular and plural anaphora.

The structure proposed for these nominals is the same as English bare plurals have. It was mentioned that in the languages under consideration here, there is no competition between so-called bare singulars and bare plurals, so the so-called bare singular can indeed be number neutral as there is no other form in the language that has those features.

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[7]There has been quite a lot of debate regarding the availability of kind reading of SCBSs in BP. Müller and Oliveira (2004) consider them ungrammatical in that context, whereas Schmitt and Munn (1999) accept them. Pires de Oliveira et al. (2010) carried out an experiment to test the acceptability of both SCBSs and definite singulars with kind predicates. They conclude that the sentences with a SCBS are less acceptable than the ones with the definite article, but what is interesting to note is that the sentences with the definite article are not fully acceptable either, contrary to what was expected. The authors hypothesise that this might be a period of linguistic change in which the definite generic and the SCBS are in competition. See also Roberts, 2007 for another change in progress in Brazilian Portuguese - the loss of null subjects - as well as for a comprehensive discussion of syntactic change.

3.5   Some final thoughts

The main aim of chapters 2 and 3 was to show the characteristics of (so-called) bare singulars that I have found across different languages. I have shown that the languages where bare singulars occur can be split into two groups. The first group of languages is the one that only allows bare singulars in object position, where they are interpreted as weak singular indefinites. The second group is for those languages that allow so-called bare singulars both in subject position, with a generic interpretation, and in object position, with a number neutral, existential interpretation - with the exception of psych verbs, in which case they are also interpreted as generics.

I have also tried to account for their properties by making use of as few stipulations as possible. For Group 1 bare singulars, I have assumed that what is special about them is the fact that they project all the functional structure up to DP, but as the indefinite article is not realised, they need something to license the functional projections ClP, #P and DP. I assume that HAVE-predicates (as well as creation verbs) come with an existential quantifier that allows valuing not only D, as traditionally assumed for weak indefinites, but also #P and ClP. Other verbs lack this type of existential quantification, which blocks the occurrence of bare singulars across the board in these languages. Bare singulars in this group are truly singular terms, and not number neutral, as previously assumed. I do acknowledge the fact that bare singulars are defective but I do not assume that they are of a different semantic type, that they are incorporated somehow, that they undergo type-shifting operations or that they are not DPs. I still maintain that they are both semantically and syntactically arguments and I keep in line with Longobardi's proposal that all arguments should project a D, which is the locus of reference.

For Group II, I assume that they so-called bare singulars are DPs that lack a number projection and, given the lack of restriction in terms of verbs that can license

them, it is not desirable to appeal to incorporation as an analysis.

After considering (so-called) bare singulars in argumental position, I will move on to another environment where bare singulars are attested, that is, predicate position. Chapter 4 deals with the behaviour of predicate nominals, both with and without the indefinite article, in Spanish and French.

Chapter 4

Predicate nominals

4.1 Introduction

Having discussed the distribution and characteristics of bare singular nouns in argumental position in chapters 2 and 3, I will now focus on another context where bare singulars can occur, that is, in predicate position. The main aim of this chapter is to analyse copular sentences with predicate nominals in Spanish, with the idea of showing that the relation of predication is only one and that the grammatical distinctions seen on predicate nominals is connected to the size of the nominal expression, i.e. to the number of functional projections present on top of the noun.

The main research questions of this section are:

1. How does nominal predication work in Spanish?

2. When can bare nominal predication occur and what does the bare nominal form denote?

3. How are bare nominal predicates different from singular indefinite predicates? What is the relation between meaning and structure?

4. What are the implications for the structure of nominals in general, and how

do these bare predicative expressions tie in with bare singular nouns in argument position?

One interesting property of Spanish is that copular sentences can appear with and without the indefinite article, unlike, for example, English. Nominal expressions to the right of the copula can appear bare or with *un*, 'a'. However, I maintain that this is not an optional choice. Nominals that are modified either by adjectives[1] or relative clauses have to appear with *un*, as in (1). Otherwise, the noun appears in its bare form, as can be seen in (2):

(1)   Pablo es un futbolista muy famoso
        Pablo is a   footballer very famous
        'Pablo is a very famous footballer'

(2)   Pablo es futbolista
        Pablo is footballer
        'Pablo is a footballer'

Even though the pattern observed in (1) and (2) is robust and the article has to be present when there is adjectival/relative clause modification, the distribution of *un* is somewhat more complex than that. There are cases where the indefinite determiner appears even if there is no modification present, as the following cases show:

- Metaphorical interpretation:

    (3)   Pedro es carnicero
            Pedro is butcher
            'Pedro is a butcher' (profession)

    (4)   Pedro es un carnicero
            Pedro is a   butcher
            'Pedro is a butcher' (figuratively - he's a messy/sloppy surgeon)

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[1]There are certain adjectives, which Bosque and Picallo (1996) refer to as *classificatory*, that can modify the noun without triggering article insertion. These will be discussed in the next sections.

- Emphatic *un* - the postcopular NP is given an evaluative attribute - the qualities ascribed to the individual subject are either negative or exceptionally positive:

(5) Pedro es un vago   / un viejo   / un borracho / un genio
     Pedro is a lazybones / an old.man / a drunkard / a genius

"(El artículo indefinido) en algunos casos comunica un énfasis especial a la frase, pues al decir de alguno que es un cobarde, no significamos que la cobardía es una de sus cualidades, sino que es la principal y casi característica" (Salvá, 1835, p. 141) ([the indefinite article] in some cases communicates a special emphasis to the phrase because when we say that someone is a coward, we do not mean that cowardice is one of their qualities, but rather that it is the main and almost (only) characteristic) (my translation)[2]

- Identificational:

(6) Ésto es una silla
     this is a   chair
     'This is a chair'

(7) Este animal es un mamífero
     this animal is a   mammal
     'This animal is a mammal'

The picture is even more complex if we consider another related construction that is relevant to this discussion - *estar* + *de* 'be + of'. As is well known, Spanish has two copulas, namely *ser* and *estar*. While copula *estar* does not normally combine with nominals[3], it is possible to have one if it is introduced by the preposition *de* 'of':

(8) Estoy   de preceptora   en un colegio secundario
     ESTAR.1SG of cover.supervisor in a   school secondary

---

[2]A similar claim was made by Bello (1848).
[3]Cases of ESTAR + nominals will be discussed in chapter 6.

'I am/work as a cover supervisor at a secondary school'

Based on this data, I argue that predicational sentences with nominals give rise to two different interpretations that correlate with different syntactic structures[4]:

- Copular sentences with *ser* and a bare nominal (without modification) are interpreted as the ascription of a property to the subject. The predicate nominal only projects up to ClP.

- Copular sentences with *ser* and UN nominals are used to define or evaluate the individual denoted by the subject. The predicate nominal contains a DegP, which is where the indefinite article merges.

I maintain that the presence/absence of the indefinite article and the choice of copula gives rise to different interpretations. Bare predicate nominals are interpreted as the ascription of a property to an individual, whereas indefinite predicate nominals are used to either a) identify/define or b) evaluate an individual. These different interpretations correlate with different syntactic structures.

I specifically argue that bare predicate nominals only project to ClP and that the version with the indefinite article *un* actually contains a degree phrase. I will show that *un* predicational sentences, both with and without modification, can be accounted for if we assume that the indefinite article is a degree expression.

Given that I base my analysis on existing proposals on the topic, I will start by providing a summary of the properties of French predicative sentences, as discussed in Roy (2013), and in the subsequent sections I discuss the properties of Spanish predicate nominals, their distribution and structure.

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[4]Copular sentences with *estar de* are interpreted as a subtype of *ser* + bare nominal sentences. These will be analysed in Chapter 6.

4.2   Predicate Nominals in French - Roy (2013)

Roy (2013) provides a detailed analysis of French predicational sentences, which, like their Spanish counterparts, allow for the postcopular expression to appear bare in certain contexts. Roy argues that the interpretational differences of nonverbal predicates correlate with grammatical differences and proposes that predicational constructions fall into three syntactically distinct categories:

- defining (the postcopular nominal expression projects up to Number Phrase)

- characterizing (the postcopular nominal expression projects up to Classifier Phrase)

- situation descriptive (neither ClP nor NumP are present in the postcopular expression, so this is inevitably not nominal in nature)

This tripartition is actually a double two-way split. The first split corresponds to whether copular sentences assign properties or describe situations. This allows us to distinguish between property assigning sentences (defining and characterizing) and situation descriptive sentences. The second split is to tease apart two different types of attributive predication - the type of sentences that ascribe a property to an individual (characterizing) and those that involve a defining property, i.e., a property salient enough to define an individual (defining). To be able to get this tripartition, Roy makes use of two different criteria: density and maximality.

1. **Maximality:** whether or not the underlying eventuality has perceptible subpart properties

2. **Density:** whether or not the subparts are divisive

Defining copular sentences involve a defining property, i.e., a property salient enough to define an individual as a particular member of a class of individuals. Defining copular sentences are **maximal**, in the sense that the predicate is devoid of perceptible spatio-temporal subpart properties. Defining sentences always take the indefinite determiner in French:

(9)   Sylvie est une danseuse
        Sylvie is   a   dancer
        'Sylvie is a dancer'

Maximality refers to whether the internal structure of the state is accessible or not:

(10)   For an eventuality e P(e), there is no e' such that e is a proper part of e' and P(e')

Maximality refers to the biggest eventuality where the predicate P holds. The event argument in P(e) must be the maximal P-event. Maximal predicates are devoid of perceptible spatio-temporal subpart properties.

The maximal reading is linked to the presence of the MAX operator, which introduces maximal quantification over the eventuality

(11)   Actor (e)

        e is an eventuality of being an actor

        max(e) P(e)

        e is a maximal P eventuality

        max(e) Actor (e)

        e is a maximal eventuality of being an actor

(12)   Paul est un acteur
        Paul is   an actor

'Paul is in a maximal eventuality of being an actor', meaning that there is no bigger eventuality of being an actor in that eventuality as well.

Maximal predicates are incompatible with temporal modifiers that restrict the predicate to smaller intervals within the maximal interval. They are incompatible with an interruptive reading:

(13)   *Paul était un journaliste in 1990
         Paul was   a   journalist in 1990
         'Paul was a journalist in 1990'

The other two types of copular sentences (characterizing and situation descriptive) can be distinguished by means of the criterion of density. Density refers to whether a state is described as composed of atomic subparts or not:

(14)   If a predicate P is interpreted as dense, then P is true of an eventuality e in an interval I iff for any I', a subinterval of I, there exists another eventuality e' such that P is true of e' and e' is part of e.

Take, for instance, *John is in the garden. In the garden* is dense if, when it is true of the subject John and an eventuality e (pragmatically relevant) in a relevant interval (e.g., from 9.27 to 10.12am), it is also true in any subinterval of I (i.e., any subinterval between 9:27 and 10:12am). Dense predicates lack divisions, and any subpart of the eventuality is identical to the bigger eventuality itself (Roy, 2013, p. 82).

Situation descriptive copular sentences do not ascribe a property to an individual and are **dense**, which means that the predicate has spatio-temporal properties that are non-atomic and homogeneous. In her analysis, dense predicates can never be nouns, so the only possibilities available are APs and PPs, as in *John is tired* or *John is in the garden*[5].

Characterizing copular sentences ascribe a property to an individual and are **non-dense**, which means that the predicate has spatio-temporal subpart properties that are atomic and that allow for possible gaps. These are bare Ns in French:

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[5]There is nothing in her system that prevents the existence of bare NP predicate nominals. This is a claim that I will adopt.

(15)   Aurélie Dupont est danseuse
        Aurélie Dupont is   dancer
        'Aurélie Dupont is a dancer'

Non dense predicates lack the continuity requirement, which is why they allow for possible gaps, i.e., episodes where the "evidence" that makes the predicate true does not necessarily need to hold:

(16)   John est acteur
        John is   actor
        'John is an actor' is true of the subject while he is on holiday, sleeping, etc.

Regarding the copula, Roy assumes that it does not play any role in mediating the relationship between the subject and the predicate. The copula is simply a raising verb inserted in T° and it has no semantic content[6]. The head Pred° serves as a mediator between the subject and the nonverbal predicative expression. Pred° always takes an unsaturated expression as its complement given that the nonverbal predicate introduces an eventuality variable (e). An aspectual head in AspP above PredP existentially binds this variable. The structure she proposes is as follows:

(17)
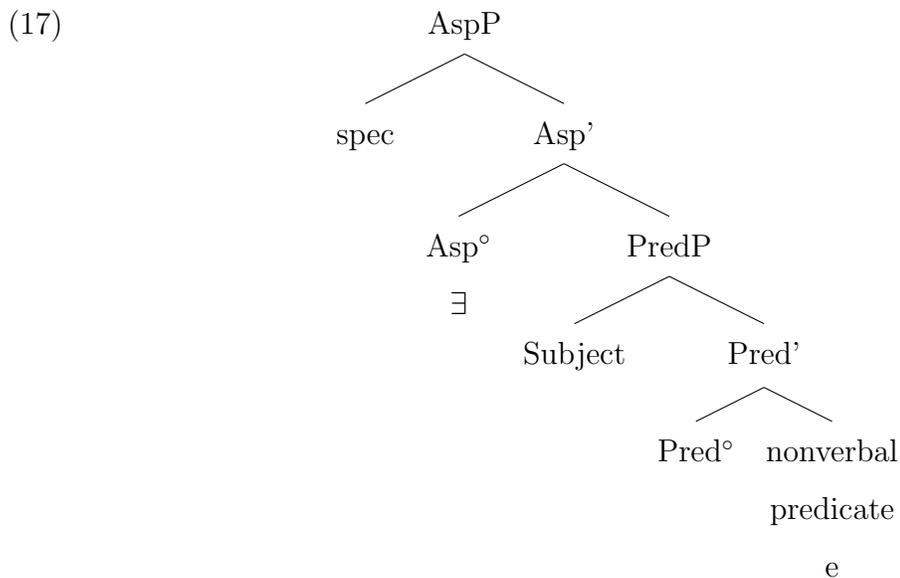
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[6]For an alternative view on the merging site of the copula, see for instance, den Dikken (2006).

The following is a table illustrating the differences between the three types of French copular sentences, as described in Roy (2013):

Table 4.1: Predicate nominals in French - Roy (2013)

Defining predicates Form: UN NP Syntax: #P	Characterizing predicates Form: Bare N Syntax: ClP	Situation descriptive predicates Form: APs and PPs Syntax: APs and PPs
Who-questions	What-questions	What's going on/What's happening? questions
Incompatible with an interruptive reading	Compatible with an interruptive reading	
Incompatible with locative modifiers	Compatible with locative modifiers (subsective or restrictive clause)	Compatible with locative modifiers (intersective)
Past tense leads to lifetime effects	No lifetime effects	No lifetime effects
Incompatible with marked aspect (perfective)	Compatible with marked aspect	Compatible with marked aspect
Cannot appear in small clauses selected by a lexical verb	Can appear in small clauses selected by a lexical verb	
Pronominal subject can be realised by *ce/c'* to refer to an animate subject	*Ce/c'* cannot be used to replace *il/elle*	
Cannot occur with raising verbs	Can occur with raising verbs	
	Clitic doubling possible	Do not allow clitic doubling
	Evidence that makes the predicate true must be minimally one subeventuality	
	Non-dense predicates share properties of (at least certain) count terms	Dense predicates share properties of terms denoting mass objects
French mass terms can never be used as bare predicates; they require an overt partitive		

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Within Roy's classification[7], only two types of copular sentences involve nominals, namely *defining* predicates (the ones with the article) and *characterizing* ones (the bare version). As mentioned in the introduction, I argue that the distinction in Spanish is more fine grained as the evaluative reading needs to be taken into account and also because the structure *estar de* + NP does not pattern with Roy's situation descriptive sentences.

4.3   Predicate nominals in Spanish

This section shows the properties of predicate nominals in Spanish, both in their occurrence with and without the indefinite determiner *un/a*. This pattern is also found in other Romance languages (French, Italian, Portuguese) as well as in Dutch and Greek. It is generally agreed that the bare variant is a case of true predication, but there is no consensus on the status of the variant with the indefinite article. There seem to be two main views on this issue; on the one hand, there are analyses that propose that there are different types of copular sentences, such as Mari and Martin (2008), Beyssade and Dobrovie-Sorin (2008) and Beyssade (2011) for French. On the other hand, Roy (2013) proposes that both the indefinite and the bare variants are predicational, albeit of a different type. The important point for her is that the contrast between them lies in the internal properties of the predicate itself.

Within descriptive works on the topic, bare predicate nominals are taken to characterise or distinguish the subject of the copular sentence by its membership to a certain class, but not in terms of being an individual, but rather, as an attribute Fernández Leborans (1999). The bare variant denotes a property and it is generally claimed to be applied [+human] subjects as long as the property is related to socio-cultural distinctions, roles or social functions. By contrast, the indefinite NP

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[7]I will not be commenting on situation descriptive predication here as that type of sentences does not involve predicate nominals.

distinguishes the subject as an individual that bears the property introduced by the noun.

Bosque (1996) characterises bare nominal predication as a classificatory type, as the bare noun provides information about the class John belongs to, as in (18-a), whereas the version with the indefinite determiner allows us to identify an individual, as in (18-b):

(18) a.   Juan es escritor
          John is writer
          'John is a writer'

      b.   Juan es un escritor famoso
          John is a   writer   famous
          'John is a famous writer'

Roy's work provides us with a neat tripartition to account for the different readings available in predicational sentences and clearly shows that the split article vs. lack of article cannot be attributed to the stage-level (SL) and individual-level (IL) distinction.

As mentioned in the introduction to this dissertation, the IL/SL distinction cannot really capture the behaviour of nominals. It has been traditionally assumed that nominals are always IL, but there are counterexamples to that claim. If nominals were only IL, then, they would not be expected to occur in the coda position of existential sentences, for instance, as this is a position reserved for SLPs:

(19) a.   There are doctors available (SL)

      b.   *There are doctors intelligent (IL)

(20)   Hay   hombres buenos cocineros
          there.are men   good   cooks
          'There are men who are good cooks'   (Spanish)

(21) Il y a   des   hommes bons danseurs
      there is INDEF.PL men   good dancers
      'There are men that are good dancers'   (French, Roy, 2013)

Similarly, if nominals were always ILPs, they would not be expected to occur as complements of perception verbs. Once again, Roy provides data from French against this:

(22) J'ai   vu Paul enfant une seule fois
      I.have seen Paul child   one only time
      'I have seen Paul as a child only once'

It is thus clear that it is not the case that nominals are always IL. One might be tempted to assume then that if nominals are not always IL, it might be possible to think of the IL/SL distinction as being grammaticalised in the presence vs. absence of the article in predicate nominals. Under this view, bare predicate nominals would be treated as SL and the *un* version would be the IL counterpart. This is not suitable option either.

Within the tests for stage-levelhood, we have, for instance, *when* adjuncts. Kratzer (1995) proposed that SLPs are felicitous in adjunct clauses introduced by *when*, whereas ILPs are not:

(23) a. When Mary speaks French, she speaks it well (SL)
      b. *When Mary knows French, she knows it well (IL)

If *un* nominals are treated as ILPs, then their ungrammaticality is expected:

(24) *Cuando Sylvie es una bailarina famosa, ella baila bien.
       when Sylvie is a dancer famous, she dances well

What is not expected, though, is the ungrammaticality of the bare variant under the assumption that it is an SLP:

(25)   *Cuando Roberto es bailarín, él baila bien

         when Roberto is dancer, he dances well

In addition, as pointed out by Roy, a bare predicate nominal can occur with spatial modifiers, which is another test for SLPs. However, when a spatial modifier is added, the reading with a bare predicate nominal is different from the one with a true SL adjective:

(26)   a.   Roberto est occupé à Milan (Roberto is busy in Milan)

         b.   Roberto est danseur à Milan (Roberto is dancer in Milan)

In (26-a), the locative modifier ('in Milan') restricts the location of the property ('busy') that is predicated of the subject. By contrast, the modifier in (26-b) is restricting only the location where the activity that the noun denotes is practised, not the property itself. (26-b) restricts Milan as the place where Roberto dances, not the place where he is a dancer - the property of being a dancer is independent of the location; he is still a dancer even when he is not in Milan.

Another point that Roy makes is that even within bare predication, there are different classes of nouns and it is thus not possible to talk about a homogeneous group. For instance, certain bare predicates fail to trigger lifetime effects, which is expected if they are SLPs:

(27)   No lifetime effects:

         a.   Paul était malade (Paul was sick) (SL adjective)
         b.   Paul était acteur (Paul was actor) (bare predicate nominal)

However, there is a class nouns, which Roy refers to as the *fils de diplomat* class, which trigger lifetime effects, even if bare:

(28)   Pierre était fils de diplomate/ père   de famille/ Prix Nobel
         Pierre was son of diplomat/   father of family/ Prize Nobel
         'Pierre was a diplomat's son/ a family man/ a Nobel Prize winner'

(Example from Roy, 2013)

This class of nouns does not accept locative modifiers (under the reading where the locative modifies the predicate):

(29)   #Pierre est fils de diplomate en France
         Pierre is   son of diplomat   in France
         'Pierre is a diplomat's son in France'

The reader is referred to Roy's (2013) work for a full discussion of these and other tests, but, as is clear from the examples and discussion above, the SL/IL split is not the right one to account for the bare vs. non bare predicate nominals. I will use Roy (2013)'s classification but will modify it slightly. Her situation descriptive predicates, which are never nominal, and her characterising sentences, which include a ClP, will remain intact. What I will modify is the structure proposed for defining sentences (the ones with *un*) for two reasons:

1. Spanish, unlike French, does not normally accept *un* nominals without modification (unless we are talking about metaphorical or emphatic *un* interpretations) .

2. The issue of modification in general has not been addressed. Besides the point made in 1, both Spanish and French pattern alike in that modification of any kind (bar very low adjectives) triggers obligatory article insertion and, so far, there has been no explanation to account for this fact.

My aim is to maintain the split proposed by Roy but add predicative sentences that have modification as part of the analysis. My proposal, which will be fleshed out below, argues that the indefinite article in predicative sentences in French and Spanish is actually a degree expression. This can be extended to Scandinavian (cf.

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data in Delsing, 1993) and Romanian (as Tănase-Dogaru, 2007 proposed along similar lines. See also Geist, 2013 on Bulgarian *edin*). To account for all of the data, I also need to argue for a process of article deletion in Spanish under certain conditions, which will be discussed below.

A consequence of this article deletion is that actually what looks like a bare noun in Spanish is ambiguous between a characterizing and defining reading. To avoid confusion, I will keep on using the term *bare predicates* to refer to the characterizing reading and to *un nominals* for the version with the article (either in its overt occurrence or in its null spellout form in Spanish)

Below, I will replicate Roy's diagnostics with both bare predicates and *un* nominals, but I need to point out that most of the differences that Roy found for French are not seen in Spanish, mostly because there is no *un* nominal predicate that does not include modification. Given this, I am forced to either modify the nominals, or use nominals with a metaphorical interpretation (which are never modified) or, alternatively, use examples of the so-called 'emphatic' *un*, as in (5), options which are problematic in terms of keeping a comparable data set. With this caveat in mind, we can now proceed to comparing characterizing and defining sentences in Spanish.

4.3.1   Predicate nominals - Characteristics

Characterizing (SER NP) vs. Defining (UN NP)

Answers to questions

Un nominals and bare predicate nominals behave differently in terms of answers to questions. Bare nominals are a felicitous answer to the question *What is X/What does X do?*, a context where the indefinite variant is not allowed, and *un* nominals are the natural response to questions of the type *Who is X?*:

(30)   ¿Qué es Juan? Juan es periodista
         what is John? John is journalist
         'What does John do? He is a journalist'

(31)   ¿Quién es Juan? Juan es un periodista (que trabaja en la   BBC)
         who   is John   John is a   journalist (that works   in the BBC)
         'Who is John?' John is a journalist (that works in the BBC)'

While in French it is perfectly acceptable to utter (31) without the modification (i.e., *Jean est un journaliste*), in Spanish this is not the case. The only case when the modification can be absent is when the context provides the relevant information. For instance, if speaker A works at the BBC and speaker B happens to visit them in their workplace, B can ask *¿Quién es ése?*, 'Who is that one?' and A can just reply *Es un periodista*, 'He is a journalist', with the only possible interpretation that he is a journalist that also works in that building as part of the BBC.

As I mentioned above, if what looks like a bare nominal in Spanish is ambiguous between being truly bare and having a null spellout of the article, it should be possible to use a null spellout of the article as an answer to a 'who' question. This is indeed possible:

Situation: Two speakers are having a conversation. Speaker A mentions the name of a person, but speaker B does not know who that is.
Speaker B: ¿Quién es Laura? (Who is Laura?)
Speaker A: Es amiga de mi hermano ((She) is friend of my brother)

Temporal modification and Interruptive reading
Both bare NPs and *un* indefinites accept temporal modification and they also allow for an interruptive reading:

(32)   Fue   soldado durante la   Guerra del   Golfo
         was.PFV soldier during   the war   of.the Gulf
         'He was a soldier during the Gulf War'

(33) Fue   un soldado muy valiente durante la   Guerra del   Golfo
     was.PFV a soldier very brave   during the war   of.the Gulf
     'He was a very brave soldier during the Gulf War'

(34) En su tiempo libre es voluntario
     in his time   free is volunteer
     'In his free time he is a volunteer'

(35) En su tiempo libre es un voluntario comprometido con   su labor en la
     in his time   free is a volunteer   committed   with his work in the
     villa   31
     shanty.town 31
     'In his free time he is a volunteer committed to his work at the 31 shanty

     town'

Co-occurrence with certain modifiers

Bare nominals and *un* nominals vary with respect to certain modifiers. Only bare

predicates can occur with phrases such as *de profesión*, 'by profession', *en calidad*

de, 'in the capacity of', or *como*, 'as'. *Un* nominals cannot appear in these contexts,

even if modification is added:

(36) Es abogado de profesión
     is lawyer   of profession
     'He is a lawyer by profession'

(37) *Es un abogado penalista/exitoso   de profesión
     is a   lawyer   criminal/successful of profession
     '??He is a criminal / successful lawyer by profession'

This distinction goes beyond copular sentences, as the other two modifiers show:

(38) Le   hablé   como/en calidad de (*una) abogada
     him spoke.1SG as/in   quality of a   lawyer
     'I talked to him as a lawyer'

Aspect

Spanish predicate nominals, both bare and indefinite, can occur with perfective

and imperfective aspect:

(39)   Shakespeare fue/era   escritor
        Shakespeare was.PFV/IMPFV writer
        'Shakespeare was a writer'

(40)   Shakespeare fue/era   un escritor inglés
        Shakespeare was.PFV/IMPFV a   writer   English
        'Shakespeare was an English writer'

(41)   Shakespeare fue/era   un genio de la   literatura
        Shakespeare was.PFV/IMPFV a   genius of the literature
        'Shakespeare was a literature genius'

In French, defining sentences (in their unmodified version) cannot occur with perfective aspect[8] (cf. Kupferman, 1979; Roy, 2013):

(42) *?Paul a   été   un médecin
       Paul has been a   doctor
       'Paul was a doctor'   (Kupferman, 1979, p. 142)

Lifetime effects

Roy (2013) notes that, in French, bare predicate nominals and the *un* version differ in their (in)ability to trigger "lifetime effects" in the past tense. She claims that sentences with an indefinite NP in French trigger lifetime effects, i.e., the sentence entails that the subject is now dead. By contrast, the bare variant does not have such an entailment. This test works as mentioned, but only in out of the blue contexts, i.e., in sentences such as:

(43)   Beethoven fue un genio de la   música
        Beethoven was a   genius of the music
        'Beethoven was a music genius'

---

[8]There is nothing more that I will have to say in connection to the perfective/imperfective contrast in French. I cannot find any comparable example in Spanish, nor can I think of any reasonable explanation as to why French behaves this way. I take this to be a language specific peculiarity which is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

Sentence (43) implies that the subject is now dead. However, the effect can be neutralised/cancelled if we provide a suitable context. Hence, I argue that the lifetime effect is not an entailment per se, but rather, an implicature. This is in line with Musan (1997)'s analysis, who mentions that the role of tense for lifetime effects is an indirect one - by virtue of determining the temporal interpretation of the main predicate of the clause, it triggers implicatures that give rise to lifetime effects. That the effect is an implicature, rather than an entailment, can be seen in (44): both the version with and without the article are compatible with a situation in which the subject was a soldier during the Gulf War and then did something completely different with his life:

(44) Mi hermano fue   (un) soldado durante la guerra del   Golfo.
      my brother was.PFV (a) soldier during the war   of.the Gulf
      Ahora trabaja   como profesor en un colegio
      now   work.3SG as   teacher in a school
      'My brother was a soldier during the Gulf War. Now he works as a teacher
      at a school'

No combination of aspect (imperfective or perfective) and a nominal predicate (bare or indefinite) gives rise to "lifetime effects" as an entailment. Arche (2006) maintains that in a language like Spanish, the following three conditions have to be met to trigger "lifetime effects":

1. the predicate has to be an individual level lifetime predicate

2. the predicate has to appear in the past form

3. the past form should be in the imperfect form

She provides the following as an example:

(45) Pedro era   esquimal
      Pedro was.IMPFV Eskimo
      'Pedro was Eskimo'

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In her account, lifetime effects are the salient option in those cases where the lexical nature of the predicate holds of the individual for all his lifetime (e.g. predicates referring to the origin and genetic nature of beings). Ethnicity adjectives aside, which are probably the only predicates that cannot be changed, we can see that the effect we get in out-of-the-blue sentences can be neutralised if there is an appropriate context (example adapted from Arche 2006):

(46)　Pedro era　　italiano
　　　 Pedro was.IMPFV italian
　　　 'Pedro was Italian' (out-of-the-blue: Pedro is no longer alive)

(47)　Pedro y　su novia　　llegaron a　Roma. Pedro era　　 italiano,
　　　 Pedro and his girlfriend arrived　to Rome　Pedro was.IMPFV italian
　　　 así que　no tuvo que hacer la　cola　larga en el　control de pasaportes
　　　 so　that no had　to　form　the queue long　in　the control of　passports
　　　 'Pedro and his girlfriend arrived in Rome. Pedro was Italian so he didn't

　　　 have to make the long queue at passport control' (no lifetime effect)

In these cases, the lifetime effect is neutralised not because 'Italian' ceases to apply to someone's lifetime, but rather because the context allows us to override the assumption that whatever was true in the past cannot be true in the present.

Small clauses

Bare and *un* versions can appear in small clauses selected by a lexical verb:

(48)　Cris parece profesor de gimnasia
　　　 Cris seems　teacher　of　gym
　　　 'Cris seems (to be) a gym teacher'

(49)　Cris parece un profesor de gimnasia muy dedicado
　　　 Cris seems　a　teacher　of gym　　　very dedicated
　　　 'Cris seems (to be) a very dedicated gym teacher'

(50)　A quien　me ataca,　lo　considero (un) enemigo
　　　 to whom me attacks　CL consider　(an) enemy
　　　 'He who attacks me, I consider him an enemy'

Note that (50) can occur with the article without modification as it is one case of what has been traditionally called 'emphatic un', i.e., the qualities ascribed to the individual are either exceptionally positive or negative, as in this case.

In French, *un* nominals cannot appear in these contexts:

(51)   *Je croyais   Matisse un musician
        I   believed Matisse a   musician
        'I believed Matisse was a musician'   (Roy, 2013, p. 48)

Raising verbs

Predicate nominals can occur both bare and with the indefinite article after raising verbs:

(52)   Cómo este mexicano se volvió   astronauta
        how   this Mexican SE became astronaut
        'How this Mexican became an astronaut'

(53)   Cómo este mexicano se volvió   un astronauta conocido
        how   this Mexican SE became an astronaut   well-known
        'How this Mexican became a well-known astronaut'

(54)   Por la   ambición de mi madre, mi padre se volvió   (un) delincuente
        by   the ambition of my mother my father SE became (a)   criminal
        'Because of my mother's ambition my father became a criminal'

Again, the version with the article is ungrammatical in French:

(55)   *Matisse s'avérait   un violoniste
        Matisse himself.turned.out a   violinist
        'Matisse turned out to be a violinist'   (Roy, 2013, p. 60)

Locative modifiers

Bare predicate nominals and *un* nominals vary in terms of the possibility of adding

locative modifiers. The bare variant allows locative modification, as long as the nominal + the PP modifier is interpreted as a subset of the noun alone (doctors at a given hospital are a subset of doctors, dancers at the Colon Theatre are a subset of dancers, etc.)

(56)   Es médico en el   hospital Pirovano/ en Buenos Aires
        is doctor in the hospital Pirovano   in Buenos Aires
        'He's a doctor at the Pirovano hospital/ in Buenos Aires'

(57)   Era   bailarina del   Teatro Colón
        was.IMPFV dancer   of.the theatre Colon
        'She was a dancer at the Colon Theatre'

If the subset interpretation is not available, the locative modification is infelicitous:

(58)   #Es médico en el   garage
        is doctor in the garage
        '#He is a doctor in the garage'

(59)   #Era   bailarina en su   casa
        was.IMPFV dancer   in her house
        '#She was a dancer in her house'

The version with *un* also allows locative modifiers, but the resulting interpretation is different.

(60)   Es un médico muy respetado en el   hospital Pirovano/ en Buenos Aires
        is a doctor very respected in the hospital Pirovano   in Buenos Aires
        'He's a well-respected doctor at the Pirovano hospital/ in Buenos Aires'

(61)   Es una profesora muy querida en el   Lenguas
        is a   professor much loved   in the Lenguas
        'She is a beloved teacher at the Lenguas'

The locative modifiers are not modifying only the noun, but the noun + adjectival modification complex. Hence, the interpretation in both cases is that the subject is either respected/liked as a doctor/professor at a certain institution, but it does not necessarily imply that the subjects work there.

In French, as Roy shows, the bare version works the same as in Spanish, but the version with the article (without modification) is ungrammatical with locative modification:

(62)   ?*Paul est un médecin à Paris
       Paul is   a   doctor   in Paris
       'Paul is a doctor in Paris'   (Roy, 2013, p. 63)

Adjectival modification

The possibilities of adjectival modification vary between the bare and the *un* version. Bare predicate nominals can be modified if the adjective modifies the name of a profession, as in (65)[9]

(65)   María es bailarina profesional / profesora universitaria
          María is dancer   professional / professor universitary
          'María is a professional dancer / a university professor'

The adjectives in (65) are C(lassificatory) adjectives. C-adjectives serve to relate the noun to a domain according to which the NP is classified and its denotation restricted (Bosque and Picallo, 1996, p. 361). C-adjectives are generally assumed to be merged low in the DP structure - some analyses have treated the N+Adj as a case of compounding; Bosque and Picallo argue that they are inserted in the specifier of the lexical NP projection. Irrespective of the details of the analyses,

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[9]There are only three other adjectives to the best of my knowledge that can optionally occur bare if they are prenominal. These are *buen* 'good', *mal* 'bad' and *excelente* 'excelente':

(63)   Juan es (un) buen médico / (un) excelente conductor / (un) mal padre
          Juan is (a)   good doctor / (an) excellent driver   / (a)   bad father
          'Juan is a good doctor /an excellent driver /a bad father'

If they occur postnominally, they trigger obligatory article insertion:

(64)   Juan es *(un) médico bueno / *(un) conductor excelente / *(un) padre malo

C-adjectives show strict ordering restrictions in the presence of other adjectives -
they are the ones that have to be merged first:

(66)   Es un médico cirujano italiano
        is a   doctor surgeon Italian
        'He is an Italian surgeon'

(67)   *Es un médico italiano cirujano

Apart from the cases described above, any other type of adjectival or relative clause
modification triggers article insertion.

(Lack of) adjectival modification can give us a hint as to how big bare predicate
nominals are. Assuming that adjectives attach higher than NP, in some functional
projection between NP and DP, the impossibility of modifying a bare predicate
nominal by means of adjectives or relative clauses (C-adjectives aside) suggests
that they are quite small.

Following the idea that C-adjectives are merged lower than other adjectives, I ar-
gue that they are merged in a functional projection lower than ClP, so they are the
only ones that can modify a bare predicate nominal. Other adjectives are merged
higher, between ClP and #P.

4.4   This proposal

Following Roy (2013), I argue for the idea that even if the relation of predication
is only one, there are different interpretations available depending on the size of
the predicate nominal.

With copula *ser* a noun that is used in its bare form is interpreted as a property
that is attributed to the subject. This postcopular nominal expression projects
up to ClP, which means that it is not able to be freely modified, except for those

adjectives (Classificatory adjectives) that have been analysed as merging very close to or inside the NP. These have the same behaviour in French and Spanish and are the ones that Roy calls *characterizing predicates*.

Characterizing reading (Bare predicates)

(68)

```
                    TP
                   /  \
                 DP    T'
              Subject / \
                    ser  PredP
                        /    \
               <Subject>      Pred'
                             /    \
                          Pred     ClP
                                  /   \
                                 ∅     NP
                               predicate nominal
```
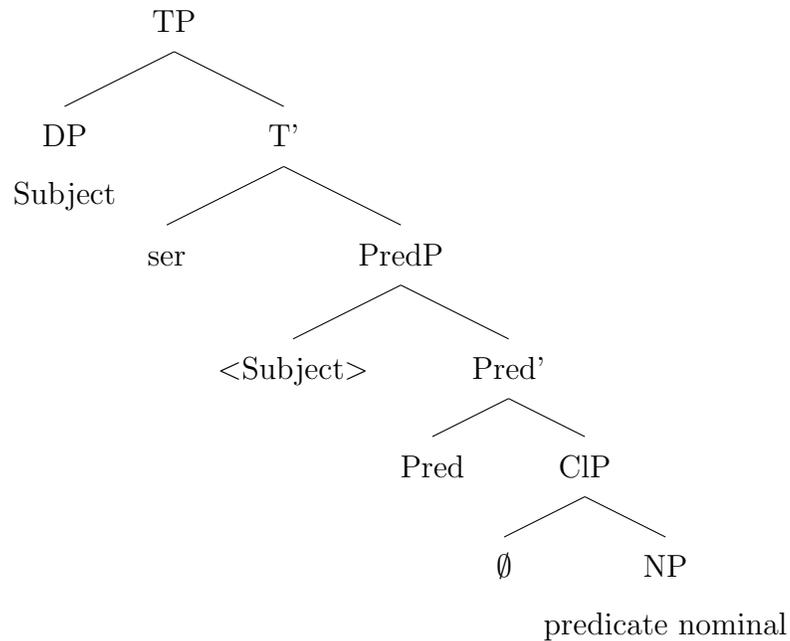
Un nominals, on the other hand, are #Ps that contain a degree phrase, which is where *un* merges. Depending on the complement of Deg°, the whole nominal expression can either be interpreted as metaphorical, evaluative or defining. Degree operators always move out of DegP (cf. Matushansky, 2002) and that is why *un* ends up in #.

Metaphorical, evaluative or defining reading (UN nominals)

(69)

```
                        #P
                      /    \
                    un      ClP
                           /    \
                         un      NP
                                /    \
                             DegP     NP
                              |
                             Deg'
                            /    \
                         Deg      AP
                          un    Adjective/
                                 SUCH/
                                   ∅
```
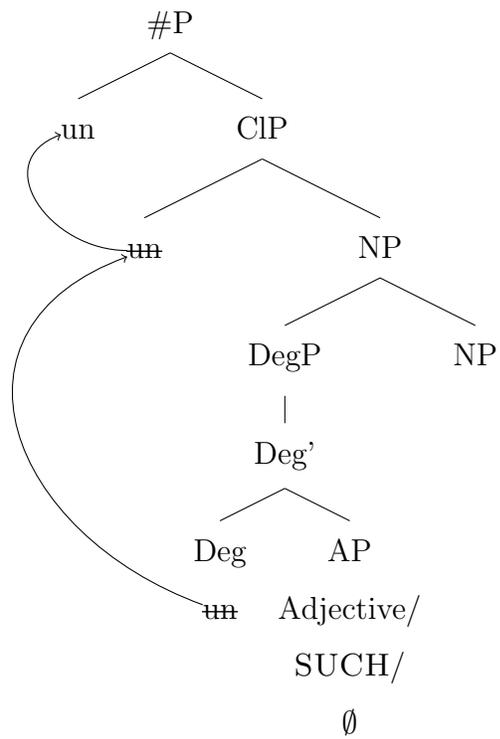
4.4.1 SER + NP

What nouns can be bare?

In the existing literature on the topic, there are several restrictions on what type of nouns can appear bare. de Swart et al. (2007) argue that bare nominals have to refer to capacities, where by capacities they mean professions, religions, nationalities or other roles in society. These can be subsumed under the [+institutional] feature. Certainly, this type of nouns can occur bare in Spanish:

- hobbies (lector 'reader', coleccionista 'collector', cinéfilo 'cinephile', paracaidista 'sky diver', motociclista 'motorcyclist', voluntario 'volunteer', yogui 'yogi', karateca 'karateist')

- occupations (peregrino 'pilgrim', mensajero 'messenger', cazador 'hunter', gremialista 'striker', monaguillo 'altar boy')

- other underlying activities or eventualities (proprietario 'owner/landlord', inquilino 'tenant', fumador 'smoker', testigo 'witness', ladrón 'thief', delincuente 'criminal', conocedor 'connoisseur', traidor 'traitor', deudor 'debtor', etc).

Hobbies, occupations can be considered [+institutional], which is expected, as they refer to activities that are carried out on a regular basis and are part of societal roles, but other nouns like *fumador* 'smoker' or *transmisor* 'trasmitter' can also occur bare. If we include these two as institutional activities, where do we draw the line? What would be a noun that is not institutional?

Zamparelli (2008) proposes that nouns that form bare predicates have an impoverished set of features. The crucial syntactic difference between role nouns and other nouns is their lack of inherent abstract gender. Consequently, these nouns can only be licensed by entering in an agreement relation with the subject of the predication so as to have their gender feature valued.

In his theory, profession nominals that can make up bare predicates are ambiguous. *Un* nominals denote a class of human beings. They are lexically set for gender values and require a determiner to deliver LATT(ice). The resulting copular construction is interpreted as membership. Bare nominals, on the other hand, have to denote an activity, which in turn defines a well-established class of people. The noun has no gender value of its own and assigns a theta role to the subject of the predication.

While it is indeed possible that role nouns lack an inherent gender feature and that their value has to be obtained through an AGREE relation with the subject of predication, I argue that this is not a prerequisite for a noun to be able to appear bare. As long as the noun is interpreted as a property that is ascribed to the subject it can appear bare, irrespective of whether it is a role noun or not:

(70) Quisiera ser mosca y   escuchar la   conversación
      wish.1SG be fly   and listen   the conversation
      'I wish I was a fly and could listen to the conversation'

(71) Ser estatua viviente no es nada   fácil
      be statue living   not is nothing easy
      'Being a living statue is not easy at all'

(72) Ser mártir es casi   una condición del   héroe
      be martyr is almost a   condition of.the hero
      'Being a martyr is almost a condition to be a hero'

(73) No tengo casa   propia; toda mi vida fui inquilino
      not have house own   all my life was tenant
      'I don't have my own house; I've been a tenant all my life'

As (70) and (71) show, it is not necessary to be a defective noun to be bare. *Mosca* 'fly' will presumably enter the derivation with a value for gender, as it is definitely not a role noun. If so, then the fact that it is already valued for gender means that there would be no need for it to enter into an AGREE relation with the subject.

The assumption in Zamparelli (2008) is that nouns cannot appear in the syntax within the AGREE domain of another noun unless one of them needs to transmit feature values. If being unspecified for gender is what allows nouns to be bare, then the grammaticality of (70) and (71) is unexpected. In addition, (72) and (73) show that it is not the case that bare nouns always have to denote activities if we assume that *mártir* 'martyr' is an achievement and *inquilino* 'tenant' a state.

Matushansky and Spector (2005) maintain that only nouns that are [+sentient, -scalar] allow article omission in French. They use the feature [+sentient] instead of [+human] to account for the fact that (a) non-humanoid aliens in science-fiction and (b) personified animals and objects in fairy tales can also appear bare. However, as pointed out by Roy for French, there are cases where a bare nominal can take a nonhuman or non sentient subject:

(74)   La Luna es satélite de la   Tierra
        the moon is satellite of the earth
        'The Moon is a satellite of the Earth'

(75)   La televisión es transmisor de valores
        the television is trasmitter of values
        'Television is a trasmitter of values'

        (https://dialnet.unirioja.es/descarga/articulo/2343958.pdf)

(76)   Esta antena   es receptor de señal wifi
        this antenna is receptor of signal wifi
        'This antenna is a wifi receptor'

(77)   Este mosquito es transmisor del   dengue
        this mosquito is transmitter of.the dengue
        'This mosquito is a transmitter of the dengue virus'

Given the examples above, I agree with Roy (2013) and Mari and Martin (2008), who propose that any noun can be used without an article, provided that the relevant interpretation is contextually possible. The generalization that restricts bare forms to institutional and sentient nouns is too restricted. I maintain that

in Spanish, as well as in French, any noun can, in principle, occur bare, as long as the relevant interpretation is available. A copular sentence with a bare noun in postcopular position is interpreted as the ascription of a property to the the individual denoted by the subject. This property reading does not come from the noun itself, but from the structure in which it occurs.

Structure

A characterizing reading is obtained by means of the structure below:

(78)   Ella es bailarina
        she is dancer
        'She is a dancer'

(79)

```
                        TP
                      /    \
                    DP      T'
                    Ella   /  \
                         es    PredP
                              /     \
                          <ella>    Pred'
                                    /    \
                                 Pred     ClP
                                         /   \
                                        ∅     NP
                                            bailarina
```
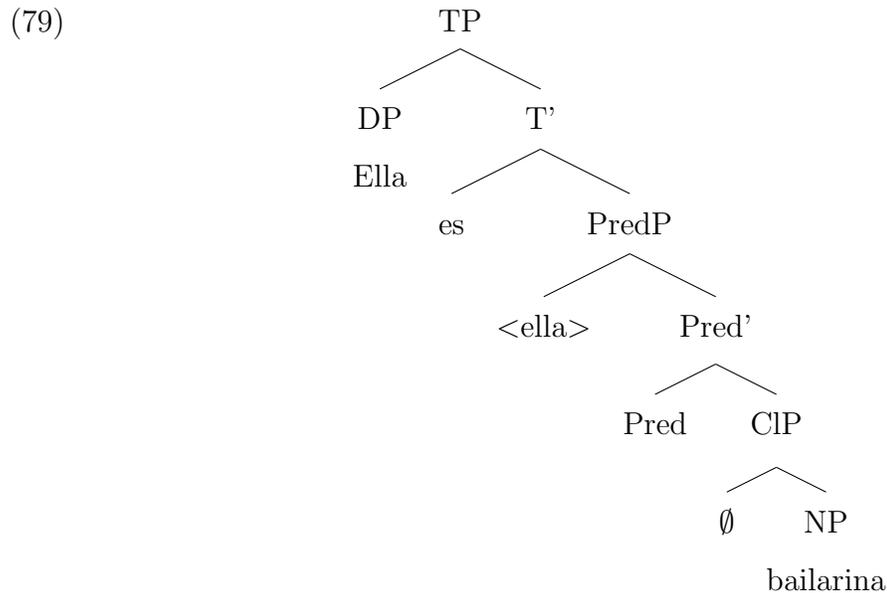
Following Roy's system, a characterizing reading is obtained by means of a ClP. ClPs allows the nominal to have a count denotation, which in turn allows it to have a non-dense reading. In this respect, French and Spanish are alike.

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Table 4.2: Characterizing reading

Sentence type	Subtype	Spanish	French
Predicational	Characterizing (ascription of a property to the subject)	No article (ClP) Ella es bailarina *'She is dancer'*	No article (ClP) Elle est danseuse *'She is dancer'*

4.4.2   SER + UN NP

While a characterizing reading is achieved in French and Spanish in the same fashion, which is by means of a bare nominal that projects up to ClP, indefinite predicate nominals in Spanish do not show the same set of restrictions as the ones identified by Roy (2013) for French. The indefinite article appears in Spanish when:

- the postcopular noun is modified, either by an adjective or a relative clause:

(80)   Luis es un abogado argentino   / que trabaja en la   embajada
       Luis is a   lawyer   argentinian / that works   in the embassy
       'Luis is an Argentinian lawyer / a lawyer that works in the embassy'

- the postcopular noun gets a metaphorical interpretation:

(81)   Mi amigo es un payaso
       my friend is a   clown
       'My friend is a clown' (metaphorically: he is funny and makes people laugh)

- the postcopular noun is given an evaluative attribute:

(82)   Mi amigo es un vago
       my friend is a   lazybones
       'My friend is a lazybones'

- the postcopular noun identifies an individual:

(83)   Éso es un puercoespín
       that is a   hedgehog
       'That is a hedgehog'

These four bullet points are also contexts that trigger article insertion in French, but French also allows to have cases of role nouns with the article without modification, as in (84) below, which are not possible in Spanish:

(84)   Il est un médecin
       he is   an doctor
       'He is a doctor'

(85)   *Mi marido   es un médico
       my husband is a   doctor
       'My husband is a doctor'

Fernández Lagunilla (1983) makes an interesting point in this respect:

(86)   a. ??Juan es un médico (Juan is a doctor)

       b. ?Juan es un comunista (Juan is a communist)

       c.   Juan es un fascista (Juan is a fascist)

She points out that the resistance of nouns like *doctor* to accept *un* when unmodified has to do with the non-evaluative o neutral character of such words. By contrast, the fact that *fascist* is riddled with negative connotations, thus becoming a pejorative word or an insult, comparable in this sense to terms like *cretin, imbecile*, etc. is what allows the insertion of *a* (my translation)[10].

It is possible to make (86-a) acceptable by adding a valorative suffix, such as *-ucho*

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[10]Fernández Lagunilla, 1983, p.199: "Creemos que la resistencia de *médico* y de los otros términos pertenecientes a su grupo, cuando no van modificados, tiene que ver con el carácter no valorativo o neutro de tales palabras . (...) El hecho de que *fascista* se haya cargado de connotaciones hasta llegar a convertirse en una denominación despectiva o en un insulto, equiparable es este sentido a vocablos como *cretino, imbécil*, etc.... permite la aparición de *un*."

(negative) or *-azo* (positive) and thus turning it into an evaluative statement (cf. Bosque, 1996; Fernández Lagunilla, 1983; and Pozas Loyo, 2010[11]):

(87) a. Juan es un medicucho (Juan is a doctor.-VAL)

      b. Juan es un medicazo (Juan is a doctor.+VAL)

The notion of evaluation will have a central role to play in our account of the insertion of *un* in Spanish.

From the examples above, we can identify two main uses of the indefinite article:

1. To give an evaluative reading, as in (81) and (82). I am assuming that an evaluative interpretation is one that stems from scalarity.

2. To define and identify an individual, as in (80) and (83)

The difference from French is now evident. In Spanish, the article appears when there is some kind of modification (either adjectival or full relative clauses) or when there is some sort of evaluative reading, which can be linked to the notion of scalarity. Crucially, the article will not appear with just an NP that denotes a role or profession. The obvious questions that arise are:

1. Why does Spanish (but not French) require this modification or presence of extra material (e.g. a degree phrase to get scalarity)?

2. Why is this restriction only present with role nouns, but not with other nouns, as in (83)?

There are various possibilities that present themselves to capture the contrast

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[11]Portolés (1994), as cited in Pozas Loyo (2010), mentions that there is another way of getting an evaluative predicate, which is by stressing the indefinite article. If we say *Juan es UN médico*, we are not just saying that he is a doctor, but rather that he is a great one. This is easier to achieve if there is another element that favours that interpretation, such as *todo*, 'all': *Juan es todo un médico* 'Juan is all a doctor'.

between Spanish and French[12].

One possibility is that Spanish and French are actually very similar, and that the differences in the uses of predicative *un* stem from a process of article deletion in Spanish under certain conditions. This option allows us to keep all uses of predicative *un* unified while accounting for the distinction by means of a spellout difference. I will refer to this as the *Unified predicative UN* account.

Another option is to assume that the differences lie in the functional array of both languages. While it is possible that the article in argumental and predicative position are different elements, this need not be the case in all languages. It is plausible that French and Spanish differ in what kind of elements they employ in predicative position. While in French, the indefinite article in argumental position seems to be doing the same job it does in predicative position (namely, number specification), in Spanish, predicative *un* introduces a further restriction in terms of a modification requirement. Hence, it can be claimed that the differences between these two languages stem from the fact that Spanish has an argumental vs predicative article split (which happens to be realised by elements that are morphologically identical), whereas French makes use of the same element for both positions. I will refer to this option as *Predicative UN availability* account.

A third option involves the assumption that both French and Spanish have an argumental vs. predicative article split, but that the differences lie in the selectional restrictions of predicative *un* in both languages. I will refer to this as the *Predicative UN selectional restrictions* account.

A fourth option is to assume that there is a split, but not necessarily between argumental vs. predicative *un*; rather, the split is within predicational sentences.

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[12]All of these options will still have to say something about the distinction between role nouns and other nouns such as *silla* 'chair', which will be discussed in the following sections.

I will call this the *Split predicative UN* hypothesis. This option would entail postulating that the indefinite article in predicative position is actually two different elements that occupy two different syntactic positions, which in turn give rise to different interpretations. This option on its own does not really capture the contrast between Spanish and French as it does not tackle the obligatory presence of modification in Spanish. However, I argue that this option, combined with a spellout condition, allows us to explain not only the behaviour of *un nominals*, but also other interesting facts about degree expressions in Spanish. I will discuss this in detail below.

A fifth option is to be even more radical and to argue that *un* in predicative constructions is not really an article but it always merges as the head of a degree phrase. This assumption, coupled with a spellout condition in Spanish, allows us to explain all of the data (similarly to the fourth option above), but it only postulates the existence of one *un*, rather than two. I will refer to this as *Degree UN*.

The table below summarises the five hypotheses:

Table 4.3: Ser + UN NP hypotheses

Hypothesis	What it gives us	French vs Spanish
Unified predicative UN	there is only one predicative *un* that is spelled out differently in French and in Spanish	French *un* is always pronounced, but Spanish *un* only does so when there is material intervening between *un* and the noun.
Predicative UN availability	links the differences between French and Spanish to the availability of a different article in predicative position	French article in argumental and predicative position is the same element, but Spanish *un* introduces a further restriction in predicative contexts.
Predicative UN sectional restrictions	there is one argumental and one predicative article, each with its own selectional restrictions	French and Spanish *un* differ in their selectional restrictions - Spanish *un* does not combine with NPs.
Split predicative UN	there are two different articles: 1) argumental + identifying (predicative) and 2) a degree one (predicative) and a spellout condition	This does not really capture the French vs Spanish distinction (the modification restriction will have to come from a spellout condition), but it can account for the complementary distribution of degree *un* and other well-known degree expressions (such as *qué* 'what' and *tan* 'such').
Degree UN	*Un* is always a degree expression, both in French and Spanish, and the different readings emerge as a result of the different types of complements that Deg° has	French and Spanish are very similar, with the only difference being a spellout condition. This is different from *Unified Predicative UN* in that the basic assumption here is that *un* is always a degree expression, which allows us to account for its behaviour beyond predicative constructions.

I will discuss the five options below and show that the last option is preferred in terms of explanatory adequacy.

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Option 1: Unified Predicative UN

A plausible analysis for copular sentences in French and Spanish would be to assume that the differences between the two languages are nothing else than a spellout issue. To capture the facts, it is necessary to postulate that Spanish has a spellout condition that states that *un* is pronounced only and only if there is some material intervening between the article and the noun. For instance, let's consider the derivations of the following three examples:

(88)   Ella es (*una) médica
        she is a   doctor
        'She is a doctor'

(89)   Es una payasa
        is a   clown
        'She is a clown' (metaphorically)

(90)   (Ella) es una médica buenísima
        she   is a   doctor brilliant
        'She is a brilliant doctor'

Example (88) is the one where the distinction between French and Spanish shows. French has an overt occurrence of the article but Spanish has a null spellout - this is due to the fact that there is no additional intervening structure besides the extended nominal projection #P, ClP and NP:

(91)

```
                        PredP
                        ╱  ╲
                     DP    Pred'
                    Ella    ╱ ╲
                           #P
                          ╱  ╲
                       ~~una~~   ClP
                              ╱  ╲
                            ∅    NP
                               médica
```

(92)

```
                    PredP
                   /     \
                 DP      Pred'
                Paul      /  \
                        #P
                       /   \
                     un    ClP
                          /   \
                         ∅     NP
                              médecin
```
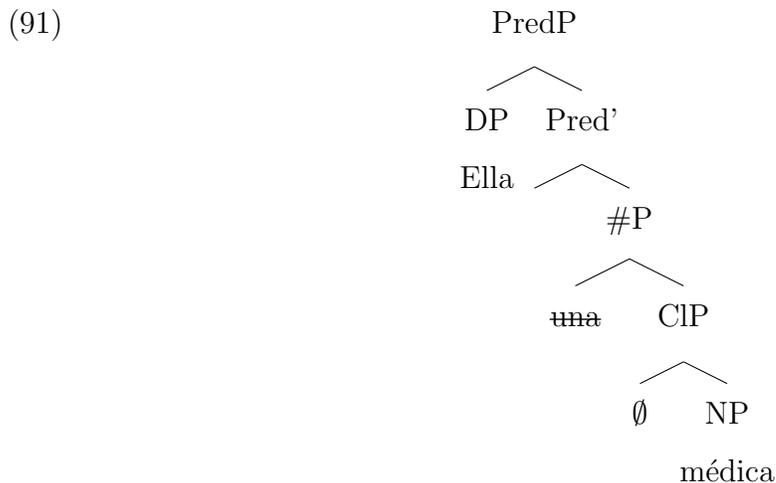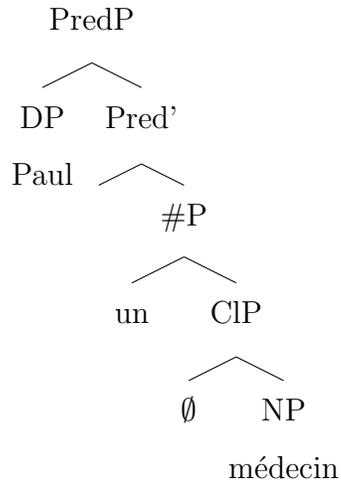
Spanish spellout condition:
Delete the indefinite article *un* in predicative contexts when there is no structure (with phonologically overt material or not) intervening between the basic nominal projection #, ClP and NP.

The condition stated above correctly predicts that the article will be spelled out in both (89) and (90) as in (89), shown below, there is an intervening degree phrase and in (90) there is a functional phrase hosting the adjective (assuming an analysis of adjectives as in Cinque, 1994):

(93)

```
                    PredP
                   /     \
                 DP      Pred'
                Ella      /  \
                        #P
                       /    \
                    una     DegP
                           /    \
                         Deg     NP
                       +scalar  payasa
```

(94)

```
                          PredP
                         /      \
                      DP          Pred'
                    (Ella)       /     \
                              Pred       #P
                                       /    \
                                    una      AgrP
                                                \
                                                Agr'
                                               /    \
                                            Agr       FP
                                                     /    \
                                                   AP       F'
                                               buenísima   /   \
                                                          F     ClP
                                                               /    \
                                                             Cl      NP
                                                             ∅      médica
```
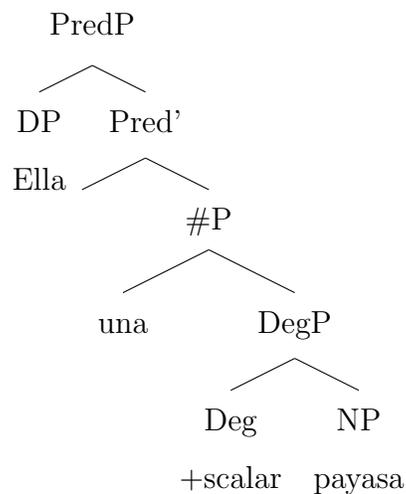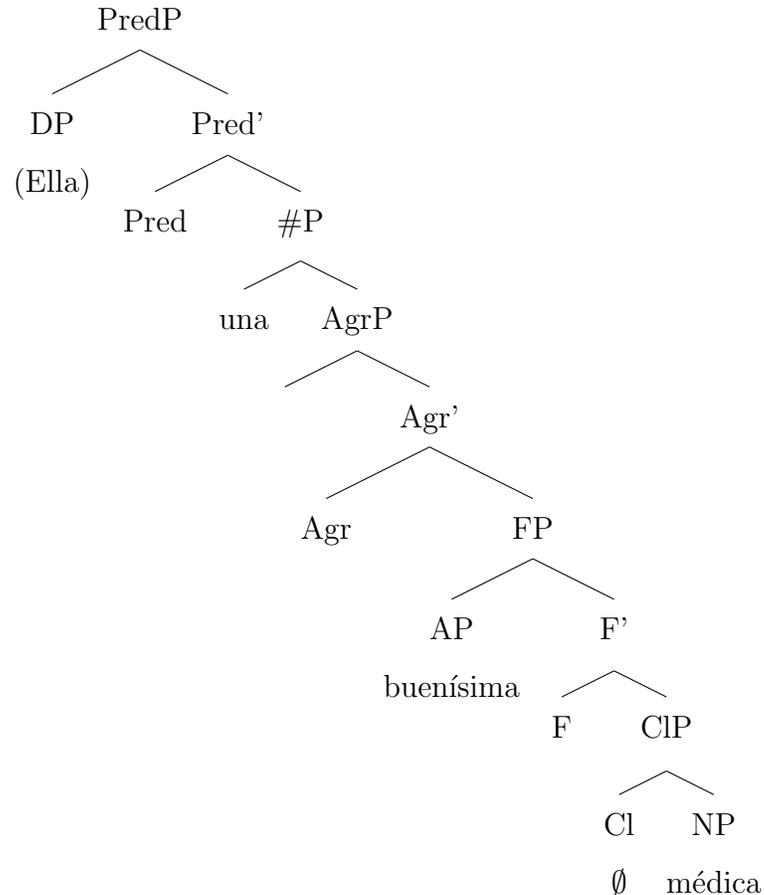
This analysis also allows us to explain the following contrast. In French, as Roy claims, the bare form, which corresponds to the characterizing reading, needs the evidence that makes the predicate true to be at least one subeventuality - it cannot be null. Because of this, the bare form is not possible in the examples below:

(95) #Paul est médecin, mais il ne practique plus / n'a jamais practiqué.

     'Paul is a doctor, but he doesn't practise anymore/ has never practised'

The bare form cannot be used if the subject of the sentence has not carried out the action at least once. If Paul only has a degree but he never actually practised medicine, then the form with the article must be employed:

(96) Paul est un médecin, mais il ne practique plus / n'a jamais practiqué.

     'Paul is a doctor, but he doesn't practise anymore/ has never practised'

However, at first sight, Spanish is completely the opposite:

(97)   Pablo es médico, pero nunca ejerció.
       Paul is doctor but never practised
       'Paul is a doctor but he never practised'

(98)   *Pablo es un médico pero nunca ejerció.
        Paul is a doctor but never practised
       'Paul is a doctor but he never practised'

Appealing to a spellout difference captures this fact straightaway. Given that Spanish, but not French, has a spellout condition, the ungrammaticality of (98) is expected as article deletion should have applied there. This means, in fact, that any sentence that seems to have a bare noun in Spanish is actually ambiguous between actually containing a bare NP or having a determiner that is not spelled out.

While this option can capture the facts, it has offered not much in terms of an explanation and it is only a solution that can be applied to predicate sentences. Why this deletion process does not apply to other constructions remains a mystery. I will assume that the spellout condition has a role to play, but it is not a full explanation in and of itself, so I will discard this first option as an analysis.

Option 2: Predicative UN availability

This hypothesis tries to capture the difference between French and Spanish by postulating a difference in the functional array of each language. As was mentioned above, I started with the claim that argumental and predicative determiners are not the same element. So far, we have seen no morphological evidence of this in either French or Spanish, but we can have a look at languages where this split is instantiated.

While it may seem implausible at first sight that predicative and argumental *un*

are actually two different elements that happen to be phonologically homophonous, Scandinavian provides us with evidence that the indefinite article in predicative noun phrases is different from the argumental one.

Scandinavian languages have nominal predication both with and without an article, just like Spanish. Delsing (1993) shows that the article is obligatory when the nominal predicate is descriptive or evaluative[13]:

(99)   Anna är *(en) duktig läkare
        'Anna is a competent doctor'

(100)   Han är *(en) karl som man kan lita på
        'He is a man that one can trust'

However, if the nominal is modified by classifying attributes, then the article is not possible:

(101)   Jerker är (*en) teknisk doktor
        'Jerker is a technical doctor'

(102)   Christer är (*en) professor i nordiska språk
        'Christer is a professor in Scandinavian languages'

The contrast seen in the examples above is exactly the same found in Spanish - the article is inserted when there is an evaluative reading. Some varieties of Scandinavian, however, can shed more light on this issue as the article used in evaluative contexts is morphologically different from the one used in argumental position. The contrast below, as described by Delsing, is found in colloquial Swedish, Faroese and some Norwegian dialects:

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[13]All the Scandinavian examples were taken from Delsing (1993).

1) The article used in predicative sentences has a plural form (*ena/einir/ene*) and this is only possible in descriptive/evaluative noun phrases:

(103)   Per-Erik och Anna är (*ena) läkare
          Per-Erik and Anna are a-PL doctors.

(104)   Pelle och Lisa är *(ena) idioter
          Pelle and Lisa are a-PL idiots.

If the modification is purely classifying, however, the article cannot be used:

(105)   Per och Jerker är (*ena) tekniska doktorer
          Per and Jerker are a-PL technical doctors.

The plural form of the article is just found in predicative contexts. It is normally ungrammatical in argumental position:

(106)   ??Han köpte ena vackra stolar i går
          He bought a-PL beautiful chairs yesterday.

2) The article found in evaluative predicative contexts is also different in that it can appear with uncountable nouns (provided they are modified by a descriptive adjective):

(107)   Det var ??(en) sur ved du har skaffat
          It was a sour wood you have brought.

Once again, this is only possible in predicative contexts. Compare (107) with (108) below:

(108)   Han har skaffat (*en) sur ved
          He has brought a sour wood.

3) The predicative article can license an implicit argument, which is often spelled out in Swedish as a first person object pronoun:

(109)   Han var mig en lustig figur
         He was me a strange figure (person)

(110)   Pelle och Lisa är mig ena slarviga elever
         Pelle and Lisa is me a-PL sloppy students.

With arguments, however, the implicit argument is ungrammatical:

(111)   *Jag träffade mig ena konstiga typer i går
         I met me a-PL strange types yesterday.

Delsing concludes that the indefinite article used in predicative constructions is dependent on a descriptive/evaluative interpretation of the noun phrase.

It is possible, then, to assume that Spanish also instantiates this split, only that both predicative and argumental articles are morphologically and phonologically identical. Spanish has two *un* - an argumental one, responsible for giving a singular number specification, and a predicative one that comes with this extra restriction requirement.

Maybe the different behaviour of predicative *un* in Spanish (and Scandinavian) can be explained by means of selectional restrictions. Un_{pred} selects either a relative clause (CP) or a DegP:

(112)   Es un maestro que conocí   en Neuquén
         is a   teacher that met.1SG in Neuquén
         'He is a teacher that I met in Neuquén'

(113)   Es un maestro
         is a   teacher
         'He is a teacher' (metaphorically: he is very good at something)

The main disadvantage with this proposal is that it means that Spanish and French, which are very closely related, are, in fact, quite different.

Option 3: Predicative UN selectional restrictions

The other obvious alternative, maybe a less controversial one, is that all languages instantiate the argumental/predicative indefinite article split and what distinguishes French from both Spanish and Scandinavian are selectional restrictions.

French predicative *un* selects all types of complements - NPs (such as role nouns), nPs (for kind nouns), CPs (assuming the indefinite article is heading the relative clause) and DegPs:

(114)   a.   Paul est un acteur
                 Paul is   an actor
                 'Paul in an actor'

             b.   Le lion est un félin
                 the lion is   a   feline
                 'The lion is a feline'

             c.   C'est un acteur que j'admire énormément
                 it.is   an actor   that I.admire enormously
                 'He is an actor that I admire enormously'

             d.   Zidane est un magicien
                 Zidane is   a   magician
                 'Zidane is a magician' (metaphorically)

(Example b is from Roy 2013)

Spanish indefinite predicative article can only select nPs, CPs and DegPs, but crucially, not NPs:

(115)   a. ??Pablo es un actor
              Paul   is an actor
              'Pablo is an actor'

b. El león es un felino
   the lion is a feline
   'The lion is a feline'

c. Es un actor que admiro   enormemente
   is an actor that admire.1SG enormously
   'He is an actor that I admire enormously'

d. Zidane es un mago
   Zidane is a magician
   'Zidane is a magician' (metaphorical)

While this is a less controversial option, there are still a number of assumptions that have to be made to make this work. The first involves analysing relative clauses as headed by the indefinite article, which is not necessarily controversial. The other one is to treat adjectives as reduced relative clauses. If adjectives are not selected for, then there is no obvious way to explain why they are required, unless they are actually part of a relative clause. The final, and possibly more controversial point, is that there is a structural distinction between role nouns and kind nouns. If everything is to be explained by means of selectional restrictions, then nouns like *actor* 'actor' and *felino'* ('feline') will have to be structurally different to be able to account for the contrast between (115-a) and (115-b) , which is not a desirable option.

Option 4: Split predicative UN

This analysis involves arguing that the evaluative and identifying readings in predicative constructions can be derived from different syntactic structures. *Un* can occupy two positions that give rise to two different interpretations:

- It is a degree operator and gives rise to an evaluative reading.

- It is an indefinite article that ends up in #P, where it introduces a MAX operator and it gives rise to a defining/identifying interpretation.

Evaluative interpretation as one containing a DegP

An evaluative reading can be formalized as one that stems from scalarity. An analysis along these lines has been put forth by Matushansky and Spector (2005), who claim that scalar nouns cannot be bare in French. However, I want to tackle the problem from a different angle. Consider (116) - *genio* 'genius' is a typical scalar noun, yet it appears bare:

(116)   Podrías ser genio sin   saberlo
        could   be genius without knowing.it
        'You could be a genius without knowing it'

I agree that scalarity has a role to play in the distribution of the indefinite article, but I argue that the causation relation should be analysed the other way around. It is not the case that a scalar noun or adjective forces the presence of the article, but rather, it is the presence of the article in DegP that forces its complement to be scalar. Evidence suggesting that this is the case is the fact that metaphorical/scalar interpretations only arise in the presence of the indefinite article, even if the noun it combines with is not scalar:

(117)   Esa chica es actriz
        that girl   is actress
        'That girl is an actress'

(118)   Esa   chica es una actriz
        That girl   is an   actress
        'That girl is an actress' (metaphorically: she is very dramatic, extrovert, etc.)

The noun *actriz* 'actress' is not inherently scalar, yet in (118) the only interpretation that we get is an evaluative one. (118) does not refer to a person's profession but to an evaluation of her character/behaviour - she is very dramatic or very extrovert. This, in my view, stems from the position *un* merges in. What looks like the regular indefinite article is, in fact, a degree operator.

What evidence do we have, apart from the metaphorical interpretation discussed above, to suggest that *un* NPs can be divided into two types?

One piece of evidence that suggests that the role of *un* in evaluative and identificational/defining sentences is different is the fact that the former, but not the latter, can occur in predicate inversion structures[14], which are exclamative in force:

(119)   ¡Un payaso mi amigo!
          a   clown   my friend
          'My friend is a clown!' (metaphorically)

(120)   ¡Una actriz esa chica!
          an   actress that girl
          'That girl is an actress' (metaphorically)

(121)   *¡Un abogado argentino   Luis!
          a   lawyer   argentinian Luis
          '*Luis is an Argentinian lawyer!'

(122)   *¡Un puercoespín éso!
          a   hedgehog   that
          '*That is a hedgehog!'

If exclamatives are degree constructions (as proposed by Castroviejo Miró (2006), for instance), then the fact that evaluative *un* nominals can appear in exclamatives can be easily explained if we assume that they include a degree phrase. Further evidence that suggests that this is a plausible analysis is the fact that the degree word *qué* in Spanish cannot co-occur with *un*, suggesting that they compete for the same position.

Exclamatives in Spanish, unlike in English, can only occur with *qué* 'what' or *un* 'a', but not both together as the English equivalent 'what a'. For instance, (119) and (120) can be paraphrased with the degree word *qué*, as shown below, but *qué*

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[14]For a detailed analysis of Spanish Predicative Verbless clauses see Gutiérrez-Rexach and González-Rivera (2013, 2014) and references therein.

and *un* cannot co-occur:

(123)   ¡Qué (*un) payaso mi amigo!
         what (*a)   clown   my friend
         'What a clown my friend is!'

(124)   ¡Qué (*una) actriz esa chica!
         what (*an)   actress that girl
         'What an actress that girl is!'

Further evidence that the evaluative reading stems from *un* being a degree ex-
pression comes from comparatives. When the degree word *más* 'more' is used, *un*
cannot co-occur, suggesting, once more, that they occupy the same position:

(125)   Esta peli   es un bodrio
         this movie is a   bore
         'This movie is a bore'

(126)   Esta peli   es más (*un) bodrio que la   otra
         this movie is more (*a)   bore   than the other
         'This movie is more of a bore than the other one'

(127)   Mi hermano es un vago
         my brother   is a   lazybones
         'My brother is a lazybones'

(128)   Mi hermano es más (*un) vago   que el   tuyo
         my brother   is more (*a)   lazybones than the yours
         'My brother is more of a lazybones than yours'

In addition, the evaluative and identifying/defining expressions are appropriate
answers to different questions. Evaluative nominals are a felicitous answer to the
questions *¿Cómo es? / ¿Qué tal está?* 'What is he/she/it like?', whereas identific-
ational/defining nominals are a felicitous answer to *¿Quién es? / ¿Qué es?* 'Who
is it? / What is it?'.

It is also interesting to note that Scandinavian exclamatives occur with a wh-word
but no article, which is expected if both the article and the wh-word are degree

operators:

(129)   vilken/sicken lärare   du   har   (Swedish)
         which/such   teacher you have
         'What a teacher you have!'

(Example from Abels and Vangsnes, 2010)

(130)   Vad   fin   hatt du   har!
         what nice hat   you have
         'What a nice hat you have!

(Example from Delsing, 2010)

Given all of this, it is possible to assume that Spanish shows the same contrast as Scandinavian does, only that in Spanish the two flavours of *un* are not morphologically distinct. The notion of evaluative articles can be formalised by assuming that they are actually degree operators.

Evaluative reading - Structure

I start from the assumption that un_{EVAL} (to distinguish it from the regular indefinite article) is a degree expression. We have already mentioned that this proposal allows us to account for predicate inversion structures, exclamatives, comparatives and the fact that some varieties of Scandinavian have two morphologically distinct forms.

Within the evaluative interpretation we have two different types of sentences:

(131)   Es   un maestro
         is.3SG a   teacher
         'He is a teacher' (metaphorical: he is very good at doing something)

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In the example above, the noun itself is not inherently scalar but gets a scalar interpretation because of un_{EVAL}. Crucially, this type of sentences cannot be modified at all. If we add any kind of modification, we lose the metaphorical reading. The other type is exemplified by sentences like:

(132) Es   un maestro fabuloso
       is.3SG a   teacher fabulous
       'He is a fabulous teacher'

Sentences like (132) contain a noun that cannot be interpreted metaphorically (i.e., not scalar), but there is a scalar adjective *(fabuloso)*, which makes the statement evaluative. This type of sentences have to be modified as it is precisely the adjective that is providing the scale.

Whatever structure we propose, it needs to account for both cases of evaluative readings. One in which un_{EVAL} makes the noun scalar and the other in which un_{EVAL} combines with the scalar adjective.

(133)

```
                              #P
                          /        \
                       un           #'
                                 /       \
                               ∅          NP<e,t>
                                        /          \
                                   AP<e,t>          NP<e,t>
                                  /      \              △
                              DegP        A'          maestro
                               |          |
                             Deg'         A
                               |    excelente <d,<e,t>>
                             Deg
                        un <d,<d,t>,t>>
```

This is the structure that Matushansky (2002) assumes for "such a" type construc-tions in English. In her analysis, the indefinite article is the head of #P and 'such' is generated as the head of the degree phrase. Her analysis works for English, where both 'such' and 'a' occur, but if I modify the position of 'un' in Spanish and assume, as shown in the tree, that it originates in DegP and that # is necessarily null, then I can account for why degree expressions and 'un' never co-occur in Spanish.

Matushansky's assumption is that degree operators have the semantic type <d,<d,t>,t>>, but when they raise (they always do so at LF, but not necessarily at PF), they leave behind a trace of the type <d>, which must combine with a scalar predicate ('excellent' in the tree above).

The structure for the metaphorical interpretation, i.e., the one that lacks any type of modification is as follows:

(134)

$$
\begin{array}{c}
\#P \\
\swarrow \qquad \searrow \\
\text{DegP} \qquad \#' \\
\text{un} \qquad \varnothing \qquad \text{NP} \\
\text{DegP} \qquad \text{NP} \\
\text{Deg'} \qquad \text{maestro} \\
\text{Deg} \\
\text{un} <\text{d},<\text{d,t}>,\text{t}>>
\end{array}
$$
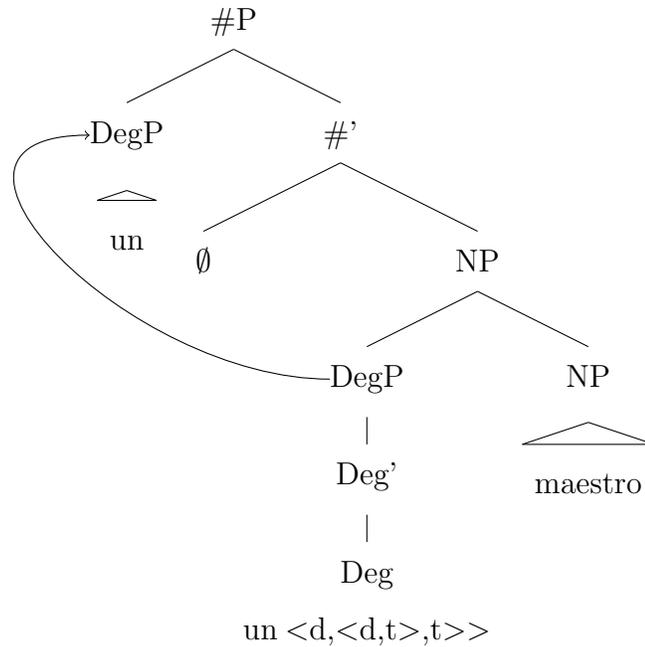
I am assuming that the degree expression selects a complement of the type <d, t>, t> and that its complement, in this case the NP, is coerced into that type by virtue of being in that position.

Defining interpretation

The other possible interpretation with *un* predicate nominals is the defining one. As Roy (2013) claimed, defining sentences involve a defining property, i.e., a property that is salient enough to define/identify an individual as a particular member of a class of individuals. Defining copular sentences in Roy's system are maximal, in the sense that they involve a maximality operator over the event denoted by the predicate nominal, which means that the predicate is devoid of perceptible spatio-temporal subpart properties. Spanish has a spellout condition that makes the article phonologically null if there is no material intervening between it and the article:

Situation: Two speakers are having a conversation. Speaker A mentions the name of a person, but speaker B does not know who that is.

Speaker B: Who is Laura? Speaker A replies:

(135)   C'est une amie   de mon frère   (French)
         it.is a   friend of my   brother
         'She is a friend of my brother's'

(136)   Es amiga de mi hermano   (Spanish)
         is friend of my brother
         'She is a friend of my brother's'

(137)   PredP
                              ┌────────────┴────────────┐
                             DP   Pred'
                          (Ella/She)   ┌──────┴──────┐
                                               #P
                                       ┌────────┴────────┐
                                      ~~una~~   ClP
                                              ┌──────┴──────┐
                                             ∅   NP
                                                      amiga...
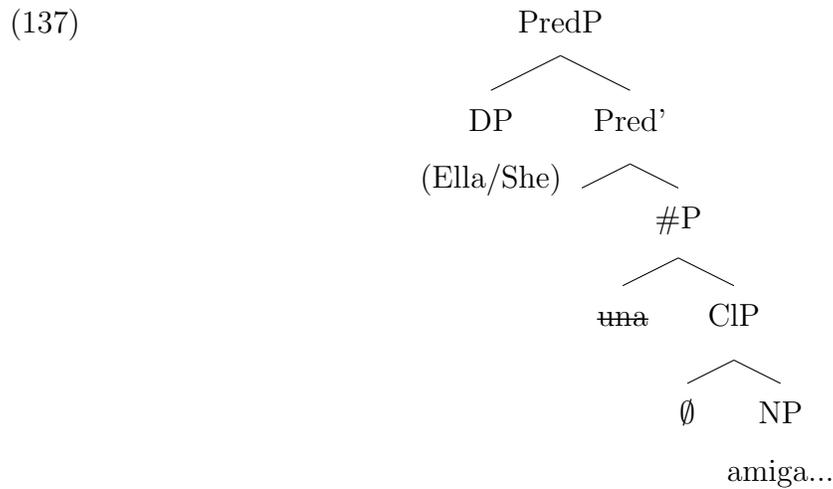
In the case of intervening material between the basic nominal projection, the article will not be deleted as in (93) and (94) above.

Option 5: Degree UN only

This fifth option is the one that I will argue for both in terms of explanatory adequacy and simplicity. This option is built on the *split predicative UN* hypothesis in that it assumes that *un* is a degree expression, but it goes beyond it in that it postulates that *un* is **always** a degree word. The *degree UN* hypothesis subsumes all the structures into a basic one:

(138)

```
                          #P
                         /  \
                       un    ClP
                            /    \
                          un      NP
                                 /   \
                             DegP      NP
                               |
                             Deg'
                            /    \
                         Deg      AP
                         un     Adjective/
                                 SUCH/
                                  ∅
```
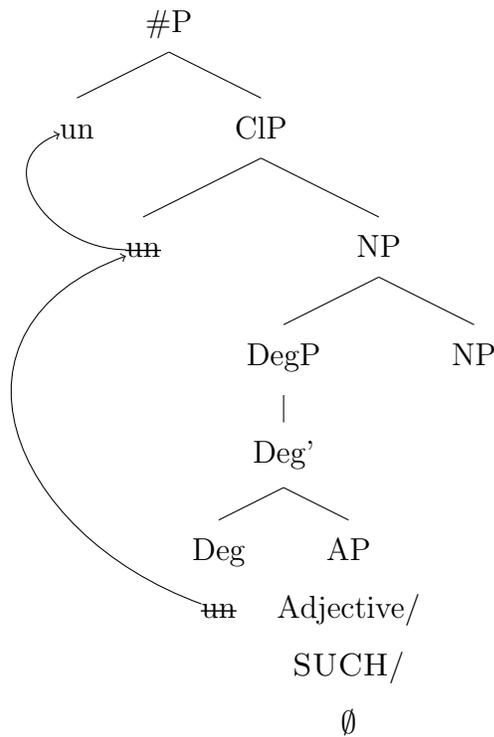
I argue that all the readings available with *un* nominals can be obtained with the structure above if the different interpretations arise as a consequence of the type of complement that Deg° has. The head Deg always has an AP as a complement, but it is the content of this AP what will determine the overall interpretation. Specifically, I assume that there are three available possibilities. The first case is that the AP is headed by an adjective. I take Deg to degree over scales, be them open or closed. If the AP is filled by an adjective, we get an evaluative interpretation. The head Deg then combines with the AP and then raises up to #P. The second

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possibility is that the AP contains a silent SUCH. If this is the case, what we get is a metaphorical interpretation. My aim is to keep all of the uses of *un* unified. Note that Leonetti (1999) also argues that metaphorical predicates are a special case of evaluative predicates.

The idea behind this is that when we utter *Ella es una actriz* ('She is an actress') what we mean is that she is actually not an actress by profession but has, nonetheless, the qualities typically associated with one. Similarly, in emphatic *un* cases, as in *Es un vago* ('He is a lazybones') means that he is a lazybones to a high degree. These readings are the same as *intensifying such* ('She is such an actress'; 'He is such a lazybones').

Spanish and French are different from English in the availability of silent SUCH. This, I claim, has to do with the fact that the indefinite article in English is never a degree expression.

The third possibility is that the AP is completely empty, i.e., both phonetically and semantically null. In that case, *un* moves up to #P and the DegP, being now phonologically and semantically null, gets deleted. French allows the AP to be silent and spells out *un* in #, whereas Spanish, when the AP is fully null, deletes *un* at PF.

These are the structures I propose:

- An evaluative interpretation as in *Juan es un músico talentoso*, 'John is a talented musician' emerges from the fact that the complement of Deg° is an open scale adjective.

(139)

```
                              #P
                            /    \
                          un      ClP
                                 /    \
                               un      NP
                                      /   \
                                  DegP      NP
                                    |        ◿
                                  Deg'     músico
                                 /    \
                               Deg     AP
                                un     ◿
                                    talentoso
```
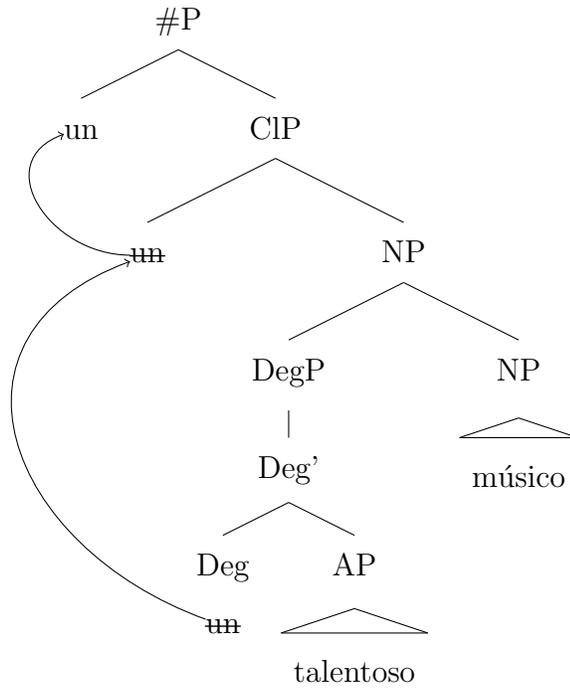
- A metaphorical/emphatic *un* interpretation as in *Juan es un carnicero*, 'John is a bucher', or *Juan es un vago*, 'John is a lazybones', emerges from the presence of a silent SUCH:

(140)

```
                    #P
                  /    \
               un       ClP
                       /    \
                    un        NP
                            /    \
                        DegP      NP
                         |          carnicero
                        Deg'
                       /    \
                    Deg      AP
                    un       SUCH
```

(141)

```
                    #P
                  /    \
               un       ClP
                       /    \
                    un        NP
                            /    \
                        DegP      NP
                         |          vago
                        Deg'
                       /    \
                    Deg      AP
                    un       SUCH
```

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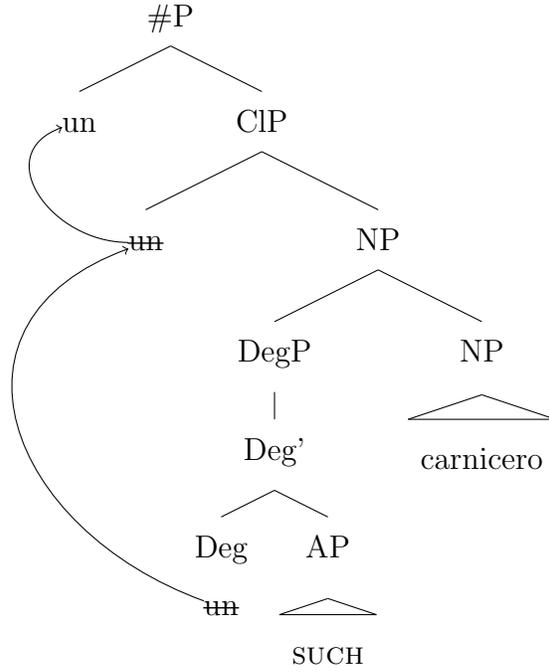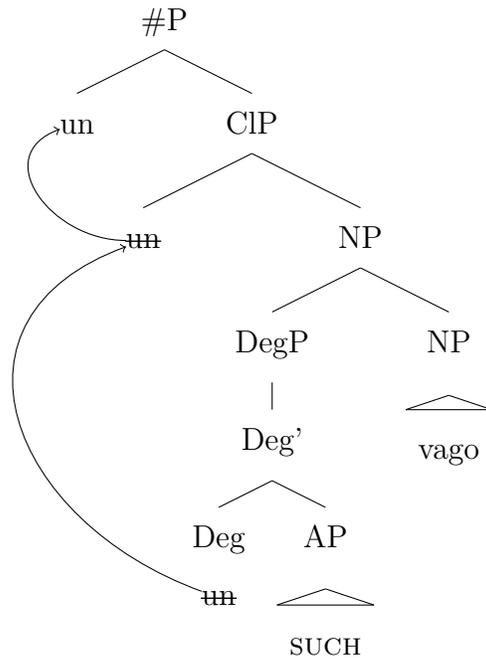
- A defining interpretation emerges when the complement of Deg° is both phonologically and semantically null. Spanish does not allow the AP to be empty, so once *un* moves up to #P, the whole DegP gets deleted. As a result, there is no intervening material between *un* and the NP, so Spanish deletes the article (spellout condition). By contrast, French, allows the AP to be silent and spells out *un* in #.

(142)   French

```
                        #P
                      /    \
                   un      ClP
                          /    \
                      u̶n̶      NP
                             /     \
                         DegP       NP
                          |          /\
                         Deg'     boucher
                         /  \
                      Deg    AP
                      u̶n̶     ∅
```

(143)   Spanish

```
                        #P
                      /    \
                   u̶n̶      ClP
                          /    \
                      u̶n̶      NP
                             /     \
                         DegP       NP
                          |          /\
                         Deg'    carnicero
                         /  \
                      Deg    A̶P̶
                      u̶n̶     ∅̶
```
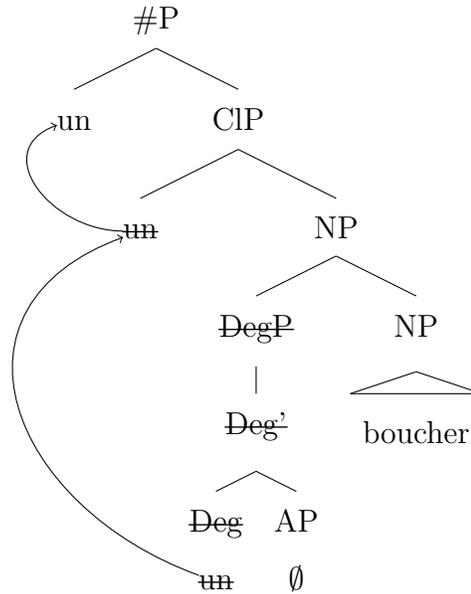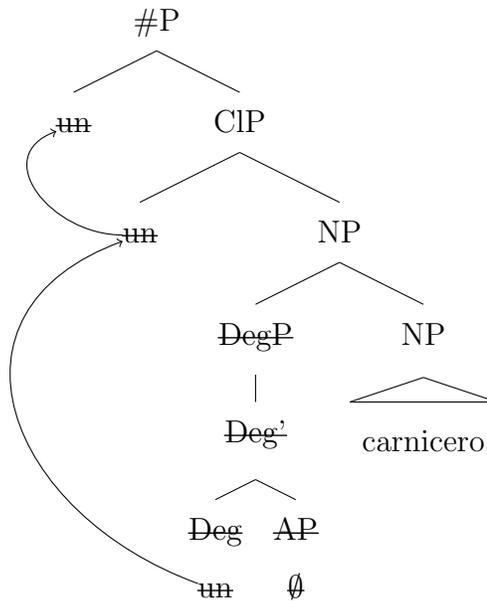
The table below summarises the proposal discussed:

Table 4.4: Evaluative, metaphorical and defining readings

Sentence type	Subtype	Spanish	French
Predicational (DEGREE)	Evaluative	Article as Deg (+Adj) *Es un médico excelente* (He is a doctor excellent)	Article as Deg (+Adj) *Paul est un médecin compétent* (Paul is a doctor competent)
Predicational (DEGREE)	Metaphorical and Emphatic	Article as Deg (+silent SUCH) Es un carnicero! (He's a butcher) (metaphorically)	Article as Deg (+silent SUCH) C'est un boucher (He's a butcher)
Predicational (DEGREE)	Defining	Article as Deg + spellout condition *Es ~~un~~ médico* (He is a doctor)	Article as Deg *Paul est un médecin* (Paul is a doctor)

Issues with each option

The *Unified Predicative UN* analysis, which involves just assuming the spellout condition, can capture the differences between the two languages, but fails to provide an explanation.

The second and third options (*Predicative UN availability* or *Predicative UN selectional restrictions*) can also capture the differences between the two languages, but in doing so, they postulate that Spanish and French are quite different - either Spanish has an article that French does not have or they both instantiate the same split but the selectional restrictions of the French and Spanish predicative article are different, which necessarily involves postulating a syntactic difference between kind and role nouns. Either way, given what we know about Romance, it seems unlikely that French and Spanish are that different.

The *Split Predicative UN* option is a combination of two assumptions - on the one hand, it postulates that what looks like one single article in predicative position in French and Spanish are actually two different (but morphologically and phonologically identical) elements: either an indefinite article in #P or a degree expression. This assumption can capture the fact that degree constructions in Spanish and French cannot contain both a degree expression and the indefinite article, unlike, for instance, English. However, this, in and of itself, is not enough to capture the distinction between Spanish and French. Hence, it is necessary to postulate a spellout condition for defining readings in Spanish when there is no intervening structure between the article and the nominal, which captures the contrast exemplified in (135) and (136).

The option that I will adopt, though, is the last one, *Degree UN*, which takes *un* to always be a degree expression in predicative contexts and attributes the different interpretations to the different complements that Deg° can take. Similarly to the previous option, there is a need to postulate a spellout condition for Spanish.

4.4.3 Evidence for degree

In this section I show that while Spanish does not show the morphological split that certain varieties of Scandinavian do in terms of argumental versus predicative article, there are still some facts that show that treating *un* as a degree expression in predicative contexts is a step in the right direction. I will discuss some facts about the historical development of the indefinite article in this context and also mention independent research on related topics that points to the same direction. I will briefly summarise Tănase-Dogaru's (2007) findings for Romanian predicate nominals as well as Espinal's (2004) analysis of light verb structures and the behaviour of *un.*

Historical developments

Historical facts about the development of the indefinite article might provide support for the hypothesis that *un* is a degree expression. Pozas Loyo (2012) proposes a simplified version of Givón's (1981) evolution of *un*:

(144)   Numeral → Specific → Not specific → Generic → Predicate

This scale shows that the less referential the expression is, the more resistance to the insertion of the indefinite article. *Un* with predicate nominals is the last stage in the grammaticalization process. According to Leonetti (1988), as cited in Pozas Loyo (2012), *un* with predicate nominals is only attested as from the XVI century. Before that, the predicates appeared without an article:

> Don Diego Hortado de Mendoça, duque del Infantadgo, marqués de Santillana, e conde Real de Mançanares, fijo del marqués de Iñigo López de Mendoça, e nieto del almirante don Diego Hurtado, fué *omme delgado e alto de cuerpo* (Varones, 84, 7).
> (Don Diego Hortado de Mendoça ...... was *man slim and tall of body*)

In her own study, Pozas Loyo (2012) only found 2 cases of use of the article in this context in the XIII century and 14 in the second half of the XV century. The greatest number of instantiations appear in the XVII century. What is interesting to note is that the examples she provides of the use of the article correspond to the cases that either have an emphatic *un*, adjectival and/or relative clause modification, i.e., all of the cases that can be subsumed under DEGREE *un*:

(145)   ...*et es el coco bistincto <u>una yerba que faze tintura de color uermeio muy fremoso</u>*, e descenciolos po una finiestra-que auie en el muro, allo o estaua la su casa ayuntada a ell (GEII, 11, 32b).
          ...and is the coco bistincto <u>a herb that makes dye of colour red very beautiful</u>...

(146)   *antes se an de llamar artejos aquellos uessos de que se componen los de-*
          dos. Los cuales son <u>*unos pequeños miembros*</u> a semejança delos cuales se
          llamaron aquellos articulos que añadimos al nombre para demostrar de
          que genero es (Gramática, 241).

          before were called knuckles those bones of which are composed the fin-
          gers. The which are <u>a.PL small members</u>...

(147)   *Si dijeran, éste es* <u>*un malhechor, un transgresor*</u> *de la ley,* <u>*un alborotador*</u>
          que con engaños alborota al pueblo, mientieran, como mientieron cuando
          lo decían (Respuesta, 454).

          If they said, this (one) is <u>a criminal, a transgressor</u> of the law, <u>a troublemaker</u>...

                           (Examples from Pozas Loyo, 2012, p. 473, my translation)

In an independent study on the use of the indefinite article as a marker of eval-
uation, Di Tullio and Suñer (2010) note that whereas *un* is obligatory in modern
Spanish when in evaluative contexts, in historical varieties of Spanish, that was
not the case[15]:

(148)   a.   De su negocio es *gran hombre* cada uno
                of his trade   is *great man*   each one
                [Fray Hortensio Paravicino, *Sermón de Santa Isabel*, 1625, CORDE]

          b.   porque una pelota muy hermosa o un muy hermoso vaso es
                because a   ball   very beautiful or a   very beautiful glass is
                magnífico don para presentar a   un niño
                wonderful gift to   present   to a   child
                [Simón Abril, *Traducción a la Ética de Aristóteles*, 1577, CORDE]

          c.   Es *gloria* ver a   Celia, y   es *infierno* apartarme tan presto
                is *glory* see OM Celia and is *hell*   move.away so   quickly
                de   su vista
                from her sight
                [Lope de Vega, *El molino*, 1604, CORDE]

---

[15]Examples from Di Tullio and Suñer (2010), my glosses.

d. ¡Esto sí que es *maravilla*!
this yes that is *wonder*
[Antonio Palomino Velasco, *El Parnaso español pintoresco laureado*,
1724, CORDE]

However, in texts after 1700, the attribute is introduced by *un*:

(149) a. Ese D. Augusto es *un gran hombre*
that Mr. Augusto is *a great man*
[B. Pérez Galdós, *Torquemada y San Pedro*, 1895, CORDE]

b. Pasé a ver la fábrica, que es *un magnífico edifico*
went.by to see the factory which is *a magnificent building*
[Antonio J. Cavanilles, *Observaciones sobre la historia natural...*,
1795, CORDE]

c. ...que verdaderamente es *una gloria* el verlo
...that truly is *a glory* the see.him
[Antonio Palomino y Velasco, *El Parnaso español pintoresco laur-
eado*, 1724, CORDE]

d. ...mas el mismo presentarse los objetos a la vista es
...more the same present.REFL the objects to the sight is
una maravilla
a wonder
[Feijoo, *Teatro Crítico Universal*, 1734, CORDE]

These facts indicate that whereas bare predicate nominals were the norm before
the XVII century, *un* predicate nominals started to be used in all of those contexts
that I have subsumed under the Degree analysis - the article appears either in
the presence of adjectival modification; to get metaphorical interpretations or for
emphatic *un* uses.

Romanian predicate nominals

Romanian, as the other Romance languages, has predicate nominals with and
without the indefinite article[16]:

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[16]Romanian examples from Tănase-Dogaru (2007)

(150) Ionescu este clovn
       Ionesco is   clown
       'Ionesco is a clown' (job)

(151) Ionescu este un clovn
       Ionescu is   a   clown
       'Ionescu is a clown' (acts like one)

While Tănase-Dogaru's (2007) analysis is different from mine in that she assumes that the split between bare and singular indefinite predicate nominals corresponds to the SL/IL distinction and that both bare and *un* predicates are NumPs, there are certain key similarities.

Tănase-Dogaru (2007) argues that the difference between the two versions is reducible to an expression of Deg, which is signalled by the indefinite article. She also notes that singular indefinite predicates are ambiguous between a defining interpretation (*Ion e un student / Ion is a student*) and a scalarity/degree/emotive one (*Ion e un țăran / Ion is a peasant - he is peasant-like*) (p. 231) and assumes that "the distinct 'emotive' interpretation of the SIP (singular indefinite predicate) is linked to the presence of an emotive operator affecting the level of the indefinite article[17]." (p.262).

She argues that the role of the indefinite article in predicative contexts is the same as degree words as they compete for the same position and she proposes that singular indefinite predicate nominals contain a silent semi-lexical noun TYPE:

(152) Ești un drăguț! = Ești un TYPE drăguț!

       You are a nice = you are a TYPE nice

(153) Ion e un urât = Ion e un TYPE urât

       Ion is an ugly = Ion is a TYPE ugly

---

[17]There does not seem to be any mention of how the defining interpretation is obtained as the analysis focuses on the metaphorical/evaluative reading. In any case, it was interesting for me to find previous proposals along the same lines as what I argue for in Spanish.

The idea of this silent noun TYPE stems from Romanian exclamative facts. Tănase-Dogaru (2007) proposes that in Romanian *ce* 'what' exclamatives there is a silent semi-lexical noun TYPE[18]:

(155) Ce   (TYPE) ţigări   fumează ăsta!
       what   cigarettes smokes   this
       'The cigarettes that this one smokes are so expensive/big/stinky, etc.

If the role of the indefinite article in Romanian is the same as degree words like *ce* 'what', then the author concludes that singular indefinite predicates also involve the presence of the silent noun TYPE. This structure is what makes them evaluative.

The basic structure she proposes for a singular indefinite predicate in Romanian is:

(156) [QP un [ClasP TYPE [NumP [NP dansator]]]]
       A dancer

"Singular indefinites in predicate position (predicated of humans) contain a silent noun, a structure which turns them into evaluative modifiers" (Tănase-Dogaru, 2008, p.145). It is not entirely clear to me how *un* gets its degree features from the structured proposed in (156) above, but Tănase-Dogaru's (2007) contribution was of particular appeal to me as I share the intuition that *un* is indeed ranging over degrees and that the solution to this puzzle has to include a silent element, only that for me that is not an N, but a silent version of SUCH.

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[18]It is possible to have a silent noun NUMBER in the case of exclamatives that also contain *de* 'of':

(154) Ce   (NUMBER) de ţigări   ai   fumat!
       what   of cigarettes have.2SG smoked
       'You have smoked so many cigarettes'

However, these are not the cases that we are concerned with here.

Espinal (2004)

Espinal offers an interesting contribution on a different but related topic. She analyses two light verb idiomatic structures in Romance, exemplified in Catalan below[19]:

(157) Type 1

    a. fer   un sol de justícia
        makes a   sun of justice
        'It's scorching hot'

    b. tenir una son   que no s'hi veu
        have a   sleep that not CL   sees
        'to feel drowsy'

(158) Type 2

    a. fer   la   vida impossible (a algú)
        make the life   impossible (to someone)
        'to make (someone's) life impossible'

    b. tenir el/un cervell de gat
        have the/a brain   of cat
        'to be pea-brained'

    c. fer   els ulls grossos
        make the eyes big
        'to turn a blind eye'

Both types of idioms share a V + object structure, with a light verb (typically *make* or *have*) and a nominal, plus an extra constituent. Despite this similarity, there are considerable differences between the two types of expressions. The author shows various tests to distinguish between the two. One obvious difference is that type 1 expressions always occur with the indefinite article, whereas the determiner in type 2 idioms is not completely fixed, as can be seen in (158-b). The second difference is that in type 2 idioms, plural nouns are sometimes possible, as in (158-c).

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[19]Espinal's examples are from Catalan, but the same holds for Spanish.

A further distinction is that only the light V+ bare noun expression that type 1 idioms are associated with allow prenominal degree quantifiers and modifiers, which is not the case for type 2 idioms:

(159)   fer   sol
         make sun
         'It's sunny'

(160)   fer   més/ un bon sol
         makes more/ a   good sun
         'It's sunnier / It's brilliant sunshine'

(161)   tener llengua
         have tongue
         'To have a sharp tongue'

(162)   tenir molta/bona llengua
         have much/good tongue
         'To make a sharp reply / to have an eloquent tongue'

Espinal provides more tests and argues convincingly that the idioms in (157) and (158) are two different types. I will only focus on type 1 expressions as those are the ones that always occur with the indefinite article.

Espinal argues that pattern 1 is the result of a syntactic merge process "induced by the defective semantic features of the nominal object head of a monadic argument structure, since a bare count noun is not expected in object position in Romance" (p. 17). The indefinite article in this idiomatic construction is taken to be an existential quantifier over degrees.

Type 1 idioms involve a light verb expressing an internal cause and a bare noun (either count or mass) that corresponds to a potentially gradable property. Espinal notes that although type 1 idioms denote high degree, they cannot co-occur with an explicit degree expression:

(163)   *Fa massa/molt/més sol de justícia

         makes too.much/much/more sun of justice

This fact leads her to assume that the concept of degree in this construction is related to the semantic properties of the noun itself and not to the presence of a degree constituent.

In terms of the syntactic structure for this construction, Espinal (2004) proposes that they have a monadic structure (based on Hale and Keyser, 1998) and the nominal has the formal feature [-i] which means negative internal structure (see Jackendoff, 1991):

(164)   V

                              V   N$_{[-i]}$

A noun with this feature in this configuration gives rise to a property denoting reading for the noun. Then *un* is merged in a functional category Q and what follows is adjunction of another constituent:

(165)   V

                        V   N

                                N   X(adjunct)

                            Q   N$_{[-i]}$
                            un
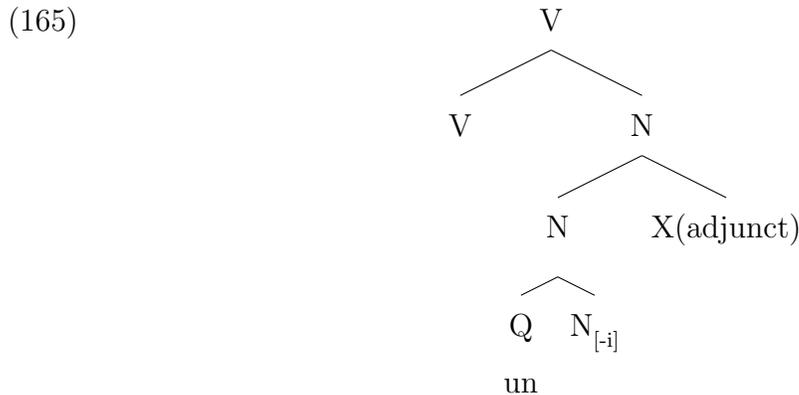
Derivation:

(166)   S1: [$_V$ fer so] → Q-Merge → [$_V$ fer un so]

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(167)   S2: [$_P$ de justícia]

(168)   Adjoin α: [$_V$ fer un so] [$_P$ de justícia]

(169)   [$_V$ fer un so de justícia]

Regarding the semantics of these lexicalized light verb structures, Espinal puts forward the hypothesis that bare nouns in object position denote properties and this interpretation arises due to the argument structure configuration where bare nouns occur.

In the monadic argument structure there are two options - either the bare noun is syntactically incorporated into V, forming a complex predicate in the syntax, or quantification over properties has to be introduced. Espinal concludes that in monadic argument structure the complement can only be a property - not a kind, individual or a generalized quantifier - and the indefinite quantifier *un* introduces existential quantification over degrees. "It denotes a function from predicate meanings to generalized quantifier expressions over degrees" (p. 36).

Her contribution is interesting in that she argues for *un* quantifying over degrees. I disagree with her, though, in that I do not take the intrinsic meaning of the noun to be the source of scalarity. Espinal's system builds on the assumption that the notion of degree is linked to the semantics of the noun itself and not to the presence of a degree constituent. I will argue, though, that we can extend the analysis of evaluative *un* to these cases as well. My point is that evaluative *un* can potentially be extended beyond the realms of copular sentences to include, for instance, these cases which have a light verb. If we follow this idea then, the degree interpretation arises because of the presence of *un* as a degree expression, not because of the inherent scalarity of the noun. An example to show this can be found in the following sentences:

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(170) ¡Tengo   una panza!
       have.1SG a   belly
       'I have a big belly / I am fat'

(171) ¡Tiene   un pedo!
       has.3SG a   fart
       'He is completely drunk'

In these cases, the nouns themselves are not scalar in any sense, yet the interpretation that we get is "to a high degree". If we want to avoid appealing to a massive lexicon that contains multiple entries for every single lexical item, then the interpretation obtained in the examples above has to be linked to the properties of *un*, rather than to the properties of the nouns themselves. This is, to me, a viable option.

Regardless of the analysis that one wishes to pursue, the fact that in certain environments, such as copular sentences and light verb idiomatic constructions, *un* can either quantify over degrees, as Espinal proposes, or that it can be a degree operator, as I claim, shows that we are dealing with a different type of *un* that is, one way or another, connected with the idea of degrees and evaluation. This is the main point that I want to argue for - all the uses of *un* (argumental and predicative) cannot and should not be subsumed under the same element.

4.4.4   On chairs and doctors

In this section, I will try to account for the contrast between 'chairs' and 'doctors' seen below:

(172) Paula es (*una) médica
       "Paula is a doctor"

(173) Ésto es *(una) silla
       'This is a chair'

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So far, nothing we have said can account for the distinction between role nouns and other types of nominals and it is to this issue that we now turn to.

One option to account for this could be to assume that there is something intrinsically different between a noun like "doctor" and a noun like "chair". This view has been advocated for by Le Bruyn (2010) and de Swart et al. (2007), for instance. In this view, nouns are lexically stored as expressions of type <e> and they come in two flavours - either they are *capacities* or *kinds*.

Capacity nouns are culturally defined and they are the ones that appear in bare predication in Dutch, whereas kind nouns are based on inherent properties and require article insertion. A nominal that does not refer to kinds can only appear in article predication if it gets a kind interpretation.

According to Le Bruyn (2010), the role of the indefinite article in predicate position is twofold: it introduces discourse referents in the same way as it does in argument position and it is also the realization of REL, an operator that takes kinds and returns the sets of their instantiations.

In this theory, English is special in that the indefinite article is also the realization of CAP-standard, an operator that takes standard capacities and returns the sets of individuals that have these capacities. This is to account for the fact that in English all predicate nominals occur with the article, be it in kind or capacity predication.

I want to argue, on the other hand, that the perceived difference between cases like (172) and (173) does not boil down to having different types of nominals stored in the lexicon, but rather, what seems to be a contrast between types of nouns is actually a contrast in the contexts in which the sentences are uttered.

I will refer to cases like (172) as predicative utterances that are *defining* but, following Higgins's (1973) terminology, I will refer to cases like (173) as *identificational*. Higgins (1973) distinguishes between four different types of copular sentences:

1. Predicational: These have a referential subject and a predicational complement, e.g. *The man is heavy; He is a teacher.*

2. Specificational: These involve a non-referential subject, which Higgins refers to as superscriptional, and a specificational predicate, e.g. *What I don't like about John is his tie.*

3. Identificational: They normally involve a deictic subject and they can never be inverted, e.g. *That is Boston/the house I mentioned.*

4. Identity: These have two referential DPs and can normally be inverted; they are also known as *equatives*, e.g. *Mark Twain is Samuel Clemens; Bruce Wayne is Batman.*

I will assume that cases such as *El pingüino es un ave*, 'The penguin is a bird', are also a subtype of identificational sentences, even though the subject is not a deictic expression. Identificational sentences here will be those that include a presupposition of lack of knowledge of the entity being mentioned. Hence, when someone utters *El pingüino es un ave*, 'The penguin is a bird', I assume that this is something along the lines of 'This is a penguin. The penguin is a bird'.

When uttering (172), by contrast, we already know that the subject is a person (a statement that requires article insertion: *Paula es una persona*, 'Paula is a person') and we are only ascribing to it another property, namely being a doctor.

However, if we make the context strongly identificational, then the article will be used even if the nominal is a role noun. For example, in a context where we are

teaching a kid the name of different things while pointing at them (either in the real world or in a picture), we can utter the following:

(174)   Éste es un médico
         this is a   doctor
         'This is a doctor'

In the case of (173), which according to Higgins is an identificational, not predicational sentence, it is harder to think of a context that is not intrinsically identificational. However, there is a case that is relevant to this and which, to the best of my knowledge, has been ignored. It is possible to omit the article with nominals that are not role nouns when the object is already known and what we are doing is predicating another property of that subject (i.e., a *characterizing reading*):

(175)   a.   Es una impresora. También es escáner. (It is a printer. It is also scanner)

         b.   Es cocina comedor (It is kitchen dining room)

         c.   Es sofá cama (It is sofa bed)

         d.   Además de cámara es filmadora (Apart from camera, it is video recorder)

         e.   No es cama cuna, es cama con cómoda (It isn't bed crib, it is bed with chest of drawers)

         f.   Es lavarropas, secarropas y centrifuga (It is washing machine, dryer and it spin-dries)

         g.   Es heladera freezer (It is fridge freezer)

What the examples in (175) show is that there is nothing intrinsically different between a noun like 'doctor' and a noun like 'chair'. The perceived difference is connected to the type of context in which these nouns are used. If the context is strongly identificational, then the article is present, irrespective of whether the noun is a role one of not. If, by contrast, the context is characterizing, the article is not inserted, even if the noun is a kind nominal.

Table 4.5: Predicate nominals summary

Sentence type	Subtype	Spanish	French
Identificational	-	Article insertion *Ésto es una silla* (This is a chair)	Article insertion *C'est un homme* (This is a man)
Predicational (DEGREE)	Evaluative	Article as Deg *Es un médico excelente* (He is a doctor excellent)	Article as Deg *Paul est un médecin compétent* (Paul is a doctor competent)
Predicational (DEGREE)	Metaphorical and Emphatic	Article as Deg Es un carnicero! (He's a butcher) (metaphorically)	Article as Deg C'est un boucher (He's a butcher)
Predicational (DEGREE)	Defining	Article as Deg + spellout condition *Es ~~un~~ médico* (He is a doctor)	Article as Deg *Paul est un médecin* (Paul is a doctor)
Predicational	Characterizing	No article *Es médica* (She is doctor) *Es una impresora. También es escáner* (It is a printer. It is also scanner)	No article *Ray est acteur* (Ray is actor)

4.5   Chapter summary

This chapter dealt with the distribution of predicate nominals, both bare and with the indefinite article, in Spanish. I started by providing a summary of Roy's (2013) work on the topic as I adopt part of it to account for the cases in Spanish.

I assume, following Roy, that the relation of predication is only one and that the different interpretation arise depending on the size of the nominal expression. True bare predicate nominals give rise to a *characterizing* reading in Roy's sense, which

means that the nominal is ascribing a property to the subject. These nominals only project up to ClP. By contrast, in *un* predicate nominals, I claim, the indefinite article is actually a degree expression (which then moves up to #P). The different interpretations available (defining/evaluative/metaphorical) stem from the kind of complement that Deg has (either an adjective, a silent SUCH or null). This analysis allows us to keep a uniform treatment of French and Spanish predicate nominals, while, at the same time, accounting for adjectival modification and metaphorical interpretations. The fact that *un* is treated as a degree expression in this context explains why other degree expressions (like *such*, comparative forms and wh- elements in exclamatives, for instance) and *un* never co-occur.

Predicate nominals in Spanish also raise questions regarding the distribution of the two copulas. In the examples in this chapter, all the cases of predicate nominals occurred with copula *ser*, and it was briefly mentioned that for nominals denoting professions to occur after *estar*, the preposition *de* 'of' has to be inserted (*Mirta está de secretaria en esa escuela* 'Mirta is.ESTAR of secretary in that school'). In chapter 6 I discuss the difference in interpretation between the two structures, as well as providing novel data on the use of nominals after *estar*. In that chapter I also put forth an analysis accounting for the distribution of *ser* and *estar*, but before fleshing out my proposal I will review some of the most recent works on the topic in chapter 5.

Chapter 5

Ser or estar?

5.1 Spanish two copulas

The issue of the two copulas has been a topic of controversy for many decades and it probably is one of the most studied aspects of Spanish grammar. It is, indeed, a topic of considerable interest for linguists as it raises questions in terms of what syntactic, semantic, pragmatic and/or lexical factors could explain the behaviour of copular sentences as well as the historical development of these verbs, and L1 and L2 acquisition of Spanish.

It has been the tendency, in generative grammar at least, to assume that both *ser* and *estar* are the same items in all constructions, which includes both their copular and auxiliary uses. However, even though existing proposals have tackled the problem from many different angles - syntactic, semantic and pragmatic, there is still no consensus on what the nature of the distinction is. Leonetti et al. (2015) provide a very good overview of the progress made and the outstanding questions regarding this matter. The first question that they raise is whether the distinction should be couched in syntactic or semantic terms and the second has to do with whether the distinction, be it syntactic or semantic, should be rooted in the specific properties of the copulas or at the level of non-verbal predicates. On the purely syntactic side, we have, for instance, Zagona (2015) and Gallego and Uriagereka (2016), which will be discussed below. On the more semantic side, explanations

have been proposed appealing to aspectual notions and the IL/SL distinction.

The second question that Leonetti et al. (2015) raise has to do with the role of the copulas themselves. There have been analyses favouring a distinction encoded in the lexical predicates and not stemming from properties of the copulas per se (cf. Demonte, 1979; Fábregas, 2012; Gallego and Uriagereka, 2009; Gallego and Uriagereka, 2016; Romero Morales, 2009; Roy, 2013 and Zagona, 2015, a.o.) and there have also been proposals in which it is part of the copulas specification that they can select for different classes of lexical items (cf. Camacho, 2012; Clements, 1988; Escandell-Vidal and Leonetti, 2002; Fernández Leborans, 1999; Luján, 1981, a.o.).

Certainly, the proposals have been numerous and it is impossible to review all the works written on the subject here. For a detailed overview of previous proposals, see Fábregas (2012), Marín (2000) and Roby (2009). In this dissertation, I will mainly focus on the more recent ones.

Table 5.1: Ser and Estar - Summary of some proposals

Author	SER	ESTAR
Falk (1979)	General norm	Individual norm
Luján (1981)	[-Perfective]	[+Perfective]
Clements (1988)	[-Nexus]	[+Nexus]
Schmitt (1996)	unspecified for temporal info	specified for temporal info
Fernández Leborans (1999)	IL	SL
Marín (2000)	Unbounded state	Bounded state
Escandell-Vidal and Leonetti (2002)	IL	SL
Maienborn (2005a)	BE	BE + discourse situation
Arche (2006)	IL predicate (in the sense of classificatory)	SL predicate (properties linked to a situation)
Roby (2009)	[-perfective]	[+perfective]
Romero Morales (2009)	Intersective reading	Subsective reading
Gallego and Uriagereka (2009, 2016)	BE	BE + X
Brucart (2012)	BE	BE + terminal coincidence feature
Roy (2013)	Non dense [+N]	Dense [-N]
Camacho (2015)	Between-individuals comparison	Within-individual comparison
Gumiel-Molina et al. (2015)	Relative Adj	Absolute Adj
Zagona (2015)	BE	BE[uLOC]

5.2 Luján's (1981) aspect account

Although Luján's work is not within the recent publications on the topic, her contribution has been one of the most influential ones within the aspect-based accounts and also offers an extensive critique of the traditional analyses of *ser* and *estar*. She starts by discussing the aristotelian dichotomy of "essential" vs. "accidental" properties, or permanent versus temporary characteristics. This is the most common explanation for the two copulas in Spanish found in textbooks – *ser* is the copula used for permanent features and *estar* is the one for temporary

statements. Although it is useful as a first approximation for people learning the language, it is not difficult to find counterexamples to this claim.

The most cited example is probably one involving the adjective *muerto* 'dead', a state that one assumes to be permanent, yet occurs with copula *estar*:

(1)   Ese hombre está   / *es   muerto
       that man   is.ESTAR / is.SER dead
       "That man in dead"

Luján gives an example with the adjective *temporario* 'temporary', which is only compatible with *ser*, contrary to what one would expect if temporariness was at the core of the distinction:

(2)   *Está   temporario
        is.ESTAR temporary
        "It is temporary"

In addition, the temporary/permanent dichotomy cannot account for the fact that predicate nominals always occur with *ser*[1], irrespective of whether they express a temporary or permanent property:

(3)   Fui   reina por un día
       was.SER queen for a   day
       "I was a queen for a day"

(4)   Fue   secretaria toda su   vida
       was.SER secretary all   her life
       "She was a secretary all her life"

According to Luján, one way that some scholars appealed to to overcome these problems was to assume that *estar* + an adjective indicates a state, which has been defined in terms of the notion of change or modification (Gili y Gaya, 1961; Bull, 1965; Roldán, 1974; Querido, 1976, a.o.). With this idea, the fact that *muerto*

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[1]But see exceptions to this in chapter 6.

'dead' selects *estar* can be accounted for in terms of resulting from a change (i.e., *morir* 'to die') and not in terms of permanent vs. temporary.

The result-of-a-change proposal encounters several problems. The most important one, as noted by Luján, is that the definitions proposed are very vague - anything is potentially modifiable or results from a change, so, in principle, anything should be able to occur with *estar*. In addition, certain statements that we assume to not be modifiable, or at least not easily so, occur with *estar* obligatorily, as is the case of locatives:

(5)   Buenos Aires está   en Argentina
           Buenos Aires is.ESTAR in Argentina
           "Buenos Aires is in Argentina"

The author draws two important conclusions from the data:

1. *Ser* is not incompatible with the notion of change (6)

2. *Estar* need not always be related to a given or potential modification (7)

(6)   Jacinta es   soltera, pero no lo será   por mucho tiempo
           Jacinta is.SER single   but not it be.FUT.SER for much time
           "Jacinta is single but she won't be for long"

(7)   Jacinta está   soltera, y   se quedará   soltera toda la vida
           Jacinta is.ESTAR single and SE remain.FUT single all   the life
           "Jacinta is single and she'll remain single all her life"

Luján proposes instead that all adjectives are stative - they describe mental or physical states. States can, in turn, be divided into perfective and imperfective. It is this semantic feature that determines the form of the copula. When the adjectives make reference to imperfective states, they select *ser* and when they refer to perfective states they select *estar*. She mentions that the alternative analysis would be to assume that the feature [± PERFECTIVE] applies to the copula. This

option would only be suitable if it was the case that every single adjective could merge with either copula:

(8)   Perfective State

    [Adj +STATIVE, +PERFECTIVE]: x ϵ A at time t_j

(9)   Imperfective State

    [Adj +STATIVE, -PERFECTIVE]: x ϵ A at time t_j ... t_{j+k}

"...to predicate '*estar* A' of an individual x is to say that x is in the class of individuals bearing the property A at a delimited period of time whose beginning and end are both known or assumed or at least one of them is" (Luján, 1981, p. 176). By contrast, '*ser* A' does not assume any beginning or end of a particular period of time. In essence, the two copulas make reference to time in two different ways - imperfective *ser* takes into consideration a stretch of time in its duration whereas perfective *estar* only considers one particular time period.

Luján's analysis captures the fact that a *ser* predicate (in the context of adjectives and participles) always implies a similar predicate with *estar*:

(10)   ser gordo → estar gordo (to be fat)

    ser elegante → estar elegante (to be elegant)

But the inverse does not hold:

(11)   estar gordo ↛ ser gordo (to be fat)

    estar elegante ↛ ser elegante (to be elegant)

If a *ser* predicate holds of an individual during a stretch of time, then it is also true of that individual at some time period included in that stretch. The opposite inference does not hold, which is a desirable result. Luján's contribution was very influential as it was one of the first to appeal to aspect as the source of the distinction, which then led the way to many more works focussing on aspectual notions

to explain the behaviour of the two copulas.

5.3 Other syntactic explanations

5.3.1 Brucart (2012)

Brucart's distinction between the two copulas is based on the idea of central and terminal coincidence. He defines "coincidence" as a "...spatial, temporal or identity relation between two elements, one functioning as a figure and the other being a ground. In central coincidence, the figure coincides with the ground at the center of the trajectory. In terminal coincidence the figure and the ground do not coincide at the center of the trajectory, so the path is convergent or divergent." (p. 17). The notion of coincidence comes from cognitive grammar (Talmy, 1978) and was later used by Hale (1986) in his analysis of Warlpiri.

Brucart proposes that *estar* carries an interpretable feature of terminal coincidence which is processed in two ways:

1. It can license an uninterpretable feature in the attributive predication

2. It can add an external delimiting aspectual boundary to the attributive relation

By contrast, *ser* is the unmarked copula. He assumes that both copulas are merged above the predicative small clause - either in vP or in AspP. The two typical configurations are as follows:

(12) $[_{vP}$ estar $[_{RP}$ ...R_T ... $]]$

        Luis está cansado (Luis is tired)

        María está en Roma (Maria is in Rome)

Brucart assumes that R_T has an uninterpretable feature $[uR_T]$ that must be valued by an interpretable feature of the same type that is contained in the specifier of

its own projection - a position that is occupied by the subject. In the cases above, neither DP (*Luis* or *María*) can value the unintepretable feature and, when this happens, it is the head of the higher functional projection (i.e., the copula) that does the job. Hence, the chosen copula is *estar* as it carries an interpretable terminal feature that can value $[uR_T]$.

(13)　$[_{vP}$ ser $[_{RP}$ ...R_C ... $]]$

　　　Luis es honesto (Luis is honest)

In (13), the default copula is used as there is no feature to be checked.

Besides these two patterns, Brucart proposes that the two reverse options are also attested:

(14)　$[_{vP}$ ser $[_{RP}$ ...R_T ... $]]$

　　　El concierto es en el parque (The concert is in the park)

　　　La parada de taxis es por allí (The taxi rank is that way)

Pattern (14) is the one attested with event nouns and when giving directions (path nominals). For this to work, Brucart assumes that event and path nominal phrases, generated in specRP, can value $[uR_T]$ and, as a result, the default copula *ser* is used given that there are no more features to be checked. Event nominals include an aspectual projection that hosts an event variable that can value the uninterpretable feature of R_T. The derivation for *El concierto es en el parque* (The concert is in the park) would proceed as follows:

$[_{vP}$ es $[_{RP}$ $[_{DP}$ el $[_{nP}$ concierto$_{[iRT]}$ $[_{AspP}$ ~~concierto~~$_{[iRT]}$ $[_{\sqrt{P}}$ ~~concierto~~ $]]]]$ $[_{R'}$ $\sqrt{u}R_T$ $[_{PP}$ en el parque $]]]]$

The last pattern, shown below, is for those cases where the copula introduces a content (terminal coincidence) that is not present in its complement, coercing it

to be interpreted as delimited and thus receiving either an evidential or aspectual reading:

(15)   [$_{vP}$ estar [$_{RP}$ ...R$_C$ ...]]
         La película estuvo divertida (The film was funny)
         Luis estuvo estudiando toda la tarde (Luis was studying all afternoon)

While this is an interesting analysis that tries to capture many facts about the distribution of the copulas, there are still a few issues that need to be tackled. First, it is not quite clear how to decide whether a certain attributive element has a terminal or central coincidence feature. Hale's (1986) analysis of Warlpiri, for instance, focuses on locatives, complementizers and aspectual markers where the notions of central and terminal are quite transparent. Brucart, on the other hand, has to provide a rationale for stating that locative attributes are a terminal coincidence construction, especially given that the most typical preposition used in these cases is *en* 'in', which is a central coincidence element. While Brucart provides some arguments to account for locatives, it is still not clear how adjectives fall into the central vs terminal category. Why is *divertida* 'funny' central, but *cansado* 'tired' terminal?

In addition, while pattern (14) above can account for event nouns with copula *ser* and prepositional phrases or adverbs (typically of time or location), it does not explain why when describing an event both copulas are possible. If *El concierto es en el parque* 'The concert is in the park' can be accounted for by assuming that the event variable of *concierto* can value the uninterpretable feature of the PP and thus the default copula is used, then it is not obvious why either copula can be used with adjectives, as the following examples show:

(16)   El concierto estuvo   buenísimo / fue   buenísimo
         the concert   was.ESTAR amazing   / was.SER amazing
         'The concert was amazing'

While the default option in these cases seems to be *estar*, both copulas can indeed be used (albeit with a slightly different meaning, which is not relevant for the point made here). If *buenísimo* 'amazing' is an adjective that has a central coincidence feature, then we would expect *ser* as there is no feature to be checked. However, the pattern with *estar* is more difficult to account for. If we try to use the coercion structure (15), in which the copula *estar* coerces the interpretation of the attributive element into a delimited element, we will have to say something about the subject in specRP. When does the coercion take place? How does *estar* coerce the adjective with an intervening DP (this is the case even if the subject DP is an event noun or not)? Why does *estar* need to superimpose a delimited reading when the eventive subject DP also has a terminal coincidence feature and should, presumably, be able to do the job?

If, on the other hand, *buenísimo* has a terminal coincidence feature, we still expect it to occur only with *ser*. If the adjective has a terminal coincidence feature, then the subject DP can value it (given that event DPs have an interpretable terminal feature) and there would be no need for *estar* to occur. Coercion is, of course, not an option as these elements already have a terminal feature, so there is no need for *estar* to coerce anything.

Brucart's analysis is quite interesting and, to me, in the right direction as the distinction between the two copulas comes down to the presence of a feature and the various possibilities in terms of licensing uninterpretable elements. I do not particularly agree with the central/terminal feature to account for the distribution of the copulas, but I do agree with the intuition that the solution has to be stated in terms of syntactic features, which I will explore in chapter 6.

5.3.2 Roy (2013)

Roy (2013) argues that the difference between the two copulas lies in the partition between dense predicates on the one hand, and non-dense and maximal ones, on the other. In her system, copula *ser* only selects nominal phrases (which correspond to non-dense and maximal predicates) while copula *estar* selects everything else (dense predicates).

As mentioned in chapter 4, *estar* can combine with every lexical category, including nominals, albeit not very frequently, which is problematic for Roy's account. Copula *ser*, on the other hand, can easily combine with NPs, APs, PPs, AdvP, VPs, so she provides arguments to show that all the other non-verbal categories besides NPs are also nominal at some level.

The first issue she tackles are APs - her claim is that apparent predicative As in constructions with *ser* are in reality attributive adjectives modifying a null N head. Real predicative adjectives can only be found with *estar*. Roy distinguishes two different types of adjectives[2]: a) nominalized adjectives (homophonous with nouns) and b) "regular" adjectives (those that are not homophonous with a nominal correspondent).

Nominalized adjectives: These can be used as adjectives as well as nouns without any morphological change, e.g. *francés* 'French, Frenchman', *militar*, 'military, military man', *viejo*, 'old, elderly man', etc.

"Regular" adjectives: These forms are not homophonous with a nominal form, but they can be used both as an attributive adjective modifying a noun or they can combine with articles to form nominal expressions, e.g. *importante*, 'important', *fácil*, 'easy', *lleno*, 'full', etc.

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[2]See also Borer and Roy (2010).

There is one main difference between these two types, however. When used as singular masculine nominals, nominalized adjectives take the masculine singular indefinite article *un*, whereas "regular" adjectives cannot take such a determiner and have to employ the pro-form *uno*:

(17)   un francés,   un militar,   un viejo
        a   French.man a   military.man an elderly.man

(18)   *un importante, *un fácil, *un lleno

(19)   uno importante, uno fácil, uno lleno
        one important   one easy one full
        'an important one, an easy one, a full one'

Nominalized adjectives, as in (17) behave like common nouns in taking *un*. Roy refers to them as Noms(A) when they appear as nouns and she concludes that they are indeed nouns and not adjectives. The structure for (17) is un [$_{NP}$ [Nom(A)]]

"Regular" adjectives, on the other hand, are analysed as involving a null nominal head (pro) that the overt adjective modifies. This is consistent with the view that when *uno* appears, it marks an elliptical construction. The structure for "regular" adjectives, as in (19) is thus: uno [$_{NP}$ [∅$_N$ Adj]].

Further evidence that the complement to copula *ser* has to be nominal rather than adjectival comes from adjective stacking. Adjectives cannot be stacked in the absence of an overt noun in Spanish. Given this, phrases such as *'este sabio alemán'* 'this wise/ wise man German/German man' can only be interpreted as either Adj+N (This wise German guy) or N+Adj (This German wise man). The important point is that one of the two expressions has to be necessarily nominal.

Roy then extends her analysis to PP complements of *ser* and argues that these also involve a null nominal head. Her conclusion is that the distribution of the two copulas is based on their selectional restrictions - *ser* selects only [+N] (which

corresponds to characterizing and defining readings), whereas *estar* takes [-N] complements (situation descriptive reading).

Roy (2013)'s analysis is based on the idea that one copula selects only [+N] complements and the other one is the one that takes everything else, i.e., [-N], making it somehow the default copula. While her analysis of adjectives after *ser* as involving a null nominal element is valid, I do not think that the analysis can be extended to all the other lexical categories that occur after *ser*.

As was mentioned before, *ser* can be followed by NPs, APs, AdvPs, PPs, VPs (passive):

(20)   SER +

      a.   NP - Soy estudiante - I am a student

      b.   APs - Soy simpática - I am nice

      c.   AdvP - La fiesta es allá - The party is there

      d.   PPs - Soy de Buenos Aires - I am from Buenos Aires

      e.   VPs - Ésto fue hecho en China - This was made in China

With respect to PPs, Roy provides the following example:

(21)   Juan es de   Madrid
        Juan is from Madrid
        'Juan is from Madrid'

Her analysis involves a null N element there (as was the case for APs), based on the fact that PP predicates in defining sentences cannot occur with the indefinite article *un* and must occur with the pro-form *uno* instead, and also the fact that the sentence is interpreted as 'Juan is (a person) from Madrid':

(22)   Pedro es un chico de   Barcelona; Juan es uno/*un de   Madrid
        Pedro is a   boy   from Barcelona Juan is one/a   from Madrid
        'Pedro is a boy from Barcelona; Juan is one from Madrid'

Hence, the PP is argued to have a null pro, just like APs after *ser* do.

My main objection to this is that while it may work for certain PPs, the issue is much more complex than it seems at first. The distribution of the two copulas is not only contingent on the lexical category of its complement, but also on the type of subject (at least that is the case with PPs and AdvPs predicates). While it is the case that PPs and AdvPs tend to occur with the copula *estar*, if the subject of the copular sentence denotes an event, then the chosen copula has to be *ser*:

(23)   El libro está   en el jardín / allá   [-eventive subject]
        the book ESTAR.3SG in the garden / there
        'The book is in the garden/there'

(24)   La fiesta es/*está   en el jardín / allá   [+eventive subject]
        the party SER/ESTAR.3SG in the garden / there
        'The party is in the garden/there'

I think it is highly unlikely that (24) includes a null nominal element, as proposed in Roy (2013), given that neither the paraphrase nor the *un/uno* tests work:

(25)   *La fiesta es (una fiesta/un evento) en el   jardín
        the party is a   party/an event   in the garden

(26)   *La fiesta es en el   jardín; el   bautismo   es uno en la   iglesia
        the party is in the garden; the christening is one in the church

While I do think that this aspect of the proposal needs tweaking to account for these facts, as well as the so-called "evidential" uses of *estar* (*La fiesta estuvo divertida*, 'The party was.ESTAR entertaining'), Roy's analysis of the copulas in terms of selectional restrictions is key in accounting for a considerable part of the data.

5.3.3   Gallego and Uriagereka (2009, 2016)

Gallego and Uriagereka's analysis is based on the idea that *estar* derives from *ser* plus the incorporation of a functional (prepositional) element. The logic behind this can be traced back to Benveniste's (1966) proposal about the relationship between HAVE and BE (see also Freeze, 1992). Gallego and Uriagereka argue that the IL/SL distinction is not lexical, but rather follows from the presence of a functional category. *Estar*, as it is often assumed, is the more complex of the two copulas. The syntax of *estar* properly includes the syntax of *ser*:

(27)   a.   [$_{\text{serP}}$ ser [$_{\text{SC}}$ WP YP]]

b.   [$_{\text{estarP}}$ ser [$_{\text{XP}}$ X [$_{\text{SC}}$ WP YP]]] (X then incorporates into *ser*)

c.   [$_{\text{estarP}}$ ser [YP [$_{\text{XP}}$ X [$_{\text{SC}}$ WP t $_{\text{YP}}$]]]] (YP, the predicate, moves up)

The tree structure they propose for *estar* is as follows:

(28)
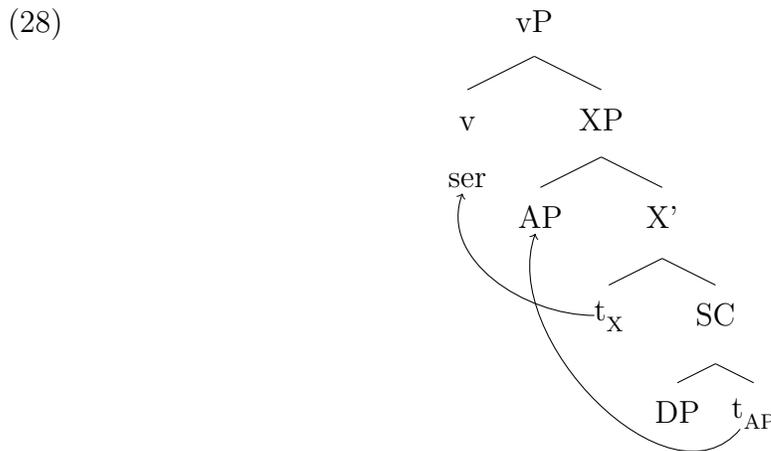
Once X is introduced in the structure, two things happen. First, X is incorporated into *ser* to produce *estar* and then the predicate moves to SpecXP.

The authors correctly note that when it comes to adjectives, both copulas are licensed if the adjectives are in its barest form (e.g. *alto*, 'tall' or *gordo* 'fat'), but, whenever certain affixes are added, only one of the two copulas can be licensed (e.g. most adjectives ending in the suffix *-nte* are selected by *ser* and those with past

participial suffixes (i.e. *-do*) are normally selected by *estar*). They argue, thus, that *ser* is more basic that *estar* since it is licensed whenever the syntax of the selected predicate is less complex than that of the predicates that *estar* combines with.

Predicates that combine with *ser* can be used with *estar* (if there is an appropriate context), but the reverse is not possible. They propose the following generalization:

(29)   *The Aspect Generalization*
         Predicates are selected by *ser* (and superior perfective (SL) predicatives
         are selected by an implicit locative).

         The parenthesized part is to be understood in the sense of the *Else-*
         where Condition: a marked instance of a generalization whose default
         is the rest. We take *estar* to be the lexicalization of the default *ser*
         plus the marked, implicit locative in (29). In sum, selection data argue
         against copulative verb selection being parasitic on lexical properties
         (the imperfective/perfective or IL/SL distinction). Instead, it seems to
         be sensitive to the morpho-symtactic make-up of the relevant predic-
         ates. (Gallego and Uriagereka, 2016, p. 131)

Gallego and Uriagereka (2016) build on Raposo and Uriagereka's (1995) analysis of the SL/IL distinction in configurational terms, based Kuroda's thetic vs. cat-egorical predications:

(30)   a.   all predicates introduce a variable (e)
         b.   all predicates can optionally be associated with a free second-order
                context variable X, whose range, according to Higginbotham (1988),
                is left for the speaker to confine; and
         c.   IL (in these terms "categorical") and SL (in these terms "thetic")
                predications emerge in "surface-syntax" conditions (for instance top-
                icalization) so long as:

d. Either the subject grounds the (categorical) predication or the predicate grounds the (thetic) predication, where:

e. A category A, containing context variable X, *grounds* a predication involving context variable Y if A c-commands the Category B that contains Y:

... [[... X ...] $_A$ ... [... [... Y ...] $_B$ ...]] ...
(Gallego and Uriagereka, 2016, pp. 140-141)

Ser predication sentences are interpreted as categorical in the sense that the quality predicated with this copula is independent from any circumstance. The authors link this to the fact that the subject is somehow scoped out of the domain of the predication. The quality predicated of the subject holds irrespective of contextual confinements. *Estar*, on the other hand, introduces a thetic judgement, where the predicate is in some sense higher than the subject. The subject in this configuration must be grounded on the predication context and, as a result, the quality predicated of the subject holds at some relevant context.

To get this distinction structurally, they assume that *estar* predication has an extra XP projection, as shown in (28). The additional XP projection in *estar* sentences has two consequences: first, morphologically, it builds *estar* from *ser* and secondly, semantically, it is responsible for the predicate to specifier movement. The fact that X attracts the predicate, and not the subject, is linked to the idea that it is this element that determines the choice of the copula. This movement has semantic consequences - it is responsible for the SL/thetic interpretation that arises with *estar* predication: "Once X(P) is merged it probes the adjective, which raises to X(P)'s Spec (Kayne, 2005), from where its context variable can ground the subject's." (Gallego and Uriagereka 2016, p. 146)

They assume that the predicate, and not the subject moves because of last resort

considerations. If the subject moved, the outcome would be vacuous as the contextual dependencies would be replicated.

There are two main issues with this analysis, in my view. The first one is that the assumption is that it is only that predicate that determines the choice of the copula, but it is well-known that subjects play a key role in copula choice as well (cf. Gumiel Molina, 2008; Romero Morales, 2009). Given this, sentences with event noun subjects are a problem, for instance. The second issue is that it is not clear why a preposition appears with *estar* in locatives and with nominal complements if the copula itself is the result of the incorporation of a preposition into *ser*. Having said this, however, I agree with the idea that the distinction between the two verbs is not parasitic on lexical properties.

5.3.4   Zagona (2015)

Zagona analyses the *ser / estar* distinction as a purely syntactic process. There are no semantic differences between the two verbs - there is only one light verb BE that spells out as *estar* when it agrees with a spatial or temporal locative constituent. Spanish *v* can be specified for an uninterpretable locative feature that triggers locative agreement:

(31) $v_{[uLOC]}$ ... $[_{LOCP}$ Loc ...]]

The locative feature does not contribute any meaning to the copula. The semantic values that are normally associated with *estar* stem from the values of the locative complement. "*Estar* is symptomatic of the presence of a locative complement, which has different interpretations according to the type of argument it takes" (Zagona, 2015, p. 6). The locative feature on the copula is a formal feature, merely indicating the presence of a locative constituent. The main argument for this claim that there is no intrinsic semantic difference between the two copulas is the fact that there is no uniform semantic interpretation of *estar* - the semantic

effects associated with *estar* depend on the elements that it combines with, and this follows from an agreement-based approach like this one.

Zagona's work shares some elements with Gallego and Uriagereka's proposal (henceforth G&U), as they both focus on the effects of a preposition or preposition-like element and how it determines the spellout of the verb. There are, however, considerable differences between the two. G&U assume a direct semantic effect in the derivation of *estar*, as what incorporates into BE to derive *estar* is a preposition with a particular semantic value. The result is, as well, that *estar* is syntactically more complex that *ser*. Zagona's work, by contrast, does not involve any incorporation and the semantic effects that exist stem from the context itself, i.e., from the locative phrases in the predicative complement. In this work, *ser* is treated as the elsewhere copula that lacks a distinctive category and selectional properties.

Zagona stresses that the analysis is purely syntactic in the sense that *estar* agrees with a locative but it is insensitive to the features of the locative constituent; the copula is insensitive to whether the locative is spatial or temporal. If the locative constituent is temporal, then a stage-level interpretation arises, but if the locative is spatial, there need not be a temporal restriction - both stage-level and individual-level interpretations are possible:

Spatial location

(32)   El Gran Cañón está/*es en Arizona
        'The Great Canyon is in Arizona' (IL interpretation)

(33)   El avión está en Arizona
        'The plane is in Arizona' (SL interpretation)

Temporal location

(34)   La casa está húmeda (hoy)

'The house is damp (today)' (SL interpretation)

When *estar* takes an adjective as its complement, the only possible reading is stage-level. The [$_u$LOC] feature of the copula forces the adjective to be embedded in a locative phrase, otherwise the uninterpretable feature on BE would remain unvalued. The assumption here is that LOCP is part of the functional projections of the adjectival phrase and it is interpreted as temporal location, as seen in (34).

Adjectives

Zagona assumes both an IL/SL distinction as well as an aspectual distinction to derive the temporal delimitedness of adjectives that occur with *estar*. The IL/SL distinction originates in the functional projections of the adjective, whereas the aspectual distinction is a property of the small clause where the adjective is embedded.

Following Gumiel-Molina, Moreno-Quibén and Pérez Jiménez (2015) (henceforth GMP), Zagona argues that there is a Degree phrase dominating the adjectival phrase. GMP derive the IL/SL distinction from the properties of the the degree phrase - it specifies a comparison class that establishes a standard value for application of the positive degree of the adjective. The idea is that the comparison class can be of two types: either a comparison between individuals (corresponding to an IL reading) or a comparison within individuals (corresponding to the SL interpretation). For example, an adjective such as "intelligent" is evaluated relative to other individuals in a given context, whereas an adjective such as "empty" is not evaluated relative to other individuals, but rather relative to other stages of emptiness of the same individual.

Zagona also assumes that predicative APs are small clauses that are specified for

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aspect but not for tense. The aspectual distinction is restricted to perfective versus imperfective. *Estar*, as expected, is compatible with perfective aspect. Perfective aspect encompasses the entire state, including its onset and end, and it is what links the stages of the adjective to the Reference time of the clause. Imperfective aspect, on the other hand, excludes the boundaries and, as a result, derives a temporally unbounded reading, compatible with an IL interpretation. The derivation of adjectives is as follows:

(35) a. BE [$_{LocP}$ Loc$_{Ti}$ [Aspect [$_{DegP}$ Deg[Class:Stage]$_i$ AdjP]]] (Stage Level)

  b. BE [$_{DegP}$ Deg[Class:Ind]$_i$ AdjP]]]   (Individual Level)

(35-a) is spelled out as *estar* because of locative agreement and (35-b) is spelled out as *ser* as this is a non locative context. In languages like English, for example, both structures exist but they are both spelled out as *be*.

Prepositional Phrases

Prepositional phrases do not have a uniform pattern so it is necessary to distinguish between different subtypes of PPs to explain their behaviour in terms of copula choice. Zagona's generalization is that locative PPs occur with *estar* whereas other PPs take *ser*. It is possible to test whether a prepositional phrase expresses location by checking its compatibility with stative contexts, with verbs like 'remain' or 'stay':

(36) El libro quedó   en / encima de / debajo del   escritorio
     the book remained on / on.top of / under of.the desk
     'The book remained on / on top of / under the desk'

(37) *El libro quedó   del   / al   / hacia el escritorio
     the book remained from.the / to.the / towards the desk
     '*The book remained from/to/towards the desk'

Prepositional phrases of origin and destination can only take *ser*:

(38)   El libro es   / *está   de   Chile
        the book is.SER / is.ESTAR from Chile
        'The book is from Chile'

(39)   Los regalos son   / *están   para los niños
        the gifts   is.SER / is.ESTAR for   the children
        'The gifts are for the children'

Zagona assumes that directional PPs are more complex than locative PPs as they include a PathP on top of Loc, and it is precisely this that blocks the locative agreement that is necessary for *estar* to occur:

(40)   *Locative PP*

```
              LocP
             /    \
          Spec    Loc'
                 /    \
               Loc    DP
               on   the desk
```

(41)   *Directional PP*

```
               PathP
              /     \
           Spec     Path'
                    /    \
                  Path   LocP
                 toward  /    \
                      Spec    Loc'
                             /    \
                           Loc    DP
                           on   the desk
```
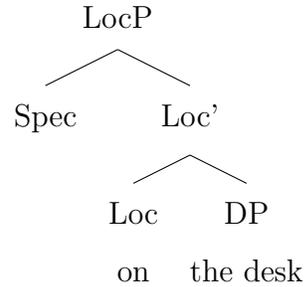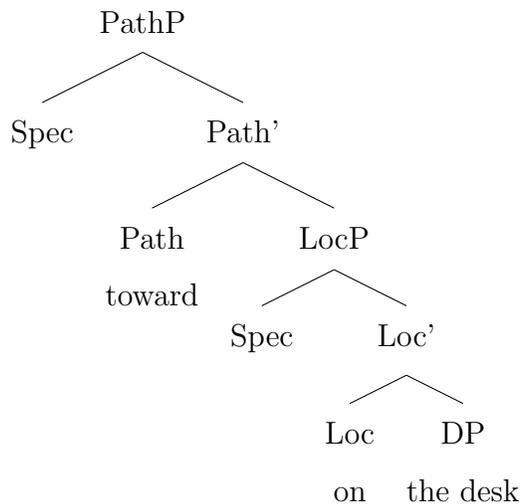
In (41), the presence of PathP is what blocks the agreement between BE and the Locative, hence *estar* cannot occur. The assumption is that Path is a phase head so in the example above, Agree cannot take place as the locative phrase is not on the edge of PathP.

Event Nouns and PPs

It is a well-known fact that event nouns in the context of locative PPs occur with *ser* and not with *estar*:

(42)   La fiesta es / *está en el jardín
        'The party is.SER / *is.ESTAR in the garden'

(43)   La clase es / *está en el cuarto piso
        'The class is.SER / *is.ESTAR on the fourth floor'

Zagona proposes that given that these nouns are eventive, hence have duration and involve transitions over time, they should have a Path component. This path component is what prevents *estar* from checking its locative feature, hence *ser* has to merge instead.

Summarising

The only difference between the two copulas is the feature [uLoc], which is only present for the spellout of *estar*. *Ser* is the elsewhere copula.

In terms of why *estar* does not co-occur with predicate nominals, Zagona proposes that maybe nouns are vague in terms of the IL/SL distinction. Unlike adjectives, which encode this information in the Degree head, nominals do not require a comparison class and it might be due to this that the grammar does not distinguish between bare predicate nominals and those that are temporally restricted. If there is a modifier licensing AspectP, then we can identify the locative+AspectPhrase:

(44)   Juana es / *está socialista

Juana is.SER / *is.ESTAR socialist

(45) Juana *es / está más socialista que nunca

Juana *is.SER / is.ESTAR more socialist than ever

The fact that predicate nominals with *ser* are vague can also be seen in the examples below, where the nominals are compatible with elements that impose a stage-level interpretation:

(46) Juana fue socialista en la década del setenta, pero no ahora

'Juana was.SER socialist in 70s, but not now'

Zagona's analysis is appealing in that it captures a lot of the data by resorting to only one feature as responsible for the distinction between the copulas. I will take from her proposal the idea that *estar* has a locative feature, but I assume that it is not an uninterpretable feature that has to be checked. The reasoning behind this, which will be fleshed out in detail in chapter 6, is that assuming that *estar* has an uninterpretable locative feature causes issue with event nouns. Zagona's analysis accounts for simple event nominals in subject position with locatives by assuming that the event noun, being generated below the copula in a LocP, intervenes and blocks agreement between 'be' and the locative, which means that *estar* cannot occur. However, as we have mentioned on several occasions above, simple event nominals can occur with either copula with adjectives and it is not clear how this analysis would account for this. If event nominals can intervene and block the agreement for *estar* not to occur, how can it sometimes intervene and sometimes not intervene to get both *ser* and *estar* with adjectives?

5.4 A discourse-based perspective

5.4.1 Maienborn (2005)

Maienborn (2005a) proposes a pragmatic analysis to account for the distinction between *ser* and *estar*. Her analysis rejects the traditional view that the copulas exemplify the stage-level, individual-level contrast and shows that both verbs actually pattern alike in failing all of the standard eventuality tests (complements of perception verbs, combination with locative and temporal modifiers as well as manner adverbials and comitatives). Specifically, Maienborn defends the following claims (p. 157):

1. The grammatical system is NOT sensitive to any conceptual opposition like "temporary vs. permanent" or "accidental vs. essential"

2. Neither *ser* predications nor *estar* predications display an underlying eventuality argument.

3. Rather than mirroring a conceptual opposition, the *ser/estar* alternation is basically discourse-related: *estar* predications are linked to a specific discourse situation.

4. A discourse-based account offers a straightforward pragmatic explanation for the TENDENCY of *estar* and *ser* predications to be interpreted in terms of the dichotomy "temporary vs. permanent"

Maienborn shows in detail why the IL/SL distinction cannot be responsible for the distinction between the copulas. If they were, *estar*, which would be the SL member of the pair and the one with a Davidsonian event argument (Kratzer, 1995), should show the behaviour of typical eventualities. Eventualities can be located in space; they are perceptible and they can vary in the way that they are realized. In terms of linguistic diagnostics for eventualities, Maienborn assumes that eventuality expressions can combine with locative and temporal modifiers, as well as with manner adverbials, instrumentals and comitatives and they can also

appear as infinitival complements of perception verbs. If the SL/IL distinction was to account for the distribution of the copulas, we would expect *ser* to fail all of the eventuality tests and *estar* to pass all of them. However, as Maienborn's examples below show, neither copula passes any of the tests:

- Locative modifiers:

(47) *El juguete es   amarillo debajo del   árbol
       the toy   is.SER yellow   under of.the tree
       '*The toy is yellow under the tree'

(48) *La camisa está   mojada sobre la   silla
       the shirt   is.ESTAR wet   on   the chair
       '*The shirt is wet on the chair'

Maienborn stresses the importance of using locative VP-MODIFIERS instead of frame-setting locatives, i.e. SENTENTIAL MODIFIERS for this test. Sentential modifiers are not very useful as a test as both copulas normally combine with them:

(49) En esta región las fresas   son/están   baratas
       in this region the strawberries are.SER/areESTAR cheap
       'In this region, strawberries are cheap'

- Manner adverbials and comitatives:

Typical eventuality expressions combine with manner adverbials and comitatives, as in (50), yet neither *ser* nor *estar* do:

(50) Luchito dormía tranquilamente / con su osito
       Luchito slept   calmly   / with his teddy
       'Luchito slept calmly / with his teddy'

(51) *Las manzanas eran   / estaban   dulces sabrosamente
       the apples   were.SER / were.ESTAR sweet deliciously
       '*The apples were sweet deliciously'

(52) *Luchito estaba   cansado con su osito
      Luchito was.ESTAR tired   with his teddy
      '*Luchito was tired with his teddy'

- Complements of perception verbs:

(53) ??Yo ví   a Carol ser/estar   guapa
      I   saw to Carol be.SER/be.ESTAR beautiful
      '*I saw Carol be beautiful'

(54) ??Yo ví   a la escultura estar   rota
      I   saw to the sculpture be.ESTAR broken
      '*I saw the sculpture be broken'

Given this, Maienborn concludes that there is no good reason to adopt an event-based analysis of the copula. Her proposal argues, instead, for the same lexical semantics for both verbs, with the only difference that *estar* presupposes a relation to a specific discourse situation and the speaker's claim is based on immediate evidence. This idea can be seen as an implementation of Clements's (1988) proposal that the copulas can be distinguished by means of a distinctive semantic feature - [±NEXUS]:

"The basic semantic distinction between *ser* and *estar* is seen in terms of whether a connection to a locus or another situation is presupposed or not. It is argued that *estar* presupposes such a connection ([+NEXUS]) while *ser* does not ([-NEXUS])." (Clements 1988, p. 779).

Maienborn proposes the following lexical entries for *ser* and *estar*:

(55)   *ser*: $\lambda P \lambda x \lambda z$ [z $\approx$ [P(x)]] (= English *be*, German *sein*, etc.)

(56)   *estar*: $\lambda P \lambda x \lambda z$ [z $\approx$ [P(x)] / [s_i | R(z, s_i)]]

Maienborn argues that whereas copulas do not introduce a Davidsonian argument,

they do instead refer to a Kimian state (K-states) (cf. Maienborn, 2005b, 2008):

(57)   K-states:

K-states are abstract objects for the exemplification of a property P for a holder x at a time t.

The lexical entries for the copulas that she proposes introduce a referential argument z for a K-state that is characterized by the predicate P applying to x. *Estar* is different from *ser* in that it has a presupposition that its referential argument z is related to a specific discourse situation (p. 168). The lexical entries proposed show that there are no major differences between the copulas and there are no selectional restrictions on either verb, so both copulas may occur with any predicate whatsoever.

Maienborn assumes that it is aspect that introduces a contextually determined TOPIC TIME, or TOPIC SITUATION s^*. By topic situation she means "the relevant discourse situation to which a speaker restricts his or her claim, the speaker being able to relate this claim to specific as well as nonspecific/arbitrary topic situations" (p. 169). When a speaker uses *estar*, they restrict their claim to a particular discourse situation, whereas, by using *ser*, there is no such constraint.

If a speaker restricts their claim to a particular discourse situation, that means that there are other alternatives to s^* to which the predication does not apply, i.e. a topic situation contrast. Maienborn claims that there are at least three dimensions to establish a s^* contrast:

(58)   a.   Temporal dimension: The current topic situation contrasts with previous or later topic situations in which the predicate does not apply to the subject referent.

b.   Spatial dimension: The current topic situation contrasts with differently localized topic situations in which the predicate does not apply

to the subject referent.

    c.   Epistemic dimension: The current topic situation contrasts with topic situations that do not allow to decide whether the predicate applies to the subject referent or not. (Maienborn, 2005a, p. 172)

For instance,

(59)   La carretera es   ancha
             the road   is.SER wide
             'The road is wide'

(60)   La carretera está   ancha
             the road   is.ESTAR wide
             'The road is wide'

Temporal dimension contrast: the road might be under construction and the speaker utters (60) if the road is wider than it normally is or than it will be. The contrast in spatial dimension with respect to (60) would be if the road that the speaker is describing is wider compared to other parts of the same road. The epistemic dimension is the one that leads to the *discovery interpretation* of *estar* (connected to Querido's (1976) claim that *estar* is the copula to report a first sensorial experience) - in this case the speaker is seeing the road for the first time.

Maienborn's claim that any copula can occur with any predicate whatsoever is problematic inasmuch as *estar* does not normally occur with nominal complements. It is indeed possible to think of a context of a copula + noun that is based on immediate evidence or is linked to a discourse situation, yet *estar* is not possible in those cases (unless we are talking about degree nouns + estar, which will be discussed in the next chapter):

(61)   *Está   camarero en un bar
           is.ESTAR waiter   in a   bar
           'He is working as a waiter in a bar' (intended)

Roby's (2009) assessment of Maienborn's analysis is that in principle, any kind of predicate can combine with either copula, but if the result is pragmatically odd or semantically ill-formed, then the derivation would be blocked. Referring specifically to the impossibility of having nominals after *estar* he claims that the nominals "represent predicates that *identify* their subjects in some way and thus do not apply to them any specific period of time. Since such a predicate, by its very nature, cannot apply to its reference at any specific period of time, a topic situation contrast cannot be established" (Roby, 2009, p. 68). This assertion simply cannot be true. We can add the temporal modifier "por un día", 'for a day' to make a specific period of time overt and even then, *estar* is not acceptable in that context:

(62) *Estuvo   profesor por un día
        was.ESTAR teacher for a   day
       'He was a teacher for a day'

Hence, selectional restrictions of some kind, as postulated by Roy (2013), for instance, do have a role to play in copula distribution. It cannot simply be all down to the semantics and pragmatics components.

In addition, with locatives, the copula used is *estar*, irrespective of whether there is a specific discourse situation or not:

(63)   Roma está   / *es   en Italia
       Rome is.ESTAR / is.SER in Italy
        "Rome is in Italy"

Whereas Maienborn actually does not discuss locatives in her paper, Roby (2009) tries to account for their uses using Maeinborn's analysis. He claims that the specific topic situation in this case would denote the physical location of the subject and it would contrast with all other physical locations in the universe of discourse (Roby, 2009, p. 73).

More problematic is the fact that when giving directions, the copula of choice is *ser*, and not *estar*, even when, presumably, the speaker is restricting their claim to a specific topic situation:

(64)   El baño   es por ahí
        the bathroom is by   there
        "The bathroom is over there."

It is also difficult to account for the fact that event nouns when combined with PPs or adverbs take *ser* and not *estar*:

(65)   La clase es en el   aula 9 / a las 5.
        the class is in the room 9 / at the 5
        "The class in in room 9 / at 5 o'clock."

Maienborn's observations about the (lack of a) role of the IL/SL distinction in the distribution of the copulas, the evidentiality effects of *estar* and the role of pragmatic factors are indeed important points to take into account. Her assertion that there are no selectional restrictions present, though, is problematic, even after taking into account Roby's observations, as was shown in the examples above. Semantics/Pragmatics alone cannot possibly account for the whole picture.

5.5   Other approaches

5.5.1   Gumiel-Molina, Moreno-Quibén, Pérez-Jiménez (2015)

Gumiel-Molina, Moreno-Quibén and Pérez-Jiménez's proposal (henceforth, Gumiel-Molina et al.) offers an interesting analysis of the distribution of adjectives with the two copulas based on the idea of comparison classes.

The idea of analysing the dichotomy *ser* vs *estar* in terms of comparisons has been postulated by many scholars. Bolinger (1947) argued that *estar* was a marker of self-comparison: "*estar* is used for comparisons within a given genus: comparison of a thing with its archetype or with previous succeeding stages of itself" (p. 365).

Similarly, Franco and Steinmetz (1983, 1986) in their analysis of *ser* and *estar* + adjectives concluded that *ser* is the copula used for comparisons between an entity with another, whereas *estar* was used for comparisons between an entity and itself. These authors have also noted that, while that generalisation works in a large number of cases, there are examples that contradict their point. They provide the following example (Franco and Steinmetz, 1986, p. 381):

(66)   Este acero está   duro
       this steel is.ESTAR hard
       'This steel is hard'

The example above can be uttered even if the person is experiencing that particular steel for the first time. Hence, the comparison here is not between X (this steel) and previous states of the same X, but rather, between X and an anticipated state. They also build on Roldán's (1974) examples:

(67)   Esta playa es   buena
       this beach is.SER good
       'This beach is good'

(68)   Esta playa está   buena
       this beach is.ESTAR good
       'This beach is good'

In Roldán's work, the difference between (67) and (68) stems from the speaker's familiarity with the beach in question.

In Franco and Steinmetz's analysis, (68) can either be interpreted either as a comparison between X (this beach) now with its previous state, or as a comparison between X (in reality) and an anticipated state, i.e. the speaker's expectation. The anticipated state interpretation that Franco and Steinmetz (1983, 1986) propose is interesting in that it takes into account a reading that an analysis in terms of within-individual comparison would not be able to account for. However, 'anticip-

ated state' is not the most suitable explanation for some of these cases. As has been noted in the literature (cf. Roby, 2009), there are cases with *estar* + adjective that cannot be accounted for:

(69)   Estas empanadas están   buenísimas
        these empanadas are.ESTAR amazing
        'These empanadas are amazing"

A speaker may utter (69) even when tasting them for the first time. Hence, in this case, there might not be prior expectations as to what empanadas should taste like, nor would it be possible to interpret it as a within-individual comparison, i.e., the pasties now vs. the pasties' previous state. These are the cases that Camacho (2015) has analysed as evidentials, but which I will treat as an instance of a sentence with a silent dative experiencer whose point of view is being provided.

Gumiel-Molina et al. (2015), building on these previous insights, assume that the relevant property of adjectives underlying copula distribution is the dichotomy relative vs. absolute. This distinction is best characterized in terms of comparison classes, and not, gradability (for an analysis based on scale structure cf. Gumiel-Molina and Pérez-Jiménez, 2012). *Estar* is the copula that occurs with absolute adjectives, whereas *ser* occurs with relative ones.

Gumiel-Molina et al. follow Toledo and Sassoon (2011)'s proposal that 1) all gradable adjectives are evaluated with respect to a comparison class and 2) to distinguish between relative and absolute adjectives it is necessary to look at the way the comparison class and the standard degree of evaluation are established.

The class of comparison of relative adjectives contains other individuals sharing the relevant property, which determines the standard value. This is referred to as *between-individuals comparison class*. For instance, *He is tall* – "relative adjectives are decoded relative to an extensional category, generating a 'between-individuals

interpretation' in which an individual is compared to other distinct individuals within the index of evaluation (which are also members of the category containing the individual the adjective is predicated of)" (Gumiel-Molina et al., 2015, p. 972).

By contrast, the class of comparison of absolute adjectives contains other stages of the same individual showing different degrees of the property in question. One of these degrees is the one that constitutes the standard value (*within-individual comparison class*). For example, *The glass is full*, where the comparison is not between different glasses, but rather between different stages of fullness.

Entailment patterns can be used as a test for the relative/absolute distinction, "based on the existence of a default correlation between *between-individuals* comparison classes and mid-point standards and *within-individual* comparison classes and class-minimal/class-maximal standards." (Gumiel et al. 2015: 975):

(70)   Absolute Adjectives

   a.   Juan está   más cansado que Pedro → Juan está   cansado
        Juan is.ESTAR more tired   than Pedro → Juan is.ESTAR tired
        Class-minimal standard: X is more ADJ than Y → X is ADJ.

   b.   El vaso está   más lleno que la   taza → La taza no
        the glass is.ESTAR more full   than the cup → the cup not
        está   llena.
        is.ESTAR full
        Class-maximal standard: X is more ADJ than Y → Y is NOT ADJ.

(71)   Relative Adjectives

   a.   Juan es   más cauto   que Pedro ↛ Juan/Pedro (no) es
        Juan es.SER more cautious than Pedro ↛ Juan/Pedro (not) be
        cauto
        cautious.
        Relative adjectives: X is more ADJ than Y ↛ X/Y is (not) ADJ.

   b.   El gato es   más inquieto que el   perro, aunque ambos
        the cat is.SER more restless than the dog   although both

son   tranquilos
are.ARE calm
"The cat is more restless than the dog, although both of them are
calm animals."

Unlike Toledo and Sassoon, Gumiel et al. argue against a lexicalist explanation of
the relative/absolute distinction. Gumiel et al. argue that the comparison class is
linked syntactically to the presence of a functional projection within DegP. They
assume that the head of DegP contains the degree morpheme *pos*, which is re-
sponsible for introducing the type of comparison class, which is in turn responsible
for the relative/absolute characterization of the adjective.

One of the consequences of this proposal is that, in principle, it should be possible
for any gradable adjective to occur with either copula. If being relative/absolute is
not a lexical specification of the adjective, but rather, a result of a syntactic node,
then there is nothing blocking any adjective from occurring with either *ser* or
estar. Gumiel et al. assume that this is indeed the case. For those adjectives that
are more resistant to occurring with *estar* (the ones that Escandell and Leonetti
(2002) analyse in terms of coercion), Gumiel et al. follow the grammaticalization
principle proposed by Toledo and Sassoon (2011), which is a kind of pragmatic
principle that triggers an individual-comparison class interpretation as the default
one for dispositional adjectives, such as *inteligente* ('intelligent'):

(72)   Grammaticalization principle: the type of standard that is usually selected
         for an adjective is encoded as a default convention. (Toledo and Sassoon
         2011).

Dispositional properties are less likely to be interpreted as predicates of stages of
the subject, which is why, when they occur with *estar*, they sound more marked/
coerced.

The one extra assumption is that there are two types of adjectives that do not show

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this variable behaviour. Perfective adjectives (always occurring with *estar*), such as *cerrado* ('closed'), and relational adjectives (always occurring with *ser*) are invariable. Perfective adjectives cannot be modelled in terms of a between-comparison class, and relational adjectives (such as, *socialista* ('socialist')) are analysed syntactically as nouns, hence their occurrence only with *ser*.

Another interesting aspect of their proposal is that they take into account the so-called evidential uses of *estar*, such as:

(73)   El jamón serrano estaba   delicioso
        the ham   serrano was.ESTAR delicious
        "The serrano ham was delicious"

In this case, we would expect a within-individual comparison, but the reading we get is not comparing the subject ('the ham') in connection to previous stages of its existence, but rather to the typical perceptions about hams that the speaker has. What triggers the absolute reading of the adjective in this case is an implicit experiencer. This point goes against the lexicalist view of Toledo and Sassoon, as it cannot be the case that the comparison class is lexically encoded in each adjective.

Estar is a verbaliser that takes as complement a PredP that includes stages of the subject, whereas *ser* takes a PredP complement that does not contain these stages. Their proposal is attractive in that it takes into account the subject as one of the factors that is responsible for copula selection. They assume that what determines the choice of *between-individuals* vs. *within-individual* comparison class has to do with two grammatical factors. The first one is that to be able to occur in a *within-individual* comparison class, the subject of predication needs to be subject to variation in terms of the property in question in the real world. If there is no possible interpretation of the subject having different stages in time, then the within-individual reading is not acceptable. The second factor is that the adjective itself needs to be able to be modelled in terms of both comparison

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classes. Perfective adjectives, as was mentioned above, are incompatible with a between-individuals reading, for instance.

The proposal is appealing in that it captures the behaviour of adjectives and copulas in a simple and elegant manner. What is not accounted for, though, is how the system could work with PPs or adverbial complements, such as the ones expressing location, given that these do not seem to be evaluated against a comparison class.

5.5.2 Camacho (2015)

Camacho brings an interesting link between Spanish copulas and Tibetan evidentials. He argues that both elements have aspectual restrictions and evidential uses, which can be derived by assuming that there is one key property – gradability. Gradability establishes a comparison either between individuals, yielding *ser* predicates, or a comparison within individuals, yielding *estar* predicates. Camacho argues that a within-individual comparison has to be contextually located and it is this location requirement that results in the possibility of evidential readings. The idea that *estar* can express some kind of evidential use as in *'Este jamón está fenomenal'* (This ham is phenomenal) has been explored before but Camacho's contribution is to attempt to explain the connection between evidentiality and stage-levelhood.

To account for the distribution of adjectival and nominal predicates, the author proposes both lexical-semantic and pragmatic constraints. Adjectival predicates establish a comparison class that compares the relevant property to either other individuals or to the same individual. Nouns, on the other hand, are not gradable in the same way adjectives are and, hence there is no within individual comparison class.

The aspectual qualities of *estar* are widely known. Predicates that occur with *estar*

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are usually interpreted as delimited. Because of this, certain predicates only occur with *ser* (e.g. *inteligente*, 'intelligent') or *estar* (e.g. *lleno*, 'full') depending on their meaning, although, as we have noted before, coercion from a *ser* predicate to an *estar* predicate is possible (e.g. *¡Hoy estás muy inteligente!*, 'Today you are very intelligent!). It is also possible to find predicates that occur with both copulas and that are interpreted as delimited if used with *estar* (e.g. *estar feliz*, 'be happy') and as non-delimited if used with *ser* (e.g. *ser feliz*, 'be (generally) happy').

Evidential uses of estar

Maienborn assumes that *estar* occurs when the speaker has immediate evidence (cf. Escandell-Vidal and Leonetti, 2002 and Roby, 2009). The examples below, for instance, are appropriate when there is accessible evidence, whereas the same statements with *ser* would simply be statements about the subjects:

(74)   Este jamón serrano está   fenomenal
        this ham   Serrano is.ESTAR wonderful
        'This Serrano ham is wonderful'

(75)   La hermana de Pepe está   linda
        the sister   of Pepe is.ESTAR pretty
        'Pepe's sister is pretty'

<div align="right">(Examples from Roby, 2009)</div>

However, it is not the case that all instances of *estar* lead to evidential readings. As can be seen below, the evidential content seems to depend on whether the predicate is evaluative or not:

(76)   a. Cuando Juan llegó   a su casa, la puerta estaba   abierta
            when   Juan arrived to his house the door   was.ESTAR open
            'When Juan arrived home, the door was open'

        b. Me dijeron   que el trabajo estaba   flojo
            me told.3PL that the paper   was.ESTAR weak
            'They told me that the paper was weak'

Camacho notes that *estar* is compatible with both direct and indirect evidence, which is not the typical behaviour of true evidential morphemes as these are not ambiguous between different sources of evidence. This leads him to suggest that the evidential meaning of *estar* is not part of the intrinsic lexical meaning of the copula, but rather it is indirectly derived. For instance, demonstratives favour an evidential reading, whereas generics disfavour it.

Further proof that *estar* can lead to some evidential meaning is the fact that this copula appears with the same type of predicates that can occur as predicates of perception verbs.

(77)   Te escuché   triste
        you heard.2SG sad
        'I heard you sad'

(78)   Estás   / *Sos   triste
        is.ESTAR / is.SER sad
        'You are sad'

Perception verbs have some evidential component as those verbs involve some type of evidence about the complement of the verb.

Tibetan evidential 'dug

The Tibetan morpheme *'dug* has been classed as a direct evidential (cf. Garrett, 2001) or as a more complex element that interacts with the main verb's aktionsart and with its own aspectual properties (cf. Agha, 1993). Besides being evidential, *'dug* also has aspectual properties - imperfective for Agha (1993) and stage-level for Garrett (2001). Camacho summarises the similarities between *estar* and *'dug* in the following table:

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Table 5.2: Camacho (2015) Aspectual properties of Spanish SL copula and Tibetan SL evidential 'dug

Property	Tibetan 'dug	Example	Spanish estar	Example
Evidentiality	oblig.	*kho da.lta kha.lag za-gi-'dug* 'He's eating now (e.g. I see him)'	Possible	*Este jamón está bueno* 'This ham is very good'
Person effects	Yes	*nga/*kho grod.khog ltog-gi-'dug* 'I/*he is hungry'	No	*Estoy/está hambriento* 'I am/he is hungry'
Cop+DP	No		No	*Está presidente*
Lingering endpoint	Yes	*kho gzzhas btang 'dug* 'He is singing/has sung'	Yes	*Está feliz* 'S/he is happy'

One approach to account for the overlap between Tibetan *'dug* and Spanish *estar* is to use Kratzer's (1995) account of the SL/IL distinction. The idea would be to assume that *estar* and *'dug*, being SL elements, have a spatiotemporal argument which needs to be anchored to a specific time and location and this, in turn, tends to favour a situation where the speaker has direct evidence. This is what Escandell-Vidal and Leonetti (2002) propose for *estar*.

Camacho presents Kalsang et al.'s (2013) observation that *'dug* is not SL, but rather, imperfective. If *'dug* was SL, then it should only be compatible with SL predicates or with IL predicates that are coerced into an SL interpretation. They provide the following examples to prove this point:

(79)   Ipad de tso zhe drag yang po 'dug
        Ipad are very light   EVID
        "Ipads are very light"

(80)   Chu   sring la   so   rnon po 'dug
        Alligators LOC sharp teeth   EVID
        "Alligators have sharp teeth"

        (examples from Kalsang et al., 2013, ex. 54)

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These predicates are not coerced into a delimited reading, "but rather it signals that the speaker came to know the relevant property at some specific time or location. In other words, these examples involve restricted topic situations, not coerced SL predication" (Camacho, 2015, p. 183). Camacho suggests that 'dug involves a within individual comparison class that has to be located.

Similarly, the author argues against analysing *estar* as the SL copula. He mentions that frequency adverbs, for instance, which favour an SL reading, are possible with both *ser* and *estar*:

(81)   En esa época, Luisa estaba disponible varias veces al día
         "During that period, Luisa was.sl available several times a day"

(82)   En esa época, Luisa era altruista varias veces al día
         "During that period, Luisa was.il altruistic several times a day"

The second example above has a coerced SL reading, yet the copula is not *estar*. Another argument against the SL analysis of *estar* comes from Maienborn (2005), as noted above but repeated here – a location PP adjunct cannot modify *estar* + predicate, which is unexpected if *estar* has a spatiotemporal predicate:

(83)   *La camisa está mojada sobre la silla
         "The shirt is.ESTAR wet on the chair

Another mismatch which is unexpected if the copulas exemplified the SL/IL distinction is connected to conditional clauses, as noted by Schmitt (1996). Only *estar* clauses should appear as the restrictor of a "when" conditional; however, there are also cases with *ser* in this context, in both Brazilian Portuguese and Spanish:

(84)   Siempre que María es cruel, ella es realmente cruel
         always   that Mary is cruel, she is really   cruel
         'Whenever Mary is cruel, she is really cruel'

For Camacho, evidentiality is the default by-product of the aspectual meaning and the differences between *'dug* and *estar* have to do with stricter mapping for the Tibetan evidential. Camacho's analysis builds on Gumiel-Molina and Pérez-Jiménez's (2012) idea that gradable adjectives represent either absolute or relative properties. An absolute reading corresponds to the within individual comparison class whereas relative interpretations establish a comparison between individuals. Absolute adjectives occur with *estar*, relative ones with *ser*.

Camacho assumes that within individual comparisons need individuation through location and because of this, evidentiality can become salient. The more evidential cues available, the easier for an evidential interpretation to arise. By contrast, between individual comparisons do not need individuation through location since they apply to different individuals. As a result, evidentiality does not become salient. This follows from the following observations: in the *estar* + adjective cases, the class of comparison is formed by individual property/slice pairs, whereas in the *ser* + adjective cases, the comparison is formed of individuals. In the former case, given that comparison applies to a single individual, the individual/property-slice pair needs to be individuated as the pairs lack existential import by themselves. Individuation basically anchors it to a given location/time and this makes evidentiality potentially salient. Between individual comparisons, by contrast, can be carried out without any further operation.

The formal proposal Camacho argues for is that within individual comparisons arise when the predicate takes scope over the subject and between individual differences arise when the subject takes scope over the predicate:

(85) Structure for within-individual predicates (with *estar*)

```
              VP
             /  \
         estar   DegP
                /    \
             Deg      DegP
                     /    \
                   DP     Deg
```
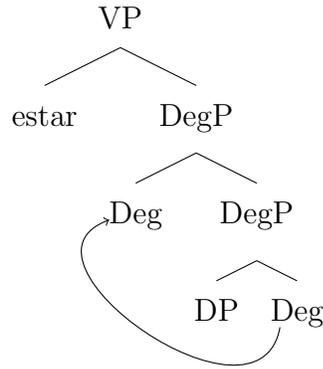
(86) Structure for between-individual predicates (with *ser*)

```
           VP
          /  \
        ser   DegP
             /    \
           DP     Deg
                   |
                  Deg
```
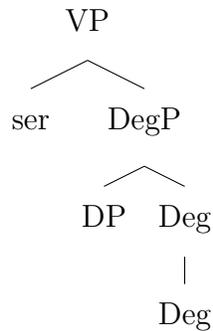
The assumption is that Deg raises to the spec of DegP and that Deg holds the relative/absolute properties of the adjective. The slice-of-subject reading is the result of the semantic meaning of the gradable predicate together with the scope relations seen above. Similarly to Gallego and Uriagereka (2016), Camacho (2015) follows Raposo and Uriagereka's treatment of IL clauses as categorical and SL clauses as thetic, with the distinction following from the relative scope of the subject and predicate: if the subject is higher, then a categorial judgement emerges (*ser* predication); if the predicate is higher, then a thetic one arises *estar* predication).

Regarding the impossibility of *estar* and '*dug* with nominal expressions, the author claims that it is due to the lack of gradability of the DP/NPs and, as a result, they cannot establish a comparison class by themselves. Nominal phrases lack the functional projection DegP.

Following Constantinescu (2011), who assumes that gradability involves the pres-

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ence of a salient ordering in the domain of an adjective (but not in the case of nouns, which cannot establish such an ordering), Camacho ascribes the ungrammaticality of *estar* + DP/NP to the lack of ordered domains for nominal expressions. The assumption is, of course, that the preposition *de*, 'of', can introduce the necessary ordering domains. *De* is then the head 'pos' and it is what makes the DP become gradable:

(87)   *Está   enfermera
        is.ESTAR nurse
        "She is a nurse" (intended)

(88)   Está   de enfermera en este hospital
        Is.ESTAR of nurse   in this hospital
        "She is (working as) a nurse in this hospital"

Camacho's conclusions :

Constraints needed to explain the distribution of the two copulas:

- Aspectual: whether the predicate is gradable or not (*estar* only occurs with absolute predicates and within individual comparisons; *ser* occurs with relative predicates and between individual comparisons).

- Pragmatic: this constraint facilitates evidential interpretations for absolute predicates. "Within individual comparisons give rise to individual/property-slice pairs that need to be individuated by locating them. Once located, evidentiality can be readily expressed." (Camacho 2015, p.)

Camacho's paper is interesting in that it focuses on one of the readings that appears with *estar* that not many analyses take into account. I will take from this his assumption that gradability is a key factor in this as I think it makes the right predictions, even in the case of nominal predicates. Camacho notes that nominals do not occur after *estar* because of their lack of ordering domains. However, as we will see in the next chapter, nominals that have a gradable interpretation

are actually attested after *estar*, in line with Camacho's proposal. What it not immediately obvious to me is why, in his analysis, the preposition *de* in the *estar de* cases mentioned above, can make the DP gradable, given that the semantic contribution of *de* has nothing intrinsically related to gradability.

5.6   Chapter summary

The analyses presented in this chapter are some of the latest developments regarding the two copulas in Spanish. As, I hope, is evident from this discussion, the issue is so complex that there is still no agreement in terms of what the source of the distinction should be. Below is a table that summarises the key idea in each of the proposals discussed, together with the problematic issues each of them faces:

Table 5.3: *Ser* and *Estar* review summary

Author	Proposal	Comments
Brucart (2012)	*Estar* carries an interpretable feature of terminal coincidence. *Ser* is the unmarked copula	While his analysis can account for most of the data, including event nouns + PPs, it cannot get the distribution of event N + adjectives (specifically, the so-called evidential cases). Agree with the idea of a feature to account for the distinction.
Roy (2013)	*Ser* combines only with nouns while *estar* combines with anything but nominals	Selectional restrictions play a role in copula distribution, which is an aspect I take from this proposal. Some tweaking is needed to account for nominals after *estar* as well as copular sentences with event N as subjects.
Gallego and Uriagereka (2009, 2016)	*Ser* is the unmarked copula. *Estar = ser +* a functional (prepositional) element	It does not take into account the subject in the distribution of the copulas, hence event N, for instance, are an issue.

Author	Proposal	Comments
Zagona (2015)	*Ser* is the elsewhere copula; *estar* has an uninterpretable locative feature	Her approach can capture most of the data (including non-verbal predicates) by resorting to only one feature. The only cases that are not accounted for are event N + adjectives (specifically, the evidential cases). I will take from her work the idea that *estar* has a locative feature, but, I claim the feature should be interpretable, rather than uninterpretable.
Maienborn (2005a)	*Estar* is linked to a particular discourse situation	Interesting contribution which discards the IL/SL distinction as relevant to explain the distribution of the copulas. However, a semantics/pragmatics only account cannot explain all the data, e.g. there are no selectional restrictions at play, so it is not obvious why role nouns, for instance cannot occur after *estar* if we restric them to a particular discourse situation.
Gumiel-Molina et al. (2015)	*Ser* occurs with relative adjectives whereas *estar* occurs with absolute ones	Very attractive proposal to account for adjectives, but unclear how to extend this to other predicates, like PPs or AdvP, which are not evaluated against a comparison class.
Camacho (2015)	Gradability establishes a comparison class yielding *ser* for between individuals comparison and *estar* for within-individual comparisons. The latter type must be contextually located, which makes evidential readings more salient	His contribution dealt with the so-called evidential readings of *estar*, which have been less discussed in the literature. Not obvious how to extend to other predicates, though.

In the following chapter, I provide my own account of the distribution of the two copulas.

Chapter 6

Analysing the two copulas

As we have seen in the previous chapter, the proposals on *ser* and *estar* have been innumerable and scholars have approached the issue from all possible sides - appealing to aspectual distinctions, purely syntactic features, semantic/pragmatic proposals and even links to evidentiality. It is clear that the problem is very complex and that our current understanding of linguistics is still not enough to provide a definite solution. Many extremely talented linguists tried to analyse this topic and, even though considerable progress has been made since the first accounts based on a temporary vs. permanent dichotomy to explain this distinction, it is still not obvious how to put all the pieces of the puzzle together.

Some proposals only focused on the distribution of adjectives, which is of course the biggest problem in terms of data size (e.g. Gumiel-Molina et al., 2015; Maienborn, 2005a, a.o.), but it is not clear, at least to me, how to extend their analyses to other types of predicates, such as PPs, for instance. Zagona (2015), in my view, is the one that comes closer to accounting for all the data as she analyses APs, PPs and also non-verbal predicates. As I mentioned in the previous chapter, her proposal needs to be tweaked to account for the use of both copulas with adjectives and simple event nominals, as well as the so-called evidential uses of *estar*. Some other proposals, like Camacho (2015), focused mainly on the evidential uses of *estar*, which is an aspect of the data that has not been taken into account in most proposals even though it is a point that has been noticed in the literature long ago

(see, for instance, Roldán, 1974).

Brucart's (2012) contribution has been of particular interest to me as I share the intuition that some system of valuing/blocking features is the way to formally provide some kind of an analysis, although, as I said before, this is just one form of implementing a working solution. I think that there is still a lot more to know about copulas, predication and the grammatical faculty in general before we arrive at a decent answer.

In this chapter, I will provide a small contribution to the debate by adopting and modifying certain elements present in various proposals to try to overcome some of the problems they faced. I am hoping that, even though I will not be providing the final word on this matter, I will at least enrich the discussion by trying to fill some of the gaps and by providing some, to the best of my knowledge, novel data in terms of nominals occurring after *estar* that might shed some light on this issue. I knew from the very beginning that this was not a particularly easy problem to solve, especially considering the number of people that have worked on this before, but, if I manage to look at the problem from a slightly different perspective and bring new data into the picture, I will be advancing the discussion.

6.1   A first approximation

If I had to explain how *ser* and *estar* differ without resorting to complicated formalisms, I would say that a good approximation would be to use set theory. *Ser* is the copula that expresses proper inclusion and *estar* is the one that gives you an intersection, as shown below:

(1)   Ser
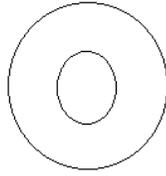
(2)   Estar
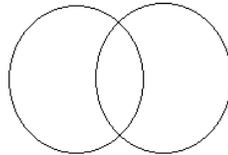
I will use the Venn diagrams above to explain the following contrasts:

(3)   a.   ser alto = be (a) tall (person)
       b.   estar alto = (of a child) be tall (now)

(4)   a.   ser camarero = be a waiter
       b.   estar de camarero = be of waiter

(5)   a.   La fiesta es en el jardín = The party is.SER in the garden
       b.   El libro está en el jardín = The book is.ESTAR in the garden

(6)   a.   Las tortas son buenísimas = The cakes are.SER amazing
       b.   Las tortas están buenísimas = The cakes are.ESTAR amazing

If we take the pair in (3), sentence (3-a) implies that the subject of which being tall is predicated is properly contained in the set of tall people. By contrast, (3-b) only gives us an intersection: it is not the case that the subject X is contained in the set of tall people, but rather, X merely intersects with it, giving rise to some sort

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of temporary reading, typically associated with *estar*. X is not a tall person per se, but certain parts/slices/intervals of X are. Sentence (3-b) is only uttered when referring to children, as their degree of tallness changes over time. (3-b) means that the individual X is tall now, compared to previous intervals of X where X was of a lower stature. For obvious reasons, then, (3-b) cannot be uttered to refer to adults, unless we are talking about an *Alice in Wonderland* type of scenario where individuals can change size after drinking a potion.

The second pair of sentences, (4), show the contrast between *ser + N* and *estar de + N*. The *estar de* construction has not really received a lot of attention. It tends to be mentioned only in passing just to point out the (not entirely accurate) fact that *estar* does not combine with nominals and that is why the dummy preposition *de*, 'of', is inserted. I will discuss this construction in detail below but for now, I will focus on the meaning difference between (4-a) and (4-b).

By uttering (4-a), we are placing the subject X within the set of waiters (i.e., a defining reading, as discussed in chapter 4). By contrast, *estar de* predication gives us a different interpretation. When we say *X está de camarero*, what we actually mean is that X is NOT a real waiter, but just happens to be working as one. Hence, in this scenario, X does not really fully belong to the set of waiters, but he is somewhat connected to it by virtue of carrying out the activity. That is precisely what the intersection representation of *estar* is meant to capture.

If we have a look at the pair in (5), we can find a different, but related type of contrast. As was discussed at length in the previous chapter, event nominals in subject position have been an issue for pretty much everyone working on the copulas. Event nominals always appear with *ser*[1]. How do the sets represent the contrast between '*La fiesta es en el jardín*' and '*El libro está en el jardín*'. I suggest that '*La fiesta es en el jardín*' is a case of proper inclusion in the sense that

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[1]Unless a different, non-eventive interpretation is desired, of course.

the event nominal, *la fiesta*, is defined by its location. The party ceases to exist if we remove its location. Events happen at a certain place at a certain time - time, location (and possibly participants) are core elements that define and make up an event. Hence, it is in this sense that *la fiesta* is properly included in *en el jardín*. It would seem that the event and location have such a close tie that it is not possible to conceive of the event if we alter the location. There is a sense in which if the location is no longer available, then the event terminates.

For instance, if we think of a scenario where there is a party that is happening in different places, as in a party that starts in house A, then moves to house B and so on, Spanish speakers would tend to avoid using any of the copulas to describe that situation:

(7) ??La fiesta fue en la casa de Pepe y ahora es en la casa de Lucas.
      'The party was.SER in Pepe's house and is.SER now in Lucas' house.

(8) *La fiesta estuvo en la casa de Pepe y ahora está en la casa de Lucas.
      'The party was.ESTAR in Pepe's house and is.ESTAR now in Lucas' house.

It is possible to have *estar* in some of these sentences but, the subject in these cases loses its eventive interpretation and can only be interpreted as "the group of people involved in X":

(9)   La manifestación ahora está cerca del   Obelisco
       the demonstration now   is   close of.the Obelisk
       'The demonstration is now close to the Obelisk'

In (9), the subject 'manifestación' is not interpreted as an event, but rather as the group of people participating in it. Similarly, if we talk about a class being taught in the street or in a public space (which is a common measure taken as part of a strike/demonstration in Argentina, for instance), it is possible to utter:

(10)   La clase ahora está en la entrada del Lenguas
        the class now is in the entrance of.the Lenguas
        'The class is now at the entrance to the Lenguas'

but *la clase* 'the class' does not refer to the event, rather to the group of students/lecturers involved in it.

Other non-eventive locative statements are predicted to occur with *estar* as they do not involve proper inclusion. What I mean by this is that when we utter (5-b), *'El libro está en el jardín'*, the subject does not cease to exist if we remove the location, as is the case with event nominals. There is a sense in which what we are actually talking about is some stage of "bookness". The book is still a book if you remove or alter its location, but the party ceases to be an event (or at least ceases to be the same event) if you do the same. Hence, an event nominal is fully included/contained in the location set, whereas only a slice/interval of 'book' is in (5-b).

Finally, let's have a look at the last pair of sentences: *'Las tortas son buenísimas'* vs. *'Las tortas están buenísimas'*. The first one, (6-a), is a sort of generic statement about cakes, namely that they are wonderful/delicious, etc. This falls nicely within the set diagrams above. Predication with *ser* gives rise to proper inclusion - the cakes are properly contained within the set of delicious/wonderful things. Example (6-b) is an example of what people have referred to as evidential uses of *estar*. Here the interpretation is that the cakes are delicious because I have tasted them. It follows, thus, that the cakes do not necessarily belong to the set of delicious things, but rather it is my opinion/point of view that they have that quality.

I think, then, that approaching this issue from a proper inclusion vs. intersection contrast can capture the facts. Predication with *ser* equals proper inclusion whereas predication with *estar* only gives an intersection. As it stands, there is nothing intrinsic about *estar* in terms of being temporary, but this follows, again,

from the type of subject and predicate involved. For instance, in *'estar alto'*, if the subject is an animate entity, then the interpretation is that a given slice/interval of the subject intersects with the set of tall things, hence the subject is tall at a given interval. If, however, the same predicate was predicated of an inanimate entity, the result would sound pragmatically very odd, unless we can think of a context that lends itself to an interpretation of different slices/intervals of an inanimate subject. A sentence like *'La muñeca está alta'*, 'The doll is tall', is odd unless we can come up with a context where different slices of a doll can occur, for instance, in a magic show (This is what Gumiel-Molina et al., 2015 have referred to as 'the magic show context').

What seems easy and straightforward to describe is actually very hard to formalize syntactically. That is what I will attempt to do in the rest of this chapter.

6.2   Two copulas, one feature

My proposal for the two copulas is based on the presence/absence of a locative feature. I will build on the work of several of the authors mentioned in the previous chapter, specifically Brucart (2012), Roy (2013) and Zagona (2015), to try to account for the data that was identified as problematic.

I assume, following Zagona (2015), that the surface appearance of *estar* is truly a syntactic phenomenon that has to do with the presence of a locative feature. Unlike her, though, I argue that *estar* has a feature that does not have to be valued, but rather, it has to value an uninterpretable locative feature present in the structure, the result of which is the intersection interpretation. *Ser*, on the other hand, is the default, elsewhere copula, which gives a proper inclusion interpretation.

In addition to the locative feature, I propose that in the evidential cases (i.e., the ones involving a truly evaluative predicate), there is a functional head that intro-

duces a silent experiencer with an uninterpretable locative feature which forces the presence of *estar*. I also take Roy's (2013) insight that selectional restrictions have a role to play. This are the restrictions proposed by (Roy, 2013, p. 163):

Table 6.1: *Ser* and *estar* selectional restrictions (Roy, 2013)

	Ser	*Estar*
N	yes	*
Nom(A)	yes	*
Attributive AP/PPs (with pro)	yes	*
Predicative APs	*	yes
Predicative PPs	*	yes

Unlike Roy, though, I do not assume that there is one single *be* that has two different allomorphs. Roy assumes, along the lines of Distributed Morphology (Halle and Marantz, 1993; Marantz, 1997), that the allomorphy of functional items is determined by the syntactic environment in which it occurs. In the case of the copulas, the relevant environment is the complement of PredP. *Ser* appears when PredP is constructed with a nominal complement and *estar* in all other cases. Whereas I (mostly) agree with the selectional restriction facts, I do not believe that these in and of themselves are enough to account for all the data. Apart from these, I assume that *estar* is indeed different in terms of feature specifications from *ser* as it has a locative feature.

The fact that *estar* is connected to a locative feature of some kind is a plausible idea if we take into account its origins. *Estar* is derived from Latin *stare*, which was primarily a locative verb meaning 'stand' (see Pountain, 1982, 1985; Hengeveld, 1992, a.o.). Why do I think it is necessary to modify Zagona's proposal then? Under her account, *estar* needs the presence of a locative feature in its predicate to value its own uninterpretable feature. This allows her to explain, for instance, why *estar* does not occur with event nouns. The structure she proposes is repeated here below:

(11)   [$_{vP}$ BE [$_{LocP}$ Loc$_T$ [Aspect [$_{PathP}$ el concierto Path [$_{LocP}$ en el jardín]

Estar cannot occur in the structure above - it cannot have its feature valued as the event nominal, being more complex than non-event ones, blocks agreement between the copula and the locative. This means that *ser* is then the default option. While these cases are accounted for, the ones that are not fully explained are the ones with adjectives. If the subject always originates in that position, below the copula, and, depending on its features, it can block agreement, how do we account for cases where both *ser* and *estar* occur with event nominals and adjectives?

One option would be to assume that the subject originates in different places in the case of adjectives, but there would be no solid evidence to account for such a move. The other option, which is what I am arguing for is that it is not *estar* that needs valuing, but rather *estar* is merged because something else in the structure requires its features checked.

Specifically, I make the following assumptions:

- There are two BEs, the only difference between them being the presence of a locative feature. BE$_{LOC}$ is spelled out as *estar*.

- In terms of selectional restrictions, I maintain that *ser* cannot take adjectives (following Roy) and *estar* cannot take ungradable nominals.

- Event nominals have an interpretable locative feature.

- PPs of location have an uninterpretable locative feature.

- (Silent) experiencers have an uninterpretable locative feature.

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Table 6.2: Featural distribution

	Feature
BE$_1$ (SER)	–
BE$_2$ (ESTAR)	LOC
Event N	LOC
PPs (location)	uLOC
Experiencers	uLOC

Estar's locative feature makes one of the following contributions:

1. It values an uninterpretable feature present in the structure.

2. It adds a locative/delimited reading to the subject (if the subject does not have such a reading already, e.g., event nominals)

6.2.1 Ser gordo vs Estar gordo

The contrast between *ser gordo*, 'be.SER fat', and *estar gordo*, 'be.ESTAR fat', can be accounted for in the proposal assumed here. Assuming, as mentioned above, that *ser* cannot take adjectives, then *ser gordo*, 'be.SER fat', needs to be analysed as containing a null pronominal head *pro*:

(12)   ser [$_{\text{NP}}$ [$_{\text{N}}$*pro*] gordo]

In the configuration above, the adjective is being used attributively as it modifies the null pronominal head. Evidence that a null pronominal head is indeed present in the structure comes from Roy (2013) and Borer and Roy (2010), who noted that in these cases it is possible to use the pro-form *uno*, which marks an elliptical construction, as opposed to nominalised adjectives that take *un* (see section 5.3.2 for details) :

(13)   Es uno gordo / alto / elegante (He is a fat / tall / elegant one)

(14)   *Es un alto / elegante[2]

---
[2]'Es un gordo' is possible if it has an evaluative (derogatory) reading.

(15)   Es un alemán (He is a German (guy))

Es gordo (SER fat), is interpreted as *Es (un hombre) gordo*, (SER a fat man)[3]:

(16)   *(Él) es.SER gordo*

```
              ┌──────┴──────┐
             BE           PredP
                     ┌──────┴──────┐
                    DP           Pred'
                   (Él)      ┌────┴────┐
                           Pred      #P
                                ┌─────┴─────┐
                              pro_k        ClP
                                      ┌─────┴─────┐
                                    pro_k        NP
                                            ┌────┴────┐
                                           AP        NP
                                         gordo        │
                                                      N
                                                      t_k
```
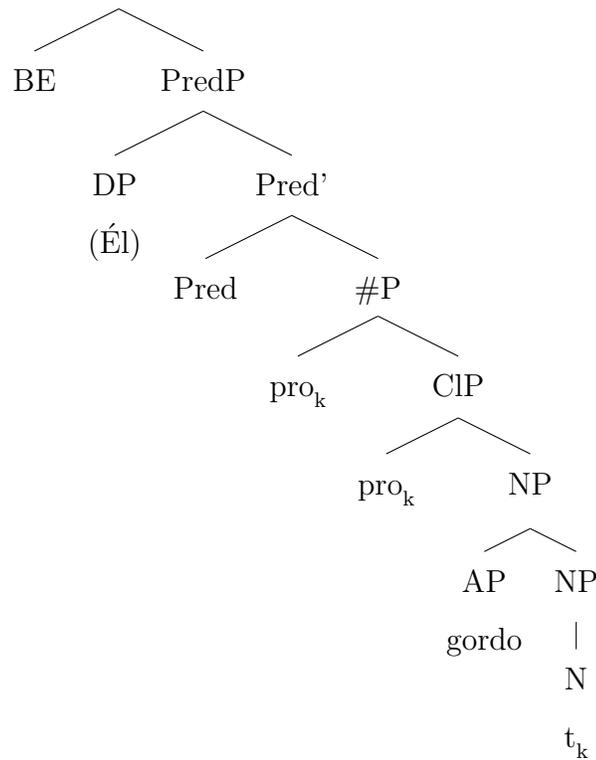
I am assuming, following Roy (2013), that the *pro* is base-generated in N and that is must rise to #, thus blocking the insertion of the indefinite article *un*.

In *estar gordo*, on the other hand, the adjective is used predicatively as there is no null pronominal head, and *estar*'s selectional restrictions allow it to combine with adjectives. The apparent issue is that in *estar gordo*, there is nothing that

---

[3]I am assuming an adjunction analysis of attributive adjectives as in Bernstein (1993). However, nothing hinges on this particular point and the idea defended here (that in the cases of *ser* and adjectives there is a null pronominal head) is also compatible with an analysis in terms of dedicated functional projections a là Cinque (2010).

requires valuing, so why is *estar* used then? As mentioned above, I propose that *estar*'s locative feature contributes to the derivation in one of two ways: 1) it values an uninterpretable feature of another element in the structure or 2) when 1 does not apply, *estar* can occur only if it can impose a locative/delimited reading to the subject. This second point is the one that applies to this example - *estar* is imposing a delimited reading of the subject. In *Juan está gordo* what we are saying is that certain slices of Juan are fat, not that he is a fat person per se.

(17)   *Juan está.*ESTAR *gordo*

```
              /‾‾‾‾‾‾‾\
          BE_LOC      PredP
                      /‾‾‾‾\
                   DP      Pred'
                   Juan    /‾‾\
                        Pred   AP
                               gordo
```
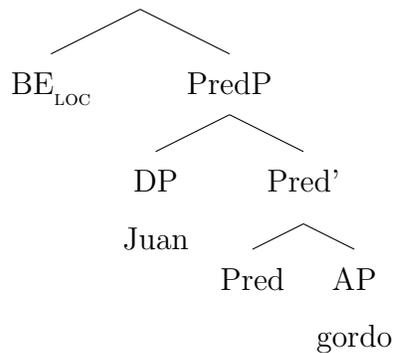
6.2.2   Event Nominals and PPs

How can we account for the contrast between the following?

(18)   La fiesta es en el jardín
        the party is.SER in the garden

(19)   El libro está en el jardín
        the book is.ESTAR in the garden

If the PP has an uninterpretable locative feature and the event nominal, by virtue of denoting an event that has to be located in place and time, has a locative one,

the contrast is easily accounted for:

(20)   *La fiesta es.*SER *en el jardín*

```
              /\
             /  \
            BE  PredP
                 /\
                /  \
               DP  Pred'
          La fiesta_LOC  /\
                        /  \
                      Pred  PP
                       en el jardín_uLOC
```
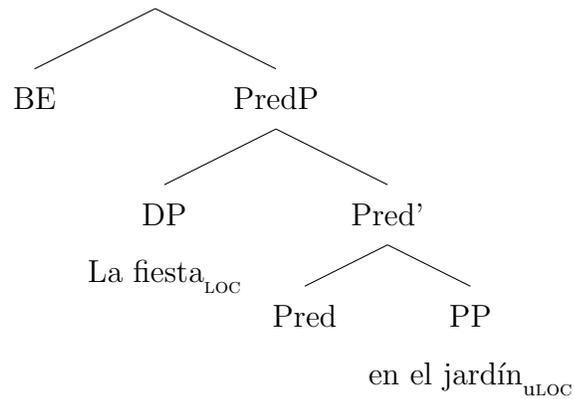
In (20), the uLOC feature of the PP is checked by the event nominal, hence, there is no need for *estar* to occur. *Estar* cannot impose a delimited temporal interpretation of the subject either, as the subject already has a locative feature. *Ser*, being the default copula, is the one that is spelled out.

By contrast, in (21) below, the uLOC feature of the PP cannot be valued by the subject in the specifier of PredP, hence it is the job of the higher functional projection to value the feature, which means that *estar* is the copula used in this case.

(21) *El libro está.*ESTAR *en el jardín*

```
          BE_LOC        PredP
                      /        \
                   DP          Pred'
                 el libro     /      \
                           Pred       PP
                                  en el jardín_uLOC
```
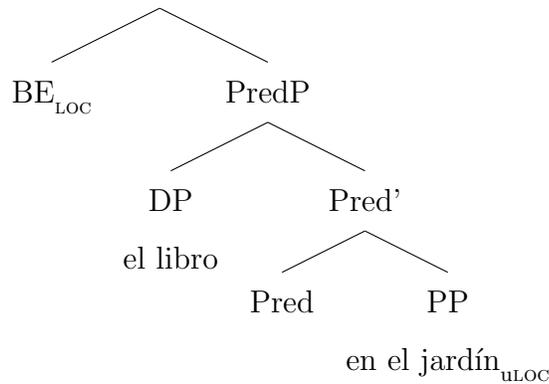
6.2.3 Evidential-like readings

Event Nominals and Adjectives

In the literature on the two copulas, it is common to find examples of event nominals and prepositional phrases, either with an analysis trying to account for this, or mentioned as a problematic case. What is not normally discussed are cases of event nominals and adjectives. Both copulas are possible in these cases, albeit with a slightly different interpretation:

(22) La fiesta fue entretenida
      the party was.SER entertaining

(23) La fiesta estuvo entretenida
      the party was.ESTAR entertaining

The sentence in (22) is interpreted as a general observation, whereas (23) has that kind of so-called evidential reading that Camacho (2015) made reference to - (23) means that the party was entertaining to me, personally. The derivation of (22) proceeds as expected:

(24)   *'La fiesta fue.*SER *entretenida'*

```
            ┌─────────┴─────────┐
           BE                 PredP
                        ┌───────┴───────┐
                       DP             Pred'
                   La fiesta_LOC    ┌───┴────┐
                                  Pred      #P
                                       ┌─────┴─────┐
                                     pro_k        ClP
                                              ┌────┴────┐
                                            pro_k       NP
                                                    ┌────┴────┐
                                                   AP        NP
                                              entretenida     |
                                                              N
                                                             t_k
```
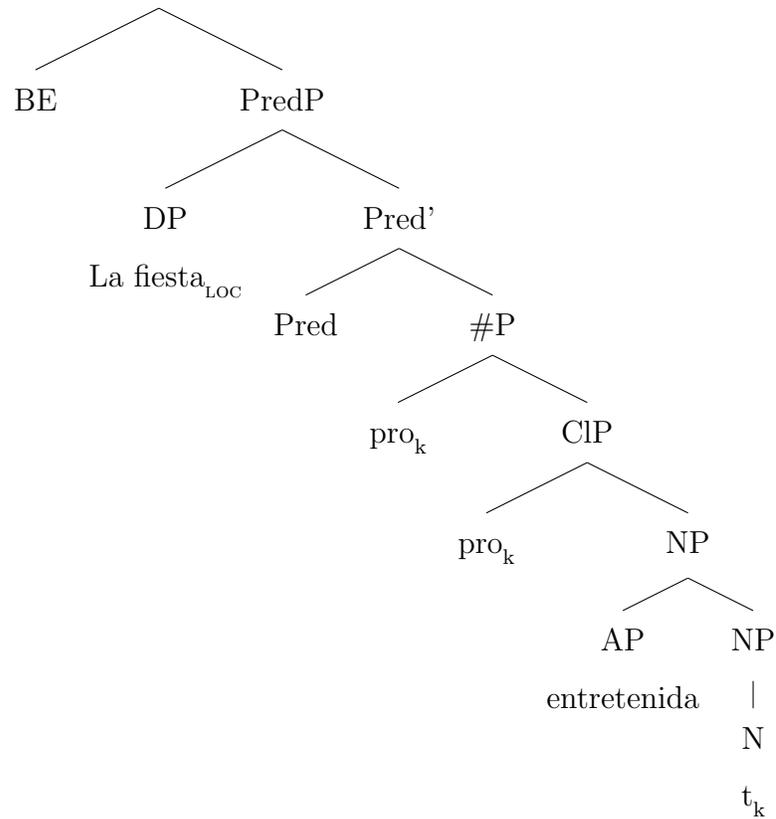
There are no features to be checked in this case and the complement is actually nominal, so the default copula *ser* is used.

The problematic case is (23) as there is no obvious need for *estar* to occur. There are no uninterpretable locative features in need of checking, nor is it possible to impose a delimited reading of the subject as, being an event nominal, it already has a locative feature itself. How can we account for the use of *estar* then?

Before showing the structure proposed for (23), I would like to focus on the conditions needed to get an evidential-like reading. Typically, the adjectives that give rise to this interpretation are predicates of personal taste (cf. Pearson, 2012, 2013). Camacho notes that the evidential content appears if the predicate is evaluative. The question is what exactly counts as evaluative. Why is 'funny' evaluative, but

not 'fat', for example? If we go back to examples above (ser gordo vs. estar gordo), we do not get an evidential like interpretation in the case of *estar* there. Why should that be the case?

In this respect, I think it is important to take Kennedy's (2013) distinction into account. Kennedy's paper distinguishes between two sources of subjectivity: dimensional predicates and evaluative predicates. One test to tell these two apart comes from 'faultless disagreement' facts. If we compare an adjective like 'fat' and one like 'funny', we can see that both give rise to faultless disagreement:

(25)   A: John is fat / The party was fun
         B: No, he's not / No, it wasn't

While B is contradicting the statement made by A, there is a sense in which both speakers can be right, hence the disagreement is 'faultless'. Both speakers are saying something true that involves some sort of subjectivity. While the positive form of the adjective does not allow us to distinguish between 'fat' and 'fun', comparative forms do. Only evaluative predicates give rise to faultless disagreement in comparatives:

(26)   Anna: The tripe is tastier than the haggis
         Beatrice: No, the haggis is tastier than the tripe.

(27)   Anna: Skiing is the most fun!
         Beatrice: No, skating is the most fun!

(28)   Anna: Carla is richer/taller/heavier/older than David
   Beatrice: No, David is richer/taller/heavier/older than Carla.

(Examples from Kennedy, 2013)

In example (28), it is clear that both speakers cannot possibly be right - either Anna is or Beatrice is, but not both. Comparative forms is one of the tests that we can use to tell the two types of subjectivity apart. Faultless disagreement in this context only comes up with true evaluative predicates. Dimensional predicates do not give rise to faultless disagreement in the comparative form. My claim is that only the cases of true evaluative predicates are the ones that give rise to the evidential-like reading.

I argue, following Gumiel-Molina et al. (2015), that in those evidential type of cases, which I link to predicates of personal taste, there is a silent experiencer. This idea of experiencers in copular sentences has also been postulated for other languages. Krivocapić (2006) proposes treating dative DPs in adjectival constructions in Serbo-Croatian as an element that expresses the perspective of the individual denoted by the dative DP, for instance, and Delsing (1993) talked about implicit arguments in predicative position in Scandinavian (see examples in section 4.4.2).

To get the structure of (23), I postulate that there is an applicative head that introduces a silent experiencer, which is responsible for the evidential-like interpretation. Gumiel-Molina et al. (2015) propose that this silent experiencer allows the formation of a within-individual comparison class (p. 993). To me, instead, this experiencer has two main functions: 1) syntactically, it is responsible for the introduction of an uninterpretable locative feature 2) semantically, it relativises the meaning of PredP to the particular point of view of the speaker.

(29)   *La fiesta estuvo*.ESTAR *entretenida*

```
                  ┌──────────┴──────────┐
               BE_LOC                  ApplP
                              ┌──────────┴──────────┐
                    silent experiencer_uLOC        PredP
                                            ┌────────┴────────┐
                                           DP              Pred'
                                       La fiesta_LOC     ┌───┴───┐
                                                       Pred     AP
                                                             entretenida
```
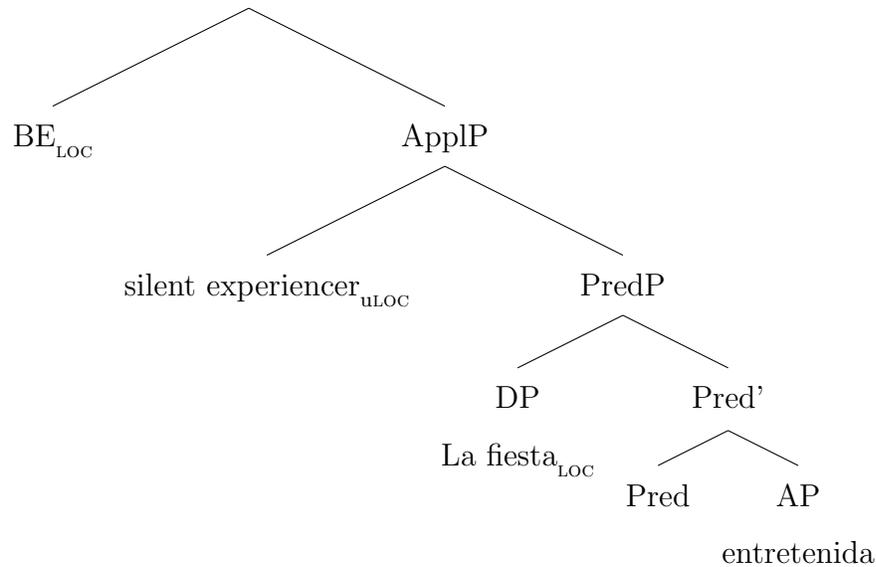
I am working under the assumption that there is only one way to agree which involves uninterpretable features being checked only in a configuration where they are c-commanded by an element with a matching interpretable feature, and not the other way around (cf. Zeijlstra, 2012). In the derivation of (29), the silent experiencer introduces an uninterpretable locative feature which cannot be valued by the DP *la fiesta* given that it does not c-command the experiencer. Consequently, to get a convergent derivation, the copula with the locative feature has to be merged. This results in *estar* being spelled out.

The reader at this point might be asking if there is indeed any motivation for postulating a locative feature on experiencers besides the fact that it is needed in my analysis to get *estar* in the derivation. To address this question, I would like to put copular sentences aside for a moment to discuss Landau's (2010) work on experiencers.

Landau's (2010) entire monograph is dedicated to the syntax of experiencers to show in what way these elements are linguistically special. Landau starts by show-

ing than in any language where psychological verbs have been studied, they have shown some special properties. For instance, in Greek, it is obligatory to double the accusative clitic in the context of experiencer objects; in Russian, the application of the Genitive of Negation Rule to experiencer objects results in ungrammaticality; in Hebrew, it is obligatory to use a resumptive pronoun in the case of relativization of the direct object when the object is an experiencer, but optional otherwise, and in French, object experiencers are special in that they can control a non-finite adjunct. These special properties that experiencers have can be subsumed under one single principle in Landau's analysis. The basic idea that he argues for is that experiencers are mental locations, that is, they are locatives. (p.6)

That cognitive relations can be, and in fact are, conceptualized as extended spatial relations is an idea whose appeal has been recognized in various contexts. Discussions of this parallelism are often informed by the way language encodes psychological relations and experiencers. The basic intuition is that it is very natural to conceive of experiencers as mental locations, containers or destinations of mental states/effects. (Landau, 2010, p. 10)

Landau builds on Arad's (1998) work, which argues that subject experiencer verbs denote locative relations (as in the examples in (30) below), and then proposes that the locative preposition is active syntactically, even when the experiencer appears to be just nominal:

(30)   a.   Nina is in love (with Paul)

        b.   There is in me a great admiration for painters.

(Examples from Arad, 1998, p. 228)

The parallelism between experiencers and locations is also present in languages like English, where experiencers do not take an oblique form. He mentions in this respect Speas's (1990) observation that subject experiencers are special in that they introduce a path, either as a goal or as a source, unlike non-experiencer subjects:

(31)   a.   I got angry but it went away.
        b. ??I laughed but it went away.

(32)   a.   I tried to remember his name but it wouldn't come to me.
        b. ??I tried to write his name but it wouldn't come to me.

Speas concludes that the difference between languages like English, where experiencers are never oblique, and languages where experiencers are marked as dative is purely syntactic. On the conceptual level, both types of languages conceive of experiencers as locations.

If experiencers are always locations, then silent experiencers, which is what I am arguing for in the case of *estar*, should also be treated in the same way. I have assumed that locatives in the context of copular sentences have an uninterpretable locative feature and it follows, thus, that experiencers will be endowed with the same type of feature.

Evidential-like readings without event nominals

The derivation to get an evidential reading with a non-eventive subject will proceed exactly in the same way as (29) above. Under the assumption that agreement occurs when the interpretable feature c-commands the uninterpretable one, then the presence of an eventive or non-eventive subject below the silent experiencer makes no difference to the derivation. The derivations are as follows:

(33)   Las empanadas son riquísimas
        the empanadas are.SER delicious

The sentence above contains a nominal predicate with a silent head, *pro*. It is possible to have an overt form as well. Hence, (33) is synonymous with (34):

(34)   Las empanadas son una comida riquísima

        the empanadas.SER a meal delicious.

(35)   *Las empanadas son.*SER *riquísimas*

```
              ┌───────────┴───────────┐
             BE                      PredP
                              ┌────────┴────────┐
                             DP               Pred'
                        Las empanadas      ┌────┴────┐
                                          Pred      #P
                                              ┌──────┴──────┐
                                            pro_k          ClP
                                                      ┌──────┴──────┐
                                                    pro_k          NP
                                                            ┌───────┴───────┐
                                                           AP              NP
                                                       riquísimas           │
                                                                            N
                                                                           t_k
```
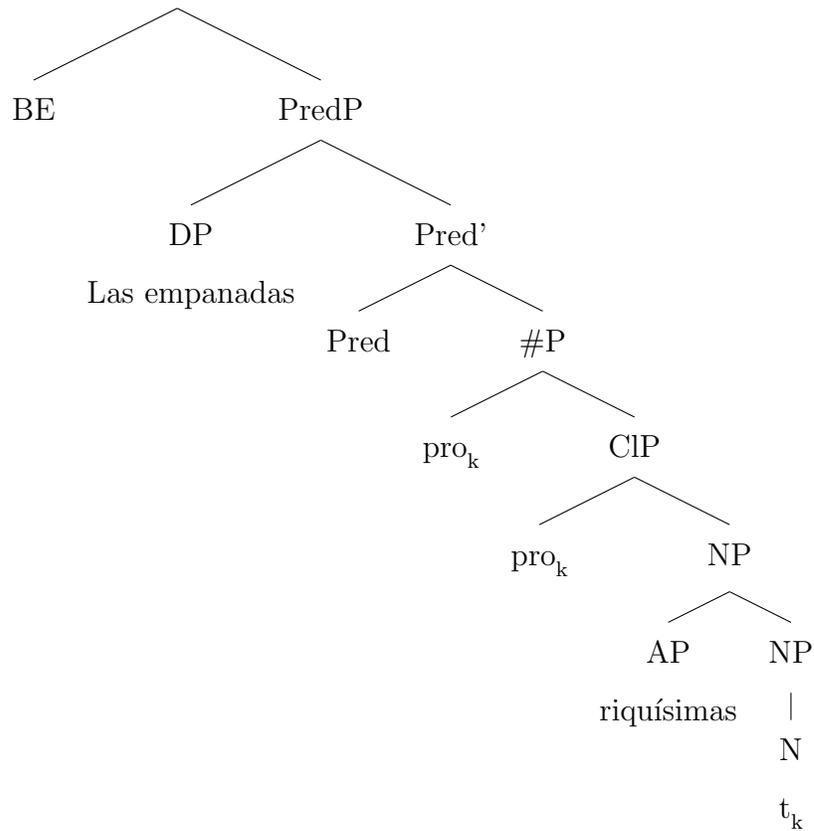
(36)   Las empanadas están riquísimas

the empanadas are.ESTAR delicious (I know because I have tasted them)

(37)   *Las empanadas están.*ESTAR *riquísimas*

```
                         ●
                     ／       ＼
                  ／             ＼
          BE_LOC                  ApplP
                              ／        ＼
                           ／              ＼
            silent experiencer_uLOC        PredP
                                        ／      ＼
                                     DP            Pred'
                                Las empanadas     ／    ＼
                                               Pred      AP
                                                       riquísimas
```
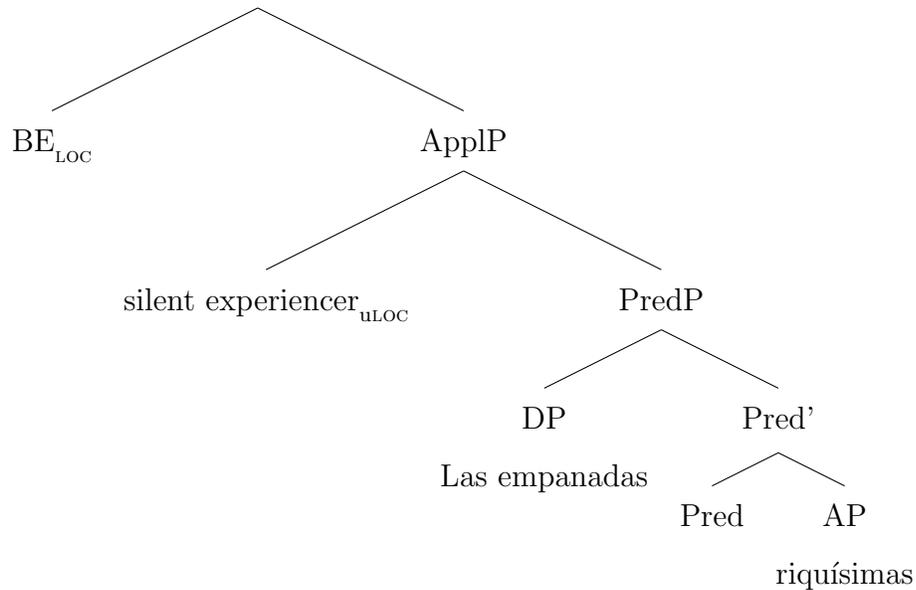
6.2.4   Data - ESTAR + Nouns

Another environment in which I argue that the silent experiencer is key to account for the data is in the context of *estar* + nominals. It has always been pointed out that copula *estar* takes any kind of complement, except for NPs. This is too strong of an assertion. While it is true that copula *estar* does not combine with nominals that are ungradable, it is indeed possible to use *estar* with gradable/evaluative NPs, at least in my dialect:

(38)   La Plaza España está un desastre[4]

the square Spain is.ESTAR a disaster

(39)   Los estacioneros dicen que la actividad está un desastre[5]

the petrol station attendants say that the activity is.ESTAR a disaster

(40)   La nueva colección está un espectáculo

the new collection is.ESTAR a show (i.e., wonderful)

(41)   La Autopista Norte está una porquería[6]

the highway North is.ESTAR a rubbish

(42)   La pared de la casa está una porquería[7]

the wall of the house is.ESTAR a rubbish

(43)   La iluminación de la iglesia está una maravilla

the lighting of the church is.ESTAR a wonder

(44)   La nueva cancha está una pinturita[8]

the new football.field es.ESTAR a painting (i.e., very beautiful)

(45)   La comida está una delicia

the meal is.ESTAR a delight

(46)   Ésto está un asco

this is.ESTAR a disgust

(47)   Estoy una luz hoy

(I) am.ESTAR a light today (i.e., bright)

---

[4]http://www.larazondechivilcoy.com.ar/locales/2008/6/6/plaza-espana-esta-desastre-13451.html

[5]http://www.elterritorio.com.ar/nota4.aspx?c=8723891062649628

[6]https://twitter.com/JERUBIANO/status/839452324657508354?ref_src=twsrc%5Etfw&ref_url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.publimetro.co%2Fco%2Fbogota%2F2017%2F03%2F08%2Fatencion-colapso-movilidad-autopista-norte.html

[7]http://www.eltiempo.com/archivo/documento/CMS-12851768

[8]https://www.clarin.com/deportes/nueva-cancha-pinturita_0_S1gbmBIgCte.html

As can be seen from the examples above, nominals can occur with *estar* if we are going for an evidential-like interpretation. It is not the case then that nominals cannot occur with this copula, but rather, only non-gradable nominals are barred from this position[9]. I argue that these cases can be accounted for if we assume that a silent experiencer is also present there:

(48)   *La comida está*.ESTAR *una delicia*

```
                        ●
                       / \
                      /   \
                     /     \
                  BE_LOC    ApplP
                           /   \
                          /     \
          silent experiencer_uLOC  PredP
                                  /   \
                                 /     \
                               DP      Pred'
                            La comida   / \
                                       /   \
                                    Pred  NP(gradable)
                                          una delicia
```

---
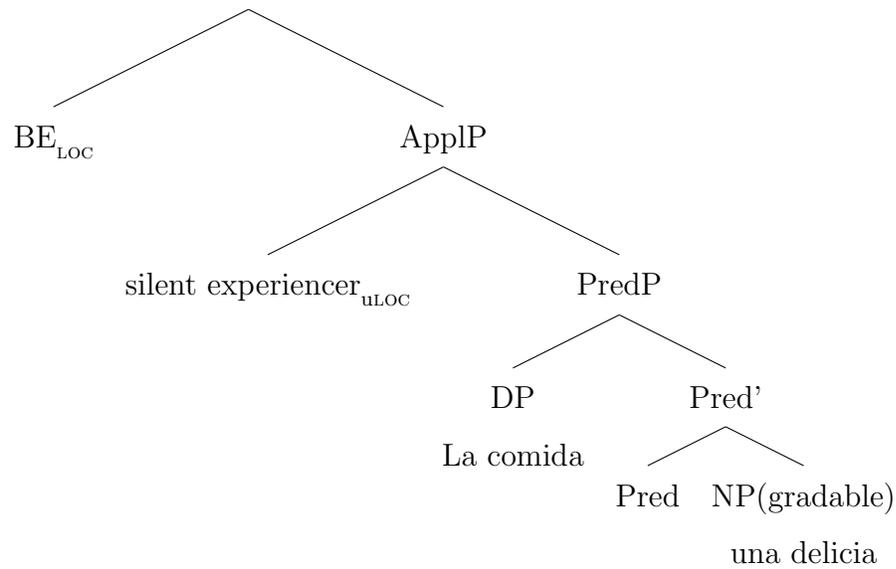
[9]Similar examples can be found in Brazilian Portuguese:

1. A cozinha está um brinco (The kitchen is an earring (i.e., spotless))

2. Eu estava um caco depois da aula de aeróbica (I was a wreck after the aerobics class)

3. Está uma calamidade (He/she is a wreck)

(Examples from Hoyos, 1980 and Whitlam, 2017)

6.3   ESTAR DE + NP

As mentioned above, *estar* combines with all lexical categories, except for non-gradable nominals:

(49)   ESTAR +

    a.   AP - Estoy aburrida - 'I am bored'

    b.   PP - Estoy en la universidad - 'I am at university'

    c.   VP - Estoy leyendo un libro - 'I am reading a book'

    d.   AdvP - Estoy acá - 'I am here'

    e.   NP (gradable) Estoy un asco - 'I am a disgust'

    f.   *NP (non-gradable) Estoy periodista - 'I am a journalist'

In order to save (49-f) it is necessary to insert the preposition *de* 'of':

(50)   Estoy   de periodista en un diario   local
    ESTAR.1SG of journalist in a   newspaper local
    'I am/work as a journalist at a local newspaper'

(50) is not equivalent to the bare version with the copula *ser*:

(51)   Soy   periodista en un diario   local
    SER.1SG journalist in a   newspaper local
    'I am a journalist at a local newspaper'

In terms of interpretation, (50) tends to refer to a temporary activity. At least, that is the default reading. This temporary quality can be cancelled, which suggests that it is not an entailment, but rather, an implicature:

(52)   Estuvo   de preceptora   en un colegio secundario toda su   vida
    was.3SG of cover.supervisor in a   school   secondary all   her life
    'She was/worked as a cover supervisor all her life'

More importantly, the main difference between the two is that while *ser* + NP is really ascribing a property to the individual denoted by the subject DP, the

structure with *estar de* + NP is a type of predication that does less than that.

(53)   Soy médico pero estoy de enfermero en este hospital
        am doctor but   am   of nurse   in this hospital
        'I am a doctor but I am/work as a nurse in this hospital'

While the *ser* + NP construction implies that the subject DP complied with all the requirements, passed all the examinations and got a degree to practise as a doctor, the construction with *estar de* does not carry such implicatures. If anything, it actually means that the person is not really a nurse, but just that he happens to be working as one.

The version with *estar de* does not ascribe a property to the subject DP in the same way as *ser* predication does. The contrast between the two readings can be observed below:

(54)   Estoy   de maestra en esta escuela pero no soy   maestra
        am.ESTAR of teacher in this school but   not am.SER teacher
        'I work as a teacher in this school but I'm not a teacher.'

If the *ser* NP and the *estar de* NP versions had the same semantic interpretation, then (54) should sound either strange or contradictory, which is not the case.

6.3.1   'Estar de' characteristics

Answers to questions

Estar de NPs are a felicitous answer to the questions *¿Qué hace? ¿De qué trabaja?* 'What does he/she do? What is his job?':

(55)   ¿Qué hace Juan? Está de mozo en un resto
        what does John? is   of waiter in a   restaurant
        'What does John do? He works as a waiter in a restaurant'

Adjectival modification

Estar de NPs resist both adjectival and relative clause modification, suggesting that they are bare NPs. It is also worth mentioning that article insertion is not possible with this construction either:

(56) Estoy   de (*una) preceptora   (*buena) en un colegio
      ESTAR.1SG of (a)   cover.supervisor (good)   in a   school
      secundario
      secondary
      'Intended: I am a good cover supervisor at a secondary school'

Aspect

Just like the characterizing and identifying/defining constructions, nominals with *estar de* can occur with both perfective and imperfective aspect:

(57) Estaba   de mozo en Paris cuando pasaron   aquellas protestas
      was.IMPF of waiter in Paris when   happened those   protests
      'I was/was working as a waiter in Paris when those protests happened'

(58) Estuve   de mozo en aquel restaurante por 6 meses
      was.PERF of waiter in that   restaurant   for 6 months
      'I was/worked as a waiter in that restaurant for 6 months'

Locative modification

Locative modification is not only possible, but actually, required:

(59) Soy abogado pero estoy de administrativo en Londres hasta que
      am lawyer   but am   of admin.assistant in London   until that
      convalide   mi título
      validate.1SG.SUBJ my degree
      'I am a lawyer but I am working as an admin assistant until I validate my
      degree'

Characterizing sentences, such as "Juan es médico" (Juan is doctor), give as proper inclusion - John belongs to the set of doctors. The "estar de" construction, on the other hand, does not. In a sentence like "Durante la guerra, Juan estuvo de médico en su batallón" (During the war, Juan was of doctor in his battalion), actually does

not place "Juan" within the set of doctors. If anything, it implies that he is not a doctor, but he just happened to act like one. Despite the meaning difference, it might be possible to assume that the *estar de* construction is a subtype of *characterizing* sentence. They pattern alike in that both are non-dense predicates, thus allowing for possible gaps - *Mi amiga está de recepcionista en una multinacional* (My friend is of receptionist in a multinational company) is true even if my friend is sleeping, travelling, on holiday, etc.

Two types of 'estar de'

The nouns that appear in the *estar + de* construction are of two different types. Salazar García (2002) distinguishes between ESTAR DE + N1 and ESTAR DE + N2.

In the first case, which is the one that I am concerned with here, the nominal expression is a role noun, as in all the cases mentioned above. N1-type nouns have to agree in gender and number with the subject DP (as in (60) and (61) below). They have a *ser NP* correlate, which has a different interpretation as was mentioned above:

(60)   Estoy de traductora en Naciones Unidas
        am   of translator in Nations   United
        'I am/work as a translator at United Nations'

(61)   Ellas están de *traductora / traductoras en Naciones Unidas
        they are   of *translator / translators in United   Nations
        'They are/work as translators at United Nations'

(62)   Soy traductora en Naciones Unidas
        am translator in Nations   United
        'I am a translator at United Nations'

Salazar García points out that the noun in the *estar de + N1* construction needs to be located either in space or in a hierarchy, either explicitly or implicitly. According to him, professions are carried out in some kind of institution or physical space

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and it is because of that that they can occur in this construction. Professions that are not necessarily located/carried out anywhere do not occur with *estar de*:

(63) *Carmen está de ajedrecista profesional
       Carmen is   of chess.player professional
       'Intended: Carmen works as a professional chess player'

<div align="right">(Example taken from Salazar García 2002)</div>

Example (63) is problematic for a number of reasons. Even if we accepted the fact a chess-playing job is not as susceptible to hierarchies as other professions, we can definitely add a location to the sentence, but it would still remain ungrammatical, contrary to Salazar García's (2002) predictions:

(64) *Carmen está de ajedrecista profesional en la   Federación Internacional
       Carmen is   of chess.player professional in the federation international
       de Ajedrez
       of chess
       'Intended: Carmen works as a professional chess player at the World Chess
       Federation'

While I do agree that location is an important part of the *estar de* construction, I do not think that in and of itself it is enough to license *estar de* predication. When comparing *estar de NP* to *ser NP*, we mentioned that *ser* is really ascribing a property to the subject, whereas *estar de* roughly means that the subject works as/ carries out the activity denoted by the NP. In example (63), there are two issues connected with this. The first one is that the addition of the adjective "professional" seems to have the opposite implicature - if you are a professional X, then you are not just merely carrying out the activity; you have qualified/trained/etc. to be able to work as X. The other issue is that being a chess player is not something that you can just do without actually being a chess player. What I mean by this is that, for instance, you can work as a secretary without having trained specifically to be one, but it is difficult to see how you can work as a chess player

without being a chess player.

Estar de + N2 constructions tend to contain nouns that denote events:

(65)   estar de luto 'be in mourning'

(66)   estar de mudanza 'be moving (houses)'

(67)   estar de huelga 'be on strike'

(68)   estar de vacaciones 'be on holiday'

Salazar García also includes other examples that are not eventive:

(69)   estar de rodillas 'be on your knees'

(70)   estar de malhumor 'be in a bad mood'

These cases are different from *estar de* + N1 in two ways. First, whether the noun is singular or plural depends on the expression, irrespective of whether the number specification of the subject - the NP is fixed:

(71)   Yo estoy de huelga
         I   am   of strike
         'I am on strike'

(72)   Nosotros estamos de huelga / *huelgas
         we   are   of strike / strikes
         'We are on strike'

(73)   Mis vecinos   están de vacaciones
         my neighbours are   of holidays
         'My neighbours are on holiday'

(74)   Mi vecino   está de vacaciones / *vacación
         my neighbour is   of holidays   / holiday
         'My neighbour is on holiday'

Secondly, these truly behave like other PPs in that they get a 'situation descriptive'

reading. They are dense and do not allow for gaps. I assume then that *estar de* + N2 constructions have the same structure as any standard situation descriptive sentence. It is *estar de* + N1 that is problematic.

6.3.2 'Estar de' structure

One option for the *estar de* + N1 cases could be to assume the structure proposed in Adger (2016). Adger, in his analysis of Scottish Gaelic predicational sentences, makes a distinction between property ascription and inclusion in a state to account for predicate nominals in that language. He argues that Scottish Gaelic illustrates this contrast by means of two different structures - one that he calls the P-strategy and the other one that involves a clefting structure:

(75)   Tha   Calum na   oileanach   (P-strategy)
         be.PRES Calum in.3SG student
         'Calum is a student'

(76)   'S   e oileanach a   th'   ann an Calum   (Cleft strategy)
         COP it student   REL be.PRES in   Calum
         'Calum is a student'

The P-strategy is used when the assertion made by the predication is assumed to be non-permanent:

(77)   Tha   Lilly dìreach na   cat òg,   an   drasta
         be.PRES Lilly just   in.3FSG cat young now
         'Lilly is just a young cat now'

The P-strategy cannot be used to talk about class inclusion:

(78)   *Tha   (an) iolaire na   eun
         be.PRES (the) eagle   in.POSS.3SG bird
         for 'The eagle is a bird / An eagle is a bird'

To express class inclusion, we need to use the cleft strategy:

(79) 's   e eun a   th'   anns   an iolaire /a   th'   ann an iolaire
      COP it bird REL be.PRES in.DEF the eagle   /REL be.PRES in   eagle
      'The eagle is a bird/An eagle is a bird'

It could be possible to assume, then, that ESTAR DE cases are the Spanish equivalent of the P-strategy in Scottish Gaelic, with *de*, 'of' spelling out as aspectual node, as in (80)

(80)   *Ella está de enfermera* (en el hospital X)
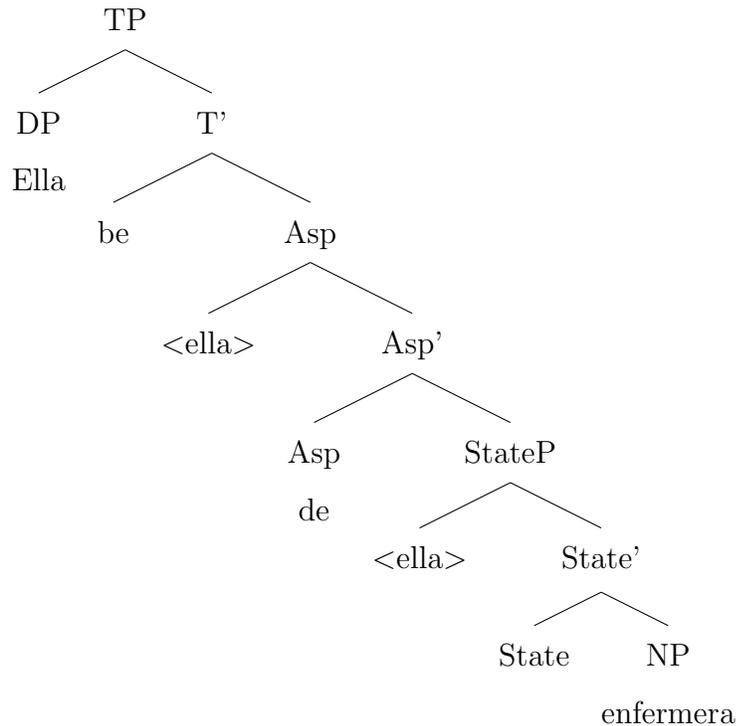
The assumption here is that *de* in *estar de* cases is not a typical preposition, but rather, an aspectual marker. However, I do not think that this solution is on the right track. It is not obvious that the preposition *de* 'of' in Spanish is aspectual at all. In Gaelic, Adger shows that there is some evidence that the proposition can be thought of as aspectual given the language marks perfect, progression and prospective aspect via preposition like elements between the subject and the VP. In Spanish, prospective aspect is marked by *estar* and a preposition, but it is never with *de*.

Given that *estar de* sentences and *ser* sentences pattern alike in being interpreted as non-dense, I assume that there is not a big difference in their derivation. Both sentences start with an NP as the complement of Pred, but what distinguishes them is the presence of a locative adjunct in the case of the *estar de* construction which is absent from the *ser* cases:

(81)   *Ella está de maestra en aquel colegio* (She is of teacher in that school)

PredP
Ella   Pred'
          Pred'   Loc$_{\text{uLOC}}$
                             en aquel colegio
      Pred   NP
          maestra
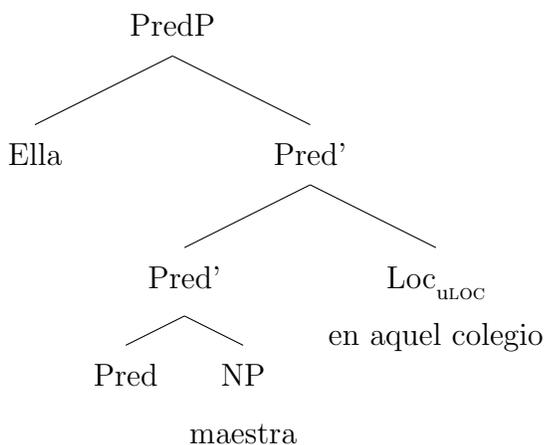
At this point in the derivation, the only possible copula is *estar* given that we need something to value the uLOC feature on the locative, but, at the same time, the copula cannot possibly be *estar* because of selectional restrictions. *Estar* does not combine with ungradable nominals, like *maestra*, 'teacher'. To save the derivation, the dummy preposition *de*, 'of', is inserted as the head of Pred. It is not contributing anything to the interpretation; it is merely an element required to save the structure:

(82)

```
                          PredP
                         /    \
                      Ella    Pred'
                             /     \
                          Pred'     Loc_uLOC
                         /    \     en aquel colegio
                      Pred    NP
                       de   maestra
```
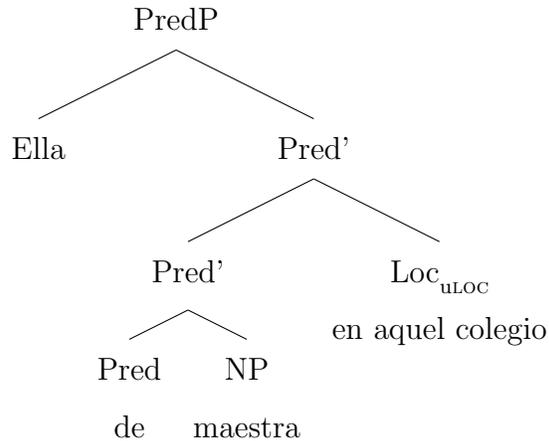
Now that there is a prepositional element in Pred, *estar* can merge to value the locative feature present in the structure:

(83)

```
              /    \
         BE_LOC    PredP
                  /     \
               Ella     Pred'
                       /     \
                    Pred'     Loc_uLOC
                   /    \     en aquel colegio
                Pred    NP
                 de   maestra
```
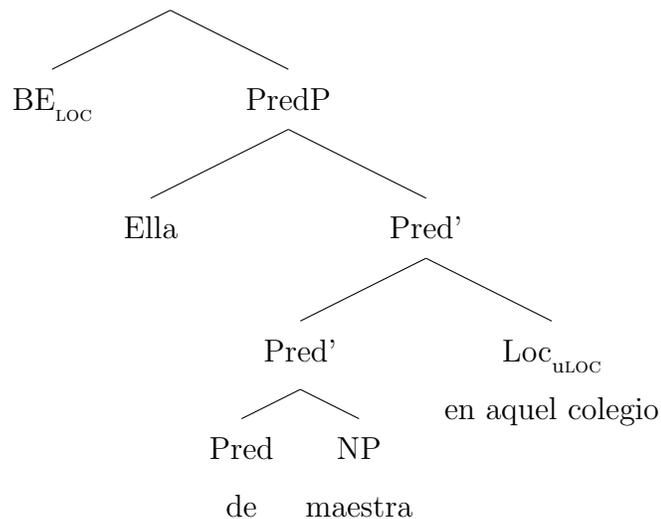
This explains why *estar de* does not fall neatly into any of the sentence types that Roy (2013) proposed. They are somewhat similar to situation descriptive sentences in that they contain a preposition, but they are also like characterizing sentences in that they are non-dense. I assume that this unclear classification stems from their derivation. *Estar de* sentences start off as regular characterizing statements, but it is the presence of the locative that forces *estar* to occur. However, given the copula's selectional restrictions, a dummy preposition has to be inserted to make

it possible for *estar* to merge and get a convergent derivation.

6.4   Chapter summary

This chapter provided an alternative account of the distribution of the two copulas in Spanish. Starting from a more descriptive level, I showed that the behaviour of *ser* and *estar* can be accounted for by means of set theory. *Ser* is the copula that expresses proper inclusion, whereas *estar* gives you an intersection. Providing a syntactic account of that distinction is far from straightforward. I argued that there are two BEs and that the difference between them, formally, is the presence of a locative feature. BE_{LOC} is spelled out as *estar*. The locative feature of *estar* makes one of two contributions: 1) it values an uninterpretable feature present in the structure or 2) it adds a locative/delimited reading to the subject (if the subject does not have such a reading already, which is the case of event nominals). Besides this, selectional restrictions are at play - *ser* cannot take adjectives and *estar* cannot take ungradable nouns.

I also tried to account for the evidential readings of *estar*, both with and without event nominals. I argued for the presence of a silent experiencer in the cases of evidential readings. This silent experiencer has two main functions: 1) syntactically, it introduces an uninterpretable locative feature (see Landau's (2010) analysis of experiencers as mental locations) and 2) semantically, it relativises the meaning of PredP to the particular point of view of the speaker.

Finally, the often neglected *estar de* construction was discussed, and I proposed an analysis that takes them to be a subtype of characterizing sentences (Roy, 2013). *Estar de* sentences show a hybrid behaviour as they are similar to characterizing sentences in that they are non-dense, but they are like situation-descriptive sentences in that they take a preposition. I take this hybrid quality to stem from their syntactic derivation - I assume that the derivation starts off with an NP comple-

ment + a PP adjunct. The locative adjunct, which has an uninterpretable locative feature, requires *estar* to value this; however, selectional restrictions prevent this from happening as the complement is nominal in nature. To save the derivation, the only solution is to insert the dummy preposition *de* 'of', so that *estar* can appear in the structure.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

This thesis investigated (so-called) bare singulars from a cross-linguistic perspective. Pursuing this line of work involved working on three different but related aspects, which are summarised below.

The first aspect, which corresponds to chapters 2 and 3, concerned the distribution and interpretations of (so-called) bare singular nominals in argumental position. My main claims in this section were that 1) the behaviour of bare singulars is not language specific and certain groups can be postulated based on the interpretation and position of these nominals; 2) there are (at least) two different groups of languages- the first one, which comprises Spanish, Greek and Norwegian, consists of bare singulars restricted to object position of HAVE-predicates and which are truly singular; the second group, comprising Brazilian Portuguese, Persian and Afro-Bolivian Spanish, allows so-called bare singulars in subject and object position of any verb and the nominals are number neutral (hence the term 'so-called bare singulars' (SCBSs) for this group); 3) bare singulars can be number neutral in a given language if bare plurals, for whatever reason, cannot do that job; 4) no kind of incorporation analysis is a suitable option for the nominals in the groups discussed here; 5) these nominals are DPs (but group 2 nominals do not project number).

The discussion of (pseudo) noun incorporation opens avenues for future research - while I argued that (pseudo) noun incorporation is not a suitable explanation for the nominals discussed here, I do not discard it as an analysis for other potential groups of languages. Expanding on the languages covered would be a natural progression to further research on this topic as well as pinpointing what exactly counts as pseudo noun incorporation. In addition, another aspect to explore is the relationship between bare singulars and weak definites.

My main assumption throughout this dissertation is that there is a uniform nominal structure, and this made it necessary for me to discuss another context where bare singulars occur. This is the second aspect of this dissertation - predicate nominals, which were discussed in chapter 4. In this chapter I started by summarising Roy's (2013) work on the topic as I adopted part of it to account for Spanish. Bare predicate nominals were shown to behave like their French counterparts - any noun can appear bare as long as it is interpreted as the ascription of a property to the subject. This reading corresponds to Roy's *characterising* sentences and the proposal is that these nominals project up to ClP. My main claim in this section was that, in predicational sentences with *un*, the indefinite article in Spanish and French, but not in English, is a degree expression. This particular idea allows us to explain metaphorical and evaluative readings, as well as adding predicate nominals modified by adjectives in the analysis. Treating *un* as a degree expression also explains why *un* and other degree expressions (like *qué* 'what', *más* 'more', *tan* 'such') never co-occur, as they compete for the same position. Evidence supporting this view comes from historical data facts in terms of the development of the indefinite article in Spanish, as well as from previous research by Tănase-Dogaru (2007) on Romanian predicate nominals, and Spanish light verb constructions discussed by Espinal (2004). It would be interesting to see if the analysis proposed for *un* predicate nominals can be extended to other languages besides Spanish and French.

The third part of this dissertation discussed the two copulas in Spanish. This topic

stemmed from the discussion of predicate nominals as, the traditional assumption is that only copula *ser* takes nominal predicates, but I showed that this is too strong of an assertion. Chapter 5 discussed some of the most recent proposals on *ser* and *estar* and, in chapter 6 I provided my own account. I argued that *ser* is the copula that expresses proper inclusion, while *estar* gives rise to an intersection. In terms of formalising this, I assumed that, besides certain selectional restrictions at play, *estar* has an interpretable locative feature that either 1) values an uninterpretable feature in the structure or 2) it adds a locative/delimited reading to the subject. One of my aims in this chapter was to analyse the so-called evidential reading of *estar*. I proposed that in this case, there is a silent experiencer that carries an uninterpretable feature, which forces the presence of *estar* in the derivation. It would be interesting to see if this analysis can also be expanded to account for *ser* and *estar* in their auxiliary uses. Another aspect for future research is the behaviour of copulas in the other Romance languages that make this distinction. While the historical origin of the copulas is the same, the uses of *ser* and *estar* in Portuguese and Catalan are quite different from Spanish.

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