

## **Arbeitspapier Nr. 131**

Proceedings of the IX Nereus International  
Workshop  
*Morphosyntactic and semantic aspects of the DP  
in Romance and beyond*

Natascha Pomino (ed.)



**Fachbereich Linguistik der Universität Konstanz**

Arbeitspapier Nr. 131

**Proceedings of the IX Nereus International Workshop**  
**MORPHOSYNTACTIC AND SEMANTIC ASPECTS OF THE DP IN ROMANCE AND BEYOND**

**NATASCHA POMINO (ED.)**

Fachbereich Linguistik  
Universität Konstanz  
FACH 185  
D-78457 Konstanz  
Germany

Konstanz  
Dezember 2019

Schutzgebühr €3,50

Fachbereich Linguistik der Universität Konstanz  
Sekretariat des Fachbereichs Linguistik, Frau Tania Simeoni,  
Fach 185, D-78457 Konstanz, Tel. 07531/88-2465, E-Mail: [tania.simeoni@uni-konstanz.de](mailto:tania.simeoni@uni-konstanz.de)

<http://kops.uni-konstanz.de/handle/123456789/45/browse?authority=uniknseries1&type=konstanzseries>



## Table of contents

Manuel Leonetti <i>On weak readings of definite DPs</i> .....	1
Svetlana Petrova <i>Proper names and the structure of the DP in Old and Middle High German</i> .....	27
Antonio Fábregas <i>Lexical and syntactic aspects of D-like and Q-like adjectives in Spanish</i> .....	41
Georg A. Kaiser, Klaus von Heusinger & Svenja Schmid <i>Word order variation in Spanish and Italian interrogatives. The role of the subject in 'why'-interrogatives</i> .....	69
Daria Seres & M.Teresa Espinal <i>Internal arguments of psychological verbs and their interpretations</i> .....	91
Susann Fischer <i>On oblique experiencers in psych verb constructions</i> .....	109





## Preface

This volume offers a collection of papers presented at the international workshop “Morphosyntactic and semantic aspects of the Romance DP and beyond” held at the Bergische Universität Wuppertal in November 2018. The workshop was part of the series organized biannually since 2002 by NEREUS (*Netzwerks für referentielle Kategorien im Spanischen und anderen romanischen Sprachen*; Research Network for Referential Categories in Spanish and other Romance languages).

Though some authors present at the workshop could not include their presentation in this volume, we would like to thank all the contributors and participants at the workshop for their talks and interesting discussion: David Gerards, M.Teresa Espinal, Antonio Fábregas, Susann Fischer, Marco García García, Klaus von Heusinger, Daniel Jacob, Georg Kaiser, Manuel Leonetti, Giuseppe Longobardi, Sophie Mürmann, Svetlana Petrova, Svenja Schmid, Katrin Schmitz, Daria Seres, Elisabeth Stark.

We would like to thank particularly the Bergische Universität Wuppertal and the Dekanat der Fakultät 1 for their generosity, as well as Kathrin A. Neuburger, Kim Paulsen and Lars Wüst, who contributed to the success of the workshop. Special thanks go to Tim Diaubalick and Marike Hollinderbäumer (née Weber) for preparing the manuscript. Without their help this publication would not have been possible.

Wuppertal, December 6<sup>th</sup> 2019

Natascha Pomino









## On weak readings of definite DPs

Manuel Leonetti

mleonett@uclm.es

### 1. Introduction\*

So-called weak definites constitute one of the classical problems for theories of definiteness, mainly for approaches based on the notion of uniqueness, but also for approaches based on familiarity, salience or other alternative notions. Weak definites have received much more attention in the last fifteen years than in earlier times of research on definiteness, and recent studies have made significant contributions to our knowledge of the semantic and pragmatic properties of the central cases of definite weak expressions (see Aguilar-Guevara 2014, Aguilar-Guevara & Zwarts 2013, Aguilar-Guevara, Le Bruyn & Zwarts (eds.) 2014, Le Bruyn 2014, Zwarts 2014, Beyssade 2013, Donazzan 2013, Corblin 2013, Espinal and Cyrino 2017a, b, Barker 2005, Carlson & Sussman 2005, Carlson, Sussman, Klein & Tanenhaus 2006). Within such a context, in this paper, I would like to address two main issues: 1) the relation between the interpretation of the definite DP and the linguistic contexts for weak definiteness, as they are described in the literature; and 2) the inclusion of new empirical data under the label of weak definiteness, and the limits of cross-linguistic variation in this domain. The first issue implies specifying the basic ideas of an informal approach to weak definites; this is also a necessary step for laying a minimal foundation before addressing the second issue, which represents a tentative extension of the notion of weak definiteness to cover some facts whose connection with the core, classical cases has, to my knowledge, never been explored. This will also bring to the fore some theoretical consequences that are worth discussing.

The paper is organized as follows. Section 2 collects ideas from current views on weak definites, and seeks to set out the fundamental questions that a theory of weak definiteness should address. In section 3, I sketch the essentials of an informal view of weak definites, built on the assumption that the uniqueness condition must be satisfied in every use of the definite article. Section 4 examines cases of cross-linguistic variation in the domain of weak definiteness. It includes data that have received very little attention in previous research and should be integrated into a comprehensive view of the phenomenon. Section 5 is a brief summary of the presented ideas.

### 2. The basic ingredients of weak definiteness

#### 2.1 Uniqueness

Weak definites represent an interesting case of form-meaning mismatch: in examples like *take the bus* and *play the piano*, a definite expression receives a seemingly indefinite interpretation, as it is not required that the context includes a uniquely identifiable referent – any bus or any piano will make the proposition true, in the weak reading. However, it is important to recall that, out of context, the examples are actually ambiguous: they may be assigned a weak, indefinite or existential reading, which is the most natural one, but also a

---

\* The investigation presented in this paper is included in the research project “The Semantics-Pragmatics Interface and the Resolution of Interpretive Mismatches” (SPIRIM), funded by the Spanish Ministerio de Economía y Competitividad (FFI2015-63497-P). I am grateful to the organizers of the IX NEREUS Workshop in Wuppertal (November 2018) and to the audience for their suggestions, in particular Maria Teresa Espinal, Klaus von Heusinger, Antonio Fábregas, Daniel Jacob, Victoria Escandell-Vidal and Ricardo Etxepare. Some of the issues I discuss here are also dealt with in a related paper in Spanish (Leonetti 2019).

strong reading that obeys the uniqueness condition encoded by the definite article, in which case specific buses or pianos are mentioned. This is quite obvious, but it is worth keeping in mind, since it is a general feature of most classical examples of weak definites.

The main question raised by weak definites concerns the uniqueness requirement, that is, the requirement that the referent is uniquely identifiable by the hearer on the basis of the descriptive information in the DP. If definiteness is characterized as the uniqueness condition, as it is in the formal tradition starting with Russell's theory of definite descriptions (see Hawkins 1978, Gundel, Hedberg & Zacharski 1993, Abbott 2008, 2014, Aguilar-Guevara 2014, Roberts 2003, Barker 2005, Beaver & Coppock 2015, and Leonetti 1999, 2019 for Spanish), the problem is simply that weak readings should be incompatible with the definite article. But the examples we saw above are perfectly acceptable and, in addition, the facts are recurrent in all languages that have a definite article. This calls for a solution, either a) by showing that definiteness is actually absent in the cases under discussion and therefore there is no mismatch at all, or b) by explaining how it is possible that it holds in expressions that receive indefinite/existential interpretations. The dilemma is not new: it is essentially the same problem arising in most cases of form-meaning mismatch. This puzzling situation is the starting point for the following discussion.

If definiteness, on the other hand, is characterized as a semantic condition that does not involve uniqueness (for instance, if it is defined in terms of familiarity, or salience), examples like *take the bus* and *play the piano* still pose a problem, as weak readings do not involve familiar or salient referents, thus being at first sight incompatible with definiteness under these views. However, I will not consider such alternative hypotheses here.

In what follows I will take for granted that in the languages under discussion – English and Romance languages – there is one definite article with one single meaning, and that meaning is the uniqueness condition (relativized to some context).<sup>1</sup> This is, I believe, the simplest and most reasonable assumption we can make in facing the puzzle. Thus, the problem boils down to having uniqueness as the linguistic meaning of the definite article and at the same time having weak readings of definite DPs that count as violations of the uniqueness condition. As noted above, this implies choosing between two options: either uniqueness is not in force, for some reason, in the relevant examples, and the problem vanishes, or in fact there is some way out by which uniqueness allows for indefinite readings. Given my starting assumptions, I choose the second option: under this view, uniqueness is a constant, rigid meaning that holds in all uses of definite DPs; it can be conceived as an instruction (see the notion of procedural meaning in Relevance Theory: Wilson & Sperber 1993, Leonetti & Escandell-Vidal 2011). If there are apparent counterexamples to the uniqueness requirement, they should be treated, in principle, without abandoning the idea that the definite article is a meaningful element and makes a systematic contribution to the proposition expressed. The question, then, is why and how indefinite readings arise.

A few words on the first option are due, however. There are two ways to develop an approach along those lines. One is more cautious, and the other one is more radical, but in my opinion, neither is fully convincing. On the one hand, we could accept that in certain uses the definite article is devoid of its usual meaning and becomes, in some sense, a purely formal device: this is the essence of the notion of *expletive article* (Longobardi 1994, Zubizarreta & Vergnaud 2002, and Carlson & Sussman 2005, Espinal & Cyrino 2017a for the analysis of weak definites). Weak definiteness would involve the insertion of expletive or “empty” articles that, being deprived of their uniqueness component, do not block indefinite interpretations. The solution is simple, but neither insightful nor elegant. In my view, if there is no specific proposal about why there are expletive articles, it just replaces the problem of weak definites with the problem of expletive articles, with no real progress. As we do not

---

<sup>1</sup> For arguments in favor of uniqueness as the essence of definiteness, I refer the reader to Abbott (2008, 2014).

know exactly the conditions under which expletive articles occur, and how they are licensed, it is difficult to figure out why they should display precisely indefinite readings. On the other hand, we could dissociate the form (the definite article) from the meaning (uniqueness) and simply argue that the definite article does not encode uniqueness, thus dissolving the puzzle of weak definites all at once. This is a stronger position. Giusti (2015) argues in favor of this view, and supports it by discussing several cases of articles in different languages that do not induce a referential interpretation; in her analysis, definiteness is linked to a null iota operator as the source of the referential interpretation of definite DPs in both languages with and without articles. I cannot adopt Giusti's hypothesis, since it is radically incompatible with my starting assumptions about definiteness. Note that in her theory it is strong readings, instead of weak ones, that represent the major problem: accounting for them implies determining under what conditions the null operator responsible for uniqueness is licensed by the co-occurring article.

Briefly, I assume, as a methodological principle, that the definite article must receive a unitary analysis as a meaningful element, without ambiguities and expletive uses. The uniqueness condition, thus, must be in force also in weak interpretations (see Barker 2005 and Le Bruyn 2014 for arguments in favor of this stance). This leads us to posit some kind of type-shifting process, as we will see below.

## 2.2 Types of weak definites

In the literature on weak definiteness it is usual to distinguish between *short weak definites* and *long weak definites*. The first group is represented by the English examples in (1), where the DP contains only the definite article and a common noun; similar lists can be found in many languages.

- (1) *read the newspaper / go to the hospital / call the doctor / answer the phone / take the train / play the violin / check the calendar / go to the beach / go to the mountains / do the dishes / go to the cinema*

The second group corresponds to a more complex scheme, usually 'the N of {a/the} N', where the first N is mostly relational and the second one represents an argument of the first one, as in the well-known examples in (2), taken from Barker (2005) (see also Poesio 1994, Flaux 1992, 1993, Corblin 2001, 2013, Espinal & Cyrino 2017a).

- (2) *at the corner of a busy intersection / on the side of the road / between the pages of a book / the student of a famous linguist / the finger of the surgeon / the outline of a human face / the picture of a young couple*

Evidence for weak readings is found in the compatibility of some of these definite DPs with existential contexts, as in (3).

- (3) (a) *There is the outline of a human face hidden in this puzzle.*  
 (b) *There was the picture of a young couple on the bedside table.*  
 (c) *Beneath his fragile form, there was the soul of a lion...*

A third group of classical examples, apparently related to short weak definites, comes from the use of the definite article in the expression of inalienable possession in Romance languages (Le Bruyn 2014, Espinal & Cyrino 2017a): in (4) a weak reading is obtained in which an unspecified hand or leg is mentioned.

- (4) (a) *Juan levantó la mano.* (Spanish)  
 Juan raise.PST.3SG the hand  
 ‘Juan raised his hand.’
- (b) *Me duele la pierna.* (Spanish)  
 me.DAT hurt.PRS.3SG the leg  
 ‘My leg hurts.’

The basic common property of the three groups of examples is that – in the weak reading – being able to identify a referent for the definite DP is irrelevant for understanding the proposition and determining its truth conditions. There is more than one entity that satisfies the descriptive content of the DP, and identification of the referent is not at stake (like in indefinite expressions). Another interesting property that is shared by all examples is that it is not possible to have weak readings if a demonstrative replaces the definite article: this suggests that the stronger conditions imposed by demonstratives<sup>2</sup> on the identification of referents force strong readings, and it is only pure definiteness, when uniqueness is deprived of any additional condition – as is found in the article and in pronouns – that allows for weak interpretations.

I will keep using the terms *short* and *long* to refer to the two patterns (1) and (2), though they are only superficially descriptive. The three groups of examples do not constitute a real classification, and they raise one of the main questions I want to address here, namely why the linguistic contexts that are correlated with weak readings are precisely those, and not others – in other words, why we have just those three groups. The answer that intuitively comes to mind is that the contexts are the sources of the evidence that the addressee relies on in working out the interpretation in accordance with the uniqueness condition. This is the core intuition to be fleshed out in section 3.

### 2.3 A list of properties...

The properties of weak definites have been intensively studied. Any theory of weak definiteness should aim at accounting for them in a unitary way and explaining how they are related to each other. A simplified list follows that should be taken more as a list of family resemblances than as a list of necessary features (see Aguilar-Guevara & Zwarts 2013, Aguilar-Guevara et al. 2014: 4-6).

a) Weak definites, especially singular ones, do not introduce discourse referents that can be retrieved by anaphoric pronouns. This is a general property that is shared by all referentially weak expressions (definites, indefinites and bare nouns). However, anaphoric pronouns can have weak antecedents under certain conditions (see Corblin 2011 and Donazzan 2013 for discussion).

b) Weak referentiality implies scopal deficiency, that is, the inability to take wide scope with respect to other scope-bearing elements. In (5), if the DP *the newspaper* is assigned a weak reading, it must take narrow scope with respect to the quantified DP *each of them*.

(5) *At the moment each of them is reading the newspaper in the lounge.*

c) Short weak definites tend to occur as complements of a lexical head (a verb or preposition). They share this property with Romance bare nominals – another kind of weak nominal – and, more generally, with incorporated nominals. It is common to assume that they never appear in

<sup>2</sup> Weak readings with demonstratives are only possible in constructions like *that kind of N* in English: *that kind of book* is understood as *books of that kind*. I will not consider this particular fact in what follows, and I assume it can be accommodated in the approach I put forward.

subject position. However, the condition is not as rigid as a syntactic constraint, and some examples of weak definite subjects can actually be found: the examples in (6) make a variegated landscape.

- (6) (a) *The train passes through here twice daily...*  
 (Aguilar-Guevara & Zwarts 2013)
- (b) *The hospital is where you should go when very ill.*  
 (Carlson et al. 2006)
- (c) *Nos han picado los mosquitos.*  
 us have.PRS.3PL bitten the mosquitos  
 ‘Mosquitoes bit us.’  
 (Spanish; V. Escandell-Vidal, p.c.)
- (d) *En su casa ya entraron los ladrones una vez.*  
 In his/her house already enter.PST.3PL the thieves one time  
 ‘Thieves had already entered his/her house once before.’  
 (Sp.)
- (e) *I leoni hanno invaso il Serengeti quest’ estate.*  
 the lions have.PRS.3PLinvaded the Serengeti this summer  
 ‘Lions invaded the Serengeti this summer.’  
 (Donazzan 2013)

While (6b) could be set apart as a generic definition, with a metalinguistic component, the Spanish examples in (6c)-(6d) include postverbal subjects that, being part of wide focus, are integrated in a single informational constituent together with the verb, thus in some sense complying with the condition that favors complement positions. In (6e) the subject is preverbal, but again informationally integrated in the predicate, as it seems that the sentence has athetic interpretation. I believe that the main constraint could tentatively be rephrased as a ban against weak definites as sentence topics, rather than keeping a ban against subjects (see Zamparelli 2002 for some inspiring ideas on this point). But it is not clear how to integrate (6a). In any case, the reason why grammatical relations and syntactic position are relevant has to do with the possibility of obtaining stereotypical situations: topical DPs, being informationally singled out, cannot be integrated into a predicate, and thus cannot be parts of the description of a stereotypical situation.

d) When weak definites combine with verbs or prepositions, there are lexical restrictions affecting both the lexical heads and the definite DP. In the contrasts in (7), the restrictions concern the definite DP: with a verb like *read*, the noun *newspaper* gives rise to a weak reading, but *book* does not; with the verb *call*, *doctor* gives rise to a weak reading, but *professor* does not. In (8), the contrasts are related to the choice of different verbs: weak readings emerge in *read the newspaper* and *play the clarinet*, but not in *crumple the newspaper* and *sell the clarinet*.

(7) *read the newspaper/read the book; call the doctor/call the professor*

(8) *read the newspaper/crumple the newspaper; play the clarinet/sell the clarinet*

The data suggest that there is no general grammatical or semantic rule that can account for the role of different lexical items in licensing weak readings. As we will see, there is a certain amount of cross-linguistic variation that has to do with lexical restrictions.

e) The occurrence of nominal modifiers is also severely restricted: short weak definites are only compatible with a specific kind of modifier, namely those establishing subclasses. Whereas no weak reading is available in a predicate like *go to the old hospital*, the contrary is true in *go to the psychiatric hospital*, where the modifier is a classificatory, relational adjective (Aguilar-Guevara & Schulpen 2014).

f) It has been repeatedly pointed out that short weak definites, together with other weakly referential nominals like bare nouns, display stereotypically enriched interpretations that are absent from ordinary strong readings of definite DPs. Enrichment typically results in the expression of habitual and institutionalized situations. Thus, *call the doctor* is understood as ‘call the doctor to ask for medical help’, *go to the cinema* is understood as ‘go to the cinema to watch a movie’, and *go to the store* equals ‘go to the store for shopping’. Though enrichment is not always present to the same extent (see Donazzan 2013 for Italian data), it is true that weak definites usually contribute to the description of stereotypical events and activities.

g) A well-known test to check for the existence of weak readings is based on the availability of sloppy interpretations in VP-ellipsis. Since in the VP-ellipsis context in (9) it is possible to imagine a situation in which Bob and Mary went to different stores, and this situation makes the proposition communicated true, this is evidence for a weak reading of *the store* in the first sentence (the example is actually ambiguous between a strong and a weak reading, as usually happens).

(9) *Bob went to the store, and Mary did too.* (Carlson et al. 2006)

With this list of properties in mind, we can now try to establish what the desiderata for a theory of weak definiteness are. I will do this through a brief list of questions.

#### 2.4 ...and a list of questions

A review of the issues presented in this section leads us to set out (some of) the questions that we need to answer if we wish to achieve a comprehensive view of the phenomenon under study.

The first point concerns definiteness as the uniqueness condition. As already pointed out in 2.1, assuming that weak definites are in fact true definite expressions and that uniqueness must be complied with systematically, the question is how to make uniqueness compatible with indefinite, existential readings. Most recent proposals on weak definiteness are explicit attempts to deal with this problem, and, in section 3, I will rely on some common features of such proposals to sketch an informal answer.

The second question – rather, set of questions – has to do with the distinction between short and long weak definites. They represent two independent formal patterns. It is puzzling that a single phenomenon manifests itself through two different, apparently unrelated schemes. How are the two schemes related to weak readings? What basic property do they share? Are they the only ways of expressing weak definiteness? Why are weak readings excluded from other contexts? By formulating these questions, we are also wondering what the limits of the phenomenon might be.

The following issues concern the basic properties summarized in 2.3. The properties in the list cluster together in different ways. On the one hand, sloppy identity readings, narrow scope, and the difficulty to establish discourse referents point to the non-referential nature of weak definites: they are consequences of the fact that a speaker using a weak definite refers to no specific entity. Thus, accounting for this cluster of properties means explaining why a non-referential reading is available in the DP, with no linguistic clue favoring it, and possibly in competition with other formal options such as bare nominals. This is a central question in any approach to weak definiteness.

On the other hand, restrictions on lexical items and modifiers, restrictions on positions, with the tendency to exclude subjects, and enriched stereotypical interpretations seem to constitute evidence for a process of semantic incorporation of the definite DP into a complex predicate (Carlson & Sussman 2005, Carlson et al. 2006). This cluster of properties also fits



well in a model that relates weak definites to predicates that express kinds of events (Schwarz 2014). However, notice that this second group of properties characterizes short weak definites, perhaps with some exceptions, but it is absent from long weak definites: in expressions like *the side of the road* and *the picture of a young couple*, no lexical restrictions are found – apart from those related to the relational nature of the first noun – there is no stereotypical enrichment, and the syntactic position of the DP plays no specific role. The disparity between the two formal patterns stands out again, and confirms that the list of properties in 2.3 is not a list of necessary conditions for weak definiteness. The facts suggest that the second cluster of properties is not relevant in the scheme ‘the N of {a/the} N’ because the weak reading obtains in any case without semantic incorporation or the denotation of kinds of events. This raises two questions. The first is why weak definiteness is connected to semantic incorporation, or, alternatively, to the expression of kinds of events. The second is why this happens only in the ‘short’ group, and what this means for an account of weak readings.

These are the issues we need to consider in order to explain why weak definiteness is observed in a limited set of contexts.

### 3. Weak readings and linguistic contexts

#### 3.1 How is uniqueness maintained?

As already pointed out in 2.1, I adhere to the claim that in weak readings the definite article must be analyzed as a standard definite article, with the uniqueness condition as its linguistic meaning, along the lines of many proposals in recent literature (Barker 2005, Bosch & Cieschinger 2010, Aguilar-Guevara & Zwarts 2013, Beyssade 2013, Donazzan 2013, Aguilar-Guevara 2014, Le Bruyn 2014, Schwarz 2014). Maintaining uniqueness forces us to explain how weak readings are possible, being apparently violations of the uniqueness condition. The proposals mentioned solve the problem by elaborating different varieties of a single strategy that can be summarized as follows: if uniqueness is not satisfied at the level of token referents, it can be satisfied at some more abstract level, be it the level of types, or of kinds, or roles and functions. In this way the core feature of definiteness is kept in force, and the possibility opens up of deriving most characteristic properties of weak readings from the requirements imposed by uniqueness. I believe that this strategy is simple and illuminating, and I will devote this section to working it out and exploring its consequences.

A representative sample of this approach is found in the analysis of English long weak definites in Barker (2005). Barker points out that the apparent failure of uniqueness in examples like *open the window* is typically correlated to the irrelevance of the referent’s identifiability: the speaker is indifferent as to which particular token – which window – is being referred to. In the DP *the corner of a busy intersection*, “...the properties that distinguish between the four corners of the intersection are irrelevant: all that matters is whether they are corners on a busy intersection” (Barker 2005: 104); thus, the uniqueness condition is satisfied by the existence of a single non-specific corner, taken as the relation of being a corner in an intersection. This holds for weak definiteness with relational nouns. However, the irrelevance of distinguishing properties in tokens of one single kind or type underlies the use of definite DPs also in examples like the ones in (10), from Barker (2005) and Beyssade (2013).

- (10) (a) *I drive a Ford Falcon, and Tom drives the same car.*  
 (b) *John and Mary wear the same T-shirt.*

Barker’s proposal is actually more complex, but these words are enough to introduce an intuitive idea that others have also tried to develop.

Aguilar-Guevara and Zwarts (2013) claim that weak definites (of the short type) refer to kinds (see Beyssade 2013 and Espinal & Cyrino 2017b for some criticism). In this approach, “what licenses the definite article is the uniqueness of the kind referred to” (Aguilar-Guevara & Zwarts 2013: 43); reference to kinds explains also the restrictions on modification mentioned above, and a number of similarities between short weak definites and generic definites. Once again, the failure of uniqueness at the level of tokens is solved at a more abstract level. However, the authors note that in examples like *read the newspaper* and *play the violin* the predicates *read* and *play* are object-level predicates, and not predicates that select a kind-level internal argument; moreover, one does not read or play a kind, but rather some instantiation of the kind. This motivates the introduction of some type-shifting rules à la Hall-Partee (1986) and other technical adjustments, like a realization relation *R* that connects individuals and the kinds they are realizations of. The assumptions that a) weak readings correlate with situations that involve an indeterminate number of instantiations of a kind or type and b) uniqueness is satisfied at some kind/type abstract level are shared by many approaches to weak definiteness. Here I will be more interested in bringing to the fore what they have in common than in analyzing the aspects in which they differ. In this sense, though remaining unconvinced by the idea of reference to kinds,<sup>3</sup> I agree with the spirit of Aguilar-Guevara and Zwarts’ proposal. The crucial point is that the weak reading systematically highlights the fact that the referent instantiates a certain type – both in the short and the long pattern – and bans the choice of a specific entity among the ones that comply with the description, because the context makes the choice irrelevant (Beyssade 2013 rightly points out that in this respect weak definites behave like attributive definite descriptions). This is the main consequence of satisfying uniqueness at the ‘non-token’ level, and also the main difference with respect to strong readings.

Beyssade (2013) puts forward a similar proposal, but she replaces kinds with types, which I find more natural. Her main generalization is that “In contexts where there is more than one token which satisfies the property denoted by *N'* (*N* or *N* and its complement), *N'* has to be interpreted as an expression which refers to a type. So to speak, it is a case of coercion” (Beyssade 2013: 133). The idea is that when a definite DP is used in a context where more than one (token) referent satisfies the description, the uniqueness presupposition forces the hearer to infer a weak interpretation, which means interpreting the DP as a type-referring expression: “...the definite determiner is used to shift from tokens to the type which groups tokens together and presents them as indistinguishable. In order to build a type, the Speaker erases the differences between the various tokens, she makes as if they were irrelevant” (Beyssade 2013: 134). A related strategy is applied to inalienable possession constructions in Le Bruyn (2014).

There are, of course, differences among relations, kinds and types, and each one of these notions should be carefully defined. However, examining those differences is not among the goals of this paper. In what follows, I merely assume that in any variety of weak definites the uniqueness condition is satisfied at some abstract level that does not consider tokens, whatever it may be – I will follow Beyssade in talking about types; not only does this allow us to keep treating the article as a standard definite article, which is a welcome result, but it is also the basic intuition from which the analysis of the whole set of data derives.

Some clarifications are in order here. One could wonder why an interpretive shift from

---

<sup>3</sup> Among the reasons why the notion of kind does not seem adequate to me, I would mention the difficulty of analyzing all kinds of weak definites as kind-referring expressions, and the fact that weak definites do not actually refer like singular definite generics. Aguilar-Guevara and Zwarts (2013) is often understood as an approach based on the idea that common nouns are ambiguous between the denotation of objects and the denotation of kinds. In my view, there is no lexical ambiguity of nouns. Objects, kinds and types as referents are not a list of pre-existing denotations of nouns, but rather the results of the inferential elaboration of the underspecified lexical meaning of nouns.

tokens to types occurs at all to save the constructions under discussion and make them acceptable. Why are they not excluded? Why do definite DPs receive readings that depart from the regular referential use? The answer is that two forces conspire in favor of having type shifts. One is the general tendency to search for relevance in utterance interpretation (Sperber & Wilson 1986): if a semantic mismatch between two elements is perceived – in our case, given the conflict between uniqueness and a context that does not provide the information required to satisfy it, the hearer will try to make sense of the utterance by applying some adjustment process that solves the mismatch, before considering the utterance as anomalous. Strategies for mismatch resolution are systematically exploited in interpretation (see de Swart 2011 for an overview); the shift from tokens to an abstract type is just a particular strategy that is triggered by the possibility of using the definite article in a context that provides a number of undifferentiated referents, thus failing to obey uniqueness. Instead of blocking the interpretive process because uniqueness is not satisfied, an alternative way to maintain uniqueness is found. This is what Beyssade (2013) describes as a case of coercion, but note that the trigger is not necessarily the exclusion of any strong reading in the context, but rather the simple possibility of obtaining a different way of complying with uniqueness in the search for a relevant interpretation (recall that most examples of weak definiteness can be assigned a strong reading too).

The second force behind the interpretive shift is the procedural nature of definiteness: as argued for in Leonetti and Escandell-Vidal (2011), instructions encoded in procedural items like articles and pronouns are typically rigid, in the sense that they must be satisfied at any cost, and at the same time cannot be modulated or adjusted to comply with the requirements of another linguistic item. If definiteness, as it is encoded in determiners and pronouns, is rigid, it must trigger some kind of type-shifting operation when a uniquely identifiable referent is not available.

Weak readings are thus predicted to occur whenever the conditions for a successful shift are given. In line with these assumptions, shifting operations must be seen as inferential processes that develop the logical form of an utterance into a fully specified proposition. Weak readings are pragmatically inferred from the logical form under certain contextual conditions, and arise as a result of the inferential specification of the explicature of the utterance by the hearer. Definite determiners may be interpreted in this way only if they do not encode any additional requirements that could further constrain the search for the referent: such requirements – for instance, deictic features in demonstratives – would inhibit the shift from tokens to types. This is why weak readings are not obtained with demonstratives.

### **3.2 How are the two formal patterns related to weak readings?**

The problem raised by the existence of (at least) two kinds of weak definites – short and long – in need of a unitary account now begins to look easier to face. The two formal patterns simply represent two contexts that allow for uniqueness to be satisfied by shifting from tokens to types. This is the property they share. Of course, short weak definites and long weak definites exhibit a different behavior in several respects, but this is expected, since they force the hearer to follow different paths in order to reach reference to types.

In the short scheme, the DP offers no valuable clues to guide the inferential process; then, some DP-external element must play a role in licensing reference to types. Here it is crucial that the whole VP or PP can denote an event kind (Schwarz 2014), a stereotypical, habitual, conventional situation that does not imply selecting a specific (token) referent, like in *go to the hospital*, *do the dishes* or *take the train*. The kind reading of the whole predicate is needed to license reference to a type in the definite DP. Instead of pausing to discuss the details of a plausible notion of event kind, I would just like to stress the role that stereotypical situations play in the argument: they are required to support the shift from tokens to types. Briefly, they are there to keep uniqueness in place, ultimately. This view differs significantly from other

views in the literature, in which they are related to familiarity, with the familiarity condition allegedly encoded by the article somehow transferred to the denotation of the VP/PP to obtain familiar, prototypical situations (Donazzan 2013, Carlson, Klein, Gegg-Harrison & Tanenhaus 2013). I prefer to avoid any marked operation that places definiteness out of the DP, and, above all, I do not want to take familiarity as the meaning of definiteness. My claim is that here, as in any other use of the definite article, familiarity is only a side effect of uniqueness: familiarity in the accessibility of stereotypical situations is indirectly derived from the main role of event kinds. As Donazzan (2013: 74) puts it, “prototypical situations are situations sufficiently established as recurrent and habitual routines to be considered part of the common ground or of the conventional knowledge shared by speaker and hearer, and to be sometimes judged ‘nameworthy’ in their own respect”. This is certainly true, but it is relevant for short weak definites only because it makes reference to types possible. Stereotypical events are also required in the expression of inalienable possession in Romance, which I will not deal with (see Le Bruyn 2014).

Turning now to the long scheme, what we find is a different path leading towards reference to types. In this case the shift takes place inside the DP domain, and the trigger is the combination of uniqueness with relational nouns, either those describing relations that do not determine uniquely identifiable referents, like *side*, *finger* or *corner*, or any relational noun with an indefinite, non-specific complement, like *student of a linguist*, *mother of a boy in the class*, or *picture of a young couple*. In the first case, the information contained in the lexical part of the DP does not satisfy uniqueness by itself, though additional contextual data can do the job when a specific referent is intended – for instance, by providing a discourse antecedent, or favoring accommodation; if no more data supporting uniqueness are available in the context, the existence of several sides, fingers or corners of something leads to a violation of uniqueness, unless the condition is satisfied by a type that can be realized by more than one token. The context may make manifest to the hearer that individuation of particular tokens is pointless and contributes nothing to the interpretation: as a consequence, a weak reading is obtained. In the second case, with the ‘N of a N’ pattern, uniqueness is again violated, given that the lexical part of the DP is not restrictive enough, and can only be satisfied at an abstract level (possibly by ‘functional identification’, if Corblin 2011, 2013 is right) through an interpretation like ‘a N that represents the type *N of a N*’. Thus, the problem raised by the uniqueness condition is essentially the same in short and long weak definites, but the kind of linguistic material involved in its resolution is different.

Then, all we need for licensing weak definiteness is a context that provides data that can support a specific way of satisfying uniqueness. This suggests that other formal schemes for weak definiteness could be found. I discuss some examples in section 4. As for the contexts where weak readings are excluded, they fail to provide the hearer with evidence – access to event types or to functions – that reference to types is required. No ambiguity in any lexical item is involved.

### 3.3 How is the non-referential reading licensed?

In 2.4 I suggested that the properties of narrow scope, sloppy identity readings and the difficulty for establishing discourse referents cluster together as signs of a non-referential reading. Non-referentiality is due to reference to types, or alternatively to the absence of reference to tokens: the presence of event kinds or functions in the interpretation rules out the possibility that individual discourse referents are introduced. To my knowledge, these properties are shared by all kinds of weak definites. Thus, they can be seen as intrinsically tied to weak definiteness. Reference to types is reached through different inferential paths in the specification of utterance explicatures, depending on the linguistic context. If this has been made clear by the preceding discussion, now the question is why the non-referential reading is computed by speakers/hearers. Since it is usually in competition with a strong

reading that looks simpler and does not involve any interpretive shift, one may wonder how it is that hearers strive to reach the weak reading in the processing of utterances.

I can only offer a partial answer, by focusing on two points. One concerns the competition with the strong reading, and the other concerns the competition between weak definites and weak indefinites.

As for the strong reading, it is not so clear that the referential reading is a simpler and more economical option with respect to the weak reading. Take, for instance, *go to the beach* and *take the train*. In their strong reading, these expressions point to a particular beach – say, Las Salinas – and a particular train – say, the 10:15 train. Since in short definites the DP does not include restrictive information, obeying uniqueness to identify the referent implies accessing contextual data, by either searching for a discourse antecedent or relying on information shared by the interlocutors. This means that identification of a token referent requires devoting some cognitive resources to the task, and this processing effort will be rewarded with a relevant interpretation only in certain contexts, namely the contexts in which the speaker makes manifest his intention to refer to Las Salinas beach or the 10:15 train. But in other contexts, the speaker may be interested in talking about the stereotypical activities of going to the beach or taking the train: in those cases, no effort will be invested in identifying a token referent, no search for a discourse antecedent will be activated, and switching to a type will be enough to satisfy uniqueness. Some kind of inferential elaboration is needed both for strong and for weak readings, and it is not evident that an asymmetry in processing cost would penalize weak readings. However, the crucial factor in favor of them is that reference to types, and, eventually, to event types, allows speakers to communicate something that they could not communicate otherwise, namely the assumption that what counts is having a stereotypical situation instantiated, with all the cognitive effects associated. Thus, even if weak readings look like marked readings with respect to strong ones, the cost of reaching them is adequately balanced by their consequences in communication.

The competition between weak definites and (weak) indefinites raises intricate problems that I cannot discuss here, but the basic point I am interested in is the following: if weak definiteness means having indefinite readings of definite expressions – that is, readings in which more than one referent complies with the description in the DP and any of those referents could be selected and make the intended proposition true – then why is a definite DP used to express the same meanings that speakers usually convey by using indefinite DPs, apparently blurring the definite/indefinite distinction? The answer is again the same as before: weak readings of definites are indefinite/existential, but they have communicative effects that cannot be achieved by means of indefinite expressions. Such effects are due to the role of stereotypical situations and the associated meaning enrichment: *go to a beach* and *take a train* lack the meaning enrichment component that is found in *go to the beach* and *take the train* (go to the beach to relax at the seaside, choose the train as a means of transport from among other options).<sup>4</sup> Intuitively, this is what justifies the existence of weak definiteness.

Things become more intricate when weak definites are compared with bare nouns, as in the two series of examples in (11), from Carlson et al. (2006).

- (11) (a) *Sue took her nephew* {to college / to prison / to class}.  
 (b) *Sue took her nephew* {to the hospital / to the store / to the beach}.

The problem is that bare nouns, being semantically incorporated, show the same kind of semantic enrichment that we find in short weak definites (this, together with a number of other common properties, leads Carlson & Sussman 2005, and Carlson et al. 2006 to propose that weak definites are also semantically incorporated). The two options seem to be

---

<sup>4</sup> See Corblin (2013: 113ff) for a detailed discussion.

equivalent: both are used to represent stereotypical situations. Far from being a problem, however, this is actually the reason why weak definites and bare singular nouns tend to exist in complementary distribution, rather than occurring as competing options in the same environments. What remains to be explained is the principle that determines this distribution. I am afraid that, for the moment, we cannot make much progress on this point: the occurrence of definites and bare singulars seems to depend on idiosyncratic choices in each language. Though I will return to this issue in section 4.1, I leave aside the problem of how to account for the cases in which complementary distribution fails (see 4.2).

To sum up, weak readings in definites are licensed because they represent optimal ways to exploit definiteness giving rise to interpretations that could not be obtained by other means.

### 3.4 What is behind the typical properties of short weak definites?

The cluster of properties typically associated with short weak definites includes lexical restrictions, restrictions on modifiers and syntactic positions, and enrichment in interpretation. Why do they cluster together? As indicated in 3.2, they do so because they represent pieces of a complex process triggered by the uniqueness requirement when the descriptive content of the DP is insufficient to guarantee that a referent is identifiable by the addressee, and no discourse antecedent is available to establish an anaphoric interpretation. Under such conditions, reference to types becomes a satisfactory way of justifying uniqueness, but it is dependent on the possibility of accessing an event type. The above-mentioned set of properties fits naturally into this interpretive strategy:

- Lexical restrictions obviously emerge because not all predications describe stereotypical situations that are easily conceived as event types. *Go to the store* is among the possible stereotypical situations in English, but *close the store* and *go to the harbor* are not.
- Restrictions on modifiers are well justified: only classificatory modifiers are compatible with weak definiteness because all other modifiers would orient the interpretation towards the search for an identifiable token that complies with the description in the DP.
- Restrictions on syntactic positions – in favor of complements and against subjects – are less systematic than what is usually assumed, but they can also be derived from the need to rely on an event type: this implies a high degree of informational integration into a predicate, which is typical of complements, but not of subjects as external arguments. If the restrictions can be ultimately formulated as a ban against weak definiteness in topic positions, the argument remains the same.
- Finally, enriched meanings are usually required in the denotation of stereotypical situations with simple predicates. They result from a general pragmatic tendency to understand unmarked expressions as associated with stereotypical meanings (see Horn's 2004 R principle: 'Say no more than you must'). The way enrichment appears in the interpretation has attracted the attention of several authors. Enrichment is usually seen as driven by the activation of the telic component in the lexical meaning of nouns (Corblin 2013, Zwarts 2014, Espinal & Cyrino 2017b): the meaning of *hospital* contains the function of healing injured and ill people, the meaning of *piano* includes the goal of making music, the meaning of *bus* includes the function of transporting people to certain destinations, etc. If an event type has to be defined when interpreting a weak definite, the information contained in the telic *qualia* of nouns provide speakers with the primary information resource needed to enrich the basic meaning of the DP; so to speak, stereotypical situations are identified on the basis of the telic *qualia*. The same logic that underlies other properties of weak definites operates here too: uniqueness can only be satisfied at the level of types, which requires

that the DP be a part of the description of an event type, and this in turn highlights stereotypical situations associated with the telic component of the meaning of nouns.

According to this view of the phenomenon, the typical properties shared by short weak definites emerge from a specific path for satisfying uniqueness. They do not play any role when a different interpretive path is followed. This is what happens in long weak definites and, as I will show in section 4, in other environments.

### **3.5 Is cross-linguistic variation expected?**

To my knowledge, cross-linguistic variation in the expression of weak definiteness has not received much attention in current research. However, variation is certainly one of the areas that are worth exploring if we aim to make progress in understanding the phenomenon of weak definiteness. The overview presented in the previous sections leads us to expect variation in two aspects (for languages that have Romance-like definiteness marking, at least). On the one hand, if the conditions for satisfying uniqueness through reference to types are given in contexts other than the ones described for short and long weak definites, then we should expect to have manifestations of weak definiteness in such contexts as well, and thus the traditional set of data discussed in the literature could be extended to include new patterns. On the other hand, since the occurrence of short weak definites is strongly dependent on the availability of stereotypical, habitual situations, which is in turn dependent on cultural, idiosyncratic ways of representing the world, variation is expected to occur – at a superficial level – in the combination of short definite DPs with their governing verbs and prepositions, ultimately due to cultural differences. As mentioned in 3.3, this kind of variation is partially explained by extra-grammatical factors and should not have important consequences for a general theory of weak definiteness. What is worth indicating is that variation seems to be limited to the short pattern. It does not affect the long pattern because this context does not require accessing stereotypical, culturally established situations to reach a relevant interpretation.

The basic fact that unifies all the data up to now and in the next section is the presence of an indeterminate number of non-identifiable tokens of a single type in the situation that makes the proposition true. This is enough to classify the examples as instances of weak definiteness, despite minor differences in other aspects.

## **4. Cross-linguistic variation**

### **4.1 Variation in short weak definites**

My aim in this section is to discuss mainly data from Basque and Romance languages (basically Italian and Spanish). These data show different levels of cross-linguistic variation that go from superficial variation in lexical choices to facts that seem to be more intertwined with the internal organization of the grammatical system.

#### **4.1.1 English and Romance**

The first level is represented in the examples in (12)-(18), where the symbol # means ‘weak reading not acceptable’.

(12) *take the train; prendre le train* (French); *coger el tren* (Spanish); *prendere il treno* (Italian)

(13) #*take the car; prendre la voiture* (French); *coger el coche* (Spanish); *prendere la macchina* (Italian)

- (14) *go to (#the) school; aller à l'école* (French); *ir al colegio* (Spanish); *andare a scuola/#alla scuola* (Italian)
- (15) *talk on the phone; parler au telephone* (French); *hablar por (#el) teléfono* (Spanish); *parlare al telefono* (Italian)
- (16) *have a/#the girlfriend; avoir une/#la fiancée* (French); *tener (#la) novia* (Spanish); *avere la fidanzata* (Italian)
- (17) *eat with (#the) chopsticks; manger avec des/#les baguettes* (French); *comer con (#los) palillos* (Spanish); *mangiare con i bastoncini* (Italian)
- (18) *wear a/#the hat; porter un chapeau* (French); *llevar (#el) sombrero* (Spanish); *portare il cappello* (Italian)

A look at the list of examples reveals evidence for a certain amount of small-scale variation across English, French, Spanish and Italian: the use of a weak definite article is acceptable in all languages in (12), but is not systematically allowed in the remaining cases, with idiosyncratic gaps scattered throughout the paradigm, and with no clear pattern emerging from the data. It is true that certain languages, in particular Italian and to a minor extent French, show a clear tendency to choose weak definites instead of indefinites or bare nominals, mostly due to the heavy constraints they pose on the use of bare nouns. However, what the list highlights is that there is no single grammatical principle or parameter that can cover this kind of variation, that it is extremely difficult to make predictions about the distribution of short weak definites, and that the choice between definites and bare nouns is partially a matter of the conventionalization of idiomatic expressions (see Laca 1999 on Spanish bare nouns). The conclusion is that the facts cannot be completely explained in grammatical terms and that the existence of superficial variation does not contradict the essential homogeneity of the syntax and semantics of the definite article in the languages under discussion. Is it possible to give a convincing account of this set of cross-linguistic differences simply by appealing to the connection between definiteness and stereotypical situations? This would seem to be quite difficult. For the cases in which weak definites are in competition with singular bare nouns (for instance, *llevar sombrero* ‘wear a hat’ in Spanish vs. *portare il cappello* in Italian), the main problem is that both formal choices are associated with the expression of stereotypical, habitual or institutionalized situations, and there is no clear reason why, with the same combination of verb and noun, one language prefers one option and another one prefers the other – leaving aside the role of distributional constraints on bare nouns in particular languages.

To sum up, the panorama emerging from (12)-(18) suggests that there is little room for large scale predictions. A detailed comparative study that includes other languages will surely throw some light on this point.

#### 4.1.2 Italian vs. Spanish

A second level of variation that points towards something more systematic from a cross-linguistic perspective is found in the set of examples in (19)-(24), where Spanish and Italian are compared (again, # means ‘weak reading not acceptable’ and its absence indicates ‘weak reading acceptable’).

- (19) (a) *beber/ tomar* { (# el) *café* / (# la) *cerveza* / (#el) *vino* } Sp.  
 (b) *bere / prendere* { *il caffè* / *la birra* / *il vino* } It.  
 drink have the coffee the beer the wine



- (20) (a) *comer* { (# *el*) *pescado* / (# *los*) *bombones*} Sp.  
 (b) *mangiare* { *il pesce* / *i cioccolatini*} It.  
 eat the fish the chocolates
- (21) (a) *llevar* (#*la*) *chaqueta* / *ponerse* (# *la*) *corbata* Sp.  
 (b) *indossare* *la giacca* / *mettersi* *la cravatta* It.  
 wear the jacket put.on the tie
- (22) (a) *tener* (# *el*) *coche* / *llevar* (# *las*) *gafas* / *tener* (# *el*) *resfriado* Sp.  
 (b) *avere* *la macchina* / *portare* *gli occhiali* / *avere* *il raffreddore* It.  
 have the car wear the glasses have the cold
- (23) (a) *poner* (# *el*) *azúcar* *en la salsa* Sp.  
 put the sugar in the sauce  
 (b) *mettere* *lo zucchero* *nel sugo* It.  
 put the sugar in.the sauce
- (24) (a) *el gato* *con* (# *las*) *botas* / *ese señor* *con* (# *el*) *bigote* Sp.  
 (b) *il gatto* *con* *gli stivali* / *quell signore* *con* *i baffi* It.  
 the cat with the boots that man with the mustache

Far from the idiosyncratic and unpredictable gaps in the patterns we saw when we compared English with Romance, here the differences in behavior between the two languages are quite consistent (though not unrelated to what is shown in (12)-(18)). In each VP, and even in the DPs in (24), a bare noun in Spanish corresponds to a weak definite in Italian; no weak definite is licensed in the Spanish examples, but some bare nouns are acceptable in Italian – in examples (19), (20) and (23), with a very subtle, intriguing difference between them and the weak definites: see *bere caffè* ‘drink coffee’ and *bere il caffè* lit. ‘drink the coffee’. There is a systematic contrast between Spanish and Italian (already noted in Zamparelli 2002). Judging informally, Italian seems to admit a huge variety of short weak definites, many more than Spanish (and English). The remaining uses of the definite article are equivalent in the two languages, and I see no solid reason to abandon the assumption that the grammar and meaning of the article are essentially the same in Spanish and Italian. If resorting to the expression of stereotypical situations is not useful, since they are evoked by both weak definites and incorporated (singular) bare nouns, we are left without a sound motivation for the contrast. This is particularly disappointing because the contrast looks quite robust. Just to confirm this point, it is worth mentioning additional Italian examples from Zamparelli (2002) and Donazzan (2013) (and see similar examples in Ippolito 2016).

- (25) *Ogni settimana, il mio sito web viene attaccato dagli hackers.*  
 each week the my site web come.PRS.3SG attacked by.the hackers  
 ‘Every week, my web site is attacked by (the) hackers.’
- (26) *La casa è sporchissima. In cantina ci sono i topi.*  
 the house be.PRS.3SG filthy in basement LOC be.PRS.3PL the mice  
 ‘The house is filthy. In the basement there are (the) mice.’
- (27) *In quale aula c’è il videoproiettore?*  
 in which classroom LOC be.PRS.3SG the video-projector  
 ‘In which classroom is there a video-projector?’

- (28) *Ha passato il pomeriggio a leggere i fumetti.*  
 have.PRS.3SG spent the afternoon to read the comics  
 ‘(S)he spent the afternoon reading (the) comics.’

Zamparelli (2002) pointed out that definite DPs with indefinite readings are widespread in Italian, and noted that these readings disappear when different kinds of modifiers are added, or when the head noun is substituted for another noun; this shows that the definite DPs in (25)-(28) are subject to the typical constraints that affect short weak definites. As these constraints are shared with kind-level definite DPs, Zamparelli concludes that definite DPs in Italian may have indefinite readings only when (in some context) they can have a kind-level meaning, so that indefinite readings are derived from kind readings by means of a type-shifting operation, like in the neo-Carlsonian view of bare plurals in English (the author claims that definites can be used to produce “nameless representatives” of the kind they refer to). Notice that Zamparelli deals with several of the basic properties mentioned in the literature on weak definiteness – see section 2 – without even referring to such a notion. I take it for granted that the definite DPs in the Italian examples in (25)-(28) are genuine examples of short weak definites; they have no definite counterparts in Spanish (except, marginally, for the first one).

Let me devote a few lines to underlining the significance of the Italian and Spanish data presented so far. There are two points that deserve special attention:

1. As mentioned above, the contrast between Spanish and Italian is systematic and cannot be reduced to a mere lexical issue without losing sight of the underlying generalization. There must be some principle that explains the difference, but it is not clear where to locate it in the organization of the grammatical system; I would not say that it is a syntactic or a semantic principle. Variation does not affect the cornerstones of weak definiteness as they have been established in the previous sections. Informally, all I can say is that the origin of variation seems to lie at the intersection of uniqueness and stereotypical situations: Italian deviates from the pattern of short weak definites that is usual in other languages in allowing for the use of the definite article when it is just based on a habitual, expected situation that does not necessarily correspond to a stereotype or to conventional behavior. The habitual repetition of attacks on web sites by hackers and afternoons spent reading comics is enough to allow the weak definites in (25) and (28).<sup>5</sup> It may be a stereotypical assumption that classrooms are equipped with projectors, as in (27), but it is not really stereotypical that mice are found in the basement, as in (26). Note that these two examples contain existential constructions: it is common to use weak definites as pivots of existentials in Italian. In short, Italian is characterized by a relaxation of the contextual requirements for weak definiteness. This might be related to other properties of the system, as will be suggested below.

2. A second point has to do with the need to integrate this kind of data from the Romance domain into the general discussion on weak definiteness, since they have not received any attention in such a context. Doing this has some interesting consequences. A consideration of

---

<sup>5</sup> The subtle interpretive contrast between (i) and (ii) – weak definite vs. bare nominal – has to do with the habitual, familiar flavor conveyed by the presence of the article in (i), which is absent in (ii):

(i) *Ha passato il pomeriggio a leggere i fumetti.*  
 have.PRS.3SG spent the afternoon to read the comics  
 ‘(S)he spent the afternoon reading comics.’

(ii) *Ha passato il pomeriggio a leggere fumetti.*  
 have.PRS.3SG spent the afternoon to read comics

A weak reading cannot be obtained with *leggere {i libri / gli articoli}* ‘read {the books / the articles}’, apparently because reading books and reading articles, though being possible situations, are not identifiable as common, habitual, daily activities. In (iii) the definite DPs can only get a strong, anaphoric reading:

(iii) *Ha passato il pomeriggio a leggere i libri / gli articoli.*  
 have.PRS.3SG spent the afternoon to read the books the articles

the Italian examples leads us to accept that the traditional picture of short weak definites based on English is too rigid: it must be enlarged to include DPs that are not governed by lexical heads (even subjects), internal DPs in existential environments, and DPs that do not exactly conform to the list of basic properties. Briefly, this suggests that our view of the phenomenon needs to be somehow adjusted. A good sign is the possibility of having short weak definites – in particular, in plural – that do not convey enriched meanings in Italian, as pointed out in Donazzan (2013: 69-73): this is clear in examples like (28) or (25)-(26), and for instance in (29), where the predicate *bere il caffè* ‘drink the coffee’ has a regular compositional interpretation.

- (29) *Esco a bere il caffè al bar.* (Donazzan 2013: 69)  
 go.out.PRS.1SG to drink the coffee at.the bar  
 ‘I am going out to have a coffee at the bar.’

This confirms that the emergence of enriched meanings is not a necessary requirement for short weak readings, but rather a factor subordinated to the establishment of stereotypical situations. Moreover, it seems plausible that if the conditions for having a weak interpretation are relaxed in Italian, meaning enrichment is prone to disappear in many contexts.

#### 4.1.3 The case of Basque

After this perhaps inconclusive overview of the contrast between Italian and Spanish, I can now go on a third level of variation and examine the special case of (Standard) Basque in the context of the previous observations on Romance.

Etxeberria (2010, 2014) analyzes the enclitic Basque form *-a* (*-ak* in plural) as a definite article with indefinite, existential readings (see also Manterola 2012 for a characterization of *-a* as a definite article). As he points out, the examples in (30), from Etxeberria (2010), are ambiguous: combined with *-a(k)*, the nouns *goxoki* ‘candy’ and *ardo* ‘wine’ can receive either a strong, definite reading or a weak, indefinite one.

- (30) (a) *Amaiak goxoki-ak jan ditu.*  
 Amaia.ERG candy-DET.PL.ABS eat AUX  
 ‘Amaia has eaten (the) candies.’  
 (b) *Izarok ardo-a edan du.*  
 Izaro.ERG wine-DET.SG.ABS drink AUX  
 ‘Izaro has drunk (the) wine.’

The indefinite reading of *-a* nominals is also found, in object position, with predicates that describe stereotypical situations, as in the examples in (31).

- (31) (a) *auto-a / etxe-a erosi*  
 ca-D.SG house-DET.SG buy  
 ‘buy a car / a house’  
 (b) *senarr-a / emazte-a eduki*  
 husband-D.SG wife-DET.SG have  
 ‘have a husband / a wife’  
 (c) *xapel-a eraman*  
 hat-DET.SG wear  
 ‘wear a hat’

Etxeberria (2010: 34) notes that there are environments where the indefinite reading is excluded, as in the object of *erosi* ‘buy’ in (32).

- (32) *liburu-a erosi*  
 book-DET.SG buy  
 ‘buy the book’

So far, the data suggest that Basque *-a* is in fact a definite article that gives rise to weak readings under the same conditions operating in other languages. The parallel with Italian, in particular, is striking: the Italian equivalents of (30)-(31) contain a definite article with a weak reading, whereas the Italian translation of (32) can only have a strong reading. Why is Basque so tolerant with weak definites? Because bare nouns in Basque are not allowed in argument position, *-a* became an obligatory element in argumental DPs (Etxeberria 2014), and it is reasonable to assume that *-a* developed indefinite readings in contexts in which other languages resort to bare nouns just because bare nouns are not an option. Briefly, the idea is that the definite determiner takes the interpretations that cannot be conveyed by means of an alternative formal option. Etxeberria (2010) argues that Basque *-a* is particularly flexible in its ability to type-shift; it allows both the referential and the kind reading, as definite articles do in many different languages, and in episodic sentences the weak reading is derived from the kind-level interpretation through a covert operation that introduces existential quantification over instantiations of the kind (in line with Zamparelli 2002). It is not clear that this approach can predict under which conditions weak readings are excluded, as in (32), but it seems that Basque behaves like Italian in this respect. Basque speakers, like Italian speakers, make a notably broader use of the definite article than speakers of other languages.

A potential problem for this view is raised by some peculiar facts in the use of *-a*. As Manterola (2012) points out, *-a* can be used even in existential contexts, as in (33), and in predicate nominals, as in (34), – that is, even in non-argument positions – which suggests that perhaps it has reached the final stage in its grammaticalization process – the scale that goes from demonstrative to definite article to noun marker, according to Greenberg (1978).

- (33) *Ardo-a badago.*  
 wine-DET.SG there.is  
 ‘There is wine.’

- (34) *Jon irakasle-a da.*  
 Jon teacher-DET.SG be.PRS.3SG  
 ‘Jon is {a/the} teacher.’

There is, in fact, some controversy in Basque linguistics surrounding the status of *-a*: not all experts accept that it is a true definite article, and some of them claim that it is actually a nominal marker, deprived of its original definiteness feature (see Artiagoitia 2002). Etxeberria (2014: 359) argues that *-a* cannot have reached the status of pure nominal marker, as it does not appear systematically with every noun. Thus, on the one hand there is evidence in favor of its status as a definite determiner (for instance, on historical grounds; see Manterola 2012), but on the other hand its use has extended to a point that makes it look quite different from other definite articles in European languages. I think it is fair to assume, without committing myself to more specific claims, that Basque *-a* is still a definite article, but has gone further in its grammaticalization path than most of its counterparts in Romance languages (including Italian). Though additional data are required to establish the extension of indefinite readings with *-a* in a precise fashion, there is enough evidence to give a tentative answer to the question concerning Basque tolerance with weak definites: it is due to the high degree of grammaticalization of the article, together with the ban against bare nouns. Both factors conspire to favor the use of the definite article with interpretations that usually correspond to bare nouns. The same idea could be applied to the difference between Spanish and Italian,

within the Romance domain: if Italian shows a broader use of the definite article than Spanish, it is because its article has achieved a higher degree of grammaticalization along the path from demonstrative to noun marker, and the extension of weak readings through different contexts is an indication that their licensing conditions are less strict than in other languages. This is not simply an ad hoc stipulation: it actually fits nicely in the picture offered by recent research on Romance languages (Lamiroy & De Mulder 2011) showing that these languages display at a given point in synchrony varying degrees of grammaticalization, and that in this grammaticalization cline Spanish is the most conservative language and Italian and French are more innovative. The spreading of weak definiteness in Italian seems to be, then, a particular manifestation of a more general trend.

#### 4.2 Variation in definite clitic pronouns

So far, I have been dealing with lexical definite DPs, following the main lines in the literature. Now I would like to consider pronouns, which have never been included in the discussion until very recently, and even in this case not exactly in the context of research on weak definites. I will assume that personal pronouns are definite determiners, more precisely definite articles with no overt nominal constituent associated; this is one of the central claims of the DP hypothesis.

Alexopoulou and Folli (2010), Leonetti (2011) and Ippolito (2016) noticed that Italian clitic pronouns display indefinite readings under certain conditions. A set of examples from Alexopoulou and Folli (2010) and Ippolito (2016) is given in (35)-(37), where the English glosses indicate the occurrence of indefinite, existential readings.

- (35) *L' anno scorso i vicini hanno comprato un cane.*  
 the year last the neighbours have.PRS.3PL bought a dog  
*Quest' anno lo compriamo anche noi.*  
 this year it buy.PRS.1PL also we  
 'Last year the neighbors bought a dog. This year we'll buy one / \*it too.'
- (36) *Gianni sta cercando un idraulico, ma non lo trova.*  
 Gianni be.PRS.3SG looking.for a plumber but not it find.PRS.3SG  
 'Gianni is looking for a plumber, but he can't find him / one.'
- (37) A: *Vuoi un maglione rosso per il tuo compleanno?*  
 want.PRS.2SG a sweater red for the your birthday  
 B: *Me l' hanno già regalato.*  
 to.me it have.PRS.3PL already given  
 A: 'Would you like a red sweater for your birthday?  
 B: 'They have already given me one as a present.'

The main reason why it is important to pay attention to examples like these is that they contain true weak definites, though the definite expressions do not look like the ones in the classical cases in (1), (2) and (4). In (35)-(37) clitic pronouns refer to non-specific and indeterminate instantiations of the kinds introduced by their antecedents: there is no uniquely identifiable referent that the hearer has to individuate to make the proposition true. It is exactly the same interpretation found in lexical weak definites, and the cluster of properties related to non-referentiality – sloppy identity readings, narrow scope – is also the same (I will not provide direct evidence for this). It is the second cluster of properties – lexical restrictions, constraints on modifiers, stereotypicality, enriched meanings – that is absent here (as in long weak definites, see 2.4). This is not unexpected, since there is no lexical material involved in the licensing of the weak reading, and access to stereotypical situations and kinds of events

does not play any role. Far from being a reason to exclude these clitics with indefinite readings from the family of weak definites, the absence of certain crucial properties confirms that the traditional view of short weak definites is too restrictive: there are members of the family that, though exhibiting undeniably indefinite readings, lack some typical properties of lexical short weak definites, and this is not a problem at all, if we accept that such properties emerge only when a certain inferential path is activated to comply with uniqueness, but can be irrelevant when another path is activated in a different context.

With these ideas in mind, and assuming without further discussion that the pronominal clitics in (35)-(37) are genuine instances of weak definiteness, the question is how the indefinite reading is possible in pronouns. The proposals in the literature certainly shed some light on the matter, but in my opinion, they do not give a satisfactory answer.

In Alexopoulou and Folli (2010) the behavior of Italian clitics is correctly seen as related to the absence of a null anaphoric pronoun that can retrieve bare nominals as antecedents: to build anaphoric chains that have bare nouns or non-specific indefinites as antecedents, Italian has to resort to the partitive clitic *ne* (only for bare nouns) or to a definite clitic, whereas other languages like Greek and Spanish typically exploit null anaphora (indefinite argument drop). The contrast is tied to the different nature and distribution of bare nouns in Italian and Greek, according to Alexopoulou and Folli. There is an obvious correlation between this point and the competition between bare nouns and weak definites mentioned above. However, in Alexopoulou and Folli (2010) the problem of the compatibility of definite determiners/pronouns with indefinite readings is not explicitly addressed.

In Ippolito (2016) a generalization regarding “definite existential pronouns” is put forward, namely that languages which allow indefinite definites allow pronominal clitics to be interpreted existentially. This generalization is meant to capture the difference between Italian and languages like French (and Spanish). The idea is that Italian allows for indefinite readings in pronominal clitics in (35)-(37) because it also allows for indefinite readings in lexical definite DPs; by contrast, French and Spanish pose heavier constraints on lexical definites and consequently exclude “definite existential pronouns”, according to Ippolito. This is perfectly reasonable, and reinforces the assumption that clitics provide good examples of weak definiteness, but unfortunately the generalization does not hold for Spanish, for reasons that are difficult to ascertain (see below). Ippolito accounts for existential readings by assuming that the definite determiner/pronoun is a D head that combines with the covert noun KIND and involves reference to kinds; a type-shifting operation – the same one invoked by authors like Zamparelli and Etxeberria, among others – then introduces existential quantification over instantiations of the kind, giving rise to the usual interpretation of weak definites. The information about the kind is provided by a contextually salient antecedent.

In an informal attempt to explain how pronouns get an existential reading despite being definite Ds, and avoiding ad hoc assumptions about determiners that select kinds, I suggest that the crucial condition lies in the non-specific value of the antecedent of the pronoun.<sup>6</sup> A non-specific antecedent introduces the kind/type that the anaphoric pronoun has to retrieve (the pronoun recycles the descriptive content of the antecedent, giving rise to property anaphora), and also places a condition on the interpretation of the pronoun: it must be non-specific too.<sup>7</sup> With pronouns, definiteness without nominal content implies that uniqueness

<sup>6</sup> The condition is meant to cover also those cases in which the anaphoric link is established between a dislocated topical DP and the corresponding resumptive clitic, like in (i), which can have a non-specific as well as a specific reading of *un libro* ‘a book’:

(i) *Un libro, l' ho letto.*

A book it have.PRS.1SG read

‘A book, I read (one).’

(Italian; Rizzi 2005)

If *un libro* is interpreted as non-specific (‘at least one book’), the clitic is a weak definite. Note that no definite object pronoun is used in the English translation of the example.

<sup>7</sup> Non-specific antecedents include indefinite DPs, bare nominals and also lexical weak definites, as in (i),

can only be satisfied by identifying a salient antecedent. Thus, a problem appears when uniqueness must be obeyed by accessing this antecedent, but the antecedent happens to have no uniquely identifiable referent. The rest of the story is the same as in any case of weak definiteness: uniqueness cannot be satisfied at the level of token referents, but a switch to the more abstract level of types resolves the mismatch, and the result is a weak reading, by which the proposition is verified by any indeterminate token referent of an abstract type. In (35)-(37), the types are *dog*, *plumber* and *red sweater*. As Ippolito (2016) points out, the indefinite reading of pronouns should be available only in languages that display other weak uses of definite determiners.

I think this is enough to justify welcoming Romance clitic pronouns into the family of weak definites. However, whatever the true explanation of the weak reading may be, there are pending questions that concern the distribution of weak definite pronouns. I have no complete answers for them, but a brief discussion is worthwhile here. The most immediate question is why speakers resort to definite pronouns to retrieve non-specific antecedents.

Let me start with Italian, where a simple explanation could be offered along the following lines: as Italian lacks null anaphora (argument drop) for non-specific antecedents, the only device available in the anaphora toolbox to do the job of connecting with this kind of antecedent is a definite pronoun. Otherwise, the partitive clitic *ne* (plus an indefinite pronoun) can be used; in fact, *ne* is an acceptable alternative option in any of the three examples in (35)-(37). If a partitive clitic is available, why do speakers keep using a definite clitic to convey an existential reading? The only logical explanation is that the two competitors, the definite clitic and the partitive clitic, give rise to slightly different interpretations. There should be some subtle difference, then, between (38a) and (38b).

- (38) (a) *Quest'anno lo compriamo anche noi.*  
 this year it buy.PRS.1PL also we  
 (b) *Quest'anno ne compriamo uno anche noi.*  
 this year PART buy.PRS.1PL one also we  
 'This year we'll buy one too.'

It is not clear to me what that difference is, however,<sup>8</sup> and I am not aware of any detailed study on this point. It seems that the two options are equivalent. These overlaps between the two options therefore deserve further investigation.

As for the rest of the Romance languages, the problem is quite similar. Spanish presents a double puzzle. On the one hand, as lexical weak definites are less productive than in Italian, we could expect that examples of weak definite clitics are not easy to find. Nevertheless, they are quite common, in existential contexts,<sup>9</sup> as in (39)-(40), and in other environments, such as Clitic Left Dislocation, as in (41)-(42) – this is unexpected, if Spanish is compared to languages like Greek, for instance.

---

from Alexopoulou and Folli (2010): *gli occhiali* 'the glasses' is a short weak definite and the clitic inherits its indefinite interpretation.

- (i) A: *Porti gli occhiali?* – B: *Sì, li porto.* (Italian)  
 wear.prs.2sg the glasses yes them wear.PRS.1SG  
 A: 'Do you wear glasses?' – B: 'Yes, I do.'

<sup>8</sup> Intuitively, the version with the definite clitic conveys the idea that the situation of buying the dog is stereotypical and belongs to an expected behavior pattern, and the version with the indefinite pronoun is simply neutral.

<sup>9</sup> Definite clitics in existential contexts constitute, at first sight, clear counterexamples to the Definiteness Effect. However, it is precisely their weak reading that licenses their insertion in a position – following the existential verb *haber* – that excludes most definite DPs in Spanish.

- (39) A: *¿Había problemas en ese momento?* B: *Sí, (los) había.*  
 have.PST.3SG problems in that moment yes them have.PST.3SG  
 A: ‘Were there problems at that time?’ B: ‘Yes, there were.’
- (40) *Esas sandalias, ahora ya no las hay.*  
 those sandals now already not them have.PRS.3SG  
 ‘Those sandals, now you cannot find them anymore.’
- (41) *Dos películas de Hitchcock, (las) ha visto todo el mundo.*  
 Two films of Hitchcock them have.PRS.3SG seen all the world  
 ‘Two films by Hitchcock, everyone has seen them.’
- (42) *3000 euros, te (los) vas a tener que gastar.*  
 3000 euro CL.2SG them go.PRS.2SG to have to spend  
 ‘(At least) 3000 euros, you’ll have to spend.’

On the other hand, a second reason why weak definite clitics in Spanish pose a problem is that in most contexts their insertion is optional, because null anaphora is always an option with non-specific antecedents (see Leonetti 2011). Again, as in the case of the partitive clitic in Italian, it is not easy to explain how the two formal options coexist.

To sum up, once the existence of weak definite clitics is established, the question that still calls for an answer is why they are acceptable in contexts where an apparently simpler option – partitive clitic, null anaphora – is acceptable too. Note that even English allows for some weak uses of pronouns: Carlson (1977) mentions examples like (43) and (44), with a bare plural and a mass noun as non-specific antecedents (here the definite pronoun is the only option).

- (43) *Queenie is seeking unicorns, and Phil is seeking them, too.*
- (44) *Cedric is seeking furniture, and Hiram is seeking it, too.*

Before closing this section, it is of interest to add another special case to the set of data that involve pronouns. If we agree that null subjects in null-subject languages count as definite pronouns, following common practice, then a consequence of the previous discussion is that, under appropriate conditions, a null-subject language could allow for weak readings of null pronouns. This is, in fact, the case of Spanish. In (45) and (46) the null subjects in the answers are interpreted as referring to unspecified tokens of the kinds *cheques* ‘checks’ and *estudiantes* ‘students’ – something the English translation does not show clearly; in order to obtain this existential interpretation, the antecedents must be bare nominals.

- (45) A: *¿Se aceptan cheques?* B: *Sí,  $\emptyset$  se aceptan.*  
 CL accept.PRS.3PL checks yes CL accept.PRS.3PL  
 A: ‘Are checks accepted?’ B: ‘Yes, they are.’
- (46) A: *¿Vinieron estudiantes?* B: *No,  $\emptyset$  no vinieron.*  
 come.PST.3PL students no not come.PST.3PL  
 A: ‘Did any students come?’ B: ‘No, they didn’t.’

As Italian is a null-subject language, we should expect to find similar facts in Italian as well, but here things are quite different. In Italian weak readings of null subjects are severely constrained, though weak readings of all other definite expressions are much more common than in other Romance languages. One factor that must be relevant is the existence of the



partitive clitic: the Italian versions of (45)-(46) include a partitive *ne* (otherwise the only possible reading of the null subject is generic or strong). A more in-depth study of the contrast between Italian and Spanish in weak readings of pronouns is left for future research.

### 4.3 A broader view of weak definites

The overview of cross-linguistic variation in this section includes only Romance (mainly Spanish and Italian) and Basque, apart from English, but it allows us to draw some generalizations that future research could test with data from other different languages. The generalizations are as follows:

- Variation concentrates in the domain of short weak definites, but long weak definites do not seem to be affected. This is probably due to the different interpretive processes triggered by the two groups of expressions.
- In short weak definites, some of the differences among languages are related to the conventionalization of certain formal patterns rather than others and resist easy reduction to general grammatical rules. Certain other facts reveal deeper and more systematic contrasts, possibly due to the stage that each language has reached in the grammaticalization cline of definite articles. As there are languages that clearly accept weak definites more liberally than others, future research should ascertain whether variation in this area corresponds to regular patterns (for instance, whether variation is constrained by some underlying scale or hierarchy).
- In languages that display short lexical weak definites, the prediction is that weak readings should appear also in pronouns, under the appropriate conditions. Again, some languages are more prone to use weak definite pronouns than others. This depends mainly on the system of formal options for pronominal anaphora that each language is provided with, but other factors must be considered as well.
- The classical typology of weak definites must be modified to include also pronouns, which opens new directions for research.

## 5. Conclusions

The leading assumption in this review of the problem of weak definiteness is that a formally definite DP can have an indefinite reading while still being a regular definite expression in its linguistic semantics, in other words, the uniqueness condition. In this sense, weak definites represent one particular case of a common phenomenon: a mismatch arises between a linguistic item's meaning and the context in which it has to be interpreted, and an interpretive strategy is activated in order to solve the mismatch. Such a strategy is seen here as an inferential process operating in the mapping from logical form to explicatures, but it corresponds to the well-known type-shifting operations in the tradition of formal semantics. The mismatch consists in the impossibility of satisfying the uniqueness condition encoded by the definite article at the level of token referents, and the resolution involves obeying uniqueness at the more abstract level of types (or roles/functions in a frame). It goes without saying that the most obvious advantage of this perspective is that it allows us to keep uniqueness in force even in cases in which it is apparently violated, and thus maintain a unitary analysis of the article.

Other positive results deriving from the main role of the uniqueness condition are 1) the possibility of accounting for all the properties usually associated with weak definites by treating them as factors that contribute to sustaining uniqueness (which explains why we find just those properties, and not different ones), and 2) the possibility of determining what the two classical manifestations of weak definites – the short pattern and the long one – have in common, and what separates them.

From an empirical point of view, the main contribution of this study is the integration of facts that have thus far received scant attention into the general picture of weak definiteness: on the one hand, data on cross-linguistic variation in the distribution of short weak definites, and on the other hand, data concerning weak readings of definite pronouns, which are not usually considered in the context of a unified approach to the phenomenon. The problem of variation certainly deserves further investigation with data from more languages, but hopefully the discussion in this paper can contribute to orienting such an undertaking by revealing certain aspects that have received no attention in previous research.

## 6. References

- Abbott, Barbara 2008. Issues in the semantics and pragmatics of definite descriptions in English. In J. K. Gundel & N. Hedberg (eds.). *Reference. Interdisciplinary Perspectives*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 61-72.
- Abbott, Barbara 2014. The indefiniteness of definiteness. In T. Gamerschlag et al. (eds.). *Concept types and frames*. New York: Springer.
- Aguilar Guevara, Ana 2014. *Weak Definites. Semantics, lexicon and pragmatics*. Utrecht: LOT.
- Aguilar-Guevara, Ana & Joost Zwarts 2013. Weak definites refer to kinds. *Recherches linguistiques de Vincennes* 42, 33-60.
- Aguilar-Guevara, Ana & Maartje Schulpen 2014. Modified weak definites. In A. Aguilar-Guevara et al. (eds.). *Weak Referentiality*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 237-264.
- Aguilar-Guevara, Ana, Bert Le Bruyn & Joost Zwarts 2014. Advances in weak referentiality. In A. Aguilar-Guevara et al. (eds.). *Weak Referentiality*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1-15.
- Aguilar-Guevara, Ana, Bert Le Bruyn & Joost Zwarts (eds.) 2014. *Weak Referentiality*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Alexopoulou, Dora & Raffaella Folli. 2010. Indefinite topics and the syntax of nominals in Italian and Greek. *WCCFL 28 Online Proceedings*, <https://sites.google.com/site/wccfl28pro/alexopoulou-folli>
- Artiagoitia, Xabier 2002. The functional structure of Basque noun phrases. In X. Artiagoitia et al. (eds.). *Erramu Boneta. Festschrift for Rudolph P. G. de Rijk*. Vitoria: ASJU, 73-90.
- Barker, Chris 2005. Possessive weak definites. In J. Kim, Y. Lander and B. Hall-Partee (eds.). *Possessives and Beyond: Semantics and Syntax*. Amherst: GSLA Publications, 89-113.
- Beaver, David & Elizabeth Coppock 2015. Definiteness and determinacy. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 38, 377-435.
- Beysade, Claire 2013. Back to uniqueness presupposition. *Recherches linguistiques de Vincennes* 42, 123-139.
- Bosch, Peter & Maria Cieschinger 2010. Weak definites. Linguistic evidence for cognitive constraints. Paper presented at the Cognitive Science Research Training School, Universität Osnabrück.
- Carlson, Greg 1977. *Reference to Kinds in English*. PhD dissertation, University of Massachusetts, Amherst.
- Carlson, Greg & Rachel Sussman 2005. Seemingly indefinite definites. In S. Kepsar & M. Reis (eds.). *Linguistic Evidence*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 71-86.
- Carlson, Greg, Rachel Sussman, Natalie Klein & Michael Tanenhaus 2006. Weak definite noun phrases. In C. Davis et al. (eds.). *Proceedings of NELS 36*. Amherst: GSLA Publications, 179-196.
- Carlson, Greg, Natalie Klein, Whitney Gegg-Harrison & Michael Tanenhaus 2013. Weak definites as a form of definiteness: experimental investigations. *Recherches linguistiques de Vincennes* 42, 11-32.
- Corblin, Francis 2001. Défini et génitif: le cas des définis défectifs. In J.-M. Marandin (dir.). *Cahier Jean-Claude Milner*. Verdier, 19-54.
- Corblin, Francis 2011. Des définis para-intensionnels: être à l'hôpital, aller à l'école. *Langue française* 171: 55-75.
- Corblin, Francis 2013. Weak definites as bound relational definites. *Recherches linguistiques de Vincennes* 42, 91-122.
- Donazzan, Marta 2013. Familiarity constraints on weak definite DPs. *Recherches linguistiques de Vincennes* 42, 61-90.
- Espinal, Maria Teresa & Sonia Cyrino 2017a. The definite article in Romance expletives and long weak definites. *Glossa* 2(1) 23, 1-26.
- Espinal, Maria Teresa & Sonia Cyrino 2017b. On weak definites and their contribution to event kinds. In O. Fernández Soriano et al. (eds.). *Boundaries, Phases and Interfaces. Case Studies in Honor of Violeta Demonte*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 129-149.
- Etxeberria, Urtzi 2010. Making a definite be interpreted as an indefinite. *Journal of Portuguese Linguistics* 9.1, 29-51.
- Etxeberria, Urtzi 2014. Basque nominals. From a system with bare nouns to a system without. In A. Aguilar-Guevara et al. (eds.). *Weak Referentiality*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 335-364.

- Flaux, Nelly 1992. Les syntagmes nominaux du type *le fils d'un paysan*: référence définie ou indéfinie?. *Le Français Moderne* XL/1, 23-45.
- Flaux, Nelly 1993. Les syntagmes nominaux du type *le fils d'un paysan*: référence définie ou indéfinie? (II). *Le Français Moderne* XLI/2, 113-140.
- Giusti, Giuliana 2015. *Nominal Syntax at the Interfaces. A Comparative Study of Languages with Articles*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Greenberg, Joseph 1978. How does a language acquire gender markers?. In J. Greenberg, J. Ferguson and E. Moravcsik (eds.). *Universals of Human Languages*. Stanford: Stanford university Press, 47-82.
- Gundel, Jeanette K., Nancy Hedberg & Ron Zacharski 1993. Cognitive status and the form of referring expressions in discourse. *Language* 69, 274-307.
- Hall-Partee, Barbara 1986. Noun phrase interpretation and type-shifting principles. In B. Hall-Partee (2004). *Compositionality in Formal Semantics*. Oxford: Blackwell, 203-230.
- Hawkins, John 1978. *Definiteness and Indefiniteness*. Atlantic Highland: Humanities Press.
- Horn, Lawrence 2004. Implicature. In L. Horn & G. Ward (eds.). *The Handbook of Pragmatics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2-28.
- Ippolito, Michela. 2016. Indefinite pronouns. Paper presented at *NELS 47* Conference.
- Laca, Brenda 1999. Presencia y ausencia de determinante. In I. Bosque & V. Demonte (eds.). *Gramática descriptiva de la lengua española* (vol. I.). Madrid: Espasa, 891-928.
- Lamiroy, Béatrice & Walter De Mulder 2011. Degrees of grammaticalization across languages. In H. Narrog and B. Heine (eds.). *The Oxford Handbook of Grammaticalization*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 302-317.
- Le Bruyn, Bert 2014. Inalienable possession: the semantics of the definite article. In A. Aguilar-Guevara et al. (eds.). *Weak Referentiality*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 311-334.
- Leonetti, Manuel 1999. El artículo. In I. Bosque & V. Demonte (eds.). *Gramática descriptiva de la lengua española* (vol. I.). Madrid: Espasa, 787-890.
- Leonetti, Manuel 2011. Indefinidos, nombres escuetos y clíticos en las dislocaciones en español. *Cuadernos de la ALFAL* 3, 100-123.
- Leonetti, Manuel 2019. Formas definidas, interpretaciones indefinidas. In M. Martínez-Atienza de Dios (ed.). *Entre la morfología, la sintaxis y la semántica: límites e intersecciones*. Valencia: Tirant lo Blanch.
- Leonetti, Manuel & Victoria Escandell-Vidal 2011. On the rigidity of procedural meaning. In V. Escandell-Vidal, M. Leonetti & A. Ahern (eds.). *Procedural Meaning. Problems and Perspectives*. Bingley: Emerald, 81-102.
- Longobardi, Giuseppe 1994. Reference and proper names: a theory of N-movement in syntax and Logical Form. *Linguistic Inquiry* 25(4), 609-665.
- Manterola, Julien 2012. The Basque articles *-a* and *-bat* and recent contact theories. In C. Chamoreau and I. Léglise (eds.). *Dynamics of Contact-Induced Language Change*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 231-263.
- Poesio, Massimo 1994. Weak definites. In M. Harvey & L. Santelmann (eds.). *Proceedings of Semantics and Linguistic Theory IV*. Ithaca: Cornell University, 282-299.
- Rizzi, Luigi 2005. On some properties of subjects and topics. In L. Brugè et al. (eds.) *Proceedings of the XXX Incontro di Grammatica Generativa*. Venice: Cafoscarina, 63-82.
- Roberts, Craige 2003. Uniqueness in definite noun phrases. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 26, 287-350.
- Schwarz, Florian 2014. How weak and how definite are Weak Definites?. In A. Aguilar-Guevara et al. (eds.). *Weak Referentiality*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 213-235.
- Sperber, Dan & Deidre Wilson 1986. *Relevance*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- de Swart, Henriette 2011. Mismatches and coercion. In C. Maienborn, K. von Stechow & P. Portner (eds.). *Semantics: an international handbook of natural language meaning* (vol. I). Berlin: De Gruyter, 574-597.
- Wilson, Deirdre & Dan Sperber 1993. Linguistic form and relevance. *Lingua* 90, 1-25.
- Zamparelli, Roberto 2002. Definite and bare kind-denoting noun phrases. In C. Beyssade et al. (eds.). *Proceedings of Going Romance 2000*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 305-330.
- Zubizarreta, María Luisa & Jean-Roger Vergnaud 2002. The definite determiner and the inalienable constructions in French and in English. *Linguistic Inquiry* 23(4), 595-652.
- Zwarts, Joost 2014. Functional frames in the interpretation of weak nominals. In A. Aguilar-Guevara et al. (eds.). *Weak Referentiality*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 264-285.



## Proper names and the structure of the DP in Old and Middle High German

Svetlana Petrova

petrova@uni-wuppertal.de

### 1. Subject and Goals

The aim of this paper is to explore if the theory of empty determiners first presented in Longobardi (1994) and later refined in Longobardi (1996, 2005) can be adopted to explain well-known variation between bare (determinerless) and overtly definite nouns in the medieval varieties of German. According to this theory, languages displaying a system of overt determiners also allow for a phonologically empty variant of this category, indicated as  $[_D e]$ , the distribution of which is subject to syntactic, semantic and lexical conditions. In addition, such languages also witness the option of raising the head noun to the position of the empty determiner, an operation also called N-to-D movement, which results in some specific configurations within the DP, while other orders remain excluded.

By searching the currently available electronic corpora of the Old High German and the Middle High German attestation (OHG, c. 850 AD to 1050 AD; MHG c. 1050 AD to 1350 AD), the present paper seeks to discover if the orders resulting from N-raising to  $[_D e]$ , incl. the respective restrictions regarding the linear order of elements within the DP, also hold for the medieval varieties of German. It identifies conclusive datasets and derives evidence on the availability of  $[_D e]$  in the respective periods, which opens new ways of treating the above-mentioned variation in the formal representation of the DP in historical German, including the development of the determiner system of the language.

### 2. The point of departure: bare vs. definite nouns in OHG and the development of the determiner system

Modern German displays a well-established system of definite and indefinite determiners which are obligatory with singular common nouns in count interpretation. In contrast, at the beginning of the vernacular attestation, in the early OHG period, non-mass singular common nouns regularly occur overtly determinerless, irrespectively of their semantic interpretation. E.g., the bare noun *man* ‘man’ in (1) is most naturally interpreted as indefinite as it introduces a new referent to the discourse, while *sunu* ‘son’ and *fater* ‘father’ in (2) are understood as definite, as they display antecedents in the previous discourse. In some contexts, both interpretations are possible, as for *angil* ‘angel’ and *mannan* ‘man.ACC’ in (3):

- (1) *Furfarenti gisah man blintan / fon giburti*  
approaching saw man blind.ACC from birth  
‘approaching, [he] saw \*(a) blind born man’

DDD-AD-Tatian\_1.1 > T\_Tat132 (around 830 AD)

- (2) *Aer danne diu magad christan gabar in fleische,*  
 before then the virgin Christ.ACC bore in flesh.DAT.SG  
*gabar sunu in sineru gotnissu fater*  
 bore sun in his.DAT.SG divinity father  
 ‘Because of his divine power, \*(the) father had created \*(the) sun before the fleshly birth of Christ by the Virgin’ DDD-AD-Isidor\_1.1 > I\_DeFide\_1 (around 800 AD)
- (3) *mahti angil so sama so got mannan chifrumman*  
 could angel in the same way as God man.ACC create.INF  
 ‘Could \*(an/the) angel create \*(a/the) man in the same way as God could?’  
 DDD-AD-Isidor\_1.1 > I\_DeFide\_3 (around 800 AD)

But already in the same records, various types of adnominal markers of (in)definiteness also occur, most importantly those giving rise to the later determiners, such as the numeral *ein* ‘one’ in (4) and the demonstrative *ther/thiu/thaz* ‘this’ in (5)<sup>10</sup>:

- (4) *gieng zi imo ein centenary*  
 went to him one.NUM centurion  
 ‘A centurion went to Him’ DDD-AD-Tatian\_1.1 > T\_Tat47 (around 830 AD)
- (5) *tho uuas man in Hierusalem [...] / inti ther man uuas reht*  
 there was man in Jerusalem and this man was righteous  
 ‘There was a man in Jerusalem, and this man was righteous’  
 DDD-AD-Tatian\_1.1 > T\_Tat7 (around 830 AD)

The above shown variation between bare and formally (in)definite nouns in OHG has been taken to represent the initial stage of a gradual process of grammaticalization of the original markers of (in)definiteness towards genuine determiners in later stages of German, which is completed towards the end of the OHG period. It is commonly assumed that the system of definite determiners is already consolidated in the work of the late-OHG writer Notker (†1022 AD), see Demske (2001). But in early OHG, the adnominal use of *ther/thiu/thaz* is considered purely demonstrative, because it occurs with some considerable frequency only in anaphoric contexts, as the one illustrated in (5) above, while it is missing in the context of nouns referring to unique entities (*the sun, the sky*) or kinds (generic *man, the lion, the dodo*), where demonstratives are ungrammatical (*the/\*this sun shines during the day, the/\*this dodo is extinct*). In a similar vein, Szczepaniak (2011) has argued that OHG *ein* as in (4) is a presentational marker, i.e. a linguistic device marking one specific type of indefinite reference, rather than indefiniteness in general.<sup>11</sup>

Crucially, on these considerations, the existence of a category of determiners has been

<sup>10</sup> See also *thiu magad* ‘the virgin’ in (2).

<sup>11</sup> Both approaches have faced some empirical problems suggesting that the distribution between bare and formally marked nouns of the respective kind is not as clear-cut as required (see Petrova 2015 on indefinites in OHG, Schlachter in press on definites in OHG). E.g., there is data suggesting that *ther/thiu/thaz* can also occur in the context of generic nouns already in the early OHG period (Hodler 1954, Oubouzar 1992, Petrova in press). Consider the minimal pair in (i) and (ii) which is taken from one and the same text of the OHG attestation.

(i) *ist arloubit manne / zi uorlazzanna sina quenun*  
 is allowed man.DAT.SG to abandon his wife  
 ‘is [it] allowed to \*(a/the) man to abandon his wife’ DDD-AD-Tatian\_1.1 > T\_Tat100 (around 830 AD)

(ii) *ni mág ther man iouuiht inphahén / noba imo íz gígeban uuerde fon himile*  
 NEG can the man anything receive.INF unless him it given PASS.AUX.SUBJ.PRES from heaven  
 ‘man cannot receive anything unless being given it by Heaven’

DDD-AD-Tatian\_1.1 > T\_Tat21 (around 830 AD)

rejected for the earliest period of the vernacular attestation, and consequently, no suggestions regarding the structure of the DP in OHG are made in the previous literature.

A different approach is pursued in Crisma (1997, 1999) for Old English (OE), a close relative of OHG. OE exhibits a very similar situation in that it displays a large number of overtly determinerless count nouns but also sporadically uses demonstrative pronouns of the series *se/heo/that* ‘this’ to mark definiteness. To account for this variation, Crisma (1997, 1999) assumes a diachronically constant structure of the DP, which is identical with the universal one proposed by Abney (1987) and given in (6)a-c. According to this, the definite determiner is located in the head D° of the functional projection DP, which takes an NP as its argument:

- (6) (a) *the book*  
 (b) [DP [D D] [NP [N N]]]  
 (c) [DP [D *the*] [NP [N *book*]]] Abney (1987)

In addition, Crisma (1997, 1999) assumes that bare nouns in OE are attributed to the presence of empty determiners [D *e*], illustrated in (7)a. Applying the diagnostics developed in Longobardi (1994), she is able to derive evidence for [D *e*] from contexts involving N-to-D movement (7)b, found in one special class of modified proper names.

- (7) (a) [DP [D *e*] [NP [N N]]]  
 (b) [DP [D N<sub>i</sub>] [NP [N t<sub>i</sub>]]] Longobardi (1994)

The question arises if the argumentation put forward in Crisma (1997, 1999) for OE can be properly extended to explaining the presence of bare nouns in OHG, by assuming the existence of [D *e*] within a historically constant DP. To answer this question, I will apply the corpus study carried out by Crisma for OE to a more extensive sample of data, searching the electronic corpora of the OHG and the MHG period.

In the remaining part of this paper, I will outline the theoretical premises of this analysis going back to Longobardi (1994, 2005), sketch the methods and results of Crisma’s (1997) analysis on bare nouns in OE, and describe the data and results obtained from the corpus study on OHG and MHG.

### 3. Theoretic premises

Longobardi (1994) has argued that bare nouns in languages that display overt determiners result from the presence of empty determiners [D *e*], whose distribution is structurally and lexically governed. In Italian, overt determiners are missing with singular count nouns used as non-arguments, such as vocatives (8)a and exclamatives (8)b, but also with some lexical classes of head nouns in argument function, which fail to refer to single objects and entities. These are, e.g., morphologically singular mass nouns (9)a, plural nouns with no strict plural reference (9)b, or singular countable nouns in the scope of negation (9)c:

- (8) (a) *Caro amico, vieni!* vocative  
 dear friend come  
 ‘Dear friend, come!’  
 (b) *Diavolo!* exclamative  
 devil  
 ‘Damn!’

- (9) (a) *Bevo sempre vino* singular mass nouns  
 drink always wine  
 ‘I always drink wine.’
- (b) *Mangio patate* plural nouns with no plural reference  
 eat potatoe.PL  
 ‘I eat potatoes.’
- (c) *Non c’era studente in giro* singular countable nouns under negation  
 NEG there’was student.SG in round  
 ‘There was no student there.’

The lack of an overt determiner in the above shown groups of examples is attributed to two different mechanisms. The former one is explained in the light of a potential structural mismatch between arguments and non-arguments suggested in the general literature, according to which arguments have an underlying DP structure while non-arguments may lack a DP-layer, being only NPs (see Crisma 1999 the overview of references and argumentations). The latter group, in turn, is considered as displaying the category of empty determiners [<sub>D</sub> e]. According to Longobardi (1994), evidence for the presence of [<sub>D</sub> e] is provided by the option of raising the head noun to the empty position of the determiner in some special contexts. In Italian, the diagnostic dataset helping to discern N-to-D movement is the one involving proper names modified by a possessive or attributive adjective. In these contexts, the order of proper names and adjectives strictly depends on the presence or absence of a determiner, in the way illustrated below. In the presence of a determiner (*il*), possessive and modifying adjectives precede the proper name, as shown in (10)a-b. If the determiner is missing, the proper name obligatorily precedes the possessive adjective or the modifier, as shown in (11)a and (12)a:

- (10) (a) *Il mio Gianni ha finalmente telefonato*  
 the my Gianni has finally called  
 ‘My Gianni has finally called.’
- (b) *É venuto il vecchio Camaresi*  
 is arrived the old Camaresi  
 ‘The old Camaresi has arrived.’
- (11) (a) *Gianni mio ha finalmente telefonato*  
 Gianni my has finally called  
 ‘My Gianni has finally called.’
- (b) \**il Gianni mio ha finalmente telefonato*
- (c) \**mio Gianni ha finalmente telefonato*
- (12) (a) *É venuto Camaresi vecchio*  
 is arrived Camaresi old  
 ‘The old Camaresi has arrived.’
- (b) \**É venuto il Camaresi vecchio*
- (c) \**É venuto vecchio Camaresi*

This distribution of adjectives and proper names gives rise to the following generalization: whenever the determiner is missing, the proper name leaves its underlying position in N° and raises to the empty D-head, as in (7)b above. This way, the noun and the determiner are in complementary distribution, accounting for the ungrammaticality of the orders in (11)b and



(12)b in which both the determiner and the raised noun surface in front of the adjective<sup>12</sup>. Finally, the orders in (11)c and (12)c are ungrammatical because the DP is used as an argument in these cases. With modified proper nouns used as non-arguments, e.g. in vocatives and exclamatives, this order would be acceptable.

Crisma (1997, 1999) applies this theory to the explanation of bare versus overtly definite nouns in OE in the following way. She conducts a corpus study involving the noun *god* ‘God’ as a special lexical representative of the class of proper names in OE and investigates the distribution of the definite determiner *se* whenever this noun is modified by the adjective *æلميhtig* ‘almighty’. She observes that among the four putatively possible patterns given in (13)a-d, three are attested in the data and one is not, being the one in which both *se* and *god* precede the modifying adjective *æلميhtig*, as in (13)d:

- (13) (a) *se æلميhtig god* ‘the almighty God’  
 (b) *god æلميhtig* ‘God almighty’  
 (c) *æلميhtig god* ‘almighty God’  
 (d) *se god æلميhtig* ‘the God almighty’

This distribution of patterns strongly supports the N-to-D movement hypothesis, suggesting that the determiner and the raised noun are in complementary distribution, competing for one and the same structural position, namely D°. This result, in turn, suggests, that [D e] is available in the system of OE.

In addition, Crisma discovers a structural mismatch in the distribution of the two determinerless patterns in (13)b and (13)c, in that the one with the noun preceding the adjective (*god æلميhtig*) is strongly preferred by nouns used as arguments, while the latter one, in which the noun follows the adjective (*æلميhtig god*), is confined to non-arguments. Crisma (1997, 1999) interprets this difference along the lines of the structural DP/NP-mismatch between arguments and non-arguments discussed above. Applying this distinction to the OE data, Crisma concludes that the determinerless patterns in which the noun precedes the adjective are typical for arguments because they are DPs, thus providing a landing site for the raised noun, while non-arguments lack this structural position, preventing the noun from leaving its original place in the NP.

In the next section, the method to discerning evidence for [D e] will be applied to data obtained by searching the reference corpora of the medieval German attestation.

## 4. Corpus study

### 4.1 OHG

Let us first test if N-raising to D applies in the OHG period. The database usable for analysis comprises all documents belonging to the High German dialectal area, which are included in *Referenzkorpus Altdeutsch (REA\_1.0)*, amounting to a total of approx. 511,000 word forms. REA provides valuable annotations which make it possible to discern the orders needed for analysis. First of all, it distinguishes a class of proper names tagged as a separate category “NE” at the level of parts of speech (pos), and second, it provides separate annotations for pre- and postnominal attributive adjectives (“ADJ” versus “ADJN”), which is important because it guarantees that an adjective following a noun in linear order also belongs to the same phrasal category. Finally, note that in order to discern all cases involving modified proper names in the corpus, two types of queries need to be conducted, namely one searching for ordinary pre- and postnominal adjectives modifying a proper name, and one for adjectives

<sup>12</sup> Longobardi (2005: 9) provides some examples in which this order is possible if the adjective following both the determiner and the noun bears a contrastive interpretation.

as parts of a proper name (tagged “ADJE” and “ADJNE”, respectively). Both options were tested. The queries in (14)a and (14)b yield proper names with adjectives in the order ADJ – N, while those in (14)c and (14)d yield the orders N – ADJ. In brackets, I also provide the total number of hits that each of the queries produced, as well as links to the hit lists of these queries:

- (14) (a) `pos="ADJ" & pos="NE" & lang="goh" & #1.#2 & #2=_#3` (74 hits, see <https://korpling.org/annis3/?id=8b52b223-27f0-41bc-9713-af357a1e268f>)  
 (b) `pos="ADJE" & lang="goh" & #1_=#2` (93 hits, see <https://korpling.org/annis3/?id=6386d446-9d8c-4239-b89b-d798f9753efe>)  
 (c) `pos="ADJN" & pos="NE" & lang="goh" & #2.#1 & #2=_#3` (52 hits, see <https://korpling.org/annis3/?id=aa7817d5-5273-4242-90e7-bf02c472fded>)  
 (d) `pos="ADJNE" & lang="goh" & #2.#1` (2 hits, see <https://korpling.org/annis3/?id=e1b1644c-99b1-4c0e-aec8-27f4f4568c70>).

Note, however, that for each of the queries, various instances had to be removed from the database on manual search, because the respective examples are inconclusive.

Let us look at the results that the list of conclusive examples produced. As (15)a-d shows, all four putative patterns are found in the data:

- (15) (a) *dhes chiuuarin iesuses* Det-Adj-N  
 the.GEN.SG true.GEN.SG Jesus.GEN.SG  
 ‘of the true Jesus’  
 DDD-AD-Isidor\_1.0 > I\_DeFide\_6
- (b) *Krist hálte Hártmuatan* N-Adj  
 Christ save.3.SUBJ.PRES Hartmut.ACC  
 joh *Wérinbrahtan gúatan*  
 and Werinbraht.ACC.SG good.ACC.SG  
 ‘Christ save the good Werinbraht’  
 DDD-AD-Otfrid\_1.0 > O\_Otfr.Hartm
- (c) *trohtin, ganadigo kot* Adj-N  
 Lord merciful God  
 ‘Lord, merciful God’  
 DDD-AD-Kleinere\_Althochdeutsche\_Denkmäler\_1.0>  
 BGb\_St.Emmerander\_Gebet\_B
- (d) *dâr piutit der Satanasz altist heizzan lauc* Det-N-Adj  
 there offers the Satan oldest hot.ACC.SG blaze  
 ‘there, the oldest Satan prepares raging flames’  
 DDD-AD-Kleinere\_Althochdeutsche\_Denkmäler\_1.0>M\_Muspilli

But a closer look at the quantitative distribution of these patterns, given in Table (1), is rather telling.

<i>N=156</i>	+Det	-Det	total
ADJ – N	62	46	108
N – ADJ	1	47	48

Table (1): The distribution of the determiner in pre- and post-nominally modified proper names in OHG (REA\_1.0)

Note that the critical pattern in (15)d, being the one in which both the determiner and the noun precede the adjective, is attested only once in the corpus. Moreover, this example is found in the poetic text of *Muspilli*, making it plausible for us to assume that this order may result from metrical considerations. For this reason, I will treat this instance as exceptional.

Upon the rest of the examples, it can be safely concluded that proper names and determiner never co-occur in front of the modifying adjective, which supports an analysis according to which the determiner and the raised noun surface in the same structural position, as required by the N-to-D hypothesis.

In a next step, let us check if the distribution of the determinerless orders illustrated in (15)b and (15)c is mapped according to the argument/non-argument divide observed by Crisma (1997, 1999) for OE. On the basis of the two examples given above, it might be suggested that this distinction also holds for OHG, as the N – ADJ order in (15)b happens to apply to an argument of the main verb *haltan* ‘hold, save’, while the reverse ADJ – N variant in (15)c appears in a vocative construction. But on closer inspection, the argument/non-argument distinction on the applicability of N-raising cannot be maintained. Consider the data for ADJ – N orders in (16)a-b and for N – ADJ orders in (17)a-b, suggesting that with any pattern, both arguments and non-arguments (here vocatives) are found in the data:

- (16) (a) *quam almahitic got* argument  
 came almighty God  
 ‘the almighty God came’  
 DDD-AD-Monsee\_1.0 > MF\_5\_FH.XLI
- (b) *gnade mir, almahitiger got* non-argument  
 take.pity me.DAT.SG almighty God  
 ‘take pity on me, almighty God’  
 DDD-AD-Kleinere\_Althochdeutsche\_Denkmäler\_1.0 >  
 BGB3\_BenediktbeurerGlaubenundBeichteIII
- (17) (a) *Íh gihu gode almahtdigen* argument  
 I confess God.DAT.SG almighty.DAT.SG  
 ‘I confess to the almighty God’  
 DDD-AD-Kleinere\_Althochdeutsche\_Denkmäler\_1.1 >  
 RB\_ReichenauerBeichte
- (b) *bigiho ih nu dir, got almahitiger* non-argument  
 confess I now you.DAT.SG God almighty  
 ‘Now I confess to you, almighty God’  
 DDD-AD-Kleinere\_Althochdeutsche\_Denkmäler\_1.1 > WGB\_Wess.Glau

The overall distribution of arguments versus non-arguments in the OHG database is given in Table (2):

N=156	ADJ – N		N – ADJ	
	+Det	-Det	+Det	-Det
arguments	62	40	1	33
non-arguments	0	6	0	14

Table (2): Distribution of ADJ – N and N – ADJ patterns with and without a determiner with proper names in argumental and non-argumental function in REA\_1.0

In the face of the numbers in Table (2), we cannot assume that arguments systematically raise the noun to D in the absence of a determiner. Neither is it justified to assume that this option

is excluded for non-arguments. Rather, the opposite is true for OHG, namely the option of N-raising is more likely to occur within the group of non-arguments (in a relation of 14:6) and less likely in the group of arguments (the relation is 33:40). I performed a Fisher exact test to calculate if the argument/non-argument distinction is statistically significant for the distribution of the N – ADJ versus ADJ – N patterns in the OHG database. A Fisher's exact test revealed a value of  $p=.0761$ , i.e., the result is statistically not significant at .05 level. This means that the syntactic function of the noun is irrelevant when it comes to explaining the occurrence of N – ADJ versus ADJ – N orders in the absence of a determiner in OHG.

## 4.2 MHG

### 4.2.1 The overall picture

For MHG, I searched the *Referenzkorpus Mittelhochdeutsch (REM)*, containing 2 million word forms. I used the query in (18)a to detect orders of the type ADJ – N, while the query in (18)b yields the N – ADJ sequences. Again, the total of hits and a link to the results of each individual query is provided in brackets. Because of the large size of the corpus, I restricted the search to prose texts only. Examples containing Latin material were excluded.

- (18) (a) `pos="ADJA" & pos="NE" & #1.#2 & meta::genre="P"` (1901 hits, <https://www.linguistics.rub.de/annis/annis3/?id=e574487d-2af0-487a-99ce-b8e2271a9be5>)  
 (b) `pos="ADJN" & pos="NE" & #2.#1 & meta::genre="P"` (4 hits, 2 invalid, <https://www.linguistics.rub.de/annis/annis3/?id=bd16224b-dd04-4197-a6a6-68bb9b6a3785>)

I checked the consistency of the results that the query produced and determined the presence or absence of an overt determiner in the examples conclusive for the analysis. Again, all four putative orders can be identified in the data, as illustrated in (19)a-d:

- (19) (a) *da der heiligo Crift inne gedofet ift* Det-Adj-N  
 where the holy Christ in baptized is  
 'where the Holy Christ was baptized'  
 11-12\_1-rhfrhess-PV-X > M036-N1
- (b) *Bifchoffes Otten selgen* N-Adj  
 bishop.GEN.SG Otto.GEN.SG blessed.GEN.SG  
 'of the blessed Bishop Otto'  
 14\_1-ofrk-PU-G > M356-G1
- (c) *lop dir heiliger chrift* Adj-N  
 glory you.DAT holy Christ  
 'Be praised, holy Christ'  
 12\_2-bair-V\_3-X > M024-N1
- (d) *and<sup>e</sup>me fynai heiligen* Det-N-Adj  
 by the.DAT.SG Sinai holy.DAT.SG  
 'by the holy Sinai'  
 12\_2-wmd-PVU-X > M188y-N1

But as already shown for OHG, the quantitative distribution of these patterns is rather telling. Consider the numbers in Table (3):

<i>N</i> =336	<b>+Det</b>	<b>-Det</b>	<b>total</b>
ADJ – N	319	15	334
N – ADJ	1	1	2

Table (3): The distribution of the determiner in pre- and post-nominally modified proper names in MHG (REM, only prose texts)

We discover that the critical pattern in which both the determiner and the noun precede the adjective is again exceptional, as it occurs in one single instance attested in the corpus. Even if we extend the search to the poetic texts included in REM, the number of critical patterns of the type Det – N – Adj increases by only one additional example. This suggests that this pattern is neglectable in the data. In the remaining examples, determiners and proper names never co-occur in front of an adjective.

In the overwhelming part of the data, the definite determiner is already present, which is expected given the advanced stage of consolidation of the determiner system in the MHG period.<sup>13</sup>

Let us nevertheless explore the distribution of the determinerless variants from the perspective of the argument/non-argument distinction. Consider the numbers in Table (4)<sup>14</sup>:

<i>N</i> =336	<b>ADJ – N</b>		<b>N – ADJ</b>	
	<b>+Det</b>	<b>-Det</b>	<b>+Det</b>	<b>-Det</b>
arguments	319	4	1	1
non-arguments	0	11	0	0

Table (4): Distribution of ADJ – N and N – ADJ patterns with and without a determiner with proper names in argumental and non-argumental function in REM (only prose texts)

Although the number of determinerless patterns is very small, it reveals that similarly to the situation described for OHG, arguments can occur in both orders Adj – N and N – Adj. Again, there is a slight preference for the non-raising option (in a relation of 4:1). This suggests that N-raising to D is not categorical for nouns in argument function in MHG. But within the group of non-arguments, the picture is clear, as the only pattern occurring here is Adj – N, i.e. the one in which the noun does not leave its basic position. It might be speculated that for this group of nouns, N-raising to D is blocked on structural reasons, because of the lack of a DP-layer in the underlying structure. However, as will be outlined in the next section, evidence from predicative indefinites in MHG rejects such a scenario.

#### 4.2.2 Evidence for [D e] in nominal predicates

In the present section, the results of a corpus study on the distribution of the indefinite determiner in nominal predicates in MHG will be reported. This study is part of a larger investigation explaining the conditions of use of the overt indefinite determiner in nominal predicates of a specific type, namely those describing affiliations to so-called “social roles” (Geist 2014), e.g. occupations, professions, nationalities, convictions etc. (Petrova, *subm.*). In standard modern German, the indefinite determiner is ungrammatical in these contexts, as shown in (20)a, in contrast to so-called “class nouns” as in (20)b where the determiner is required (see Engel 2004: 316, Eisenberg 2006: 463, Duden 2016: 331f, Berman 2009, Hallab

<sup>13</sup> On bare definite nouns in MHG, see (Paul 2007: 379f).

<sup>14</sup> If the restriction on prose texts is removed, the number of total hits for the N – ADJ order increases from 4 to 90 instances. The respective query is `pos="ADJN" & pos="NE" & #2.#1`, the results can be observed under <https://www.linguistics.rub.de/annis/annis3/?id=4786d1ca-94da-46d6-96e8-3f91775e2bb7>.

2011, Geist 2014). In MHG, however, the lexical equivalents of the respective role nouns may display a determiner, as shown in (21)a-b versus (22), see also Behaghel (1923: 87f, Paul 2007: 382f):

- (20) (a) *Peter ist (\*ein) Arzt / (\*ein) Italiener / (\*ein) Katholik*  
 Peter is a physician an Italian a catholic  
 ‘Peter is a physician / an Italian / a catholic’  
 (b) *Peter ist \*(ein) Freund / \*(ein) Genie / \*(ein) Optimist*  
 Peter is a friend a genius an optimist  
 ‘Peter is a friend / a genius / an optimistic person’
- (21) (a) *Kain was ein accherman*  
 Cain was a peasant  
 ‘Cain was a peasant’ Genes. 1218; cit. in Paul (2007: 382)  
 (b) *Der selbe bapst was von der geburt ein Römer*  
 the same pope was by the birth a Roman  
 ‘The same pope was Roman-born’ Stretl. Chr. 2, 8; cit. in Behaghel (1923: 87)
- (22) *Dancwart der was marschalch*  
 Dancwart DEM was Master.of.the.Horse  
 ‘Dancwart, he was a Master of the Horse’ NibB 11,3; cit. in Paul (2007: 382)

Petrova (subm.) accounts for this variation by assuming that indefinite expressions, both argumental and predicative ones, are DPs, sharing the underlying structure of definite descriptions shown in (6)a-c above. In addition, the indefinite marker *ein* is treated as a regular indefinite determiner located in the functional head  $D^\circ$ , with the option of a phonologically empty variant [ $_D e$ ], which is lexically and syntactically governed.

In this section, the evidence in favour of this argumentation will be outlined. Let us address the conditions governing the distribution of bare versus overtly indefinite variants. Petrova (subm.) has identified two relevant contexts (coordination, referential status of the subject) in which the indefinite determiner is systematically missing. In a sample of 232 items, applying the chi-square test reveals that both factors prove statistically significant at  $p < .05$ .

The first context is coordination. Whereas single (non-coordinated) indefinite DPs normally display a determiner in MHG, their conjoined variants are systematically determinerless. Consider the minimal pairs in (23)a-b and (24)a-b in which the indefinite DPs are used as nominal predicates referring to crafts/occupations and ethnicity/nationality, respectively:<sup>15</sup>

- (23) (a) *kain waf ein accherman*  
 Cain was a peasant  
 ‘Cain was a peasant’ 12\_2-bair-V\_1-X > M088-N1  
 (b) *der altere wart jagire und accherman*  
 the elder.one became hunter and peasant  
 ‘the elder one became a hunter and a peasant’ 12\_2-bair-V\_1-X > M088-N1
- (24) (a) *er was kurtoys, / sîn vater was ein Franzoys*  
 he was well-mannered his father was a Frenchman  
 ‘he was well-mannered, his father was a Frenchman’ MWB Online, Parz 46, 22

<sup>15</sup> The examples are taken Petrova (subm.). The data is extracted from two sources, REM and the online concordance of the MHG dictionary (MWB Online). I use the references to the examples according to the source they are taken from.

- (b) *ist Kingrûn/ Franzoys od Bertûn*  
 is Kingrun Frenchman or Breton  
 ‘May Kingrun be a Frenchman or a Breton’ MWB Online, Parz 195, 28

The second condition is the referential status of the subject expression. Observe that the indefinite determiner is present if the subject displays properties of a referential expression in the sense of Karttunen (1976), i.e. if it refers to an individual functioning as a discourse referent in the respective context, as in (25)a. Negative and quantified expressions fail to introduce discourse referents, and in such cases, as demonstrated in (25)b-c, the determiner is missing:

- (25) (a) *aber sebastianus der waz ein richter*  
 but Sebastianus he was a judge  
 ‘But Sebastianus, he was a judge’ 14\_1-rhfrhess-PU-G > M407-G1  
 (b) *mag [...] kein gebure richter gesin*  
 may no peasant judge be.INF  
 ‘no peasant is allowed to be a judge’ 13\_2-alem-PU-G > M339-G1  
 (c) *Ein iegelich man der richter ist*  
 any man who judge is  
 ‘whoever is a judge’ 13\_2-alem-PU-G > M339-G1

In addition, it can be shown that predicative nouns remain determinerless in a series of cases where the subjects are ordinary lexical expressions, which, however, occur in the scope of various semantic operators, such as conditional and interrogative operators, see (26)a-b:

- (26) (a) *vñ fol er andrest richter werden*  
 and should he for.a.second.time judge become  
 ‘if he becomes a judge for a second time’ 13\_2-alem-PU-G > M339-G1  
 (b) *Bin ich richtere Daz ich sie stritē hiezze*  
 am I judge that I them fight.INF requested.PRET.SUBJ  
 ‘am I a judge such that I should let them fight’  
 14\_1-thurhess-V\_Herb2-X > M541H2-N

Note that these are well-known conditions licensing negative polarity items (NPIs) cross-linguistically. Recall from the literature (e.g. Giannakidou 2011 for an overview) that NPIs are referentially deficient elements which are “unable to introduce discourse referents on their own” (ibid., 1662). This property can be extended to lexical expressions in the scope of NPI-triggering operators as those at issue, concluding that the lack of referential properties is the common feature unifying these classes of nouns with negated and quantified DPs. In both cases, the nominal expressions lose their ability to introduce discourse referents, because the proposition that the sentence conveys does not apply in any possible world.

Consider, finally, that in MHG, the two above mentioned conditions, namely DP-coordination and non-referentiality, are known to trigger determinerless nouns not only in predicative but in argumental function as well. For illustration, I provide examples in (27) and (28)a-b showing that conjoint singular DPs and singular count nouns in the scope of an operator lack the determiner when used as arguments as well.<sup>16</sup> According to the literature, overtly determinerless argumental count nouns in MHG are attested in the presence of operators such as *ie* ‘ever’ or *nie* ‘never’, or in the scope of sentential negation in general (see

<sup>16</sup> Similar observations on the distribution of the zero article in Old French are described in Becker (2013).

Paul 2007: 380, Desportes 2000). I provide some representative examples for illustration in (27) and (28)a-b:

- (27) *Suaz mir wolf oder diep genam*  
 what me wolf or thief took.away  
 ‘whatever a wolf or a thief took away from me’  
 MWB Online, Gen 1472

- (28) (a) *vnd<sup>e</sup> wart nie gaft geminnet baz*  
 and PASS.AUX never guest appreciated better  
 ‘and never before has \*(a) guest received more respect’ 13\_1-obd-V-G > M342-G1  
 (b) *den wîp ze liebe ie gewan*  
 whom lady to love ever received  
 ‘whom a lady ever found as a lover’  
 MWB Online, Iw 57

To the best of my knowledge, there is no empirical study testing the statistical significance of these two factors on the presence or absence of the determiner in argumental DPs in MHG. However, what is relevant for the present analysis, is the observation that, similarly to indefinite arguments, indefinite predicates are DPs displaying the option of an empty determiner under special conditions, namely those type-shifting a singular non-mass head noun to one which lacks object-referential properties as a whole, as also observed by Longobardi (2005) for Italian.

Let us finally consider if the option of N-movement to [D e] is identifiable in the domain of indefinite reference in MHG, given the observation that an empty indefinite determiner is present. Petrova (subm.) observes that in the sample of indefinite predicates referring, there is a class of nouns which never display the overt determiner, categorically escaping the variation between bare and overtly indefinite nouns described above. In this class, the head noun denotes a well-established *institutionalized* type of position barring the property of uniqueness, i.e., the respective position exists only once at a time in the relevant domain of reference. This applies, e.g., to denotations of the court appointments typical for the medieval period, like *trucheze* ‘steward’, *marschalc* ‘marshal/Master of the Horse’, *cemerere* ‘treasurer’, *skence* ‘cupbearer’, but also nouns describing higher positions in the hierarchy of the church, such as *abbet* ‘abbot’, *bischof* ‘bishop’, *babes* ‘pope’. Recall the example in (22) above, augmented by additional evidence in (29)a-b:

- (29) (a) *Sindolt der was scenke*  
 Sindold DEM was cupbearer  
 ‘Sindold, he was cupbearer’  
 MWB Online, NibB 11,3  
 (b) *dô bat der keiser Fôcas/den herren, der dô bâbest was*  
 then asked the emperor Focas the man.ACC who then pope was  
 ‘then Emperor Focas asked the man who was pope at that time’  
 MWB Online, Eracl 2376

Upon the condition of uniqueness of reference of the head nouns in the determinerless occurrences presented in (29)a-b, Petrova (subm.) proposes to treat them as instances of rigid designators in the sense of Kripke (1980), i.e. as nouns denoting the same object in any possible worlds. In Longobardi (1994, 1996, 2005), the operation of N-raising to [D e] applies exactly to nouns bearing these properties, such as proper names. Applying the mechanism of N-raising to the empty determiner in the class of rigid designators among the nominal predicates yields an exact explanation to the observation why these nouns systematically occur determinerless.

In conclusion, the overt realization of nominal predicates as representatives of the class of



non-arguments suggests that in OHG and MHG, there is no evidence in favour of a structural difference between arguments and non-arguments along the lines of the DP/NP-distinction proposed in the literature, which can explain the observation that the determinerless ADJ – N and N – ADJ order are possible with nouns used in any function in historical German.

## 5. Conclusions

This paper discusses corpus evidence allowing to explore the applicability of a theory of empty determiners, including the option of raising the head noun to the position of this empty determiner to the variation between bare and overtly (in)definite nouns in the medieval varieties of German. The diagnostic dataset allowing conclusive analysis involves modified proper names, as the order of nouns and adjectives in the presence or absence of an overt determiner is suitable to reveal if the raised noun and the determiner are in complementary distribution in  $D^{\circ}$ , as already applied to analyse similar data in Italian and OE.

The basic results are twofold. First, there is evidence for the presence of  $[_D e]$  in a diachronically constant DP structure allowing to account for the presence of bare nouns in the earlier stages of German. Second, in contrast to the analysis of OE, there is no evidence for a structural difference between arguments and non-arguments that matches the DP/NP-divide of these types of nouns proposed in the general literature.

## 6. References

### 6.1 Electronic resources

- MWB Online <http://www.mhdwb-online.de/index.html>  
 REA 1.0 <https://korpling.org/annis3/ddd/>  
 REM <https://www.linguistics.rub.de/annis/annis3/REM/>

### 6.2 Secondary literature

- Abney, Steven P. 1987. *The English Noun Phrase in its Sentential Aspect*, PhD. Dissertation, MIT.
- Behaghel, Otto. 1923. *Deutsche Syntax. Eine geschichtliche Darstellung. Band I. Die Wortformen. A. Nomen. Pronomen*. Heidelberg: Winter.
- Becker, Martin. 2013. Competing zones: The zero article in Old French and its loss in the history of the French language. In: Sofiana Chiriacescu (ed.). *Proceedings of the VI Nereus International Workshop "Theoretical implications at the syntax/semantics interface in Romance"*, *Arbeitspapier 127*, Fachbereich Sprachwissenschaft, Universität Konstanz, 1-17.
- Berman, Judith. 2009. The Predicate as a Source of Grammatical Variation. In: Andreas Dufter, Jürg Fleischer & Guido Seiler (eds.). *Describing and Modeling Variation in Grammar*. Berlin: de Gruyter, 99-116.
- Crisma, Paola. 1997. *L'articolo nella prosa inglese antica e la teoria degli articoli nulli*. PhD. Dissertation, Università di Padova.
- Crisma, Paola. 1999. Nominals without the article in the Germanic languages. *Rivista di Grammatica Generativa* 24, 105-125.
- Demske, Ulrike. 2001. *Merkmale und Relationen*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Desportes, Yvon. 2000. Artikel im Mittelhochdeutschen. Lässt sich Paul Valentins Modell des Artikelsystems im heutigen Deutsch auf das Mittelhochdeutsche übertragen? In: Yvon Desportes (ed.). *Zur Geschichte der Nominalgruppe im älteren Deutsch. Festschrift für Paul Valentin*. Heidelberg: Winter, 213-253.
- Duden, die Grammatik*. 2016. Eds. Angelika Wöllstein et al. Mannheim: Dudenverlag.
- Eisenberg, Peter. 2006. *Grundriß der deutschen Grammatik, 2: Der Satz*. Stuttgart: Metzler.
- Engel, Ulrich. 2004. *Deutsche Grammatik*. München: Iudicium.
- Geist, Ljudmila. 2014. Bare predicate nominals in German. In: Ludmila Veselovská & Markéta Janebová (eds.). *Complex Visible Out There. Proceedings of the Olomouc Linguistic Colloquium 2014: Language Use and Linguistic Structure*. Olomouc: Palacký University, 83-106.
- Giannakidou, Anastasia. 2011. Negative and positive polarity items. In: Klaus von Heusinger, Claudia

- Maienborn & Paul Portner (eds.). *Semantics* (HSK 33.2). Berlin: de Gruyter, 1660-1712.
- Hallab, Amina Christine. 2011. *Referentialität, Prädikation und die Struktur der Nominalphrase: Kontrastierung artikelloser nominaler Prädikate und Indefinita in Kopulasätzen im Deutschen*. Hamburg: Kovač.
- Hodler, Werner. 1954. *Grundzüge einer germanischen Artikellehre*. Heidelberg: Winter.
- Karttunen, Lauri. 1976. Discourse referents. In: James McCowley (ed.). *Syntax and Semantics*. New York: Cascadilla, 363-385.
- Kripke, Saul. 1980. *Naming and Necessity*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Longobardi, Giuseppe. 1994. Reference and Proper Names: A Theory of N-Movement in Syntax and Logical Form. *Linguistic Inquiry* 25(4), 609-665.
- Longobardi, Giuseppe. 1996. The syntax of N-raising: a minimalist theory. *OTS Working Papers* 96(5), 1-55.
- Longobardi, Giuseppe. 2005. Towards a Unified Grammar of Reference. *Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft* 24, 5-44.
- Oubouzar, Erika. 1992. Zur Ausbildung des bestimmten Artikels im AHD. In: Yvon Desportes (ed.). *Althochdeutsch. Syntax und Semantik*. Lyon: Centre d'études linguistiques Jacques Goudet, 69-87.
- Paul, Hermann. 2007. *Mittelhochdeutsche Grammatik*. 25th edition. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- Petrova, Svetlana. 2015. Synchronic variation and diachronic change in the expression of indefinite reference: Evidence from historical German. *Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft* 34(2), 213-246.
- Petrova, Svetlana. in press. What genericity reveals about the establishment of the definite determiner in the history of German. In: Renata Szczepaniak & Johanna Flick (eds.). *Walking on the Grammaticalization Path of the Definite Article: Functional Main and Side Roads*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Petrova, Svetlana. subm. Bare and indefinite nominal predicates in the history of German. In: Chiara Gianollo, Maria Napoli & Klaus von Heusinger (eds.). *The grammar of reference and quantification: functions, variation, and change*.
- Schlachter, Eva. in press. A complex grammaticalization scenario for the definite article: The interplay of different article forms. In: Renata Szczepaniak & Johanna Flick (eds.). *Walking on the Grammaticalization Path of the Definite Article: Functional Main and Side Roads*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Szczepaniak, Renata. 2011. *Grammatikalisierung im Deutschen: Eine Einführung*. 2nd. edition. Tübingen: Narr.

## Lexical and syntactic aspects of D-like and Q-like adjectives in Spanish.

Antonio Fábregas

antonio.fabregas<at>uit.no

### 1. The empirical problem\*

The goal of this article is to address the empirical problem posed in Spanish by a small set of adjectives (1) that in contemporary language double as determiner-like elements (2).

- (1) *un chico muy diferente*  
a boy very different  
'a very different boy'
- (2) *(\*Muy) diferentes chicos me lo han dicho.*  
very different boys me.DAT it.ACC have.3PL said  
'Several boys have told me so.'

These elements, as adjectives (1), allow degree modification and can be postposed to the noun, while as determiner-like elements (2) they reject degree modification, must precede the noun and license them in preverbal subject position. These objects have received some attention with respect to their semantic properties (Hintikka 1986, Longobardi 1988, Sánchez López 1999, Beck 2001, Comorovsky & Nicaise 2001, Laca & Tasmowski 2003, Eguren & Sánchez López 2003, 2007, 2010; Leonetti 2008) and the grammaticalisation process that they underwent from adjectives to determiners throughout history (Camus 2009, Eguren & Sánchez 2010).

In this article, our concern is mainly the type of representation that these items have in the grammar of a native speaker, abstracting away from their historical evolution. We will analyse what it means for the same element to be both a modifier and a determiner and how the syntactic and the lexical properties of these elements combine to allow this double function. In a nutshell, we will propose that these adjectives are modifiers that, due to their meaning, can be introduced in the higher functional structure of the noun phrase. Their lexical entry, assuming Phrasal Spell Out (Caha 2009) is such that they can either spell out a whole functional phrase or just the modifier of that phrase, with immediate consequences for the types of elements they can combine with in the first case.

This article is structured as follows: in the next two subsections we will briefly present the empirical properties of these determiner-like adjectives. In §2 we will make explicit our assumptions about the functional structure of nominal constituents, and we will locate these adjectives in that area. In §3 we move to the lexical entries, introducing the notion of Phrasal Spell Out and making a specific proposal about the material spelled out by these adjectives, with an exploration of how this derives their main empirical properties. §4 is devoted to the broader consequences of our proposal.

#### 1.1 D-like adjectives

Spanish, like other Romance languages, disallows unmodified noun phrases without a determiner in the preverbal subject position (3). Excluding intervening factors such as coordination, the sentences in (3) are ungrammatical without a determiner introducing the

---

\* I am grateful to the audiences of NEREUS VII, as well as to (specifically) Manuel Leonetti, Klaus von Heusinger, Peter Svenonius and Cristina Sánchez López for comments and suggestions to previous versions of this article. All disclaimers apply.

subject. Note in particular that postnominal or prenominal adjectives do not license the subject in this context.

- (3) (a) *\*(Unos) estudiantes rubios suspendieron.*  
 some students blond failed.3PL  
 ‘Some blond students failed the exam.’  
 (b) *\*(Esos) elegantes embajadores se fueron.*  
 those elegant ambassadors se left.3PL  
 ‘Those elegant ambassadors left.’

A reduced set of adjectives, however, can license preverbal subjects, therefore displaying properties similar to determiners. We will differentiate here two groups, the first of which will be called D-like adjectives because they contribute to the definition of the reference of the noun phrase, involving notions such as specificity and definiteness. The elements in (4) belong to this class.

- (4) *cierto* ‘certain’, *determinado* ‘determined’, *dicho* ‘said’, *semejante* ‘such’<sup>17</sup>

These four adjectives behave in a parallel way. As adjectives, they can occupy the postnominal position and all of them except for *dicho* –which comes from a verbal participle, of the verb *decir* ‘say’– allow degree modification (5).

- (5) (a) *una respuesta muy cierta*  
 an answer very truthful  
 ‘a very truthful answer’  
 (b) *un problema muy determinado*  
 a problem very well-defined  
 ‘a very well-defined problem’  
 (c) *una respuesta muy semejante (a la suya)*  
 an answer very similar to the hers  
 ‘an answer very similar to hers’

The four adjectives can be used as determiner-like elements that license a preverbal subject, under two conditions for the class of D-like adjectives. The first one is that they must be the first elements within the noun phrase (6), so other adjectives cannot precede them. This is of course a general property of determiners in Spanish (7).

- (6) *(\*importante) {Cierto / Determinado/ Dicho / Semejante} problema nos preocupa.*  
 important certain / determined / said / such problem us worries  
 ‘{A certain / A particular / Said / Such} problem worries us.’  
 (7) *(\*importante) {Este/ El / Un / Otro} problema nos preocupa.*  
 important this / the / a / another problem us worries  
 ‘{This / The / A / Another} problem worries us.’

The second property is that in this context the adjectives disallow degree modification, independently of whether they allowed it or not. They cannot introduce PP arguments either –

<sup>17</sup> RAE & ASALE (2009: §13.9a) include in this category also *tamaño* used as ‘such’, *susodicho* ‘aforementioned’ and *consabido* ‘well-known’. We exclude them all from this group for different reasons: *tamaño* is not used as an adjective in contemporary Spanish –it is a noun meaning ‘size’–. *Susodicho* and *consabido* cannot license on their own a preverbal subject, as in *\*(El) {susodicho / consabido} director nos dijo que...* ‘the {aforementioned / well-known} director told us that...’.

stranded or otherwise—, so *semejante* ‘similar / such’ loses the capacity to introduce the second term of comparison.

- (8) (\**muy*) {*Cierto / Determinado/ Dicho / Semejante*} *problema nos preocupa.*  
 very certain / determined / said / such problem us worries.  
 ‘{A certain / A particular / Said / Such} problem worries us.’
- (9) *Semejante problema (\*al que me cuentas) nos preocupa.*  
 such problem to.the what me.DAT tell.2SG us worries  
 ‘Such a problem worries us.’

With respect to their meaning, there is agreement that *cierto* and *determinado* are used as markers of specificity (von Heusinger 2002), and in particular that their presence is related to the idea that the speaker intends to associate a referent to the nominal phrase introduced by them. This property can be tested, for instance, by the fact that they force indicative mood selection in relative clauses, a landmark of referential specificity in Spanish (Quer 1998).

- (10) (a) \**Busco a {cierto/ determinado} estudiante que sepa inglés.*  
 search.1SG DOM certain / particular student that knows.SBJ English  
 ‘I am looking for a certain / particular student that speaks English.’
- (b) *Busco a un estudiante que sepa inglés.*  
 search.1SG DOM a student that knows.SBJ English  
 ‘I am looking for a student that speaks English.’

The meaning of *cierto* as opposed to other non-specific markers is subject to more debate: it expresses an identity known to the speaker, but not revealed (Leonetti 2008), evaluative identification (Longobardi 1988), indeterminacy (Sánchez López 1999) or imprecise identification (Eguren & Sánchez López 2007).

Eguren & Sánchez (2007) note that some speakers find it difficult to use *determinado* ‘particular’ as a D-like adjective in the singular, unless within a PP—as usual, we use the symbol ‘%’ to indicate that there is intra-speaker variation within the same variety.

- (11) (a) %*Determinado actor ha sido despedido.*  
 particular actor has been fired  
 ‘A particular actor has been fired.’
- (b) *el despido de determinado actor*  
 the firing of particular actor  
 ‘the firing of a particular actor’

However, it is not difficult to find cases of *determinado* in the singular working as a D-like adjective. The following cases are documented through Mark Davies’ *Corpus del español*.

- (12) (a) *Determinado tipo de libro o de género tardará más tiempo en ser leído.*  
 particular type of book or of genre will.last more time in be read  
 ‘A particular type of book or of genre will take longer to be read.’
- (b) *Determinado texto lleva determinada banda sonora.*  
 particular text carries particular track sound  
 ‘A particular text will come with a particular soundtrack.’
- (c) *Determinado perfume [...] facilita que el cliente...*  
 particular perfume eases that the client...  
 ‘A particular perfume makes it easier that the client...’

Informally, the generalisation we identified asking native speakers is that younger speakers tend to accept it in the singular, while older speakers might find a sentence like (12a) degraded.

### 1.2 Q-like adjectives

Other types of adjectives that license preverbal subjects are classified as Q-like because the meaning they have is similar to the one expressed by indefinite non-comparative quantifiers such as *several* or *some*. The list of adjectives acting in this way is presented in (13).

(13) *numerosos* ‘numerous’, *distintos* ‘distinct’, *diferentes* ‘different’, *múltiples* ‘multiple’<sup>18</sup>

The adjectives are listed in the plural because, unlike D-like adjectives, they cannot license preverbal subjects in the singular.

- (14) (a) \**Numeroso grupo vino*.  
numerous group arrived  
Intended: ‘A large group arrived.’  
(b) *Numerosos estudiantes vinieron*.  
numerous students arrived.3PL  
‘Many students arrived.’

In this property they behave like cardinal numerals –with the potential exception of *un* ‘a’, if it really is assimilated into this class (see Lapesa 1975, Lázaro Carreter 1975, Renzi 1976, Álvarez Martínez 1986, Lorenzo 1995, Sánchez López 1999, and Gutiérrez 2008 for discussion). Cardinal numerals, even those expressing quantities smaller than 1, require plural nouns.

- (15) (a) *ceros libros*  
zero books  
(b) *0.3 niños por matrimonio*  
0.3 children per couple  
(c) *siete años*  
seven years

In fact, a property of Q-like adjectives is that they are incompatible with any cardinal numeral, or for that matter with other quantifiers when able to license preverbal subjects; of course, they are compatible with quantifiers when used as gradable adjectives.

- (16) (a) *dos chicos muy diferentes*  
two boys very different  
‘two very different boys’  
(b) *diferentes (\*dos) chicos*  
different two boys  
Intended: ‘several boys, specifically two’

<sup>18</sup> RAE & ASALE (2009: §13.9a) also lists here *varios* ‘several’, *cuantioso* ‘substantial’, *nutrido* ‘large’ and *incontable* ‘countless’, whose meaning is also similar to quantification. We do not include them here for different reasons. In the case of *varios* ‘several’, its use as an adjective (*vario* ‘diverse’) has disappeared in contemporary Spanish. The other three are unable to license preverbal subjects in the singular or the plural, as in \*{*Cuantiosos / nutridos / incontables*} *grupos asistieron al concierto* ‘{Substantial / Large / Countless} groups attended the concert’.

Beyond this, their properties are similar to D-like adjectives. When they license preverbal subjects, they do not allow degree modification (17).

- (17) (a) *unos grupos muy numerosos*  
 some groups very numerous  
 ‘some very large groups’  
 (b) *(\*Muy) numerosos grupos opinan esto.*  
 very numerous groups think this  
 ‘Several groups think so.’

As D-like adjectives, Q-like adjectives must be at the edge of the nominal phrase that they license as preverbal subject.

- (18) (a) *Diferentes grandes problemas nos preocupan.*  
 different big problems us worry  
 ‘Several big problems worry us.’  
 (b) *\*Grandes diferentes problemas nos preocupan.*  
 big different problems us worry

Some quantifiers like *muchos* ‘many’ can be coordinated with adjectives, as illustrated in (19). However, when they do, they cannot be used to license a preverbal subject (20). Q-like adjectives also behave in this way (21).

- (19) *muchos y grandes problemas*  
 many and big problems  
 ‘a lot of big problems’  
 (20) *\*Muchos y grandes problemas nos preocupan.*  
 many and big problems us worry  
 (21) *\*Diferentes y grandes problemas nos preocupan.*  
 different and big problems us worry

With this set of properties in mind, let us move to the analysis, which we will divide in two parts. The next section will discuss the structural aspects that we propose are involved in the behaviour of D-like and Q-like adjectives.

## 2. Proposal I: the set of heads

In this section, we will first present our background assumption about syntax: the syntactic structure is divided into strictly ordered ontological domains; within each one of these domains, the ordering of heads is not universal and possibly free within each language, provided the combination is convergent in phonology and semantics. We will then make a brief proposal about the organisation of these domains in Spanish; finally, we will discuss the position of modifiers, where we will argue that they do not occupy a fixed position within the syntax.

### 2.1 Options: universal Fseq or domains

Most current syntactic theories make a choice between two opposed systems: minimalism and cartography.

In short, minimalist approaches (Chomsky 1995, 2000, 2015; Abels 2012, Ott 2011) can be

characterised by seven properties: (i) within syntax there is a tendency to propose that the inventory of heads is very reduced, which has as a consequence that (ii) these heads are severely underspecified with respect to their semantic and phonological interpretation. See for instance Wood & Marantz (2017) in their proposal of the head  $\iota$ , which covers for the previous heads Voice, P and Applicative, at least.

Next to the necessity that these heads are severely underspecified, (iii) selectional restrictions between heads have to be flexibilised, allowing that a head X can be combined with virtually any other of the heads allowed in the system because their semantic contribution is very underspecified.

This produces, by necessity, some degree of overgeneration of potential structures, something which leads to the (iv) necessity of proposing post-syntactic filters that block some combinations, such as the well-known case of the filters that determine which clitic combinations in Romance are disallowed on morphological grounds (Bonet 1991). The existence of these filters implies that (v) the phonological component (PF) must go beyond the task of spelling out the abstract syntactic representation; PF is very articulated in minimalism, including distinct levels with the power to perform operations on the structure fed to it by the previous level, as in Distributed Morphology (cf. in particular Embick & Noyer 2001).

Similarly, because heads in syntax are semantically underspecified, (vi) the semantic component (LF) must also be very articulated and enriched with different statements that translate syntactic configurations with very little semantic information into specific semantic notions.

This enrichment of the power of the interfaces is parallel to (vii) the reduction of the information defined in syntax –where heads contain less information, and in some radical approaches such as Boeckx (2013) in fact lack any type of feature endowment– in favour of the information contained in lexical entries, which have to act as the locus of featural information.

In summary, Minimalism has drifted towards a system where syntax is reduced and the interfaces that were originally conceived as mere interpretative systems have become the locus of (most) operations and features. Whether this drift is positive or negative depends on the other assumptions adopted, but here I would like to suggest that the drift is clearly negative. Within generative approaches, syntax has always been claimed to be universal and largely invariable, and any claim made about the syntax of a language, because of these two properties, made very clear predictions that could be tested by careful examination of other languages, or related constructions in the same language. In contrast, PF –which is overgrown in these models– has been assumed to be the locus of idiosyncrasies, variable even within one single language and subject to a higher degree of interspeaker variation, three properties that make the results of any analysis based solely on operations at PF less transferable to other phenomena and more difficult to test. I believe that this is a negative outcome, and one that I clearly would like to avoid in my proposals.

Cartography is the immediate alternative to Minimalism. Within cartography (Rizzi 1997, Cinque 1999, Scott 2002, Laenzlinger 2005, among others) we have very different assumptions. For starters, (i) cartographic approaches propose that languages have a more or less rigidly fixed functional sequence (Fseq) composed by a high number of heads (ii) with an extreme specialisation in the semantic contribution that they make, the type of specifier that they can host and the head that each one of them selects. See for instance Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl's (2007) proposal about the different types of topics in Italian, each one of them in a distinct position, with a rigid ordering among them when they co-occur.

The rigidity of the Fseq involves that (iii) each head can only select as its complement another very specific head. In an extreme case, such as Cinque (1999), this forces the conclusion that the whole Fseq is present in any sentence –even when the sentence does not



contain any overt syntactic constituent corresponding to the notions expressed by those heads–, only that the heads that do not introduce overt material would be in some sense deactivated in that particular utterance.

This system, where heads are very specialised, involves (iv) a reduction of the interpretative power of the interfaces, both in semantics and in phonology. In semantics, because in cartography each head has a very precise meaning, the task of LF is not much more than translating the syntactic tree into a compositional formula, and in phonology the task is to substitute abstract sets of features with sets of morphophonological exponents.

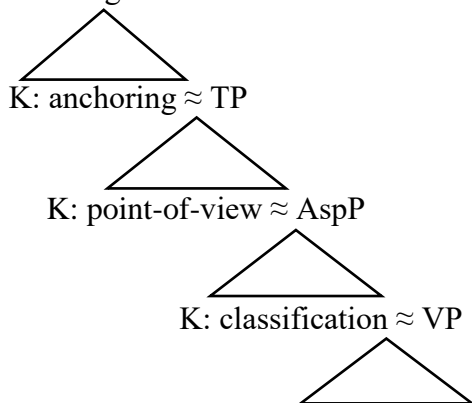
Similarly, because the syntactic structure is so detailed within the Fseq, (v) the general tendency is to move away from lexical explanations and to concentrate on explanations that follow from the syntactic structure. For instance, Cinque (1999) discusses in detail the case of apparent adjuncts whose lexical meaning is vague enough to be introduced as specifiers of different heads within the Fseq; their ultimate interpretation follows from the position within the Fseq where they are introduced.

This preference for syntactic explanations leads to the conclusion that (vi) filters should be dispreferred as analytic devices, and in the best case scenario completely removed as elements of the theory, because the syntactic configuration is not only very articulate but also semantically specified, and in principle any combinatorial restriction should be already defined within the syntax. Consider in this sense Kayne’s (2010) reinterpretation of the nature of clitic clusters in Spanish, where their ordering follows from an articulate syntactic structure without any need to propose a filter, *contra* Bonet (1991).

Even though –in my personal opinion– cartography is not vulnerable to the methodological problems of Minimalism in terms of testing its predictions, a crucial problematic aspect of this model is the origin of the Fseq. The Fseq contains a high number of heads –Cinque (1999) identifies almost 40 heads in the area between the lexical verb and tense– that are rigidly ordered and universal, in such a way that even languages without overt morphological markers of those heads will postulate them during acquisition. It is in principle implausible that the genetic endowment of the human language capacity starts with such a fine-grained and highly specific configuration as template for language acquisition.

Then, what is the alternative? In this article we will assume an alternative that can be interpreted as a middle ground between minimalism and cartography: ontological domains. In this approach (Wiltschko 2014, Ramchand & Svenonius 2014, Ramchand 2018), what is universal and rigidly ordered is a reduced set of domains that define areas within the syntactic tree. For instance, Wiltschko (2014) proposes only four such domains, as represented in (22).

(22) K: linking  $\approx$  CP

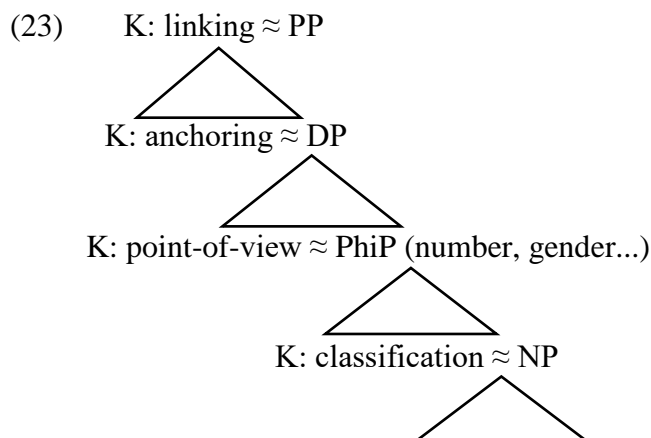


These four domains, in Wiltschko (2014), are defined each by a distinct function they perform; the functions are ordered rigidly because they are the manifestation of a general cognitive template whereby we conceive propositions (CP) as the instantiation of anchored

situations (TP) that involve a particular point of view (AspP) on the description of an eventuality that we classify through predicates (VP). Even though in the languages that have been analysed in more detail the point of view and anchoring use the concept of ‘time’, this is only one of the choices that the human capacity of language allows, and the anchoring can in principle be performed using ‘place’ or ‘participant’. In fact, as we will immediately see, Wiltschko’s proposal is that the very same four domains are present in the nominal domain, only that the concepts used for each one of the domains are different, and therefore the names given to the areas are also correlatively different.

Importantly, within each domain there is nothing universal to postulate, beyond the general necessity that the configurations generated must satisfy syntactic principles –binary branching, general constraints on movement...– and be interpretable at LF and PF. Individual languages will decide, based on the data that children are exposed to during acquisition, which heads are contained in each domain, and there is no rigid ordering within the heads of each domain. In other words: if in language X we identify a head expressing Specificity that happens to take a head meaning Numeral we cannot automatically propose that language Y also has the heads Specificity and Numeral ordered in the same way –we would have to examine the evidence internal to Y to determine if this is indeed the case–.

As we advanced earlier, the four same domains are proposed for the nominal constituents. The four areas are interpreted within nominal phrases as in (23).



Notice, to begin with, that there is no domain for modification, unlike what happens in cartographic approaches (Scott 2002, Laenzlinger 2005, Cinque 2010). The nominal constituent starts with lexical nouns and other heads whose role is to describe what type of entity is denoted in that phrase. Presumably, here we would include heads responsible for the mass / count distinction and most modifiers –at least to the extent that their role is to define subclasses of entities. The highest domain, whose role is to anchor the nominal constituent to the external configuration, contains prepositions and case markers.

The two domains that are most relevant for us in this article are the ones responsible for point-of-view and anchoring, which are the ones that host the elements that license subjects preverbally in Spanish, determiners and quantifiers. The anchoring domain is interpreted as the DP area, basically the domain where reference is established, with notions such as definiteness / non definiteness, deixis and specificity / non specificity. The point of view domain contains in principle number, and also the other projections that relate to quantification, such as numerals or indefinite quantifiers.

Of course, this division between quantifiers and determiners specialised in reference is not new, and it had been proposed before Wiltschko (2014), whose contribution in this sense is to show that the organisation corresponds to a more abstract division between domains. The proposal that QP is a distinct projection than DP, and hierarchically lower than the latter, is

made among others in Abney (1987), Eguren (1989), Shlonsky (1991), Cardinaletti & Giusti (1991), Giusti (1993), Mallén (1993), Sánchez López (1993), Leonetti (1999a, 1999b, 2016), and Gutiérrez (2008). Zamparelli (1995, 2000) distances himself from this set of theories in the sense that he proposes a division between domains within the determiners that is not based on the referential / quantificational contrast, but rather on a referential / predicational distinction where (strong) quantifiers unable to make the nominal phrase referential will occupy the position of specifier of the highest head. In this article, for independent reasons,<sup>19</sup> we will side with the authors that propose a division based on QP vs. DP.

## 2.2 The regions in Spanish

### 2.2.1 The DP region

Following the assumptions made here about the nature of domains, we need to motivate which heads are present in the DP region in Spanish with data internal to Spanish. We will motivate that in Spanish there is an active syntactic head responsible for specificity, which will be crucial for our analysis, as we will argue that *cierto* ‘certain’ and *determinado* ‘particular’ are introduced as modifiers of that head. We will also see that this head is below the one responsible for deixis in the DP region.

As a first step, note that cross-linguistically there are ordering facts that suggest that natural languages at least allow to define a head conveying specificity (cf. von Stechow 2011 for this notion) that is built on top of non-specific structures. Consider Lithuanian (Pilka 1984, apud Haspelmath 1997: 39). The interrogative *kokią* ‘which’ is present in both the non-specific and the specific version of ‘something’.

- (24) (a) *kokią nors prekę*  
           which INDF thing  
           ‘something (nonspecific)’  
       (b) *kaž kokią prekę*  
           INDF which thing  
           ‘something (specific)’

In the non-specific version, it combines with an indefinite *nors*, which follows it; in contrast, the specific version is built by a different indefinite, *kaž*, which forcefully precedes the interrogative. Using *kokią* as a landmark, we can diagnose that specificity is defined in a position that is syntactically higher than non-specificity (and interrogatives). In a referentially-based theory of specificity where being specific means that there is a particular referent introduced by the nominal expression, this situation can be straightforwardly interpreted as involving a head X –call it Specificity– that builds on top of the nominal as a predicate and introduces a referent for it.

### (25) Specificity > PredicativeNP

<sup>19</sup> The initial plausibility of this type of division –which does not deny that strong and weak quantifiers might be placed in different regions, which is another contribution of Zamparelli (1995, 2000)– is that Spanish very easily can combine a (weak) quantifier with a determiner, as in *los tres chicos* ‘the three boys’, *estos pocos asuntos* ‘these few issues’ or *cada tres libros* ‘every three books’, while combinations of two quantifiers are out (*\*muchos unos libros* ‘many some books’, *\*todos los tres libros* ‘all the three books’; cf. Norwegian *alle tre* ‘all three’), as well as combinations of two determiners (*\*estos los libros* ‘these the books’, *\*aquellos sus amigos* ‘those his friends’; cf. Greek *εκείνη η κυρία* ‘that the lady’). This general combinatorics is easier to capture in a system where quantifiers and determiners define different regions. Other aspects of Zamparelli’s theory stay even if the division we assume is different; for instance, it could still be the case that elements generated in the indefinite quantifier region can move to the DP region when they are the only elements belonging to this area.

That Lithuanian provides evidence for such a configuration does not automatically mean that Spanish also does. It could be that specificity remains as a semantic notion, but has not been grammaticalised in the set of heads that are defined within the DP region.

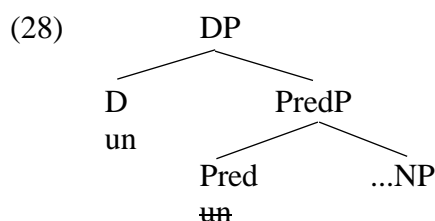
However, specificity is relevant in Spanish for two particular grammatical phenomena: case assignment and mood selection. With respect to mood selection (cf. Quer 1998, Bosque 2012, among many others), absence of a referent is directly associated to subjunctive mood selection in a restrictive relative clause. With intensional verbs, a predicative nominal phrase takes subjunctive, while a referential indefinite takes indicative.

- (26) (a) *Busco un libro que habla de corrupción.*  
 look.for a book that speaks.IND of corruption  
 ‘I am looking for a particular book that is about corruption.’  
 (b) *Busco un libro que hable de corrupción.*  
 look.for a book that speaks.SBJ of corruption  
 ‘I am looking for a(ny) book about corruption.’

With respect to case assignment, specificity is a well-known factor in the distribution of the *a*-marking in Spanish (Fernández Ramírez 1951, Torrego 1998, von Stechow 2002, Leonetti 2004, among many others). Animate indefinite NPs with a verb like *necesitar* ‘need’ take DOM only when they introduce a referent (27). Interestingly, Torrego (1998) has suggested that the *a*-marking is in fact part of an extended projection of the DP area, which would directly match with the idea that specificity in Spanish is defined by an additional head (see also Cardinaletti & Starke 1996 on strong pronouns).

- (27) (a) *Necesito a un amigo.*  
 need.1SG DOM a friend  
 ‘I need a particular friend.’  
 (b) *Necesito un amigo.*  
 need.1SG a friend  
 ‘I need a friend.’

Also in Zamparelli’s (1995, 2000) proposal, the specific reading is associated to the determiner being located in a structurally higher position than in the non-specific reading. Concretely, he proposes that in specific readings of the indefinite *un* ‘a’, the indefinite, originally generated in the predicative DP position, has moved to fill the strong referential DP head (28) while in the non-specific reading this movement has not taken place.



Moreover, there is evidence that the specificity head is independent from whatever grammatical device that triggers the definite / indefinite distinction. The reason is that definite noun phrases in Spanish can be non-specific –one of the instantiations of the so-called weak definite reading (Vergnaud & Zubizarreta 1992, Beyssade 2013, Aguilar-Guevara 2014, Espinal & Cyrino 2017). In (29), for instance, the definite *el estudiante* ‘the student’ lacks a referent; note that combination with the adjective *mismo* ‘same’, that implies coreference, is degraded.

- (29) (a) *Ganará el estudiante que entregue más ejercicios.*  
 will.win the student that delivers.SBJ more exercises  
 ‘The student that delivers more exercises will win.’  
 (b) \**Ganará el mismo estudiante que entregue más ejercicios.*  
 will.win the same student that delivers.SBJ more exercises

However, it is less clear whether the distinction between definites and indefinites in Spanish should be directly reflected in the syntactic structure as a head Definiteness, as in (30), that appears only in the definite interpretation. The obvious alternative would be to let that difference be lexically specified, through distinct presuppositions associated to the definite *el* and the indefinite *un* qua lexical items that are both introduced in principle in the same position.

- (30) (a) [DefP ... [SpecP ... [NP]]] definite specific  
 (b) [SpecP ... [NP]] indefinite specific  
 (c) [DefP ... [NP]] definite non-specific

The obvious alternative would be to let that difference be lexically specified, through distinct presuppositions associated to the definite *el* and the indefinite *un* qua lexical items that are both introduced in principle in the same position, within the DP region. The second approach would directly explain why the definite and the indefinite articles cannot co-occur –they are in the same structural position, so one prevents insertion of the other– (31), while an approach along the lines of (30) could in principle host *un* in SpecificityP and *el* in DefinitenessP. However, the lexical approach has the challenge of explaining the weak referential cases where the weak definite reading does not immediately satisfy the uniqueness presupposition associated to definiteness (32, but see Leonetti, this volume for an account of such cases where prototypicality of situations satisfies the uniqueness presupposition even if in principle there is more than one potential referent for the NP).

- (31) \**el un libro*  
 the a book  
 (32) *El bebé agarró el dedo del cirujano.*  
 the baby grabbed the finger of.the surgeon  
 ‘The baby grabbed the finger of the surgeon.’

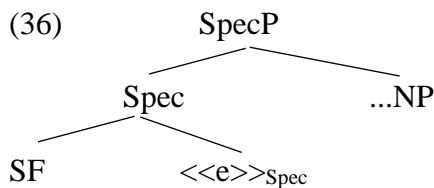
An additional possibility would be that the indefinite and the definite readings belong to different domains, with the indefinite being at least base generated in the QP area and the definite article belonging properly to the DP area. However, this would imply that the theory that *un* ‘a’ is a quantifier is right (Alonso 1933, Alarcos 1967, Brucart & Rigau 2002), and there is evidence that *un* at least sometimes is acting as a determiner (Lapesa 1975, Lázaro Carreter 1975, Gutiérrez 2005, 2008). *Unos* ‘some’ cannot be an answer to a quantity question (33) or introduce partitive clauses (34). *Mismo* ‘same’ cannot combine with indefinite quantifiers because they do not introduce referents, but it can combine with the indefinite *un* ‘a’ (35).

- (33) *¿Cuántos chicos vinieron?*  
 how.many boys came.3PL  
 \**Unos / Algunos*  
 some / some  
 (34) \**unos de los chicos*  
 some of the boys

- (35) (a) *\*bastantes mismos lugares*  
           several    same    places  
       (b) *un mismo lugar*  
           a        same    place

We leave this matter unresolved, then. If the problem of how the uniqueness presupposition is satisfied in weak or spurious definite contexts is solved, as Leonetti argues in this volume, the theory that seems to account for the Spanish facts more straightforwardly is that *el* and *un* compete for insertion in the same contexts, as two items that can equally be introduced in Specificity and possibly other heads within the DP area.

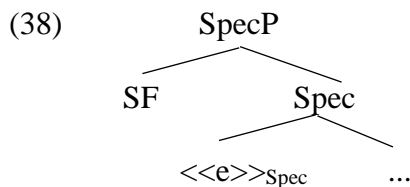
A second question, once the head Specificity has been identified, is to understand how specific items combine with it. We follow Borer (2005) in the proposal that items like *el* 'the' or *un* 'a' are semantic functors (SF) that assign range to the functional heads they combine with. Borer (2005) proposes that the semantic functors divide into two classes. The direct range assignors are items that are introduced as non-projecting modifiers of the head.



Presumably, determiners like *el* and *un*, which have the distribution of heads, are direct range assignors and therefore non-projecting. Their head status is seen for instance in that they cannot be coordinated with other elements.

- (37) *\*el y único actor*  
       the and only actor

There are also indirect range assignors, which are projecting elements that operate on the head (38) but which produce the same syntacticosemantic effect on the head. These are merged as XP phrases combining within the projection of the head.



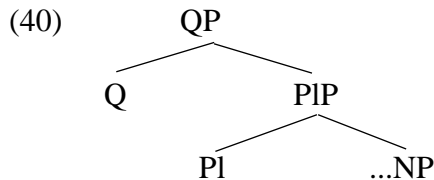
Let us now move to the QP region, which is relevant for the Q-like adjectives.

### 2.2.2 The QP region

The QP region includes plural number in this account, as part of the area that Wiltschko (2014) names PhiP-area. Considering evidence internal to Spanish, we find evidence that there is a numeral phrase head that must be higher than plural. Several pieces of evidence point out to this: first, as we saw, the numerals invariably combine with plural count nouns, which suggests that, when they are introduced, they must select PluralP as their complement. Second, the numerals invariably precede plural marking, even if they themselves do not inflect for plural, suggesting again that they are hierarchically higher than the head that introduces the plural inflection.

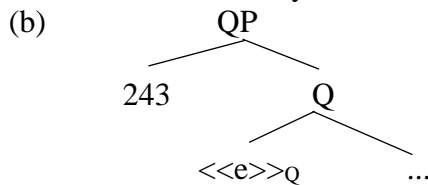
- (39) (a) *cuatro libro-s*  
 four book-PL  
 ‘four books’  
 (b) *cien libro-s*  
 hundred book-PL  
 ‘one hundred books’

This suggests an ordering as in (40).



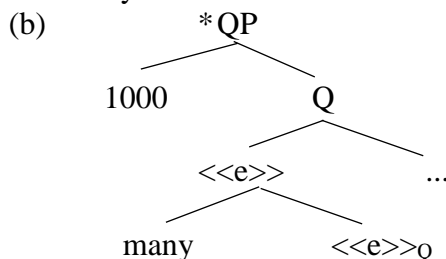
As in the case of the DP-area, following Borer (2005), we treat the specific numeral as a semantic functor that assigns range to the <<e>>. Given that numerals can be internally complex, it seems clear that they will be indirect range assignors, projecting within the NumP.

- (41) (a) *doscientos cuarenta y tres libro-s*  
 two-hundred forty and three book-PL  
 ‘two hundred forty three books’



The impossibility of combining a numeral with another indefinite quantifier in this proposal follows from the idea that both of them compete to give range to the same head. In the case of *muchos* ‘many’ we propose that it is a direct modifier. The reason is that, as we noted earlier, when it coordinates with an adjective it cannot license preverbal subjects (*\*Muchas y grandes cosas nos admiran* ‘Many and big things cause us admiration’), showing that when used as a quantifier is cannot expand. Thus, (42a) is out simply because if *muchos* ‘many’ is a direct range assignor to <<e>>, the numeral will not be able to do assign a second range (42b).

- (42) (a) *\*muchos mil libros*  
 many thousand books



The difference between *muchos* and the numerals, we contend, is that *mucho* as a semantic function does not presuppose countability on the complement, while the numerals introduce a presupposition that the noun expresses a partition that can be counted. This means that *mucho* does not necessary combine with plurals, as shown in (43), where it takes a singular mass noun.

- (43) *Mucha lluvia puede causar una inundación.*  
 much rain might cause a flood  
 ‘Much rain might cause a flood.’

### 2.2.3 No region for modifiers

Thus, to summarise we have identified a Specificity projection within the DP-area, and we have argued that numerals and indefinite quantifiers are in the QP area. We have treated the definite and the indefinite articles as direct range assignors that can appear in the SpecP projection, and we have suggested that it might not be necessary to have a designated position for definiteness, if the uniqueness interpretation can be codified as a presupposition in the lexical entry of the semantic functor *el* ‘the’. We have followed Borer (2005) in the idea that range assignors can be non-projecting, forming complex heads with the head of the projection, or projecting, merged within the XP phrase in a c-commanding position.

But a theory is defined also by what it does not have. Crucially, this view of syntactic structures as ordered sequences of domains does not include a designated region for modifiers. This is relevant in two senses: (i) that modification is not a separate type of entity, but rather an operation that can be performed over the objects that a particular ontological domain denotes and (ii) that, as a consequence of the previous idea in combination with the claim that within a domain the heads are not rigidly ordered, there is no place in grammar for functional heads that are explicitly tagged to host modifiers of a particular conceptual type.

To see what consequence this has, consider the cartographic approach to adjective ordering restrictions. It is a well-known fact since at least Sproat & Shih (1991) that cross-linguistically some modifiers show the same type of ordering restrictions; for instance, colour adjectives tend to be more internal to the NP than size adjectives (44).

- (44) (a) *a big red car*  
 #*a red big car*  
 (b) *un coche rojo grande*  
 a car red big  
 #*un coche grande rojo*  
 a car big red

Cinque (1994) suggests that adjectives are ordered inside sequences because they are the specifiers of a rigidly ordered series of functional projections above NP, and each one of these functional projections hosts a different conceptual type of adjective, differentiating between those expressing colour, size and many other notions. In fact, Scott (2002) proposes the ordering of heads in (45) as a description of the fragment of the nominal Fseq that hosts adjectival modifiers.

- (45) Ordinal > Cardinal > Subject Comment > Evidential > Size > Length > Height > Speed  
 > Depth > Width > Temperature > Wetness > Age > Shape > Colour >  
 Nationality/Origin > Material

In this proposal, there are extremely fine-grained distinctions sensitive to conceptual semantic categories (for instance, the difference between depth and width), in parallel to Cinque’s (1999) proposal about adverbial modification in the verbal phrase. Laenzlinger (2005) proposes that all these heads can be grouped into five classes, that could be interpreted as areas within that cartography:



- (46) (a) [quantificational Ordinal > Cardinal] >  
 (b) [speaker-orient Subject Comment > Evidential] >  
 (c) [scalar physical prop Size > Length > Height > Speed > Depth > Width] >  
 (d) [measure Weight > Temperature > Wetness > Age] >  
 (e) [non-scalar phys. prop Shape > Colour > Nationality/Origin > Material]

Two things are worth noting. First, note that this proposal is forced to introduce in syntax objects that, as far as we know, play no role in core grammatical processes such as agreement, case assignment or movement: colour, shape, speed, width, etc. No language has ever been reported that, for instance, must move all NPs containing a colour adjective to CP, or that assigns partitive case to NPs modified by a temperature denoting expression, but accusative otherwise. It is doubtful, then, that we want to tag our functional heads with such conceptual notions, at least if we are making a claim about the types of heads and features that are syntactically active (see also Svenonius 2008 for a sharp critique along these lines).

Second, note that hidden in this Fseq proposal there is already the implicit observation that modification can apply to nouns –for instance as in the case of shape or colour– or to quantified objects, as it is the case with ordinal or cardinal numerals, which are in the highest position within Scott's and Laenzlinger's proposals.

There is a simpler view within the domain approach where Fseqs are not primitive objects: modification is simply an operation that can be performed within any domain, with the only trivial condition that the meaning of the modifier is compatible with the ontological object denoted by that domain. Svenonius (2008) develops an approach along these lines. In discussing (44) –colour adjectives are more internal than size adjectives– he notes that in order to define size it is necessary to have already defined a partition of the object expressed by the NP –in other words, the object must be count–. In contrast, colour can be defined before that partition is done, or even without the partition.

- (47) (a) *blue water*  
 (b) \**big water*

- (48) (a) *blue house*  
 (b) *big house*

If the language contains a functional head used to partition the NP –for instance, ClassifierP as Borer (2005) proposes– this basically means that the colour modification can be applied to the NP below the ClassP, while size modification must necessarily occur after ClassP has been introduced. Consequently, size adjectives will be more external than colour adjectives simply because the presupposition they make is not satisfied by a bare NP structure: more structure must be built and only then can they modify the resulting object.

- (49) [...[*big*] ...[ClassP ...[*blue*] [NP *house*]]]

### 2.3 The syntactic configuration of D-like and Q-like adjectives

Thus, in this system modification is an operation that is allowed provided that the modifier is semantically compatible with the modified, without any designated area for them; in other words, we expect that modification should be possible not only at the NP region, but also above it.

Our syntactic proposal is that D-like and Q-like adjectives are instances of modifiers whose meaning allows them to operate on the objects defined by the QP area and the DP area. Unlike other adjectives, such as *blue*, *big* or *elegant*, that must necessarily modify NPs to the

extent that they denote entities without reference or quantity values, the meaning that they have as adjectives allows them to provide information about reference or quantity.

Let us start with the D-like adjectives. *Dicho* ‘said’ is the participle of the prototypical *verbum dicendi* and, in correlation to this, it is used as a marker of definiteness that forces anaphoric anchoring to the previous discourse. This is shown by several properties: (i) it cannot be used without a previous mention in speech, for instance in absolute beginning of a conversation (50a) and (ii) it cannot have cataphoric uses (50b). It is clear that these properties are what we expect from the use of *dicho* outside from D-like contexts, because it literally means ‘that has been mentioned’.

- (50) (a) [In absolute beginning of discourse]  
 {*El* / \**Dicho*} *Papa ha abdicado.*  
 the / said Pope has abdicated  
 Intended: ‘Said Pope has abdicated.’
- (b) *Mi abuelo me dio {este / \*dicho} consejo: cástate.*  
 my grampa me gave this / said advice: get.married  
 ‘My grampa gave me {this/said} advice: get married.’

*Semejante* ‘similar, such’ also displays anaphoric properties, only that in its case –as RAE & ASALE (2009: §13.10j)– it is a qualitative determiner that identifies the entity through its similarity with other members of the same kind. This is precisely what we expect from the meaning that the element has as an adjective.

As for *cierto* ‘certain’, Eguren & Sánchez López (2007) discuss in detail the observation that as an adjective (51) it already has the meaning of imprecise identification, intensional or extensional. This meaning is carried over to the DP-area as identifying in an imprecise way the referent of a nominal –while at the same time presupposing that such referent exists.

- (51) *un cierto problema*  
 a certain problem  
 ‘something that is a problem to some extent’

In the case of *determinado* ‘determined’, there is no imprecise identification meaning, and as a D-like adjective it simply states that the speaker knows that there is a particular entity, even though the identity of that entity is not necessarily known. This meaning (‘particular, specific’) is also found in its use as an adjective, as witnessed by (52).

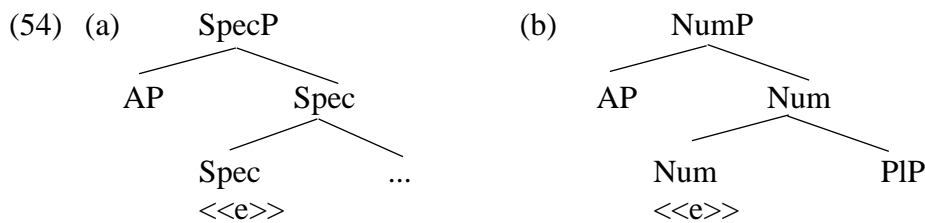
- (52) *dos motivos determinados*  
 two reasons determined  
 ‘two specific reasons’

In the Q-like type of adjective, the lexical meaning of the adjectives *numeroso* ‘numerous’ and *múltiple* ‘multiple’ are used to express a plurality of objects, as in (53).

- (53) (a) *un ejército muy numeroso*  
 an army very numerous  
 ‘an army with a lot of members’
- (b) *personalidad múltiple*  
 personality multiple  
 ‘multiple personality’

The adjectives *diferente* and *distinto*, expressing non-identity, immediately presuppose the existence of more than one entity. Laca & Tasmowski (2003) have argued in detail that this aspect of their meaning is preserved also under their use as Q-like elements (see also Eguren & Sánchez López 2010), where they are equivalent to ‘several’ in entailing that there is more than one individual of the kind.

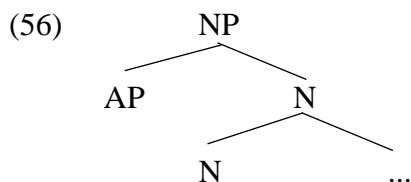
Thus, the lexical meaning of these elements as adjectives makes it possible for them to be used as modifiers in the DP- or QP-regions. Our claim is that this is precisely what happens: the adjectives *cierto* and *determinado*,<sup>20</sup> which simply express specificity, are introduced as modifiers in the SpecP phrase, while the adjectives *numeroso*, *múltiple*, *diferente* and *distinto* are introduced as modifiers in the NumP phrase, where they inherit the restriction imposed by the numeral head that a plural phrase has to be selected.



Given their meaning, from this position the adjectives will act as indirect range assignors of the heads Spec and Num, respectively. At this point, no other direct or indirect range assignor can be introduced in the structure, explaining why when they are used to license preverbal subject (i) they must be the highest elements within their projection, as no other range assignor can be introduced with them, and (ii) why they cannot be followed by a direct range assignor introduced in the head position.

- (55) (a) *\*muchos numerosos estudiantes*  
 many numerous students  
 (b) *\*cierto un estudiante*  
 certain a student

For explicitness, when the same elements are used as ‘normal’ adjectives, our claim is that they are modifiers within the NP-area of the nominal constituent, as represented in (56). As such, they do not assign range to any head within the DP- or QP-area and therefore they do not license a preverbal subject.



This is the syntactic core of the proposal, but this cannot be the end of the analysis. This proposal does not explain in any obvious way why, when used as a modifier that assigns range to Spec or Num, the adjective cannot take degree modification (remember *\*Muy diferentes chicos vinieron* lit. ‘Very different boys came’). It does not explain either why the

<sup>20</sup> *Dicho* and *semejante*, as we just noted, are anaphoric and therefore would be related rather to definiteness. If the proposal that definiteness is not codified as an independent head in Spanish is right, then they would also be introduced as modifiers in SpecP, adding as part of their lexical information the uniqueness presupposition. Alternatively, if there is a head DefinitenessP in Spanish, these two adjectives would be introduced there.

adjective *semejante* ‘similar, such’ cannot introduce the PP complement that it otherwise introduces. Last, but not least, it does not explain why adjectives with a very similar meaning to the ones noted here –virtually their synonyms– cannot also be used to license a preverbal subject. Among the adjectives that we must block from acting as D-like or Q-like ones we can cite the following:

- (57) (a) Comparable to *diferente/distinto*: *disimilar* ‘dissimilar’, *desemejante* ‘dissimilar’, *desigual* ‘unequal’  
 (b) Comparable to *cierto/determinado*: *específico* ‘specific’, *concreto* ‘particular’, *definido* ‘defined’, *identificado* ‘identified’

In order to address these constraints, we must move to the lexical part of the analysis.

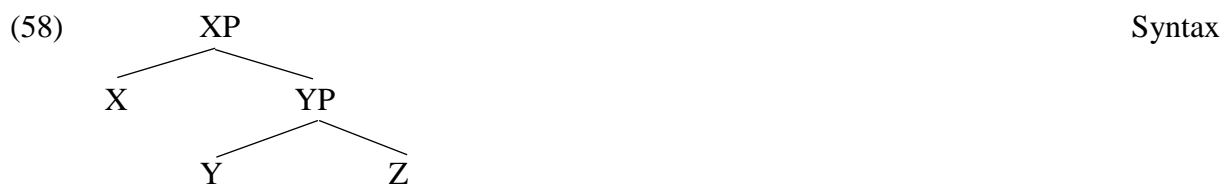
### 3. Proposal II: phrasal spell-out

The second part of our analysis is that, beyond being able to appear as modifiers within the QP or DP area, these specific adjectives –as exponents of sets of features– have the property that they can spell out not just the AP layer, but the whole functional Spec/Num phrase that they modify. In a sense, what we will present in this section can be interpreted as a way to technically implement the intuition that these adjectives have been grammaticalised as determiners or quantifiers. Our claim is that the ‘grammaticalisation’ is the effect of a change in their lexical entries, specifically in the material that the exponents spell out in each case, and has therefore not affected their syntactic properties as adjectives.

#### 3.1 The rules of spell out with Phrasal Spell Out

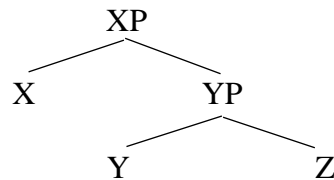
The lexical part of our analysis refers to how the configurations generated in syntax are mapped into exponents that introduce (morpho)phonological information into the linguistic expression. We will assume here that spell out follows the procedure of Phrasal Spell Out in Nanosyntax (see in particular Caha 2009). The spell out procedure in Nanosyntax is, like the one in Distributed Morphology, a late insertion model where the exponents are accessed after the syntactic configuration has been completed. In contrast to the standard spell out procedure in Distributed Morphology (see in particular Noyer 1997), Nanosyntax makes three interconnected claims.

The first one is that the insertion of exponents follows Phrasal spell out. The idea is that individual exponents do not need to be inserted in terminal nodes –heads–. Given Bare Phrase Structure (Chomsky 1995) there is no ontological difference between heads and other constituents, and Nanosyntax argues that exponents are introduced to spell out syntactic constituents, both Xs and XPs. Let us illustrate this with a concrete example. Imagine that syntax generates a configuration like (58).



In DM, one would expect three distinct exponents, one for each head X, Y, Z –unless postsyntactic operations have applied to fuse the heads together. In Nanosyntax, in contrast, a single exponent (59) can have as its lexical entry an association not to a terminal node, but to a whole constituent.

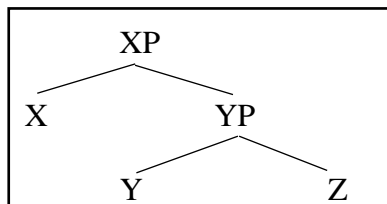
(59) /blah/ ⇔



Lexical entry

This means that at the moment of spell out, the exponent /blah/ will be able to substitute not just the head X, or Y, or Z, but the whole XP with all the material that it contains inside.

(60)



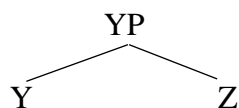
← /blah/

Lexical insertion

The second claim made by Nanosyntax is that, contra DM, all features in syntax must be identified by an exponent. DM has a procedure –impoverishment, cf. Bonet (1991)– that removes from the representation those syntactic features that are not identified by an exponent, but this is impossible in Nanosyntax. If we have one head and one specifier, and our exponent only spells out the specifier, something else has to spell out the head, or else the derivation crashes. This has been called the Exhaustive Lexicalisation Principle (Fábregas 2007).

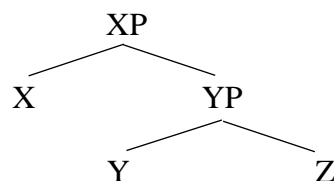
The third claim follows from the Exhaustive Lexicalisation Principle. In cases where there is no perfect match between the material generated by the syntax and the lexical entries of the exponents in that particular language, one must insert an exponent that has a superset, not a subset, of the features present in the syntactic configuration. Consider a situation where syntax generates a configuration like (61a) –Y and Z, without X. Assume we lack a lexical item that perfectly corresponds to this configuration. If our language has only two lexical items, as in (61b) /blah/ and /bluh/, the second of which only identifies Z, the first one has to be inserted (62). This is because inserting the second would violate the Exhaustive Lexicalisation Principle in this model, where all features must be identified by lexical insertion. Thus, we end up using the exponent that has a superset of the features represented in the syntax.

(61) (a)



Syntax

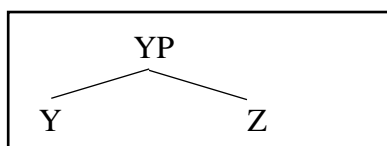
(b) i. /blah/ ⇔



Lexical entries

ii. /bluh/ ⇔ Z

(62)



← /blah/

Lexical insertion

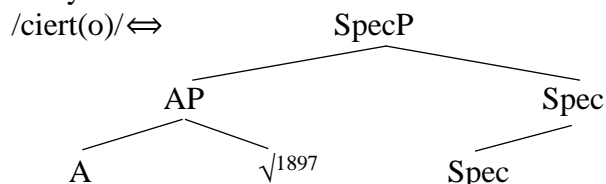
The application of this principle for cases where there is no perfect lexical match in the inventory of exponents is restricted in the same way that lexical entries are restricted otherwise: the exponent must substitute an object that is still a syntactic constituent. The exponent /blah/ can be used to spell out YP because YP (containing Z) is a syntactic constituent in the syntactic tree and also in its lexical entry. It would be impossible to use /blah/, instead, if syntax had generated the constituent [<sub>XP</sub> X [Z]], because that is not a syntactic constituent in the lexical entry of /blah/: X and Z do not form a constituent to the exclusion of YP. From here it immediately follows the so-called Anchor Condition (Abels & Muriungi 2008), which states that exponents can only be inserted into (sub)constituents of their lexical entry.

With this background in mind, let us now move to the specific proposal about the lexical entry of Q-like and D-like adjectives.

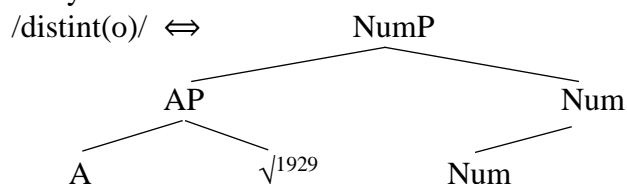
### 3.2 Lexical entries for Q-like and D-like adjectives

Our proposal is that grammaticalisation of the Q-like and D-like adjectives meant in fact that their lexical entries allow them to spell out not just the AP layer, but also the whole functional XP that they are modifiers of. Explicitly, these are the entries of *cierto* ‘certain’, representing D-like adjectives, and *distinto* ‘distinct’, representing Q-like adjectives.

(63) (a) Entry of *cierto*



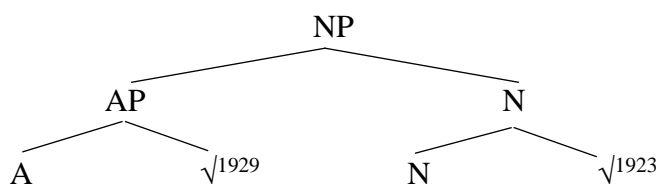
(b) Entry of *distinto*



We are distinguishing the lexical entries through the phonological index of the root (Borer 2013), on the assumption that roots are syntactic objects that lack a label and as such they cannot head their own projections or introduce constituents; they must be dominated by a head with a label to be defined in the syntax.

Given these entries, when the syntax generates a configuration where the APs are modifying Num or Spec –and remember that this presupposes that the meaning of AP is compatible with quantities and reference, respectively–, the exponent will be introduced to spell out the whole NumP and SpecP, therefore satisfying Exhaustive Lexicalisation through Phrasal Spell Out. Consider now what happens when the same AP modifies NP in the syntax.

(64)



In this configuration, the AP containing the root for *distinto* does not form a constituent with NumP to the exclusion of NP, and therefore it will be unable to lexicalise the whole NumP

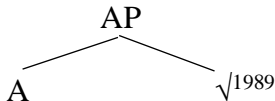
constituent. Instead, given the Anchor Condition, it will be able to lexicalise the AP constituent alone, with a second exponent lexicalising the N+Root constituent. We would obtain something as in (65).

(65) *distint(os) niñ(os)*

Note that in the presence of a root the Anchor Condition is interpreted as ‘any subconstituent that contains the root’. The reason is that roots are, by necessity, terminal objects that are unprojecting, and therefore they are at the bottom of any tree for lexical items. Thus, *distinto* will only be able to spell out subconstituents that contain the root as their anchor.

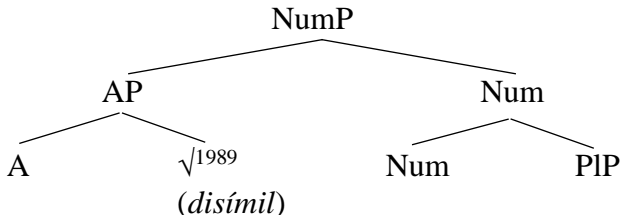
Contrast this with an adjective that does not act as Q-like or D-like, for instance *disímil* ‘dissimilar’. The difference is that its lexical entry reduces to the AP constituent, not including any further functional projection.

(66) /*disímil*/  $\Leftrightarrow$



Even though we have not argued whether the semantic import of *disímil* is really so similar to *distinto* that it could in principle be introduced as a modifier of NumP, let us assume for the sake of the argument that it is so, and see why this lexical entry makes it impossible that it can act as a Q-like adjective (of course, if the semantics is different in a way that prevents *disímil* from being introduced in the QP-area, the syntax would never generate 67 and therefore the adjective would have no chances to become a Q-like adjective).

(67)



Once we access the lexical entry, the Superset Principle dictates that the adjective will only be able to spell out AP. PIP would be spelled out as the plural morpheme *-s*, but the Num constituent will remain unspelled. This violates the Exhaustive Lexicalisation Principle, and therefore it would result in ungrammaticality.

Our explanation, however, has other consequences which follow from the principle that the exponent must spell out only syntactic constituents. Remember that in the adjectival version the Q-like and D-like adjectives might combine with degree modifiers, but never when they license the preverbal subjects. Let us see how the lexical entry explains this property.

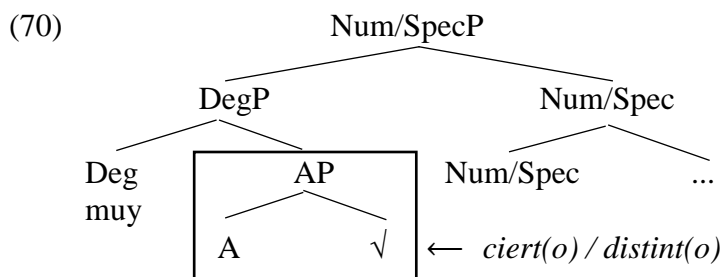
The use as ‘normal’ adjectives is modification at the NP level, while the use as Q-like or D-like adjectives is modification at the functional layers NumP and SpecP.

(68) (a) [NP            [AP] N ...]  
 (b) [Num/SpecP [AP] Num/Spec ...]

In (68a), the adjective must spell out only the AP, while in (68b) the adjective spells out the whole functional XP. Let us assume, as it is standard, that degree is a head that dominates AP, and let's add degree in both configurations.

- (69) (a) [NP            [DegP [AP]]    N ...]  
 (b) [Num/SpecP    [DegP [AP]]    Num/Spec ...]

From the perspective of phrasal spell out, adding DegP on top of AP in (69a) does not change anything. The exponent was already spelling out only AP, excluding the modified projection, so DegP does not break the constituent spelled out by *distinto* or *cierto*. However, in (69b) introducing DegP between AP and Num/SpecP has the effect of breaking the constituent that the adjective was spelling out, given the rules of spell out. In (69b) Num/Spec and AP do not form a constituent to the exclusion of the other nodes, so the exponent will have to be introduced in AP and Num/SpecP will remain unspelled.



The derivation cannot be saved, because introducing a lexical item in Num/Spec would force interpreting it as a direct range assignor (like *el* or *un*), but the head has already been given range by the modifier. Consequently, there is no way to make the configuration grammatical if DegP intervenes between AP and SpecP.

Generalising the argument, what this means is that when the AP is acting as a D-like or a Q-like adjective it must form a constituent with the functional head, which blocks other projections from intervening between them. This also means that if the presence of a PP complement in the adjective must be licensed by some extended projection of AP, the PP complement will be necessarily out of the syntactic configuration whenever the AP acts as a licenser of Num or Spec. If the assumption that roots cannot introduce complements directly is correct, then it must be necessarily the case that the PP complement is introduced at AP or a higher projection, and then it follows that the presence of the PP complement would break the constituent spelled out by these adjectives in the same way that DegP does.

To conclude and summarise the two parts of this analysis, we have argued that Q-like and D-like adjectives are possible due to two factors, one syntactic and one lexical: from the perspective of the structure generated by syntax, their meaning is such that they can be modifiers in the DP and QP areas; from the perspective of the lexicon, their entries are such that they can spell out not just the AP, but also the functional head to which they assign range. This licenses the head from the perspective of the Exhaustive Lexicalisation Principle and makes the adjective license the preverbal subject.

Adjectives that are not Q-like or D-like can be excluded on two grounds. The first is the syntax: their meaning might not be compatible with modification at the QP and DP areas. The second is lexical: in the cases where their meaning makes them plausible candidates for modification at the QP or DP areas, their lexical entry does not allow them to spell out the functional head, making them unable to license a preverbal subject in the absence of determiners or quantifiers.

#### 4. Wider consequences and conclusions

In this final section we will provide some general conclusions exploring the wider consequences of our proposal. We will focus on two main aspects: what this account predicts



about how grammaticalisation works, and the potential consequences that the account has for other quantifier-like properties.

#### 4.1 Modification and grammaticalisation

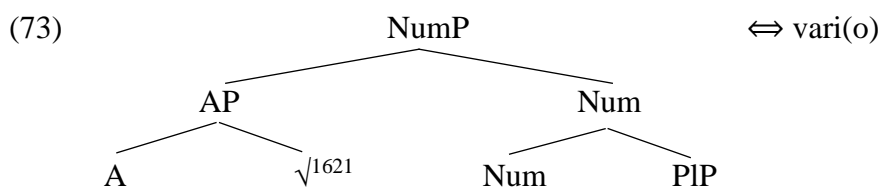
Our account provides evidence that modification should be taken as an operation without a designated area or region within the syntactic structure, to the extent that the D-like and Q-like adjectives provide evidence that the adjective and a functional head from the DP- or QP- domains form a constituent to the exclusion of the NP area. It also suggests that at least some forms of grammaticalisation can be expressed through the lexical entry of the items involved, in the specific sense that the material that the exponent spells out corresponds to heads of different types. The goal of this section is to be explicit enough about this grammaticalisation procedure so that it can be tested, and if necessary falsified, in further research.

To be explicit about the details, let us consider three items with quantificational properties: *nutrido* ‘large’ (lit. ‘nurtured, nursed’), *numeroso* ‘numerous’ and *varios* ‘several’. These reflect the three stages involved in the grammaticalisation process. Despite its quantificational meaning, *nutrido* (71) only acts as an adjective that can take degree and cannot license preverbal subjects. *Numeroso* is one of our Q-like adjectives. *Varios* ‘several’, at earlier stages of the language could be used as an adjective meaning ‘varied’, but in contemporary Spanish it can only be used as a quantifier (72).

- (71) (a) *un muy nutrido grupo*  
 a very large group  
 ‘a very large group’  
 (b) \**Nutridos estudiantes vinieron.*  
 large students came.3PL  
 Intended: ‘Many students came.’
- (72) (a) *Ha sido vario el parecer de esta resolución.*  
 has been varied the opinion of this resolution  
 ‘The opinion about this resolution has varied.’  
 [Juan Antonio de Valencia, 1677-1678]  
 (b) \**una muy varia selección*  
 a very varied selection  
 Intended: ‘a selection with a lot of variety’

However, at the stages where *vario* was an adjective, for some time it doubled as a quantifier in the plural, *varios* ‘several’, so at that stage it was like our Q-like adjectives.

Taking as a starting point our structures, we could propose that once speakers have noted that an adjective has quantificational properties, they can merge it as modifier in the QP area, but at this stage it is still unable to license preverbal subjects because its lexical entry does not spell out the Num head. Grammaticalisation involves a modification in the lexical entry whereby the material that the exponent can spell out extends to the QP projection that it is associated to. In the stages where *vario* was a Q-like adjective its entry would be as in (73).



The grammaticalisation would culminate here if the modifier is not interpreted anymore as an AP and it becomes directly associated to the functional head that it could modify. For instance, other adjectives with the meaning of ‘varied’ could become more frequent, pushing *vario* away from this use. At that point, *vario* would then be interpreted as a direct range assignor that is introduced directly in the head, and therefore directly linked to Num.

- (74) (a)
- ```

graph TD
    NumP[NumP] --- Num[Num]
    NumP --- PIP[PIP...]
    Num --- vari["vari(os)"]
  
```
- (b) *vario* ⇔ Num

Hence, grammaticalisation would have three stages. The first one presupposes that the grammar allows combination between a functional head and the lexical item that will become grammaticalised. In the second stage, where the language uses that item both as a lexical element and as a functional element, the features associated to the exponent in the lexical entry are extended to include the functional XP. In the third stage, the lexical use becomes ignored and the entry is revised so that the exponent becomes associated only to the functional features.

#### 4.2 Possible consequences for partitives and quantifier raising

In this section we would like to discuss two properties of Q-like adjectives that do not directly follow from our analysis, but where our analysis could have some impact on how they are explained. We hope that pointing out these properties will make it easier to test our proposal and examine its implications in further research.

Q-like adjectives have two properties that differentiate them from full indefinite quantifiers in Spanish. If we compare *muchos* ‘many’ with *numerosos* ‘many’ in its Q-like use, asymmetries can be identified in two senses.

First of all, the Q-like adjective cannot stay under the scope of negation, while *muchos* can (RAE & ASALE 2009: §13.9j). (75a) has two possible interpretations through the interaction between the scope of the negation and the scope of the quantifier: that there are many books that he has read (many > not) and that it is not the case that he has read many books (not > many). In contrast, (75b) only has one interpretation: that there are many books that he has not read, with the quantifier outside the scope of the negation.

- (75) (a) *No ha leído muchos libros.*  
 not has read many books  
 ‘He has not read many books.’
- (b) *No ha leído numerosos libros.*  
 not has read numerous books  
 ‘He has not read many books.’

The same facts are true for *diversos*, *distintos* and *diferentes*. However, Q-like adjectives show scope ambiguities with other quantifiers. In (76), there are two possible interpretations: each one of the four students brought a quantity of books that counts as large, or the total amount was large with the possibility that perhaps one of the students only brought a few books.

- (76) *Cuatro estudiantes trajeron numerosos libros.*  
 four students brought numerous books  
 ‘Four students brought many books.’

The conclusion is that Q-like adjectives act as positive polarity items.

Secondly, Q-like adjectives cannot be used as pronouns –that is, they must always be accompanied by an NP (77). As a side effect of this, Q-like adjectives cannot introduce partitive clauses, where the NP is inside a partitive PP (78).

- (77) (a) *Muchos vinieron.*  
           many    came  
       (b) \**Numerosos vinieron.*  
           numerous    came

- (78) (a) *muchos de los estudiantes*  
           many    of the students  
       (b) \**numerosos de los estudiantes*  
           numerous    of the students

This second property extends to D-like adjectives, even if they are not expected to license partitive structures: *{Estos / \*Ciertos} están listos* ‘These / Some are ready’.

It is not surprising that Q-like adjectives have scope ambiguities in our analysis, because they are after all spelling out a quantifier head, Num. What does not follow from our proposal is that they should behave, regularly, as positive polarity items that must escape from the scope of negation. The explanation of this property is unclear to me, unless it directly derives from the presence of a modifier in the syntactic structure of the nominal phrase. In fact, this restriction is reminiscent of another one identified by Bosque (2001). Bosque noted that prenominal adjectives are incompatible under certain circumstances with intensional operators, as in imperatives:

- (79) (a) *¡Escribe una novela interesante!*  
           write.IMP a    novel interesting  
       (b) \**¡Escribe una interesante novela!*  
           write.IMP a    interesting novel

If the prenominal adjective occupies a relatively high position within the nominal phrase – contra Cinque (2010), and in accordance with the intuition that postnominal adjectives in Spanish involve NP movement across the position where the modifier is introduced–, there is a structural parallelism between the configuration needed for (79b) and the syntactic configuration involved in Q-like adjectives. We could speculate that modification above a particular structural point triggers interpretations that are incompatible with being the variable under particular operators; at the QP level, modification is incompatible with readings of the nominal phrase where it is a variable under the scope of negation in the same way that high modification of NPs is incompatible with intensional operators. However, the reasons why this should be so are unclear to us, and this claim is not much more than a restatement of facts at this moment.

With respect to the second property, that Q-like and D-like adjectives must be followed by an overt noun, our account does not clearly predict that they should not. Whether our account is at least compatible with an explanation of this property depends to a large extent on the type of ellipsis involved in N-ellipsis with Ds and Qs. To put it simply, if this type of ellipsis in Spanish is a PF operation that does not affect the syntactic configuration, it is very unclear why that PF operation should not be performed with these modifiers, because they spell out the Num /Spec head. Note also that we cannot propose either that NP ellipsis is only possible when the head received range from a direct modifier, because numerals like *cuarenta y tres* ‘forty three’ are quite likely projecting indirect modifiers and they license ellipsis.

- (80) *Han venido cuarenta y tres.*  
 have come forty and three  
 ‘Forty three have come.’

At this point, the only plausible line of research I can think of is that NP-ellipsis with quantifiers and determiners does not involve a PF operation, but rather a syntactic operation where the NP layer is removed from the structure –as Merchant (2013) proposed for sluicing phenomena. If it can be maintained that this ellipsis literally involves removing NP from the syntactic representation, one could think that Q-like and D-like adjectives cannot support it because, after all, syntactically they are still APs and they need to find NPs in their immediate context to be licensed.

These two properties, then, are not really accounted for in my analysis, even if one can think of possible paths to follow in order to account for them in the proposal I am making. I hope, however, to have been able to convince the reader that this approach is worth pursuing and that it provides a testable analysis of the main facts related to adjectives that double as determiners and quantifiers in Spanish.

## 5. References

- Abels, Klaus & Peter Muriungi 2008. The focus marker in Kĩtharaka: syntax and semantics. *Lingua* 118, 687-731.
- Abels, Klaus 2012. The Italian left-periphery: a view from locality. *Linguistic Inquiry* 43, 229-254.
- Abney, Stephen 1987. *The English Noun Phrase in its sentential aspect*, PhD dissertation, MIT.
- Aguilar-Guevara, Ana 2014. *Weak definites: semantics, lexicon and pragmatics*. LOT: Utrecht University.
- Alarcos, Emilio 1967. El artículo en español. In: E. Alarcos (1978), *Estudios de gramática funcional del español*. Madrid: Gredos, 166-177.
- Alonso, Amado 1933. Estilística y gramática del artículo en español. In: A. Alonso (1967), *Estudios lingüísticos: temas españoles*. Madrid: Gredos, 125-160.
- Álvarez Martínez, M. Á. 1989. *El pronombre*. Madrid: Arco/Libros.
- Beck, Sigrid 2001. The semantics of different: comparison operator and relational adjective. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 23, 101-139.
- Beysade, Claire 2013. Back to the uniqueness presupposition. *Recherches Linguistiques de Vincennes* 42, 127-137. <https://doi.org/10.4000/rly.2190>
- Boeckx, Cedric 2013. Biolinguistics: Forays into human cognitive biology. *Journal of Anthropological Sciences* 91, 63-89.
- Bonet, Eulàlia 1991. *Morphology after syntax*, Ph.D. dissertation, MIT.
- Borer, Hagit 2005. *In name only. Vol.1 from the Exo-skeletal Trilogy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Borer, Hagit. 2013. *Taking form. Vol. 3 from the Exo-skeletal Trilogy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bosque, Ignacio 2001. Adjective position and the interpretation of Indefinites. In: J. Gutiérrez-Rexach & L. Silva-Villar (eds.), *Current issues in Spanish syntax and semantics*. Berlin, De Gruyter, 17-38. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110850536.17>
- Bosque, Ignacio 2012. Mood: indicative vs. subjunctive. In: José Ignacio Hualde, Antxon Olarrea & Eris O'Rourke (eds.), *The Handbook of Hispanic Linguistics*. London: Routledge, 373-395.
- Brucart, Josep Maria & Gemma Rigau 2002. La quantificació. In: J. Solà et al. (dirs.), *Gramàtica del català contemporani*, Barcelona: Empúries, 1517-1589.
- Caha, Pavel 2009. *The nanosyntax of case*, Ph. D. dissertation, CASTL-University of Tromsø.
- Camus, Bruno 2009. Cuantificadores I. Los cuantificadores propios. In: Concepción Company (dir.), *Sintaxis histórica de la lengua española*. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 881-961.
- Cardinaletti, Anna & Giuliana Giusti 1991. Partitive ne and the QP hypothesis. *University of Venice Working Papers in Linguistics*, Venice.
- Cardinaletti, Anna & Michal Starke 1996. Defficient pronouns: a view from Germanic. A study in the Unified description of Germanic and Romance. In: H. Thráinsson, S. D. Epstein & S. Peter (eds.), *Studies in Germanic comparative syntax*. Dordrecht: Kluwer, 21-65.
- Chomsky, Noam 1995. *The minimalist program*. Cambridge (Mass.): MIT press.
- Chomsky, Noam 2000. Minimalist inquiries: the framework. In: R. Martin, D. Michaels & J. Uriagereka (eds.), *Step by step*. Cambridge (Mass.): MIT press, 89-155.
- Chomsky, Noam 2015. Problems of projection: extensions. In: Elisa di Domenico, Cornelia Hamann & Simona Matteini (eds.), *Structures, strategies and beyond: studies in Honour of Adriana Belletti*. Amsterdam: John

- Benjamins, 3-16.
- Cinque, Guglielmo 1994. On the evidence for partial N movement in the Romance DP. In: G. Cinque, J. Koster, J.-Y. Pollock, L. Rizzi & R. Zanuttini (eds.), *Paths Towards Universal Grammar: Studies in Honor of Richard S. Kayne*. Washington: Georgetown University Press, 85–110.
- Cinque, Guglielmo 1999. *Adverbs and functional heads*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Cinque, Guglielmo 2010. *The syntax of adjectives*. Cambridge (Mass.): MIT press.
- Comorovsky, Ileana & Laurence Nicaise 2001. “Divers”. In: Francis Corblin & Henriëtte de Swart (eds.), *Handbook of French Semantics*. Stanford: CSLI Publications, 119-130.
- Eguren Luis & Cristina Sánchez López 2007. Imprecisión extensional e imprecisión intensional. *Verba* 34, 99-134.
- Eguren, Luis & Cristina Sánchez López 2003. La gramática de 'otro'. *Revista Española de Lingüística* 33, 69-122.
- Eguren, Luis & Cristina Sánchez López 2010. La expresión de la diferencia en español. *Lingüística Española Actual* 32, 141-172.
- Eguren, Luis 1989. Algunos datos del español en favor de la hipótesis de la frase determinante. *Revista Argentina de Lingüística* 5, 163-209.
- Embick, David & Rolf Noyer 2001. Movement operations after syntax. *Linguistic Inquiry* 32, 555-595.
- Espinal, Maria Teresa & Sonia Cyrino 2017. The definite article in Romance expletives and long weak definites. *Glossa* 2, 1-26. <https://doi.org/10.5334/gjgl.160>
- Fábregas, Antonio 2007. *The Exhaustive Lexicalisation Principle*. Nordlyd 34, 165-199.
- Fernández Ramírez, Salvador 1951. *Gramática española. El pronombre*. Madrid: Arco/Libros.
- Frascarelli, Mara & Hinterhölzl 2007. Types of topics in German and Italian. In: Kerstin Schwabe & Susanne Winkler (eds.), *On information structure, meaning and form: generalizations across languages*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 87-116.
- Giusti, Giuliana 1993. *La sintassi dei determinanti*. Padova: Unipress.
- Gutiérrez, Edita 2005. El artículo indeterminado 'un, unos'. *Cuadernos de Lingüística del Instituto Universitario Ortega y Gasset* 12, 47-66.
- Gutiérrez, Edita 2008. *Rasgos gramaticales de los cuantificadores débiles*, PhD dissertation, Universidad Complutense de Madrid.
- Haspelmath, Martin 1997. *Indefinite pronouns*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hintikka, Jaakko 1986. The semantics of *a certain*. *Linguistic Inquiry* 17, 331-336.
- Kayne, Richard S. 2010. Towards a syntactic reinterpretation of Harris & Halle (2005). In: Reineke Bok-Bennema et al. (eds.), *Romance Languages and Linguistic Theory 2008*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 145-170.
- Laca, Brenda & Liliane Tasmowski 2003. From non-identity to plurality. French *différent* as an adjective and as a determiner. In: Josep Quer, Jan Schroten, Mauro Scorretti, Petra Sleeman & Els Verheugd (eds.), *Romance Languages and Linguistic Theory 2001*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 155-176.
- Laenzlinger, Christopher 2005. French adjective ordering: perspectives on DP-internal movement types. *Lingua* 115, 645-689.
- Lapesa, Rafael 1975. El sustantivo sin actualizador en español. In: R. Lapesa, *Dos estudios sobre la actualización del sustantivo en español*. Madrid: RAE, 39-67.
- Lázaro Carreter, Fernando 1975. El problema del artículo en español. In: F. Lázaro Carreter (1980), *Estudios de lingüística*. Barcelona: Crítica, 27-59.
- Leonetti, Manuel 1999a. El artículo. In: I. Bosque & V. Demonte (dirs.), *Gramática descriptiva de la lengua española*. Madrid: Espasa, 787-890.
- Leonetti, Manuel 1999b. *Los determinantes*. Madrid / Arco-Libros.
- Leonetti, Manuel 2004. Specificity and object marking: the case of Spanish 'a'. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics* 3, 75-114. <https://doi.org/10.5565/rev/catjl.106>
- Leonetti, Manuel 2016. Determinantes y artículos. In: J. Gutiérrez-Rexach (ed.), *Enciclopedia de Lingüística Hispánica*. London: Routledge, 532-544.
- Leonetti, Manuel 2008. *Los cuantificadores*. Madrid: Arco Libros.
- Longobardi, Giuseppe 1988. I quantificatori. In: Lorenzo Renzi (ed.), *Grande grammatica italiana di consultazione*. Bologna, Il Mulino, 645-696.
- Lorenzo, Guillermo 1995. *Geometría de las estructuras nominales. Sintaxis y semántica del SDet*. Oviedo: Universidad de Oviedo.
- Mallén, Enrique 1993. *The internal structure of determiner phrases*. Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University.
- Merchant, Jason 2013. Voice and ellipsis. *Linguistic Inquiry* 44, 77-108.
- Noyer, Rolf 1997. *Features, positions and affixes in autonomous morphological structure*. New York: Garland.
- Ott, Dennis 2011. *Local instability: the syntax of split topics*, Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University.
- Pilka, Antanas 1984. *Neopredelennye determinativy litovskogo jazyka (v sopostavlenii s anglijskim)*. Ph.D. dissertation, Vilnius State University.
- Quer, Josep 1998. *Mood at the interfaces*. The Hague: HAG.

- RAE & ASALE 2009. *Nueva gramática de la lengua española*. Madrid: Espasa.
- Ramchand, Gillian & Peter Svenonius 2014. Deriving the functional hierarchy. *Language Sciences* 46, 152-174.
- Ramchand, Gillian 2018. *Situations and syntactic structures*. Cambridge (Mass.): MIT Press.
- Renzi, Lorenzo 1976. 'Uno': numerale e articolo. *Rivista di grammatica generativa* 1, 103-108.
- Rizzi, Luigi 1997. The fine structure of the left periphery. In: Liliane Haegeman (ed.), *Elements of grammar*. Dordrecht: Kluwer, 281-337.
- Sánchez López, Cristina 1993. *La cuantificación flotante*. Ph.D. dissertation, Universidad Complutense de Madrid.
- Sánchez López, Cristina 1999. Los cuantificadores: clases de cuantificadores y estructuras cuantificativas. In: Ignacio Bosque & Violeta Demonte (dirs.), *Gramática descriptiva de la lengua española*. Madrid: Espasa, pp. 1025-1128.
- Scott, Gary-John 2002. Stacked adjectival modification and the structure of nominal phrases. In: G. Cinque (ed.), *Functional structure in DP and IP*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 91-120.
- Shlonsky, Ur 1991. Quantifiers as functional heads: a study of quantifier float in Hebrew. *Lingua* 84, 159-180.
- Sproat, Robert & Chilin Shih 1991. The cross-linguistic distribution of adjectival ordering restrictions. In C. Georgopoulos & R. Ishihara (eds.), *Interdisciplinary approaches to language*. Dordrecht: Kluwer, 565-593. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-011-3818-5\\_30](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-011-3818-5_30)
- Starke, Michal 2009. Nanosyntax: a short primer to a new approach to language. *Nordlyd* 36, 1-9.
- Svenonius, Peter 2008. The position of adjectives and other phrasal modifiers in the decomposition of DP. In: L. McNally & C. Kennedy (eds.), *Adjectives and adverbs*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 16-42.
- Torrego, Esther 1998. *The dependencies of objects*. Cambridge (Mass.): MIT Press.
- Vergnaud, Jean-Roger & María Luisa Zubizarreta 1992. The definite determiner and the inalienable constructions in French and English. *Linguistic Inquiry* 23, 595-652.
- von Heusinger, Klaus 2002a. Cross-linguistic implementation of specificity. In: K.M. Jaszczott & K. Turner (eds.), *Meaning through language contrast*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 405-421.
- von Heusinger, Klaus 2002b. Specificity and definiteness in sentence and discourse structure. *Journal of Semantics* 19, 345-374.
- von Heusinger, Klaus 2011. Specificity. In: K. von Heusinger, C. Maienborn & P. Portner (eds.), *Semantics: an international handbook of Natural Language Meaning*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1025-1058.
- Wiltschko, Martina 2014. *The universal structure of categories*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139833899>
- Wood, Jim & Alec Marantz 2017. The interpretation of external arguments. In: Roberta D'Alessandro et al. (eds.), *The verbal domain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 255-278.
- Zamparelli, Roberto 1995. *Layers in the determiner phrase*, PhD dissertation, University of Rochester.
- Zamparelli, Roberto. 2000. *Layers in the determiner phrase*. New York: Garland.

## Word order variation in Spanish and Italian interrogatives. The role of the subject in ‘why’-interrogatives

Georg A. Kaiser, Klaus von Heusinger & Svenja Schmid

georg.kaiser<at>uni-konstanz.de  
klaus.vonheusinger<at>uni-koeln.de  
svenja.schmid<at>uni-konstanz.de

### 1. Introduction\*

This paper deals with some of the word order variation which can be found in Spanish and Italian *wh*-interrogatives. In particular, it investigates the variation between the *whVS* and *whSV* order in interrogatives introduced by ‘why’. We provide a brief overview of word order in Spanish and Italian *wh*-interrogatives and argue that there are various morphological, syntactic, and discourse pragmatic factors which influence the preference for a particular structure. We also argue, in section 2, that the word order variation depends on the type of the subject, namely on its DP-type (noun or pronoun), as well as on its heaviness or complexity. In section 3, we firstly present a comparative corpus study of Spanish and Italian Bible translations, showing that Spanish and Italian seem to have different word order preferences in ‘why’-interrogatives. Secondly, we present an acceptability task investigating different subjects of differing complexity, such as simple DPs, complex DPs, and pronouns. Both empirical studies provide original data showing word order variation in ‘why’-interrogatives in both Spanish and Italian. In section 4, we discuss the results and argue that the differences between the two languages can be best accounted for by assuming that the two languages have different preferences with respect to the information structure of such constructions and for their preferences for VS or SV order. We also discuss the effect of subject type for the word order in Spanish. Section 5 provides a short conclusion.

### 2. Word order in Spanish and Italian *wh(y)*-interrogatives

#### 2.1 Word order in Romance *wh*-interrogatives as a residual verb-second effect

Spanish and Italian generally show a S(ubject) V(erb) order in declarative sentences. This order can change according to various parameters, however, questions containing a *wh*-phrase are constrained by a relatively strict word order. The *wh*-phrase is fronted to a sentence-initial position and the finite verb is immediately adjacent to it, involving subject-verb inversion if the subject is expressed and not identical to the *wh*-phrase (= *whV(S)*). This is illustrated for both languages in parallel text data taken from Bible translations (*Reina Valera* (RV) and *Nuova Riveduta* (NR)). In (1a) and (2a) the *wh*-phrase addresses the direct object DP (note that clitics are allowed between the *wh*-phrase and the V(erb) due to their status as non-constituents), in (1b) and (2b) a PP constituent is questioned, and in (1c) and (2c) an adverbial is used to address the manner.

---

\* We would like to thank the audience of the 9<sup>th</sup> *Nereus Workshop on Morphosyntactic and semantic aspects of the DP in Romance and beyond* at University of Wuppertal, November 8-9, 2018, and in particular Natascha Pomino and her team for organizing the event and editing this volume. Furthermore, we would like to thank Laura González López for her help in preparing the stimuli of our acceptability judgment tasks. The research of the first author was supported by the German Research Foundation (DFG) as part research group FOR-2111 ‘Questions at the interfaces’ in the project P2 “The structure of *wh*-utterances and the interpretation of *wh*-words in Romance (and Germanic) languages. The research of the second author was funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG) as part of the project “Composing events in Romance causative constructions and the semantics of causation” (DO 2113/1-1) at the University of Cologne, Department for German Language and Literature I, Linguistics.

- (1) (a) *¿Qué os mandó Moisés?*  
 what you-OCL ordered Moses  
 ‘What did Moses command you?’ (RV 1995: Mark 10:3)
- (b) *¿De dónde eres tú?*  
 PREP where are you  
 ‘Where are you from?’ (RV 1995: John 19:9)
- (c) *¿Cómo era el hombre que encontrasteis?*  
 how was the man that encountered.2PL  
 ‘What kind of man was he who came to meet you?’ (RV 1995: 2 Kings 1:7)
- (2) (a) *Che cosa vi ha comandato Mosè?*  
 what thing you-OCL has ordered Moses  
 ‘What did Moses command you?’ (NR 2006: Mark 10:3)
- (b) *Di dove sei tu?*  
 PREP where are you  
 ‘Where are you from?’ (NR 2006: John 19:9)
- (c) *Com’era l’uomo che vi è venuto incontro?*  
 how was the man that you-OCL AUX came halfway  
 ‘What kind of man was he who came to meet you?’ (NR 2006: 2 Kings 1:7)

Note that in this context the subject-verb inversion, i.e. VS order, is obligatory in both languages, as shown in (3) and (4), where SV order leads to ungrammaticality:

- (3) (a) \**¿Qué Moisés os mandó?*  
 what Moses you-OCL ordered  
 ‘What did Moses command you?’
- (b) \**¿De dónde tú eres?*  
 PREP where you are  
 ‘Where are you from?’
- (c) \**¿Cómo el hombre era que encontrasteis?*  
 how the man was that encountered.2PL  
 ‘What kind of man was he who came to meet you?’
- (4) (a) \**Che cosa Mosè vi ha comandato?*  
 what thing Moses you-OCL has ordered  
 ‘What did Moses command you?’
- (b) \**Di dove tu sei?*  
 PREP where you are  
 ‘Where are you from?’
- (c) \**Come l’uomo era che vi è venuto incontro?*  
 how the man was that you-OCL AUX came halfway  
 ‘What kind of man was he who came to meet you?’

Interestingly, however, both languages deviate from this strict word order requirement when the *wh*-phrase expresses ‘why’. In these cases, we observe both *whVS* and *whSV* orders, as illustrated in (5) and (6) (see Torrego 1984, Rizzi 2001):

- (5) (a) *¿Por qué llora mi señor?*  
 why weeps my Lord  
 ‘Why is my lord weeping?’ (RV 1995: 2 Kings 8:12)



- (b) *¿Por qué nosotros y los fariseos ayunamos muchas veces, y tus discípulos no ayunan?*  
 why we and the Pharisees fast many times and your  
 disciples not fast  
 ‘Why do we and the Pharisees fast, but your disciples do not fast?’  
 (RV 1995: Matt 9:14)
- (6) (a) *Perché piange il mio signore?*  
 why weeps DET my Lord  
 ‘Why is my lord weeping?’ (NR 2006: 2 Kings 8:12)
- (b) *Perché noi e i farisei digiuniamo spesso, e i tuoi discepoli non digiunano?*  
 why we and the Pharisees fast often and DET your disciples not  
 fast  
 ‘Why do we and the Pharisees fast, but your disciples do not fast?’  
 (NR 2006: Matt 9:14)

Given this observation of this variation, we will focus on Spanish and Italian ‘why’-interrogatives. Before discussing the results of the two empirical studies, we will present, in the next section, the related literature concerning word order effects in interrogatives with ‘why’ in both languages, and the effect of the characteristics of the subject in this respect.

## 2.2 Word order effects of the subject in ‘why’-interrogatives

One of the observations concerning word order in interrogatives, introduced by the *wh*-element *por qué* and *perché* in Spanish and Italian, is that subjects with different characteristics (subject type) can intervene between the *wh*-element and the verb. Examples from our Bible corpus show that, in both languages, the intervening subject can be simple ((7a) and (8a)), complex ((7b) and (8b)), as well as pronominal ((7c) and (8c)).

- (7) (a) *¿Por qué tus discípulos quebrantan la tradición de los ancianos?*  
 why your disciples break the tradition of the elders  
 ‘Why do your disciples break the tradition of the elders?’ (RV 1995: Matt. 15:2)
- (b) *¿Por qué los hombres de Judá, nuestros hermanos, se han adueñado de ti, [...]?*  
 why the men from Judah our brothers REFL have  
 appropriate of you  
 ‘Why have our brothers, the men of Judah, stolen you away [...]?’  
 (RV 1995: 2 Samuel 19:41)
- (c) *¿Por qué vosotros no me creéis?*  
 why you not REFL believe  
 ‘Why don’t you believe me?’ (RV 1995: Mark 2:7)
- (8) (a) *Perché i tuoi discepoli trasgrediscono la tradizione degli antichi?*  
 why DET your disciples break the tradition of-the elders  
 ‘Why do your disciples break the tradition of the elders?’ (NR 2006: Matt. 15:2)
- (b) *Perché i nostri fratelli, gli uomini di Giuda, ti hanno portato via di nascosto [...]?*  
 why DET our brothers the men from Juda you.CL2SG have  
 taken away clandestinely  
 ‘Why have our brothers, the men of Judah, stolen you away [...]?’

(NR 2006: 2 Samuel 19:41)

(c) *Perché costui parla in questa maniera?*

why he talks in that way

‘Why does this fellow talk like that?’

(NR 2006: Mark 2:7)

The occurrence of such preverbal subjects in both Spanish and Italian *why*-interrogatives has been the subject of a number of traditional and generative studies. In the generative framework, Torrego (1984), Suñer (1994), Contreras (1989), and Ordóñez (1998), among many others, discuss whether word order variation in Spanish *wh*-interrogatives depends on the argumental/non-argumental status of the *wh*-phrase, by showing that not only *por qué* ‘why’, but also other non-argumental *wh*-phrases, allow an SV order, at least under specific conditions.<sup>21</sup> As for Italian, most researchers focus on the fact that in interrogatives with causal *wh*-adverbs (in particular, *perché*, *come mai* as well as “other higher [wh-] adverbials” (Rizzi 2001:293)), an SV order is possible, while in interrogatives with the other *wh*-elements a VS order is obligatory (see Rizzi 1996:87, fn.16, among others). The crucial topic of all these debates is related to the question of how and where ‘why’ is (base-)generated, and whether the finite verb moves into the CP level or not. Most researchers agree, within a framework assuming an articulated CP, that ‘why’ differs from all other *wh*-phrases by being base-generated in a high(er) position in the CP. Thus, ‘why’ interrogatives allow the occurrence of an “intervening” element, in particular the subject, between the *wh*-phrase and the verb. It is furthermore highly debated whether, in these contexts, the verb moves to a head position in the CP level or whether it remains in a lower position.

In this paper, we do not want to reopen the discussion on the specific position of ‘why’ and of the finite verb. Rather, we want to discuss whether other factors have an impact on word order variation in these kinds of interrogatives. In particular, we want to discuss whether the subject type, i.e. its DP-type (pronominal or nominal), as well as its heaviness and complexity influences the word order.

In this respect, we want to highlight an observation made by Herrero (1992:118), where, in Spanish, ‘why’-interrogatives with SV order are almost only possible with nominal subjects, not with pronominal ones. He provides a number of examples for the “interpolation” of nominal subjects between *por qué* and the finite verb:

- (9) (a) *¿Por qué la gente no se limitaba a cumplir con el reglamento?*  
 why the people NEG REFL limit to comply with the rules  
 ‘Why didn’t people just comply with the rules?’ (J. Madrid, Flores, el gitano, p. 186)
- (b) *¿Por qué Dieter Rhomberg desapareció tan bruscamente de la nómina de la Petnay?*  
 why Dieter Rhomberg disappeared so quickly of the payroll of  
 la Petnay?  
 DET Petnay  
 ‘Why did Dieter Rhomberg disappear so quickly from the payroll of the Petnay company?’ (M. Vázquez Montalbán, *La soledad del manager*, p. 144)

Remarkably, the literature on the use of preverbal subjects in ‘why’-interrogatives in both Spanish and Italian seems to indirectly support this observation. All examples given in order to provide evidence for SV order in these interrogatives contain only simple subjects (see for Spanish Torrego 1984, Fernández Ramírez 1986, Goodall 1993, Suñer 1994, Baauw 1998, Contreras 1999, Real Academia Española 2009 and Francom 2012 and for Italian Rizzi 1996,

<sup>21</sup> A remarkable exception to this is Caribbean Spanish, as well as some other Spanish dialects, where the occurrence of preverbal subjects is not restricted in non-argumental *wh*-phrases (cf. among many others Davis 1971, Quirk 1972, Lipski 1977, Lantolf 1980, Toribio 1993, Ordóñez & Olarrea 2006, Goodall 2010, Zimmermann 2019).

2001, Belletti 2004, Cardinaletti 2007, Bocci & Pozzan 2014, Bianchi, Bocci, & Cruschina 2017). In other words, there seems to be clear evidence that the subject type plays a crucial role in word order variation in both Spanish and Italian ‘why’-interrogatives, and there are more restrictions for the occurrence of preverbal subjects when they are pronominal (see also Lapesa 1992 for similar observations). Interestingly, Herrero (1992:118) even claims that the mere use of the 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronoun in the preverbal position is unacceptable:

- (10) (a) \*¿*Por qué tú vienes?*  
           why       you come  
           ‘Why do you come?’  
       (b) \*¿*Por qué tú dices eso?*  
           why       you say this  
           ‘Why do you say this?’

Note that the Real Academia Española (2009:3168) provides one single example with the 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronoun *ellos* ‘they’ and the 1<sup>st</sup> person pronoun *nosotros* ‘we’ that shows the possibility of personal pronouns to intervene between the *wh*-phrase and the verb.

- (11) ¿*Por qué ellos lloran al oír una sardana y nosotros nos quedamos tan frescos?*  
       why they cry PREP.DET hear a sardana and we REFL stay  
       so cool  
       ‘Why do they cry when hearing a sardana and why do we stay so cool?’

For (Standard) Italian, we did not find any examples of interrogatives with *perché* ‘why’ in literature documenting the use of preverbal subject pronouns. The only example we found of a pronominal subject in the preverbal position was provided by Poletto (1993:241), for the Northern-Italian dialect spoken in Padua:

- (12) *Parché el sta casa?*  
       why he is home  
       ‘Why is he at home?’

The related literature reports a number of other factors favoring the preverbal position of the subject. For example, Herrero (1992) assumes that the ‘heaviness’ (length) of the subject may play a role, as illustrated in (13a), where the subject contains a relative clause. Furthermore, he claims that the use of negation may favor preverbal subjects ((13b)). Finally, Lapesa (1992) claims that discourse factors such as curiosity, surprise, astonishment, or reproach lead to preverbal subjects ((13c)).

- (13) (a) ¿*Por qué Juan que llega todos los días tan tarde, llegaría hoy tan temprano?*  
           why John who arrives every DET days so late arrive.COND today  
           so early  
           ‘Why would John, who arrives so late every day, arrive so early today?’  
       (b) ¿*Por qué tú no me has hecho eso?*  
           why you NEG me have done that  
           ‘Why didn’t you do that to me?’  
       (c) ¿*Por qué tú no me has dicho eso antes?*  
           why you NEG me have told that before  
           ‘Why didn’t you tell me that before?’

As far as Italian is concerned, some researchers also consider the role of discourse factors. They claim that the information structure of simple subjects may have a crucial effect on word order in ‘why’-interrogatives (Bocci & Pozzan 2014, Bianchi, Bocci & Cruschina 2017, Leonetti 2018). Bianchi, Bocci & Cruschina (2017) show, based on experimental data of an acceptability judgment task, that postverbal subjects are associated with a [+Focus] interpretation<sup>22</sup>, while the preverbal subject favor a [-Focus] interpretation:

- (14) (a) *Perché canta Luca* [+Focus]?  
 (b) *Perché Luca* [-Focus] *canta*?  
 ‘Why does Luca sing?’

To conclude, our brief overview on the literature with respect to word order variation in Spanish and Italian, ‘why’-interrogatives demonstrate that the subject type has some impact. However, observations made in the literature are not very precise and its theoretical interpretations still lack empirical confirmation. Thus, as noted by Herrero (1992:118), it is still unclear as to which way the subject type affects word order in these constructions. We fill this gap by providing two empirical studies addressing the following research questions:

1. Do Spanish and Italian differ, and if yes, in which perspective?
2. Do simple, complex, and pronominal subjects differ in their positions in ‘why’-interrogatives, and if yes, how and for which reasons?

### 3. Empirical studies

The first study is a corpus study on Italian and Spanish that considers possible differences between both languages and how the subject type might determine the word order. The second experiment consists of two acceptability judgment tasks that address the second research questions for Spanish. In our opinion, the combination of these two methods enables us to get more reliable results: The analysis of the Bible data allows us to get a firsthand overview of the distribution of word order in ‘why’-interrogatives in Spanish and Italian. Note that we are dealing here with a parallel text corpus, i.e. with a corpus containing translations of the same text. This allows us to compare linguistic constriction in these two languages on the basis of the very same sentences. Thus, we can exclude that a possible variation in word order is due to differences of the text genre (prose or lyrics), or to other internal or external factors, such as the medium (written or oral), or the linguistic context in which a text is produced etc. Furthermore, the results of a parallel text corpus search provide information about possible word order patterns and their frequency. On the other hand, acceptability judgment tasks are an appropriate method to complete the findings of the parallel text corpus search since they allow us to examine phenomena that occur very rarely and that could not be studied in another way, as is the case for certain word order patterns in ‘why’-interrogatives.

#### 3.1 Bible parallel text corpus

##### Data collection and annotation

The corpus study is based on Bible parallel text data collected at the University of Konstanz and consists of several scriptures from the Old and New Testament (Old Testament: Gen. - 2 Kings, New Testament: Matt. - Acts). This is a set of around 1,000 *wh*-interrogatives in different Romance languages and for diachronic periods. For our purpose of interest, we were left with a total number of 434 interrogatives introduced by the *wh*-element ‘why’ (*por qué*

<sup>22</sup> We use the term ‘focus’ for constituents that carry new information following the definition of Neeleman & Vermeulen (2012).

and *perché*) in a modern Spanish (Reina Valera 1995) and a modern Italian translation (Nuova Riveduta 2006). The factors relevant for data analysis were first annotated automatically (Kalouli et alii 2018, Kaiser, Kaiser & Kalouli 2019) and then manually checked by two annotators. These factors contain the following (syntactic) features:

- **word order** (dependent variable): verb position (between 2 and 4) and the realisation of the subject (overt vs. null) (abbreviated as *whV*, *whVS*, *whSV*, *whxV*, *whxVS*, *whxSV*)
- **subject type**: simple nouns (proper names and other DPs), complex subjects (DP with a PP or a relative clause as complement and coordinated DPs), and pronouns (personal or demonstrative pronouns; abbreviated as simple, complex, and pronoun).
- **insertions**: occurrence of particles or adverbs between the *wh*-element and the second constituent (abbreviated as little ‘x’)<sup>23</sup>
- **language**: Spanish vs. Italian

## Results

Table (1) shows the results of the analysis of the Bible data:

| Gen. - 2 Kings +<br>Matt. - John | <i>whV</i>     | <i>whxV</i>  | <i>whVS</i>   | <i>whxVS</i> | <i>whSV</i>   | <i>whxSV</i> | total                |
|----------------------------------|----------------|--------------|---------------|--------------|---------------|--------------|----------------------|
| Italian<br>( <i>perché</i> )     | 145<br>(74.1%) | 14<br>(6.6%) | 8<br>(4.0%)   | 3<br>(1.4%)  | 25<br>(12.7%) | 2<br>(1.2%)  | <b>197</b><br>(100%) |
| Spanish<br>( <i>por qué</i> )    | 157<br>(67.4%) | 23<br>(8.8%) | 36<br>(13.9%) | 9<br>(3.5%)  | 12<br>(6.4%)  | 0<br>(0.0%)  | <b>237</b><br>(100%) |

Table (1): Word order in interrogatives with ‘why’ (absolute numbers and percentages)

Initially, we observe that null subjects have the highest frequency in Spanish and Italian. The data reflects what is considered to be a typical tendency for null subject languages, that subject pronouns are generally not used in unmarked contexts in these languages. Given that overt subjects are the topic of interest in our study, we excluded all sentences lacking an overt subject for further analysis.

In Figure 1 and Table 2, we show the average frequency of word order by summarizing all word order patterns with preverbal subjects (*wh(x)SV*) and with postverbal subjects (*wh(x)VS*) in Spanish and Italian, neglecting the occurrence of intervening particles or adverbs:

| Gen.-2 Kings +<br>Matt.-John | <i>wh(x)VS</i> | <i>wh(x)SV</i> | total |
|------------------------------|----------------|----------------|-------|
| Italian ( <i>perché</i> )    | 27.6%          | 72.4%          | 100%  |
| Spanish ( <i>por qué</i> )   | 75.0%          | 25.0%          | 100%  |

Table (2): *wh(x)VS* versus *wh(x)SV* order in interrogatives with ‘why’ (percentage)

<sup>23</sup> We cannot address the particularities of this word order pattern here, but see examples for illustration, as in (ia) and (ib) for Spanish and Italian, respectively:

(i) a. *¿Por qué, pues, no lo creísteis?*

(RV 1995: Mark 11:31)

b. *Perché dunque non gli credeste?*

(NR 2006: Mark 11:31)

‘Why then did you not believe him?’

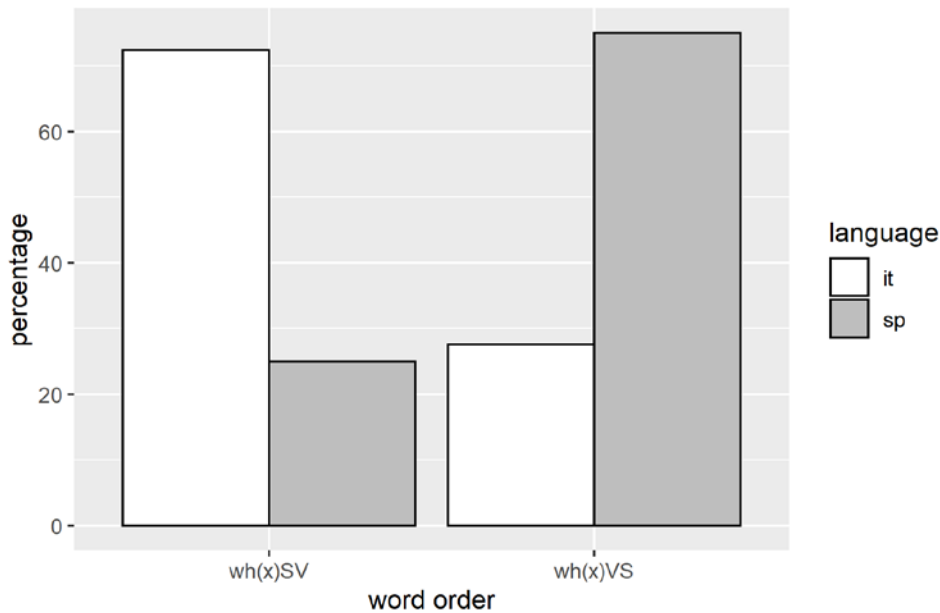


Figure (1): Average frequency of word order pattern for preverbal subjects ( $wh(x)SV$ ) and postverbal subjects ( $wh(x)VS$ ) in the Spanish and Italian ‘why’-interrogatives in the Bible corpus.

With respect to our first research question, we can observe a crucial difference in word order between the two languages. While  $wh(x)SV$  is more frequent in Italian,  $wh(x)VS$  occurs more often in Spanish.<sup>24</sup>

Regarding our second research question, we examine the effect of the subject type on word order in both languages. Figure 2 summarizes the results in absolute numbers. It shows that the word order patterns in both languages are driven by one special subject type, namely simple nouns, which are by far the most frequent ones.

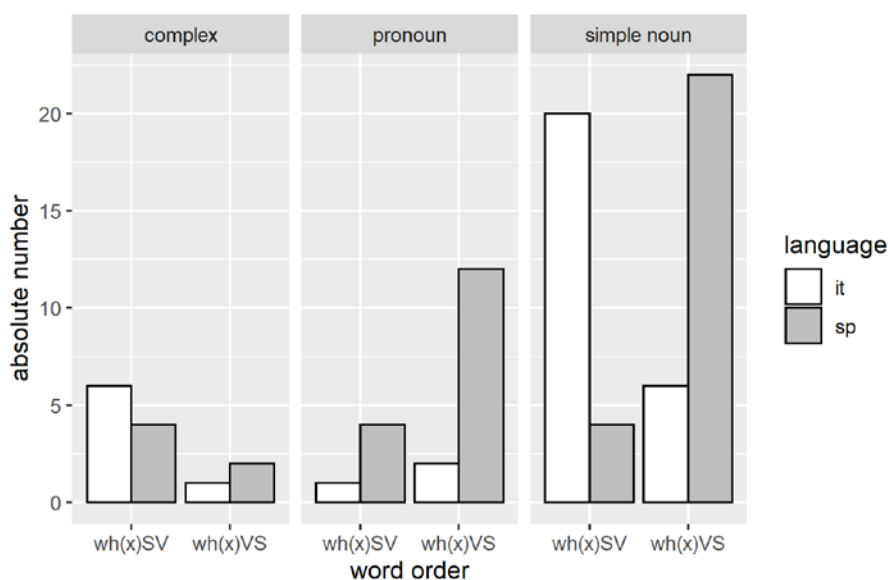


Figure (2): Absolute number of word order patterns ( $wh(x)SV$  and  $wh(x)VS$ ) in Spanish and Italian according to subject type.

<sup>24</sup> To confirm this difference, we ran two statistical analyses. The phi-coefficient ( $\phi=0.50$ ) shows a strong association between word order and language, and the  $\chi^2$ -test attests this association to be statistically significant ( $\chi^2=21.53$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ). To conclude, the analyses show that the proportion of preverbal subjects is significantly higher in Italian than in Spanish.

For simple subjects, Italian shows a significantly higher frequency for the preverbal position, while in Spanish simple subjects occur more often in the postverbal position. Some examples are given in ((15) and (16)):

- (15) (a) *Perché il suo carro tarda ad arrivare?*  
 why DET his car lasts to come  
 ‘Why is his chariot so long in coming?’ (NR 2006: Judges 5:28)
- (b) *Perché il Signore ci conduce in quel paese dove cadremo per la spada?*  
 why the Lord us bring to this land where fall.1SG by the sword?  
 ‘Why is the Lord bringing us to this land only to let us fall by the sword?’  
 (NR 2006: Num 14:3)
- (16) (a) *¿Por qué tarda su carro en venir?*  
 why lasts his car to come  
 ‘Why is his chariot so long in coming?’ (RV 1995: Judges 5:28)
- (b) *¿Por qué nos trae Jehová a esta tierra para morir a espada [...]?*  
 why us bring Lord to this land to fall by sword?  
 ‘Why is the Lord bringing us to this land only to let us fall by the sword?’  
 (RV 1995: Num 14:3)

Nevertheless, both word order patterns are available in both languages, as can be seen in (17) and (18).

- (17) (a) *Perché è triste il tuo cuore?*  
 why is sad DET your heart  
 ‘Why is your heart sad?’ (NR 2006: 1 Sam 1:8)
- (b) *Perché non si è venduto quest’olio per trecento denari e non si sono dati ai poveri?*  
 why not REFL is sold this ointment for three hundred denarii and not  
 si sono dati ai poveri?  
 REFL are given to-the poor?  
 ‘Why was this ointment not sold for three hundred denarii and given to the poor?’  
 (NR 2006: John 12:5)
- (18) (a) *¿Por qué tus discípulos no andan conforme a la tradición de los ancianos, sino que comen pan con manos impuras?*  
 why your disciples not walk according to the tradition of  
 los ancianos, sino que comen pan con manos impuras?  
 the elders, but eat bread with hands defiled  
 ‘Why do your disciples not walk according to the tradition of the elders, but eat the bread with defiled hands?’ (RV 1995: Mark 7:5)
- (b) *¿Por qué tus discípulos quebrantan la tradición de los ancianos?*  
 why your disciples break the tradition of the elders  
 ‘Why do your disciples break the tradition of the elders?’ (RV 1995: Matt. 15:2)

For complex and pronominal subjects, our Bible corpus provides only a small amount of data; therefore, the results have to be interpreted carefully. In contrast to our observations on simple subjects, complex subjects seem to behave quite similarly in both languages, since they occur more often in the preverbal position. However, both languages display examples with the subject in postverbal position:

- (19) (a) *Perché i nostri fratelli, gli uomini di Giuda, ti hanno portato via*  
 why DET our brother the men of Judah you have taken away  
*di nascosto e hanno fatto attraversare il Giordano al re,*  
 secretly and have made cross the Jordan PREP.DET king  
*alla sua famiglia e a tutta la gente di Davide?*  
 PREP.DET his family and PREP all the people of David  
 ‘Why did our brothers, the men of Judah, take you away secretly and bring the king  
 and his household across the Jordan, together with all of David’s men?’  
 (NR 2006: 2Sam 19:41)
- (b) *Perché sono così lente le ruote dei suoi carri?*  
 why are so slow the wheels of.DET his chariots  
 ‘Why is the clatter of his chariots delayed?’ (NR 2006: Judges 5:28)
- (20) (a) *¿Por qué los hombres de Judá, nuestros hermanos, se han*  
 why the men of Judah our brothers, REFL have  
*adueñado de ti, y han hecho pasar el Jordán a el rey,*  
 taken possession of you and have made pass the Jordan PREP the king  
*a su familia y a todos los siervos de David con él?*  
 PREP his family and PREP all the servants of David with him  
 ‘Why did our brothers, the men of Judah, take you away secretly and bring the king  
 and his household across the Jordan, together with all of David’s men?’  
 (RV 1995: 2Sam 19:41)
- (b) *¿Por qué viene mi señor, el rey, a ver a su siervo?*  
 why comes my Lord the king to see PREP his servant  
 ‘Why has my lord the king come to his servant?’ (RV 1995: 2Sam 24:21)

As far as pronominal subjects are concerned, there is a clear difference in frequency between Spanish and Italian. Spanish displays a quite large number of pronominal subjects with a clear tendency for the postverbal position ((21)). In Italian, we also find evidence for both word orders ((22)). However, the Italian data only contains a very small number of pronouns (n=3), which does not allow us to draw any comparative conclusions:

- (21) (a) *¿Por qué estás tú solo, sin nadie que te acompañe?*  
 why are you alone without no one who you accompanies  
 ‘Why are you alone and no one with you?’ (RV 1995: 1Sam 21:1)
- (b) *¿Por qué nosotros no pudimos echarlo fuera?*  
 why we not could cast-it out  
 ‘Why could we not cast it out?’ (RV 1995: Matt 17:19)
- (22) (a) *Perché vuoi venire anche tu con noi?*  
 why want come also you with us  
 ‘Why do you also go with us?’ (NR 2006: 2Sam 15:19)
- (b) *Perché costui parla in questa maniera?*  
 why this.one talks in that way  
 ‘Why does this fellow talk like that?’ (NR 2006: Mark 2:7)

### 3.2 Acceptability judgment tasks

Due to the small number of complex and pronominal subjects occurring in our corpus, and the interesting findings in Spanish showing that complex subjects differ from simple nouns (and pronouns) with respect to word order, we conducted two acceptability judgement tasks. The



aim of these experiments was to examine the question of whether simple DPs, complex DPs, and pronoun subjects differ in their preference for a particular position in Spanish ‘why’-interrogatives.

### Methodology

#### *Materials:*

Both experiments consisted of 24 items. Each item had four conditions and was built in a 2 x 2 factorial design. The independent variables were SUBJECT POSITION (preverbal vs. postverbal, in both experiments) and SUBJECT TYPE. The classification of the variable SUBJECT TYPE is based on the results of the corpus study and includes simple, complex, and pronominal subjects. We further divided the class of complex subjects into two groups: complex I (DP+PP) and complex II (DP+ relative clause (RC)) in order to get more precise information about the effect of heaviness (length) in complex subjects. Therefore, the variables are simple subject (DP) vs. complex I (DP+PP) in the first experiment, and complex II (DP+RC) vs. pronoun (second person singular pronoun *tú* ‘you’) in the second experiment. The ‘why’-interrogatives were identical except for position and type of DP. All 24 test items were introduced by a brief description, which led to a focus interpretation of the subject and consisted of a transitive verb (see table (3)).

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |                                                                                              |                                                                                          |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| La secretaria no sabía que había una sustituta temporal para el profesor de Matemáticas y (le) pregunta sorprendida:<br>‘The secretary didn’t know anything about a substitute teacher for the math teacher and asks (her) surprised.’ |                                                                                              |                                                                                          |
| <b>Acceptability judgment task I</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                   |                                                                                              |                                                                                          |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | postverbal ( <i>whVS</i> )                                                                   | preverbal ( <i>whSV</i> )                                                                |
| DP                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | ¿Por qué prepara esta profesora el material para la clase de Matemáticas?                    | ¿Por qué esta profesora prepara el material para la clase de Matemáticas?                |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | ‘Why does this teacher prepare the lesson material for the Math class?’                      |                                                                                          |
| DP+PP                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | ¿Por qué prepara la profesora de Química el material para la clase de Matemáticas?           | ¿Por qué la profesora de Química prepara el material para la clase de Matemáticas?       |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | ‘Why does the chemistry teacher prepare the lesson material for the Math class?’             |                                                                                          |
| <b>Acceptability judgment task II</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                  |                                                                                              |                                                                                          |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | postverbal ( <i>whVS</i> )                                                                   | preverbal ( <i>whSV</i> )                                                                |
| DP+RC                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | ¿Por qué prepara la profesora que es de Lengua el material para la clase de Matemáticas?     | ¿Por qué la profesora que es de Lengua prepara el material para la clase de Matemáticas? |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | ‘Why does the teacher who teaches languages prepare the lesson material for the Math class?’ |                                                                                          |
| pronoun <i>tú</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | ¿Por qué preparas tú el material para la clase de Matemáticas?                               | ¿Por qué tú preparas el material para la clase de Matemáticas?                           |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | ‘Why do you prepare the lesson material for the Math class?’                                 |                                                                                          |

Table (3): Example of an item for both acceptability judgment tasks in 4 different conditions for each task

In each experiment, we distributed the test items over four lists so that the participants saw each context in only one of the four conditions. Each participant was asked to judge six

sentences per condition. The test sentences were combined with 24 fillers which were all checked by a native speaker of Spanish.<sup>25</sup>

#### *Participants:*

132 native speakers of Peninsular Spanish from Central Spain, who were recruited via social media groups, participated in the experiment (mean age: 29, age range: 16-67, 102: female, 30: male)<sup>26</sup>. Participants were not informed about the purpose of the study and attended without receiving any material compensation. The participants showed a high level of education since 120 had A-levels or a higher educational level.

#### *Procedure:*

The questionnaire was hosted on *SoSci Survey*. At the beginning of the task, the participants received the instruction to judge on a 7-point Likert scale (1= unnatural, 7= natural) as to how natural (sp. *natural*) the different questions sounded to them. After this short introduction, 3 practice items were presented so that participants got used to the experimental design. Two of the practice items were identical to the constructions of the test items, and one similar to the fillers. During the experiment, the test stimuli were presented in pseudo-randomized order combined with the filler sentences. At the end of the experiment, participants had to complete a background questionnaire with sociolinguistic information.

#### *Data preparation:*

Before the final data analysis, we analyzed the control items of the filler sentences to check whether the participants had paid attention during the experiment. We deleted three participants as they rated the control items in less than 80% according to their grammaticality or ungrammaticality (as explained in footnote 5).

### Results

In this section, we present the results of both acceptability judgment tasks together, since both groups of participants are very similar regarding their origin and age ranges. An analysis of the filler sentences, which were identical in both experiments, supports a joint analysis as both groups do not significantly differ in their judgments of the fillers.

Figure 3 plots the mean ratings for all subjects (simple, complex, and pronominal subjects). The results show that the ratings for the preverbal position (*whSV*) for simple (DP) and complex subjects (DP+PP, DP+RC) are slightly higher than for the postverbal subject position (*whVS*). We find similar ratings for the simple subject, and for both of the complex subjects. We observe the opposite pattern for the pronoun *tú*, for which the postverbal position of the subject receives higher ratings. But the preverbal position, in this case, is not unacceptable according to the ratings.

<sup>25</sup> The fillers consisted of *wh*-questions varying in word order, subjects (null vs. overt), and information structure. 75% of the fillers were grammatical and rated as natural (mean: 5,8), see example (i), and 25% of the fillers served as ungrammatical control items, which were judged as unnatural (mean: 2,1), see (ii).

(i) *Hay demasiado paro en el sur del país. La gente tiene miedo y pregunta preocupada:*

‘There are too many unemployed persons in the south of the country. The people are afraid and ask:’

- *¿Cómo soluciona el ministro este problema?*

‘How does the minister solve this problem?’

(ii) *Claudio no sabía que la pianista de la orquesta es la exesposa de su amigo y pregunta sorprendido:*

‘Claudio did not know that the pianist of the orchestra is the ex-wife of his friend and asks surprised:’

- *¿Por qué de la pianista mal hablas?*

‘Why do you talk about her so badly?’

<sup>26</sup> 57 participants (mean age: 23, age range: 16-59, 41: female, 16: male) were tested in first experiment, and 75 (mean age: 34, age range: 18-67, 61: female, 14: male) participants were tested in second experiment.

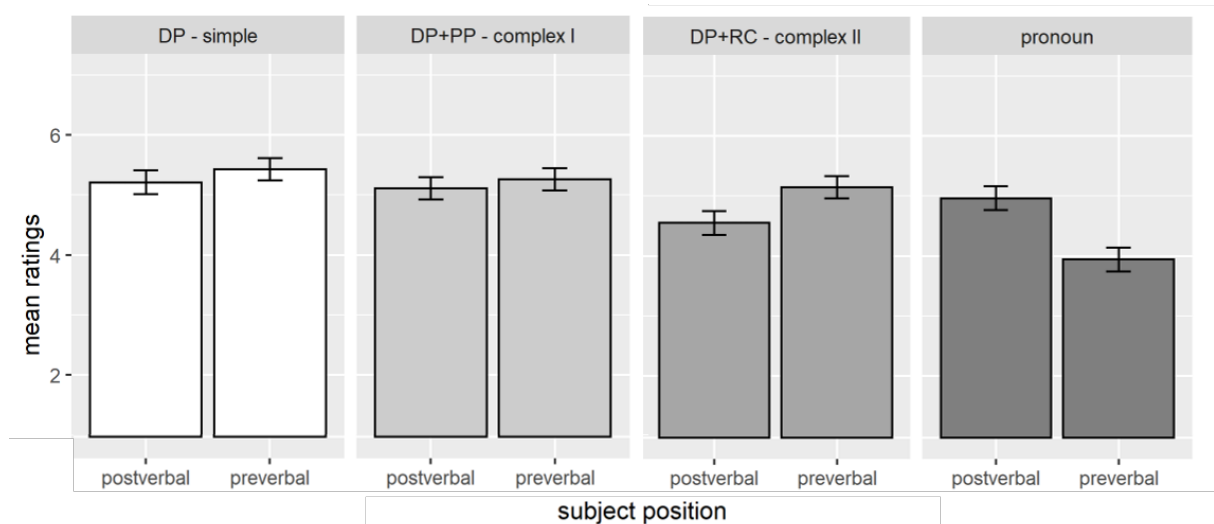


Figure (3): Mean ratings for preverbal subjects (*whSV*) and postverbal subjects (*whVS*) across subject types with 95% confidence intervals

The statistical analyses of both acceptability judgment tasks were based on linear mixed-effect regression models in R, using the packages *lme4* (Douglas et al. 2015).<sup>27</sup> For the first acceptability judgment task, we find a statistically significant main effect of subject position, but no statistically significant main effect of subject type.<sup>28</sup> The statistical analysis of the second acceptability judgment task revealed significant main effects of subject type and subject position, as well as the interaction term.<sup>29</sup> Note that we did not run any statistics between the experiments, but from inspection we see that subjects with relative clauses (complex II) are somewhat less well rated than subjects with PPs (complex I).

<sup>27</sup> All statistical models that are reported in this chapter are selected by means of backward-elimination and the Akaike Information Criterion (AIC): the smaller the AIC value, the better the fit of the statistical model (Baayen 2008:149).

<sup>28</sup> The model of the first experiment defines ratings as being the dependent variable, the main effect of the subject position (preverbal vs. postverbal) and subject type (DP vs. DP+PP) as fixed effects, and participant and item as random effects.<sup>28</sup> We find a statistically significant main effect of subject position ( $\beta = 0.18$ ,  $SE = 0.08$ ,  $t = 2.18$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ), but no statistically significant main effect of subject type ( $\beta = -0.13$ ,  $SE = 0.08$ ,  $t = -1.56$ ,  $p > 0.1$ ).

<sup>29</sup> The model of the second experiment estimates a separate linear mixed-effects regression model, with main effects and the interaction of subject position (preverbal vs. postverbal) and subject type (DP+RC vs. pronoun) as fixed effects, and participant and item as random effects. In addition, subject type was specified as a random slope for each participant. We find a statistically significant main effect of subject position ( $\beta = 0.60$ ,  $SE = 0.11$ ,  $t = 5.20$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ), a statistically significant main effect of subject type ( $\beta = 0.42$ ,  $SE = 0.18$ ,  $t = 2.29$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ), and a statistically significant interaction of subject position and subject type ( $\beta = -1.62$ ,  $SE = 0.16$ ,  $t = -9.99$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ). To further examine the interaction of subject position and subject type, we ran two additional models.

To evaluate the main effect of subject position, we divided the data set, according to subject type, into DP+RC and pronoun conditions. The subsets of data were analysed with linear mixed-effects regression models, in which subject position is a fixed effect, and item and participant are random effects. The main effect of subject position was specified as a random slope for each participant. For both conditions of subject type, the main effect of subject position was statistically significant (DP+RC:  $\beta = 0.6$ ,  $SE = 0.12$ ,  $t = 5.05$ ,  $p < 0.001$ , pronoun:  $\beta = -1.02$ ,  $SE = 0.17$ ,  $t = -6.18$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ).

We also separated the data set, according to subject position, into preverbal and postverbal subject conditions in order to assess the main effect of subject type. The subsets of data were analysed with a further linear mixed-effects regression model, with subject type as fixed effect, and item and participant as random effects. The main effect of subject type was specified as a random slope for each participant. For both conditions of subject position, the main effect of subject type was statistically significant (preverbal:  $\beta = -1.20$ ,  $SE = 0.19$ ,  $t = -6.43$ ,  $p < 0.001$ , postverbal:  $\beta = 0.41$ ,  $SE = 0.20$ ,  $t = 2.06$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ).

## 4. Discussion

### 4.1 Word order differences in Italian and Spanish ‘why’-interrogatives

The results of our two empirical studies show that, in accordance with what has been observed in the literature, both word order patterns, i.e. *wh(x)SV* and *wh(x)VS*, are available in Italian and Spanish ‘why’-interrogatives. However, the findings of the corpus study provide evidence that the distribution of these word order patterns is not identical within these languages. Most strikingly, we find that the distribution between both languages crucially differs: while *wh(x)SV* is more frequent in Italian, *wh(x)VS* is the preferred word order in Spanish.

Let us propose a possible interpretation for this difference. We assume that word order in ‘why’-interrogatives has an interpretative effect in both languages, and encodes instructions for an information structure that reflects the speaker’s supposition about the state of the addressee’s mind. This has been shown, by Bianchi, Bocci & Cruschina (2017), as being true for Italian. According to their results from a forced-choice acceptability judgment task, the postverbal subject position in Italian is more likely connected with a focus-interpretation than with a non-focus-interpretation. In the latter case, the preverbal position is significantly preferred. Similarly, Leonetti (2018) relates the postverbal subject position with [+Foc], in his analysis of inversion in Italian ‘why’-interrogatives. He claims that focus is directly associated with a non-canonical word order in these cases. Consequently, postverbal subjects are in the non-canonical position in Italian. According to Leonetti (2017), one main criterion to determine the canonical word order is textual frequency; the canonical word order is compatible with the largest number of contexts, while non-canonical orders have stronger restrictions on contexts and can occur in fewer discourse settings.

We use the frequency measurements of our corpus study to interpret our data in this sense. The results for Italian are in line with Leonetti’s (2018) claims, and Bianchi, Bocci and Cruschina’s (2017) findings, since postverbal subjects are significantly less frequent and appear, therefore, in the non-canonical position. Preverbal subjects in Italian ‘why’-interrogatives seem to follow the canonical order due to their higher frequency. Recall, however, that our Spanish data reveals a reverse pattern: postverbal subjects occur significantly more often than preverbal subjects in ‘why’-interrogatives. As in Italian, the more frequent word order pattern is also the canonical word order pattern in Spanish, i.e. when the subject occurs in the postverbal position. Preverbal subjects are less frequent in Spanish and seem to follow the non-canonical word order. Consequently, we assume that Spanish and Italian generally differ regarding their canonical word order in ‘why’-interrogatives, namely *whySV* for Italian and *whyVS* for Spanish. In other words, Spanish has [+Foc] in preverbal subject position, and Italian [+Foc] in postverbal subject position in these sentences:

- (23) (a) *Perché canta Luca* [+Focus]? (non-canonical word order)  
 (b) *Perché Luca* [-Focus] *canta*? (canonical word order)
- (24) (a) *¿Por qué canta Juan* [-Focus]? (canonical word order)  
 (b) *¿Per qué Juan* [+Focus] *canta*? (non-canonical word order)

It is important to mention the crucial advantage of our parallel text corpus; this method ensures that the information structure is identical in both languages. Thus, it addresses the concern that frequency-analyses are not a reliable criterion to determine the canonical word order.

#### 4.2 Subject type in Spanish (and Italian) ‘why’-interrogatives

The results of our two empirical studies show that the subjects type has an effect on word order in Spanish ‘why’-interrogatives. In the case of nominal subjects, the findings closely mirror those of the literature. The preverbal and the postverbal positions are available for both subject types. The corpus study shows that simple and complex subjects occur more frequently in the preverbal position in Italian. In Spanish we see the counter-image: simple subjects occur more often in the postverbal position, but complex subjects are more frequent in the preverbal position. The results of our acceptability judgment tasks seem to confirm these findings for Spanish. Consequently, our results confirm Herrero’s (1992) claim that complexity leads to preverbal subjects.

The results of the acceptability judgment task for Spanish do not confirm the distribution of the corpus study since the preverbal position is slightly preferred for all DP subjects. A possible explanation for this is the influence of information structure on word order in ‘why’-interrogatives, mentioned above. Remember that all subjects in our experiments are [+Foc] and should therefore occur in the non-canonical position which seems to be preverbal in Spanish. As for the DP subjects in the corpus, which show a (strong) preference for the postverbal position, we did not investigate their information structure. We can only speculate that they are [-Foc] and will leave the answer to this question for further research. Note that complex and heavy subjects show a preference for preverbal position both in the corpus and the experimental study. This also opens space for further studies investigating how these subjects behave under different conditions of information structure.

Finally, we would like to mention a further finding from our studies on Spanish; the difference between nominal subjects on the one hand, and pronominal subjects on the other hand. Considering the results of the corpus study, this difference is not apparent, but in the context of the specific information structure in our acceptability judgment task, pronouns differ from other subject types; while pronominal subjects show significantly higher ratings for the postverbal position with a focus interpretation, nominal subjects have better ratings in the preverbal position. This could be explained by the fact that the use of overt pronouns in a null-subject language inherently expresses focus, contrast, or emphasis (Leonetti & Escandell-Vidal to appear).

### 5. Conclusion

In this paper we have discussed the relationship between the type of subjects and word order in ‘why’-interrogatives in both Spanish and Italian. We hypothesize that these two languages differ with respect to the variation of *why*VS and *why*SV. We additionally assume that the type or the ‘heaviness’ of the subject DP determines the word order. A comparative corpus search confirmed our first hypothesis on the difference between Spanish and Italian. We assume that this might depend on different restrictions on focus position in these two languages. An acceptability task on the impact of DP-type and the heaviness or complexity of the subject in Spanish ‘why’-interrogatives showed that there is a difference between pronominal and full nominal DPs. However, we did not observe any difference for the different types of nominal DPs. We speculate that the test design was not able to show more fine-grained differences in structure of the DPs. In particular, it did not allow us to compare the behavior of simple and heavy subjects in one statistical analysis and in different conditions of information structure. In other words, there is still room for further research which should address the complexity and ‘heaviness’ of nominal subjects as well as the role of the information structure ([+Foc] and [-Foc] interpretation of the subject) in ‘why’-interrogatives.

## 6. References

### 6.1 Bible translations

- Biblia Reina-Valera*. Sociedades Bíblica Unidas, 1995.  
 <<https://www.biblegateway.com/versions/Reina-Valera-1995-RVR1995-Biblia/>>  
*Nuova Riveduta*. Società Biblica di Ginevra, 2006.  
 <<https://www.biblegateway.com/versions/Nuova-Riveduta-2006-NR2006/>>

### 6.2 Linguistic References

- Baauw, Sergio. 1998. Subject-inversion in Spanish wh-questions. In: R. Van Bezoojen & R. Kager (eds.), *Linguistics in the Netherlands 1998*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1-12.
- Baayen, Harald. 2008. *Analyzing Linguistic Data. A practical Introduction to Statistics using R*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Belletti, Adriana. (ed.) 2004. *Structures and Beyond. The Cartography of Syntactic Structures. Volume 3*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bianchi, Valentina, Bocci, Giuliano, & Cruschina, Silvio. 2017. Two types of subject inversion in Italian wh-questions. *Revue roumaine de linguistique* 62, 233-252.
- Bocci, Giuliano & Pozzan, Lucia. 2014. Some questions (and some experimental answers) about Italian subjects: Subject positions in main and embedded questions in L1 and attrition. In: C. Contemore & L. D. Pozzo (eds.), *Inquiries into Linguistic Theory and Language Acquisition. Papers Offered to Adriana Belletti*. Siena: CISCL Press, 28-44.
- Cardinaletti, Anna 2007. Subjects and wh-questions. Some new generalizations. In: J. Camacho, N. Flores-Ferrán, L. Sanchez, V. Deprez, & M. J. Cabrera (eds.), *Romance Linguistics 2006. Selected Papers from the 36th Linguistic Symposium on Romance Languages (LSRL), New Brunswick, March 31 - April 2, 2006*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 57-79.
- Contreras, Heles. 1989. Closed domains. *Probus* 1: 163-180.
- Contreras, Heles, 1999. Relaciones entre las construcciones interrogativas, exclamativas y relativas. In: I. Bosque & V. Demonte (eds.), *Gramática descriptiva de la lengua española. Vol. 2: Las construcciones sintácticas fundamentales. Relaciones temporales, aspectuales y modales*. Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1931-1962.
- Davis, J. Cray. 1971. Tú, ¿Qué tú tienes? *Hispania* 54, 331-333.
- Bates, Douglas, Maechler, Martin, Bolker, Ben & Walker Steve. 2015. Fitting Linear Mixed-Effects Models Using lme4. *Journal of Statistical Software* 67(1), 1-48.
- Fernández Ramírez, Salvador. 1986. *Gramática española. Vol. 4: El verbo y la oración*. Madrid: Arco/Libros.
- Francom, Jerid. 2012. Wh-movement: Interrogatives, exclamatives, and relatives. In: J.I. Hualde, A. Olarrea & E. O'Rourke (eds.), *The Handbook of Hispanic Linguistics*. Malden: Blackwell, 533-556.
- Goodall, Grant. 1993. Spec of IP and Spec of CP in Spanish wh-questions. In: W.J. Ashby et al. (eds), *Linguistic Perspectives on the Romance Languages. Selected Papers from the 21st Linguistic Symposium on Romance Languages (LSRL XXI). Santa Barbara, California, 21-24 February 1991*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 199-209.
- Goodall, Grant. 2010. Experimenting with wh-movement in Spanish. In: K. Arregi, Z. Fagyal, S. A. Montrul, & A. Tremblay (eds.), *Romance Linguistics 2008. Interactions in Romance. Selected Papers from the 38th Linguistic Symposium on Romance Languages (LSRL), Urbana-Champaign, April 2008*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 233-247.
- Herrero Ruiz de Loizaga, Javier F. (1992). Sobre la posición del sujeto en las interrogativas directas encabezadas por pronombre o adverbio interrogativo. *Revista de filología de la Universidad de La Laguna* 11, 115-123.
- Kaiser, Georg A., Katharina Kaiser & Aikaterina-Lida Kalouli. 2019. Wh-interrogatives in Romance Bible translations: what parallel texts can tell us about word order variation and change. Manuscript. Konstanz: Universität Konstanz, Fachbereich Linguistik.
- Kalouli, Aikaterini-Lida et al. 2018. A multilingual approach to question classification. In: N. Calzolari and alii (eds.), *Proceedings of the Eleventh International Conference on Language Resources and Evaluation (LREC 2018)*. Miyazaki: European Language Resources Association (ELRA), 2715-2720.
- Lantolf, James P. 1980. Constraints on interrogative word order in Puerto Rican Spanish. *Bilingual Review* 7-8, 113-122.
- Lapasa, Rafael. 1992. La interpolación del sujeto en las oraciones interrogativas. In: M. Ariza (ed.), *Actas del II Congreso Internacional de Historia de la lengua española, Vol. I*. Madrid: Pabellón de España, 545-553.
- Leonetti, Manuel. 2017. Basic constituent orders. In: A. Dufter & E. Stark (eds.), *Manual of Romance Morphosyntax and Syntax*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 887-932.
- Leonetti, Manuel. 2018. Two types of postverbal subject. *Italian Journal of Linguistics* 30, 11-36.
- Leonetti, Manuel & Escandell-Vidal, Victoria. To appear. Strong pronouns as postverbal subjects in Spanish and Italian. In: Georgiafentis, Michalis et al. (eds.), *Theoretical Approaches to Contrastive Linguistics. Morphological and Syntactic Perspectives*. London: Bloomsbury.

- Lipski, John M. 1977. Proposed subjects in questions: some considerations. *Hispania* 60, 61-67.
- Neeleman, Ad & Vermeulen, Reiko. (eds.) 2012. *The Syntax of Topic, Focus, and Contrast. An Interface-based Approach*. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Ordóñez, Francisco. 1998. The inversion construction in interrogatives in Spanish and Catalan. In: J. Lema & E. Treviño (eds.), *Theoretical Analyses on Romance Languages. Selected Papers from the 26<sup>th</sup> Linguistic Symposium on Romance Languages (LSRL XXVI), Mexico City 28.-30. March 1996*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 329-350.
- Ordóñez, Francisco & Antxon Olarrea. 2006. Microvariation in Caribbean/non Caribbean Spanish interrogatives. *Probus* 18, 59-97.
- Poletto, Cecilia. 1993. Subject clitic/verb inversion in North Eastern Italian dialects. In: A. Belletti (ed.), *Syntactic Theory and the Dialects of Italy*. Torino: Rosenberg & Sellier, 204-251.
- Quirk, Ronald J. 1972. On the extent and origin of questions in the form '¿Qué tú tienes?'. *Hispania* 55, 303-304.
- Real Academia Española. 2009. *Nueva gramática de la lengua española. Sintaxis II*. Madrid: Real Academia Española.
- Rizzi, Luigi. 1996. Residual verb second and the *wh*-criterion. In: A. Belletti & L. Rizzi (eds.), *Parameters and Functional Heads. Essays in Comparative Syntax*. New York: Oxford University Press, 63-90.
- Rizzi, Luigi. 2001. On the position 'Int(errogative)' in the left periphery of the clause. In: G. Cinque & G. Salvi (eds.), *Current Studies in Italian Syntax. Essays offered to Lorenzo Renzi*. Amsterdam: Elsevier, 287-296.
- Suñer, Margarita. 1994. V-movement and the licensing of argumental *wh*-phrases in Spanish. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 12, 335-372.
- Toribio, Jaqueline Almeida. 1993. Parametric variation in the licensing of nominals. Ph.D. Dissertation, Cornell University.
- Torrego, Esther. 1984. On inversion in Spanish and some of its effects. *Linguistic Inquiry* 15, 103-129.
- Zimmermann, Michael. 2019. Reconsidering the syntax of interrogatives in Caribbean Spanish. With special reference to Dominican Spanish. To appear in: *Isogloss*.

**Appendix 1: Test items**

|         |                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |                                                                                          |
|---------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (1)     | Inés siempre pierde sus cosas y no tiene ganas de buscarlas. Su madre no se puede creer que no busque ella misma su chaqueta y (le) pregunta enfadada (a su marido):                                                   |                                                                                          |
| DP      | ¿Por qué busca tu compañero la chaqueta debajo de la mesa?                                                                                                                                                             | ¿Por qué tu compañero busca la chaqueta debajo de la mesa?                               |
| DP+PP   | ¿Por qué busca tu compañero de clase la chaqueta debajo de la mesa?                                                                                                                                                    | ¿Por qué tu compañero de clase busca la chaqueta debajo de la mesa?                      |
| DP+RC   | ¿Por qué busca el compañero que va contigo a clase la chaqueta debajo de la mesa?                                                                                                                                      | ¿Por qué el compañero que va contigo a clase busca la chaqueta debajo de la mesa?        |
| pronoun | ¿Por qué buscas tú la chaqueta debajo de la mesa?                                                                                                                                                                      | ¿Por qué tú buscas la chaqueta debajo de la mesa?                                        |
| (2)     | Solo un fotógrafo ha podido sacar fotos del festival y se las ha mandado a todos los invitados. Victoria no sabe que ya las ha enviado. Cuando mira las noticias de Instagram, pregunta (le) sorprendida (a su amiga): |                                                                                          |
| DP      | ¿Por qué pone la actriz las fotos del festival?                                                                                                                                                                        | ¿Por qué la actriz pone las fotos del festival?                                          |
| DP+PP   | ¿Por qué pone la actriz de Piratas del Caribe las fotos del festival?                                                                                                                                                  | ¿Por qué la actriz de Piratas del Caribe pone las fotos del festival?                    |
| DP+RC   | ¿Por qué pone la actriz que no podía asistir las fotos del festival?                                                                                                                                                   | ¿Por qué la actriz que no podía asistir pone las fotos del festival?                     |
| pronoun | ¿Por qué pones tú las fotos del festival?                                                                                                                                                                              | ¿Por qué tú pones las fotos del festival?                                                |
| (3)     | La secretaria no sabía que había una sustituta temporal para el profesor de Matemáticas y pregunta sorprendida:                                                                                                        |                                                                                          |
| DP      | ¿Por qué prepara esta profesora el material para la clase de Matemáticas?                                                                                                                                              | ¿Por qué esta profesora prepara el material para la clase de Matemáticas?                |
| DP+PP   | ¿Por qué prepara la profesora de Química el material para la clase de Matemáticas?                                                                                                                                     | ¿Por qué la profesora de Química prepara el material para la clase de Matemáticas?       |
| DP+RC   | ¿Por qué prepara la profesora que es de Lengua el material para la clase de Matemáticas?                                                                                                                               | ¿Por qué la profesora que es de Lengua prepara el material para la clase de Matemáticas? |
| pronoun | ¿Por qué preparas tú el material para la clase de Matemáticas?                                                                                                                                                         | ¿Por qué tú preparas el material para la clase de Matemáticas?                           |
| (4)     | El inversor principal no sabía que el director general se había jubilado y pregunta (le) sorprendido (al gerente de finanzas):                                                                                         |                                                                                          |
| DP      | ¿Por qué dirige el gerente la compañía de Madrid?                                                                                                                                                                      | ¿Por qué el gerente dirige la compañía de Madrid?                                        |
| DP+PP   | ¿Por qué dirige el gerente de finanzas la compañía de Madrid?                                                                                                                                                          | ¿Por qué el gerente de finanzas dirige la compañía de Madrid?                            |
| DP+RC   | ¿Por qué dirige el gerente que está en finanzas la compañía de Madrid?                                                                                                                                                 | ¿Por qué el gerente que está en finanzas dirige la compañía de Madrid?                   |
| pronoun | ¿Por qué diriges tú la compañía de Madrid?                                                                                                                                                                             | ¿Por qué tú diriges la compañía de Madrid?                                               |
| (5)     | Isabel va a comprar fruta al mercado de San Miguel con su amigo Marco. Ve que el vendedor de fruta no está y que su lugar está ocupado. Extrañada le pregunta a Marco/al verdulero:                                    |                                                                                          |
| DP      | ¿Por qué vende el verdulero la fruta en el mercado de San Miguel?                                                                                                                                                      | ¿Por qué el verdulero vende la fruta en el mercado de San Miguel?                        |



|         |                                                                                                                                                                                                     |                                                                                         |
|---------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| DP+PP   | ¿Por qué vende el verdulero de Salamanca la fruta en el mercado de San Miguel?                                                                                                                      | ¿Por qué el verdulero de Salamanca vende la fruta en el mercado de San Miguel?          |
| DP+RC   | ¿Por qué vende el verdulero que es de Salamanca la fruta en el mercado de San Miguel?                                                                                                               | ¿Por qué el verdulero que es de Salamanca vende la fruta en el mercado de San Miguel?   |
| pronoun | ¿Por qué vendes tú la fruta en el mercado de San Miguel?                                                                                                                                            | ¿Por qué tú vendes la fruta en el mercado de San Miguel?                                |
| (6)     | El hotelero entra en su hotel y ve que en el puesto del recepcionista hay otra persona atendiendo el teléfono. No puede creerlo y (le) asombrado pregunta (a la camarera):                          |                                                                                         |
| DP      | ¿Por qué atiende la camarera el teléfono en la recepción?                                                                                                                                           | ¿Por qué la camarera atiende el teléfono en la recepción?                               |
| DP+PP   | ¿Por qué atiende la camarera del restaurante el teléfono en la recepción?                                                                                                                           | ¿Por qué la camarera del restaurante atiende el teléfono en la recepción?               |
| DP+RC   | ¿Por qué atiende la camarera que trabaja en el restaurante el teléfono en la recepción?                                                                                                             | ¿Por qué la camarera que trabaja en el restaurante atiende el teléfono en la recepción? |
| pronoun | ¿Por qué atiendes tú el teléfono en la recepción?                                                                                                                                                   | ¿Por qué tú atiendes el teléfono en la recepción?                                       |
| (7)     | Sara siempre tenía las mejores notas en el grado, pero no consiguió una beca para el máster. Su madre contrariada le pregunta (a la amiga de Sara):                                                 |                                                                                         |
| DP      | ¿Por qué disfruta tu amiga de una beca para el máster?                                                                                                                                              | ¿Por qué tu amiga disfruta de una beca en el máster?                                    |
| DP+PP   | ¿Por qué disfruta tu amiga de Alcalá de una beca para el máster?                                                                                                                                    | ¿Por qué tu amiga de Alcalá disfruta de una beca para el máster?                        |
| DP+RC   | ¿Por qué disfruta tu amiga que vive en Alcalá de una beca para el máster?                                                                                                                           | ¿Por qué tu amiga que vive en Alcalá disfruta de una beca para el máster?               |
| pronoun | ¿Por qué disfrutas tú de una beca para el máster?                                                                                                                                                   | ¿Por qué tú disfrutas de una beca para el máster?                                       |
| (8)     | Abdula Sahin entra con su familia en la oficina de empleo y pide un formulario. El funcionario, que no sabe que Abdula Sahin es analfabeto, (le) pregunta sorprendido (a su hijo):                  |                                                                                         |
| DP      | ¿Por qué completa su hijo el formulario en vez de usted?                                                                                                                                            | ¿Por qué su hijo completa el formulario en vez de usted?                                |
| DP+PP   | ¿Por qué completa el hijo de Abdula Sahin el formulario en vez de él?                                                                                                                               | ¿Por qué el hijo de Abdula Sahin completa el formulario en vez de él?                   |
| DP+RC   | ¿Por qué completa su hijo que trabaja aquí el formulario en vez de usted?                                                                                                                           | ¿Por qué su hijo que trabaja aquí completa el formulario en vez de usted?               |
| pronoun | ¿Por qué completas tú el formulario en vez de tu padre?                                                                                                                                             | ¿Por qué tú completas el formulario en vez de tu padre?                                 |
| (9)     | Julia y su hermanastro no se entienden bien porque cuenta muchas mentiras sobre su hermanastra. Julia no entiende por qué justamente su familia las cree y (le) pregunta desesperada (a su abuela): |                                                                                         |
| DP      | ¿Por qué cree mi abuela las mentiras de Ramiro?                                                                                                                                                     | ¿Por qué mi abuela cree las mentiras de Ramiro?                                         |
| DP+PP   | ¿Por qué cree la abuela de Ramiro sus mentiras?                                                                                                                                                     | ¿Por qué la abuela de Ramiro cree sus mentiras?                                         |
| DP+RC   | ¿Por qué cree la abuela que conoce sus juegos las mentiras?                                                                                                                                         | ¿Por qué la abuela que conoce sus juegos cree las mentiras?                             |
| pronoun | ¿Por qué crees tú las mentiras de Ramiro?                                                                                                                                                           | ¿Por qué tú crees las mentiras de Ramiro?                                               |
| (10)    | En la empresa solo el jefe come en horario laboral. Cuando el comerciante entra en su despacho le pregunta sorprendido (al secretario):                                                             |                                                                                         |
| DP      | ¿Por qué come el secretario un bocadillo en jornada laboral?                                                                                                                                        | ¿Por qué el secretario come un bocadillo en jornada laboral?                            |

|      |         |                                                                                                                                                                                              |                                                                                             |
|------|---------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|      | DP+PP   | ¿Por qué come el secretario del departamento un bocadillo en jornada laboral?                                                                                                                | ¿Por qué el secretario del departamento come un bocadillo en jornada laboral?               |
|      | DP+RC   | ¿Por qué come el secretario que trabaja en el departamento un bocadillo en jornada laboral?                                                                                                  | ¿Por qué el secretario que trabaja en el departamento come un bocadillo en jornada laboral? |
|      | pronoun | ¿Por qué comes tú un bocadillo en jornada laboral?                                                                                                                                           | ¿Por qué tú comes un bocadillo en jornada laboral?                                          |
| (11) |         | Normalmente solo una chica utiliza chuletas en los exámenes. Pero Marta ve al mejor alumno tirando una chuleta a la basura después del examen y pregunta (le) sorprendida:                   |                                                                                             |
|      | DP      | ¿Por qué utiliza el empollón una chuleta en el examen?                                                                                                                                       | ¿Por qué el empollón utiliza una chuleta en el examen?                                      |
|      | DP+PP   | ¿Por qué utiliza el empollón de la clase una chuleta en el examen?                                                                                                                           | ¿Por qué el empollón de la clase utiliza una chuleta en el examen?                          |
|      | DP+RC   | ¿Por qué utiliza el empollón que tanto critica a sus compañeros una chuleta en el examen?                                                                                                    | ¿Por qué el empollón que tanto critica a sus compañeros utiliza una chuleta en el examen?   |
|      | pronoun | ¿Por qué utilizas tú una chuleta en el examen?                                                                                                                                               | ¿Por qué tú utilizas una chuleta en el examen?                                              |
| (12) |         | Alejandro no sabía que habían cambiado al repartidor de pizza de su restaurante preferido. Cuando ve al dueño del restaurante le pregunta sorprendido:                                       |                                                                                             |
|      | DP      | ¿Por qué entrega esta chica la pizza del restaurante?                                                                                                                                        | ¿Por qué esta chica entrega la pizza del restaurante?                                       |
|      | DP+PP   | ¿Por qué entrega la chica de pelo rojo la pizza del restaurante?                                                                                                                             | ¿Por qué la chica de pelo rojo entrega la pizza del restaurante?                            |
|      | DP+RC   | ¿Por qué entrega la chica que tiene pelo rojo la pizza del restaurante?                                                                                                                      | ¿Por qué la chica que tiene pelo rojo entrega la pizza del restaurante?                     |
|      | pronoun | ¿Por qué entregas tú la pizza del restaurante?                                                                                                                                               | ¿Por qué tú entregas la pizza del restaurante?                                              |
| (13) |         | El médico residente no sabía que la anestesista había dejado de trabajar en el hospital. Por eso (le) pregunta sorprendido (al cirujano):                                                    |                                                                                             |
|      | DP      | ¿Por qué prepara el cirujano la anestesia para la operación?                                                                                                                                 | ¿Por qué el cirujano prepara la anestesia para la operación?                                |
|      | DP+PP   | ¿Por qué prepara el cirujano de digestivo la anestesia para la operación?                                                                                                                    | ¿Por qué el cirujano de digestivo prepara la anestesia para la operación?                   |
|      | DP+RC   | ¿Por qué prepara el cirujano que trabaja en digestivo la anestesia para la operación?                                                                                                        | ¿Por qué el cirujano que trabaja en digestivo prepara la anestesia para la operación?       |
|      | pronoun | ¿Por qué preparas tú la anestesia para la operación?                                                                                                                                         | ¿Por qué tú preparas la anestesia para la operación?                                        |
| (14) |         | Alberto no sabía que habían cambiado a algunos músicos de la orquesta para "La flauta mágica". Las canciones las suelen interpretar los pianistas y (le) pregunta sorprendido (al chelista): |                                                                                             |
|      | DP      | ¿Por qué toca el chelista la canción en el concierto?                                                                                                                                        | ¿Por qué el chelista toca la canción en el concierto?                                       |
|      | DP+PP   | ¿Por qué toca el chelista de otra orquesta la canción en el concierto?                                                                                                                       | ¿Por qué el chelista de otra orquesta toca la canción en el concierto?                      |
|      | DP+RC   | ¿Por qué toca el chelista que les gusta tanto a las violinistas la canción en el concierto?                                                                                                  | ¿Por qué el chelista que les gusta tanto a las violinistas toca la canción en el concierto? |
|      | pronoun | ¿Por qué tocas tú la canción en el concierto?                                                                                                                                                | ¿Por qué tú tocas la canción en el concierto?                                               |
| (15) |         | El empleado no sabía que el jefe alquila su taller a otros astilleros y (le) pregunta extrañado (al astillero desconocido):                                                                  |                                                                                             |

|      |         |                                                                                                                                                                    |                                                                                                    |
|------|---------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|      | DP      | ¿Por qué construye este hombre un velero en nuestro taller?                                                                                                        | ¿Por qué este hombre construye un velero en nuestro taller?                                        |
|      | DP+PP   | ¿Por qué construye el hombre de otra empresa su velero en nuestro taller?                                                                                          | ¿Por qué el hombre de otra empresa construye su velero en nuestro taller?                          |
|      | DP+RC   | ¿Por qué construye el hombre que no trabaja aquí su velero en nuestro taller?                                                                                      | ¿Por qué el hombre que no trabaja aquí construye su velero en nuestro taller?                      |
|      | pronoun | ¿Por qué construyes tú el velero en nuestro taller?                                                                                                                | ¿Por qué tú construyes el velero en nuestro taller?                                                |
| (16) |         | El técnico de la tienda de informática no sabía que dos empleados que normalmente asesoran a los clientes están enfermos y (le) pregunta asombrado (al proveedor): |                                                                                                    |
|      | DP      | ¿Por qué ayuda el proveedor a los clientes hoy?                                                                                                                    | ¿Por qué el proveedor ayuda a los clientes hoy?                                                    |
|      | DP+PP   | ¿Por qué ayuda el proveedor de ordenadores a los clientes hoy?                                                                                                     | ¿Por qué el proveedor de ordenadores ayuda a los clientes hoy?                                     |
|      | DP+RC   | ¿Por qué ayuda el proveedor que reparte para Sony a los clientes hoy?                                                                                              | ¿Por qué el proveedor que reparte para Sony ayuda a los clientes hoy?                              |
|      | pronoun | ¿Por qué ayudas tú a los clientes hoy?                                                                                                                             | ¿Por qué tú ayudas a los clientes hoy?                                                             |
| (17) |         | Uno de los ayudantes de investigación no sabía que habían cortado los fondos del proyecto y (le) pregunta sorprendido (al estudiante):                             |                                                                                                    |
|      | DP      | ¿Por qué hace el estudiante el experimento en el laboratorio?                                                                                                      | ¿Por qué el estudiante hace el experimento en el laboratorio?                                      |
|      | DP+PP   | ¿Por qué hace el estudiante de grado el experimento en el laboratorio?                                                                                             | ¿Por qué el estudiante de grado hace el experimento en el laboratorio?                             |
|      | DP+RC   | ¿Por qué hace el estudiante que todavía no ha terminado el grado el experimento en el laboratorio?                                                                 | ¿Por qué el estudiante que todavía no ha terminado el grado hace el experimento en el laboratorio? |
|      | pronoun | ¿Por qué haces tú el experimento en el laboratorio?                                                                                                                | ¿Por qué tú haces el experimento en el laboratorio?                                                |
| (18) |         | Carlos no sabía que el director había cambiado los papeles de los actores para la obra de teatro y (le) pregunta extrañado (a su cuñado):                          |                                                                                                    |
|      | DP      | ¿Por qué desempeña mi cuñado el papel principal en esta obra?                                                                                                      | ¿Por qué mi cuñado desempeña el papel principal en esta obra?                                      |
|      | DP+PP   | ¿Por qué desempeña el cuñado de Pedro el papel principal en esta obra?                                                                                             | ¿Por qué el cuñado de Pedro desempeña el papel principal en esta obra?                             |
|      | DP+RC   | ¿Por qué desempeña mi cuñado que empezó el año pasado el papel principal en esta obra?                                                                             | ¿Por qué mi cuñado que empezó el año pasado desempeña el papel principal en esta obra?             |
|      | pronoun | ¿Por qué desempeñas tú el papel principal en esta obra?                                                                                                            | ¿Por qué tú desempeñas el papel principal en esta obra?                                            |
| (19) |         | Antonio no sabía que La 1 de TVE había cambiado al moderador para la tertulia y (le) pregunta sorprendido (a la presentadora):                                     |                                                                                                    |
|      | DP      | ¿Por qué modera esta presentadora la tertulia de La 1?                                                                                                             | ¿Por qué esta presentadora modera la tertulia de La 1?                                             |
|      | DP+PP   | ¿Por qué modera la presentadora de deportes la tertulia de La 1?                                                                                                   | ¿Por qué la presentadora de deportes modera la tertulia de La 1?                                   |
|      | DP+RC   | ¿Por qué modera la presentadora que trabaja en deportes la tertulia de La 1?                                                                                       | ¿Por qué la presentadora que trabaja en deportes modera la tertulia de La 1?                       |
|      | pronoun | ¿Por qué moderas tú la tertulia de La 1?                                                                                                                           | ¿Por qué tú moderas la tertulia de La 1?                                                           |
| (20) |         | Carmen no sabía que alguien ya había reservado la finca San Miguel para su boda que quería reservar y (le) pregunta enfadada (a la mujer):                         |                                                                                                    |
|      | DP      | ¿Por qué quiere esta mujer la finca para su boda?                                                                                                                  | ¿Por qué esta mujer quiere la finca para su boda?                                                  |

|      |         |                                                                                                                                              |                                                                                     |
|------|---------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|      | DP+PP   | ¿Por qué quiere la mujer de Mario la finca para su boda?                                                                                     | ¿Por qué la mujer de Mario quiere la finca para su boda?                            |
|      | DP+RC   | ¿Por qué quiere esta mujer que odio tanto la finca para su boda?                                                                             | ¿Por qué esta mujer que odio tanto quiere la finca para su boda?                    |
|      | pronoun | ¿Por qué quieres tú la finca para tu boda?                                                                                                   | ¿Por qué tú quieres la finca para tu boda?                                          |
| (21) |         | Ana pensaba que en su pueblo nadie votaba a Podemos en las elecciones generales. Por eso pregunta (le) asombrada (a su vecino):              | votaba a Podemos en las elecciones                                                  |
|      | DP      | ¿Por qué vota nuestro vecino a Podemos en las urnas?                                                                                         | ¿Por qué nuestro vecino vota a Podemos en las urnas?                                |
|      | DP+PP   | ¿Por qué vota el vecino de Fernando a Podemos en las urnas?                                                                                  | ¿Por qué el vecino de Fernando vota a Podemos en las urnas?                         |
|      | DP+RC   | ¿Por qué vota el vecino que vive enfrente a Podemos en las urnas?                                                                            | ¿Por qué el vecino que vive enfrente vota a Podemos en las urnas?                   |
|      | pronoun | ¿Por qué votas tú a Podemos en las urnas?                                                                                                    | ¿Por qué tú votas a Podemos en las urnas?                                           |
| (22) |         | Lucía no sabía que su abuela ya no podía andar ni hacer la compra y (le) pregunta preocupada (a su tía):                                     | andar ni hacer la compra y (le) pregunta                                            |
|      | DP      | ¿Por qué compra la tía las pastillas para la abuela?                                                                                         | ¿Por qué la tía compra las pastillas para la abuela?                                |
|      | DP+PP   | ¿Por qué compra la tía de Silvia las pastillas para la abuela?                                                                               | ¿Por qué la tía de Silvia compra las pastillas para la abuela?                      |
|      | DP+RC   | ¿Por qué compra la tía que vive tan lejos las pastillas para la abuela?                                                                      | ¿Por qué la tía que vive tan lejos compra las pastillas para la abuela?             |
|      | pronoun | ¿Por qué compras tú las pastillas para la abuela?                                                                                            | ¿Por qué tú compras las pastillas para la abuela?                                   |
| (23) |         | Pablo no sabía que a Amaia no le había gustado el collar que le había regalado en Navidad y (le) pregunta dolido (a su amiga):               | gustado el collar que le había regalado en                                          |
|      | DP      | ¿Por qué lleva tu amiga el collar que te regalé?                                                                                             | ¿Por qué tu amiga lleva el collar que te regalé?                                    |
|      | DP+PP   | ¿Por qué lleva tu amiga de Ciudad Real el collar que te regalé?                                                                              | ¿Por qué tu amiga de Ciudad Real lleva el collar que te regalé?                     |
|      | DP+RC   | ¿Por qué lleva la amiga que está sentanda a tu lado el collar que te regalé?                                                                 | ¿Por qué la amiga que está sentanda a tu lado lleva el collar que te regalé?        |
|      | pronoun | ¿Por qué llevas tú el collar que le regalé a Amaia?                                                                                          | ¿Por qué tú llevas el collar que le regalé a Amaia?                                 |
| (24) |         | El diseñador no sabía que Laura Ponte se había puesto enferma y no podía participar en el desfile y (le) pregunta extrañado (a otro modelo): | se había puesto enferma y no podía                                                  |
|      | DP      | ¿Por qué presenta esta modelo el vestido de noche en el desfile?                                                                             | ¿Por qué esta modelo presenta el vestido de noche en el desfile?                    |
|      | DP+PP   | ¿Por qué presenta la modelo de pelo rubio el vestido de noche en el desfile?                                                                 | ¿Por qué la modelo de pelo rubio presenta el vestido de noche en el desfile?        |
|      | DP+RC   | ¿Por qué presenta la modelo que tiene pelo rubio el vestido de noche en el desfile?                                                          | ¿Por qué la modelo que tiene pelo rubio presenta el vestido de noche en el desfile? |
|      | pronoun | ¿Por qué presentas tú el vestido de noche en el desfile?                                                                                     | ¿Por qué tú presentas el vestido de noche en el desfile?                            |

## Internal arguments of psychological verbs and their interpretations

Daria Seres & M.Teresa Espinal

daria.seres@uab.cat  
teresa.espinal@uab.cat

### 1. Introduction \*

#### 1.1 Presenting the puzzle

This paper is concerned with the analysis of the form and meaning of internal arguments of psychological subject experiencer verbs (SEVs) in Romance<sup>30</sup> and English (languages with articles) and Russian (a language without articles). In this work, we intend to re-examine a puzzle which concerns the obligatory interpretation of nominals in direct object position of SEVs as either specific ((1) and (2)) or generic (3), while a non-specific interpretation is excluded (see Lawler 1973, Declerck 1987, Laca 1990, Krifka et al. 1995).

#### (1) indefinite specific

- |     |                                   |         |
|-----|-----------------------------------|---------|
| (a) | <i>Adoro uns / alguns pandas.</i> | Catalan |
|     | adore.1SG some pandas             |         |
| (b) | <i>I adore somepandas.</i>        | English |
| (c) | <i>Ja obožaju nekotoryx pand.</i> | Russian |
|     | I adore some pandas.ACC           |         |

#### (2) definite specific

- |     |                                                   |
|-----|---------------------------------------------------|
| (a) | <i>Adoro els pandas (d'aquest parc natural).</i>  |
|     | adore.1SG the pandas of.this park natural         |
| (b) | <i>I adore the pandas (in this natural park).</i> |
| (c) | <i>Ja obožaju pand (v ètom zapovednike).</i>      |
|     | I adore pandas.ACC in this natural.park           |

#### (3) generic

- |     |                          |
|-----|--------------------------|
| (a) | <i>Adoro els pandas.</i> |
|     | adore.1SG the pandas     |
| (b) | <i>I adore pandas.</i>   |
| (c) | <i>Ja obožaju pand.</i>  |
|     | I adore pandas.ACC       |

It is important to note that SEVs constitute a semantic class of predicates which are the only ones that allow for the generic interpretation of their objects. However, there is

---

\* This study has been supported by the Spanish MINECO (FFI2017-82547-P) and the Generalitat de Catalunya (2017SGR634). We also acknowledge an ICREA Academia fellowship awarded to the second author. We thank the participants at the Nereus workshop at the University of Wuppertal (November 2018) for helpful comments. See Seres and Espinal (2018) for discussion of the initial idea that psychological subject experiencer verbs only allow object arguments that refer to particular atomic individuals with a specific reading, or to sums of individuals with either a generic or a specific reading.

<sup>30</sup> Most of the Romance examples presented below are from Catalan. However, the phenomena discussed in this paper are also valid at least for Spanish.

variation in the form that such objects take in different languages: they are definite plurals in Catalan (3a) but bare plurals in English (3b) and Russian (3c).<sup>31</sup>

Crucially, although in Romance bare plurals with an existential reading are generally allowed in object position of transitive verbs (4a), they are excluded from being complements of SEVs (4b).

- (4) (a) *Veig pandas.*  
 see.1SG pandas  
 ‘I see pandas.’  
 (b) \**Adoro pandas.*  
 adore.1SG pandas

In English bare plural nominals in object position of non-SEVs may be interpreted existentially, but not generically (5); and in Russian bare nominals in this position get either a definite or an existential interpretation (6).

- (5) *I see pandas.*  
 (6) *Ja vižu pand.*  
 I see pandas.ACC  
 ‘I see the pandas/pandas.’

Moreover, it should be emphasized that the generic interpretation of objects of SEVs can only be expressed by means of plural nominals (3), while morphophonologically definite singular nominals (in Catalan (7a) and English (7b)) as well as bare singular nominals (in Russian (7c)) that could potentially have a kind reading cannot receive it in this position.

- (7) (a) *Adoro el panda.*  
 adore.1SG the panda  
 (b) *I adore the panda.*  
 (c) *Ja obožaju pandu.*  
 I adore panda.ACC  
 ‘I adore the panda (DEFINITE SPECIFIC).’ IT CANNOT MEAN: ‘I adore the panda, as a kind.’

## 1.2 The structure of the paper

In order to account for these observations, we offer a brief overview of the previous accounts which concern the interpretation of objects of SEVs. We review the concepts behind specificity and genericity – the two possible readings of objects of SEVs. In so doing, we look at the status of SEVs, as a class of verbs, aiming to answer the two main questions regarding the puzzle presented in the first section. First, what is the nature of the restrictions on the interpretation of the internal arguments of SEVs? And, second, what are the limits that divide the specific and generic interpretations? In order to answer these questions, we will assume that constraints on the meaning of the internal arguments of SEVs may come from either the type of verb, the information structure of the sentence, the relevance of particular pragmatic factors or the interplay of two or

<sup>31</sup> See Fábregas & Marín (2015: 183) for a similar observation: “the theme argument of [SEVs] gets assigned a generic reading, which in English is manifested with a bare nominal and in Spanish forces the compulsory use of the definite article”.

more of these factors.

Our answer is that it is the type of the verb that triggers the interpretations object arguments may have, although in some cases there is some sort of interplay with the context (e.g., the absence/presence of anaphoricity). Being psychological predicates, SEVs express a sort of relation between the two arguments that presupposes their existence. However, in addition, we will show that the two arguments must be specific and identifiable (at least to the speaker). The generic interpretation, which is conceived as a reference to a maximal sum of instances of a kind (hence entailing inclusiveness), is triggered by the absence of a spatiotemporal localization, which has been described in the literature as a characteristic of SEVs (Kratzer 1995, Glasbey 2006). We point out that non-agentivity as a characteristic of SEVs may also play a role.

### 1.3 Previous accounts

SEVs constitute a separate group of predicates cross-linguistically, even though the full set of verbs belonging to this group may differ from language to language. English SEVs include *love*, *like*, *hate*, *detest*, *adore*, *admire*, *worship*, *despise* and *scorn*, while for Catalan the set would include, among other verbs, *estimar* ‘love’,<sup>32</sup> *odiar* ‘hate’, *detestar* ‘detest’, *adorar* ‘adore’, *admirar* ‘admire’ and *menysprear* ‘despise’. Some of the predicates that belong to this group in Russian are *ljubit* ‘love’, *nenavidet* ‘hate’, *uvlekat’sja* ‘be keen on’, *ispytyvat’ otvraščenje* ‘have aversion for’, etc.

The restrictions on the interpretation of English bare plural nominals in object position of SEVs were first studied in Kanouse (1972), Lawler (1973) and Declerck (1987). The same phenomenon, albeit with regard to definite nominals in Spanish (as a Romance language), was revisited by Laca (1990). To our knowledge, there is no consistent study devoted to the interpretation of internal arguments of SEVs in Russian.

The idea that it is the lexical content of the verb that is responsible for the above-mentioned restrictions (i.e., the exclusion of the non-specific reading) on the interpretation of objects was first proposed in Lawler (1973). Such verbs strongly suggest a *toto*-generic reading of the object NP.<sup>33</sup> See also Kanouse (1972) for the idea that the interpretation differences of the object are related to the lexical content of the verb.

Declerck (1987) claims that the interpretation of the object, regardless of the verb, depends on whether the relevant set is restricted or not. It may also depend on the context in some cases.

With reference to Spanish, Laca (1990) suggests that the saliency of a generic reading (which she calls “inclusive”) and the exclusion of an existential reading (“non-inclusive”) for the direct object is explained by the interplay of semantic and pragmatic factors. First of all, a crucial factor is the absence of any sort of spatiotemporal anchoring, which is characteristic of such generics. Second, it is the lexical content of the verb itself: because they are non-agentive, psychological verbs, unlike other types of verbs cannot select a part of the set of individual instances; the eventuality, expressed by the verb, is applied to all instances as a whole (i.e., the inclusive/generic set). Third, another important factor that Laca (1990) identifies is the information structure of the

<sup>32</sup> For the meaning of ‘love/like’ Catalan also uses the dative-experiencer verb *agradar*, whose target-of-emotion (the syntactic subject) also needs to be expressed by a definite nominal, with either a generic or a specific reference. However, dative-experiencer verbs, which are found cross-linguistically, are outside the scope of this work.

<sup>33</sup> This term was coined by Christophersen (1939: 33-35), as opposed to the *parti*-generic reading of NP objects of non-SEVs in (i).

(i) a. *I drink coffee.*  
b. *I eat cherries.*

sentence. Only non-focal objects, according to her theory, are interpreted as “inclusive” (i.e., generic).

The importance of the topic/focus distinction for the interpretation of English bare plurals was further pointed out in Krifka et al. (1995) and Cohen and Erteschik-Shir (2002), among other authors. According to these researchers, topical bare plurals are interpreted generically, while focused bare plurals are interpreted existentially. Notice, however, that these studies are applied to nominals in subject position, but cannot account for the above-mentioned restrictions on the interpretation of the objects of SEVs, which – even if they are focused – must be associated with a generic interpretation.

## 2. Possible readings of objects of SEVs

As pointed out in the introduction, objects of SEVs must be either specific or generic (see examples (1)-(3)). In this section, we look at these two possible readings in detail, showing that they share two characteristics: the presupposition of existence of the referent and the identifiability of the referent. Under both the specific and generic interpretations, the referent does not have to be anaphoric or previously mentioned in the discourse. Nevertheless, it must be stressed that the referent is never novel and it can always be established from the background knowledge of the speaker.

### 2.1 Specificity (overview)

In this section we deal with the specific interpretation of nominals in object position of SEVs (the generic reading is discussed in Section 2.3).

Specificity can be understood as a referential property of nominal expressions that cuts across the distinction between definite and indefinite. While definiteness is associated with uniqueness (Frege 1879, Strawson 1950, and others) and familiarity (Christophersen 1939, Heim 1982, and others), specificity is associated with the accessibility of the referent (von Heusinger 2002). It basically characterises the presence or absence of reference to a specific individual fitting the description contained in the NP.

Definite nominals, including proper names, are considered to have a specific reference, with the exception of weak definites, which do not have one.<sup>34</sup> Indefinites, however, can be either specific or non-specific. This specificity contrast, characteristic of indefinites, can be described in terms of a commitment to the existence of the referent of the nominal expression. In a specific reading, the individual referred to by the NP must exist – though it may belong to a set of potential referents – while in the non-specific reading there need not be any such entity. This semantic contrast is also reflected in scopal interactions within a sentence. Specific NPs generally have a wider scope than the other scopal expression in the sentence (Fodor & Sag 1982, Enç 1991, and others). This is illustrated in (8).

(8) *Mary didn't find a serious error in the paper.*

(a) specific (wide scope)

Interpretation: There was a serious error in the paper and Mary failed to find it.

---

<sup>34</sup> Weak definites, which are outside the scope of this work, are called “weak” because, unlike regular definites, there is no requirement for the definite NP to have a unique, specific referent. For more on weak definites also see Carlson et al. (2005), Schwarz (2009), Espinal & Cyrino (2017a, 2017b), and others.



- (b) non-specific (narrow scope)

Interpretation: Mary didn't find any serious errors. Perhaps there weren't any.

Specificity may also be understood in terms of pragmatics as identifiability via discourse-linking (von Heusinger 2002). Thus, specific indefinites are close to definites, sharing with them the identifiability of the referent and the speaker's presupposition of uniqueness. However, unlike definites, specific indefinites are not part of the common ground with the hearer (Borik 2016, Dayal 2017). To say it in a simpler way, a specific nominal is known to the speaker, but not to the listener, while a non-specific nominal is unknown to both the participants in an act of communication.

Another difference between specific indefinites and definites is that the former are generally non-anaphoric. That is, there is no requirement for them to refer to a previously mentioned or introduced discourse referent (Borik 2016).

It should be noted that some languages may have lexical means to encode (non)-specificity. Russian, for instance, which does not express definiteness as a grammatical category in a strict sense, uses lexical means to express specificity (Yanovich 2005, Geist 2008, Ionin 2013, Borik 2016). Thus, the so-called "indefinite pronouns" (Russian Grammar-80) *odin* ('one') and *kakoj-to* ('some') mark specificity (9a), while *kakoj-nibud'* ('some') conveys non-specificity (9b). Examples from Borik (2016: 14).

- (9) (a) *Maša xočet vyjti замуž za kakogo-to/odnogo izvestnogo bankira.*  
 Maša wants go.out married for some one famous  
 banker  
 'Masha wants to marry a/some/one famous banker.' (there is a specific banker)
- (b) *Maša xočet vyjti замуž za kakogo-nibud' izvestnogo bankira.*  
 Maša wants go.out married for some famous banker  
 'Masha wants to marry a/any famous banker.' (there is no specific banker)

However, it should be noted that such specificity markers are not obligatory in Russian and bare nominals are therefore underspecified for specificity (Borik 2016). In such cases, the reference is established contextually.<sup>35</sup>

In this subsection we have reviewed the most important concepts behind specificity as a type of reading that nominals may have cross-linguistically, regardless of the presence or absence of means for its overt encoding in a given language. The most important characteristics of specificity are the presupposition of existence (a semantic feature) and the identifiability (a pragmatic feature) of the referent of the NP.

## 2.2 Specific objects of SEVs

As we observed in the introduction, objects of SEVs may be interpreted specifically. In this subsection we look at the cross-linguistic distribution of nominals with a specific interpretation in object position of SEVs.

The three languages under study all allow for proper names (which can be treated as definite descriptions; Lyons 1999) to appear in internal argument position of SEVs (10).

<sup>35</sup> Note that in English the interpretation of an indefinite may be disambiguated in favor of a specific reading by means of the adjective *certain*.

(i) *Mary wants to marry a certain banker.*

- (10) (a) *Estimo en Fuji.*<sup>36</sup>  
 love.1SG the Fuji  
 (b) *I love Fuji.*  
 (c) *Ja ljublju Fuji.*  
 I love Fuji

The two languages with articles allow for singular (11a,b) or plural (12a,b) nominals with overt definite marking. Russian, as a language without articles, allows for both singular (11c) and plural (12c) bare nominals with a definite interpretation.

- (11) (a) *Aquest home viu amb el seu millor amic Fuji<sub>i</sub>*  
 this man lives with the his best friend Fuji<sub>i</sub>  
*i, de fet, estima el gos<sub>i</sub> / l<sub>i</sub>'estima.*  
 and in fact loves.3SG the dog CL.loves.3SG  
 (b) *This man lives with his best friend Fuji<sub>i</sub> and, in fact, he loves **the dog**<sub>i</sub> / he loves it<sub>i</sub>.*  
 (c) *Ètot čelovek živět so svoimlučšim drugom Fuji<sub>i</sub>,*  
 this man lives with his best friend Fuji<sub>i</sub>  
*i on, dejstvitel'no, ljubit sobaku<sub>i</sub> / ljubit ego<sub>i</sub>.*  
 and he in.fact loves dog.ACC loves him.ACC
- (12) (a) *Aquest home viu amb [en Fuji i en Milou]<sub>i</sub>*  
 this man lives with the Fuji and the Milou  
*i, de fet, estima els gossos<sub>i</sub> / els<sub>i</sub> estima.*  
 and in fact loves.3SG the dogs CL loves.3SG  
 (b) *This man lives with [Fuji and Milou]<sub>i</sub>, and, in fact, he loves **the dogs**<sub>i</sub> / he loves them<sub>i</sub>.*  
 (c) *Ètot čelovek živět s [Fuji i Milou]<sub>i</sub>,*  
 this man lives with Fuji and Milou  
*i on, dejstvitel'no, ljubit sobak<sub>i</sub> / ljubit ix<sub>i</sub>.*  
 and he in.fact loves dogs.ACC loves them.ACC

As for nominals with an indefinite interpretation, only specific ones are allowed in the object position of SEVs (13a), while non-specific indefinites are excluded from this position (13b).

- (13) (a) *I love a dog; it's my neighbor's dog Fuji.*  
 (b) *#I love a dog, but no particular one.*

Because it uses lexical means to mark specificity (see above), Russian provides a relevant contrast for this restriction.

- (14) (a) *Ja ljublju odnu sobaku.*  
 I love one dog.ACC  
 (b) *#Ja ljublju kakuju-nibud' sobaku.*  
 I love some dog.ACC

<sup>36</sup> Fuji is the name of a dog here. Note that in Catalan proper names for people and animals are generally preceded by a personal definite article.

The exclusion of non-specific indefinites from this position is due to the requirements that SEVs apply to their arguments (to be discussed in detail in Section 3): the existence of the object is presupposed, and it must be identifiable at least to the speaker.<sup>37</sup> The internal argument position of SEVs is not particularly suited for novel referents.

### 2.3 Genericity (overview)

Another salient reading that some objects of SEVs may have is the generic one. Before analyzing how it is achieved, it is important to clarify what this reading is about.

Genericity in natural language is understood as the expression of reference to kinds (Krifka et al. 1995 and others), which may be conceived as abstract sortal concepts (Mueller-Reichau 2011). Kind reference is contrasted with reference to objects in such a way that kinds and individual objects are two types of entities of the semantic ontology proposed by Carlson (1977). Kinds are mental, or abstract, by nature and, unlike objects, do not exist in space or time (Mueller-Reichau 2011, following Carlson 1977). However, they can be assumed to exist in the mental catalogues of conceptual information of the speaker (Mueller-Reichau 2011: 153). Thus, existence in space and time (i.e., spatiotemporal localization) is what distinguishes objects (individual entities) from kinds. Every object is a realisation (instance) of a kind, but not every kind has object instances in the real world (e.g., *Round triangles do not exist*). According to Krifka (1995: 402), kinds are abstract entities that are well-established (i.e., they exist) in the background knowledge of the participants in communication. In this sense they introduce a presupposition of existence and they are identifiable (this is how they are similar to specific nominals, as described in the previous subsection).

Mari et al. (2012: 26) propose two types of relationship between a kind and its instances. A kind may be accessed either directly, without mentioning its instances, or indirectly, by referring to the maximal sum of its instances.

Following Borik & Espinal (2015), we assume that the direct reference to kinds is carried out by means of “definite kinds”,<sup>38</sup> which are names of kinds, as exemplified by “the panda” in (15).

(15) *The panda is on the verge of extinction.*

As for the indirect reference to kinds, it is accomplished by means of plural nominals, that is, the reference is achieved through a reference to the maximal sum of individuals that are representatives of this kind (Borik & Espinal 2015). This is what we understand by “generic reading” in this work. This sum is interpreted as maximal in that the reference is to all (relevant/possible) representatives of the kind. Furthermore, this sum may become intensionalised under certain circumstances (in the case of objects of SEVs, the predicate triggers this shift in meaning), and the set of individuals is interpreted as referring to the maximal realization of a kind.

Generic reference as a reference to a maximal sum of individuals has been understood in terms of totality/universality/inclusiveness (Laca 1990 and others), in the sense that it includes all the members of the kind in the present actual world, but also those living in the past or in the future, and even those existing in imaginary or

<sup>37</sup> Identifiability may be subsumed under the notion of familiarity. See Lyons (1999) for details.

<sup>38</sup> In the literature such expressions have also been referred to as “definite generics” (Carlson 1977) or “singular generics” (Chierchia 1998). Borik & Espinal’s (2015) term, however, is perhaps better suited to denote this phenomenon given that, on the one hand, such NPs are devoid of either semantic or syntactic number, so calling them “singular” is misleading, and, on the other, it is important to be able to distinguish semantically between definite kinds and definite generic plurals.

counterfactual worlds. The interpretation of a sentence containing a generic NP is not pragmatically or contextually restricted to a bounded domain (Carlson 1977, Leslie 2007, Teichman 2015). The unbounded character<sup>39</sup> of generic NPs depends on interpretative rules requiring that the information conveyed by an utterance be maximized (see the maximal-set principle and the inclusiveness principle, Declerck 1991: 83-84).

Declerck (1991: 80) claims that a generic set is the maximal set of entities satisfying a particular description.<sup>40</sup> The generic set of dogs, for example, is the set of all entities that satisfy the description *dog* in any possible world.<sup>41</sup> He proposes the maximal-set principle, which “stipulates that when the speaker uses a description referring to a set, the hearer has the right to assume that the intended set is the largest possible set of entities satisfying the description and the NP-inherent and contextual restrictions” (Declerck 1991: 83).<sup>42</sup> Thus, consider examples (16) and (17) below.<sup>43</sup>

(16) *Dogs bark.* = All (relevant/possible/normal) dogs bark.

(17) *Dogs are barking.* ≠ All dogs are barking.

In (16) the reference of the NP is restricted neither by the form of the NP itself, nor by the context, nor by pragmatic factors. Hence, the hearer will conclude that the reference here is to the largest set of entities satisfying the description of *dogs*, that is, the generic set.<sup>44</sup> However, in (17) the reference of the NP is restricted by the temporal anchoring (the progressive aspect and the present tense of the verb) and the bare plural is therefore interpreted existentially.<sup>45</sup>

It should be noted that maximality in generics may be encoded either syntactically by means of the plural definite article,<sup>46</sup> as happens in Romance languages, or pragmatically (i.e., the reference set is maximised at the time of utterance interpretation) as is the case in languages with generics expressed by bare nominals such as English and Russian.<sup>47</sup>

## 2.4 Generic objects of SEVs

It is very important to note that only plural objects of SEVs –bare in English and Russian and overtly definite in Romance– can be interpreted generically (as shown in (18b, 19b, 20b)). This cross-linguistic variation mirrors the subject position where only

<sup>39</sup> According to Declerck (1986:182), in order for a generic meaning to arise, the domain must be unbounded.

<sup>40</sup> The maximal-set principle requires that the maximal set of entities is referred to. The maximal-set principle always functions within the relevant-members restriction, which explains the tolerance for exceptions in generic sentences.

<sup>41</sup> The inclusiveness principle requires application of predication on a set X to all members of X.

<sup>42</sup> This principle follows from Grice’s (1975: 45) maxim of quantity: if something is predicated of a subset, the speaker is assumed to choose an NP that refers directly to that subset rather than an NP that refers to a superset.

<sup>43</sup> Lawler (1973) claimed that *Harry hates toads* is normally interpreted as *Harry hates all toads*. If the speaker wanted to use the non-inclusive interpretation, they would use *some toads*.

<sup>44</sup> See Chierchia (1998:349), who analyzed English bare nominals as a totality of instances of a kind.

<sup>45</sup> Note that, being statives, SEVs generally disallow spatiotemporal anchoring (to be discussed in Section 3.1), thus triggering the non-restricted, i.e., inclusive, interpretation of the object.

<sup>46</sup> See Sharvy (1980) and Link (1983) for definiteness as maximality.

<sup>47</sup> Note also that some languages (e.g., German) may have both bare and definite plurals with a generic reading in free variation (Schaden 2012).

such types of nominals can be interpreted generically (18a, 19a, 20a),<sup>48</sup> which suggests that, regardless of their syntactic function, they represent the same ontological object.

- (18) (a) *Els gossos borden.*  
           the dogs bark  
       (b) *Odio els gossos.*  
           hate.1SG the dogs
- (19) (a) *Dogs bark.*  
       (b) *I hate dogs.*
- (20) (a) *Sobaki lajut.*  
           dogs bark  
       (b) *Ja nenavižu sobak.*  
           I hate dogs.ACC

How do we know that the direct object of SEVs has a generic reading, in other words, that it refers to a kind (even if indirectly)?

One of the tests to distinguish between kind-referring and object-referring NPs proposed in the literature (see Lawler 1973, Laca 1990, Krifka et al. 1995) is upward-entailing contexts.<sup>49</sup> According to this test, object-referring NPs can be replaced by “less informative” NPs without rendering the sentence false, while this is not possible for generically interpreted NPs. This test is valid for nominals in subject position, which have been studied in much greater detail in the literature, but also for nominals in object position, on which we focus in this article. Example (21) is from Krifka et al. (1995: 13, 30).

- (21) (a) *Berber lions escaped from the zoo.* ⇒ Lions escaped from the zoo.  
           [existential]  
       (b) *Berber lions are extinct.*           ⇒ Lions are extinct.  
           [generic]
- (22) (a) *I see Berber lions.* ⇒ I see lions.  
           [existential]  
       (b) *I love Berber lions.* ⇒ I love lions.  
           [generic]

Another test to distinguish between the generic and existential readings of bare plurals in Krifka et al. (1995: 71-72) is passivisation. Sentences with generically interpreted nominals can be put into the passive (23a) without this changing their truth conditions, while sentences with an existential reading cannot (23b), as they do not imply the totality of reference.

- (23) (a) *John hates cigarettes.* ⇒ Cigarettes are hated by John.  
           INTENDED MEANING: All (kinds of) cigarettes are hated by John.

<sup>48</sup> The conditions under which plural subjects get a generic reading involve the type of predicate (kind-level or individual-level), the type of sentence (characterizing), and information structure (topicality). A detailed discussion of these conditions is outside the scope of this work.

<sup>49</sup> Note that this test only works in non-characterizing sentences.

- (b) *Mary smokes cigarettes.*  $\nRightarrow$  Cigarettes are smoked by Mary.  
IT CANNOT MEAN: All (kinds of) cigarettes are smoked by Mary.

Krifka et al. (1995: 73) claim that the default interpretation of a bare plural NP in English is the indefinite one,<sup>50</sup> and the definite interpretation (which can be understood as maximal) is coerced by additional means, for instance, the argument position of certain verbs.

Laca (1990: 37) suggests that a reliable test for the inclusive/non-inclusive reading is an alternation of bare/definite NPs in object position in Spanish. The same alternation is found in Catalan and French, the latter being a language where an alternation between a definite and an indefinite article is required.

(24) Spanish

- (a) *Detesto las cerezas.* generic/specific  
hate.1SG the cherries  
'I hate cherries / I hate the cherries [that we are talking about].'
- (b) *Como cerezas.* existential  
eat.1SG cherries.  
'I eat cherries.'

The contrast, described in Laca (1990: 27, 6b, 6d), explicitly shows that definite plurals in Romance get the generic (inclusive) interpretation, while bare plurals get the existential (non-inclusive) one. Such an analysis is in line with the hypothesis that postulates that the interpretation of definite plurals in Romance corresponds to a maximal sum of individuals (Borik & Espinal 2015), while bare plurals are construed as referring merely to a plurality of individual entities. Furthermore, the example in (25) shows that the definite plural in object position of *detestar* 'hate' can sometimes be interpreted specifically (i.e., as referring to a maximal sum of individuals available to the speaker in a particular context). This set is contextually restricted, making it impossible for the definite nominal to be interpreted as referring to a generic (unrestricted) set.

(25) Spanish

- Detesto las cerezas que se venden aquí.* specific  
hate.1SG the cherries that CL sell.3PL here  
'I hate the cherries that are sold here.'

In French, bare plurals are generally excluded from argument positions, so the contrast between the two readings is manifested with the help of different types of determiners: the definite article for the generic/specific interpretation of the plural nominal, and the indefinite (so-called partitive) determiner for the existential (non-inclusive) reading.

(26) French

- (a) *Je déteste les cerises.* generic/specific  
I hate the cherries.  
'I hate cherries/I hate the cherries [that we are talking about].'

<sup>50</sup> See also Heim's (2011) hypothesis about the default indefinite interpretation of bare nominals in articleless languages.

- (b) *Je mange des cerises.* existential  
 I eat PART cherries  
 'I eat cherries.'

In this section we have seen that SEVs only allow objects with a specific or a generic interpretation, while non-specific NPs are excluded from this position. We have shown that the specific and generic readings have certain affinity between them: they both presuppose the existence of the referent and they both imply that the referent is not novel. Even though objects of SEVs need not have been openly mentioned in the preceding discourse, they are present in the background knowledge of the speaker and are thus pragmatically identifiable.

The relevant question that remains to be discussed is what makes SEVs select for objects with such interpretations. In order to answer this question, we look at some of the characteristics of SEVs as a type of verb.

### 3. SEVs as a type of verb

As was mentioned in the introduction, although psychological subject-experiencer verbs are found cross-linguistically, there are no strict criteria that define what they are. In this section we focus on the characteristics of these verbs that may give a clue to the factors that influence the interpretation of their internal arguments.

The most important characteristics of SEVs mentioned in the literature are discussed in the following subsections.

#### 3.1 SEVs as psychological verbs

First of all, SEVs are transitive predicates, which means that they introduce a relation between two arguments. The two arguments are related by means of a mental state, expressed by the predicate, which is why these predicates are also called “psychological” (Fábregas & Marín 2015, Seres & Espinal 2018). Thus, the existence of two individual entities is presupposed (see also Cohen & Erteschik-Shir 2002). As Laca (1990:39) puts it, if an individual reports having an emotional relationship with something, loving or hating it, for example, then that individual is at the very least prepared to accept the existence of that thing.

The external argument is the Experiencer,<sup>51</sup> which must be animate and also sentient and conscious of the mental state (Dowty 1989, Fábregas & Marín 2015: 258). Taking into account the nature of the relationship between the two arguments of SEVs, it would be logical to suggest that the Experiencer can only be an individual that is capable of experiencing different psychological states.

The internal argument, conceived as the Target/Subject-Matter-of-Emotion (Pesetsky 1995), is an individual that can be either animate or inanimate. Being the target of emotion (i.e., something which evokes an emotion), it cannot have abstract reference. Moreover, it must be familiar to the other participant in the psychological relationship (i.e., the Experiencer). That is why non-specific nominals are blocked in this position. As far as generics are concerned, only plural generic nominals that refer to kinds indirectly, denoting a sum of individuals, can be found in this position, but not definite kinds, as they refer to abstract concepts.

SEVs are non-agentive (Laca 1990: 40), in the sense that their subject (the Experiencer) does not control the state designated by the verb. This explains why they

<sup>51</sup> This external argument can be nominative, but it can be also dative. However, we are not going to deal with dative experiencers in this paper (cf. Class I and Class III in Belletti & Rizzi 1988).

cannot combine with adverbs such as *carefully*, *premeditatedly*, *conscientiously* or *accidentally*.

(27) #*John carefully loves dogs*.

According to Laca (1990:42), non-agentivity precludes any selection among individual instances, which can be taken as the feature that promotes the inclusive (i.e., generic) reading of plural objects of SEVs. The emotion expressed by the verb cannot be targeted at a part of the set of individual entities; it must target the whole.

It should also be noted that some verbs included in the semantic class of SEVs (e.g., *frighten*, *scare*, *disturb*, *upset*) may have two readings: one agentive, the other non-agentive, as illustrated in (28) (example from Laca 1990: 41, 46a,b).

(28) (a) *John frightens children (by putting on an Australian mask)*.

(b) *John frightens children (because of the scar on his face)*.

In (28a) the action is deliberate, hence agentive, and the interpretation of the object is existential, while in (28b) the verb has a non-agentive reading and the object is interpreted generically.

Moreover, it is important to point out that SEVs, being psychological predicates, belong to the class of *stative* verbs. They denote pure and homogeneous states because they do not introduce any (left or right) aspectual boundary (Fábregas & Marín 2015:208). Thus, they simply express a state without boundaries. They exhibit the following incompatibilities, which are all characteristic of stative verbs (see Kratzer 1995, Fábregas & Marín 2015, Silvagni 2017, Seres & Espinal 2018 for examples): they are incompatible with the progressive periphrasis in Romance or English, incompatible with adverb modifiers that apply to the dynamic part of an event (e.g., ‘slowly’, ‘gradually’), incompatible with temporal modifiers whose general goal is to highlight the starting point of an eventuality (e.g., ‘as soon as’), incompatible with temporal quantification (e.g., ‘whenever’), and incompatible with locative modifiers. As for Russian, an important characteristic of SEVs as stative verbs is their inability to shift between individual-level and stage-level, unlike non-stative verbs.

However, none of these properties can account for the restrictions on the interpretation of objects of SEVs as opposed to other statives (but not SEVs). Consider examples (29) and (30) from Cohen and Erteschik-Shir (2002: 156, (99 a,b)).

(29) *John hates lawyers*. generic

(30) *John knows lawyers*. existential

The important observation here is that the object position of SEVs is not particularly well-suited to introduce new discourse referents whose existence is asserted in a sentence. The lack of an existential reading in objects of SEVs is explained by Cohen and Erteschik-Shir (2002) with the claim that these verbs are presuppositional. The notion of presupposition is used in relation to the intuition that *hating x* presupposes *knowing x*. Cohen and Erteschik-Shir (2002), following Laca (1990), who suggests that generically interpreted bare plurals in English are topics, claim that the object of *hate* in (29) is topic-like in the sense that it is presupposed, and it is familiar or identifiable, at least conceptually. This presupposition blocks the type shifting required for the assignment of an existential reading to *lawyers* in (30). The intuition behind this



hypothesis is that one needs to have an idea of what something is in order to have any kind of emotional attitude towards it. Thus, familiarity/identifiability is understood in a broad sense. In the case of generically interpreted plurals, the referent forms part of the conceptual knowledge of the speaker.<sup>52</sup> In the case of specific nominals, they are familiar to the speaker (but not necessarily the listener). In both the cases, they do not have to be anaphoric.

The obligatory requirement for generic objects to be topics seems to be empirically incorrect, as internal arguments of SEVs may be focused and still get interpreted generically, as illustrated in the question and answer in (31).

- (31) A: *What does John hate?*  
 B: *John hates [dogs]<sub>F</sub>*

Following Cohen and Erteschik-Shir's (2002) idea that objects of SEVs are presupposed, we suggest that the presupposition of existence arises not due to the information structure of the sentence but rather due to the lexical characteristics of SEVs as a semantic class of verbs. They express a psychological relation between two individual entities whose existence is presupposed in order to establish this relation.

### 3.2 SEVs as individual-level predicates

SEVs have been claimed to be *individual-level* predicates (Fábregas & Marín 2015), introducing properties that are true throughout the existence of an individual.<sup>53</sup> According to Kratzer (1995: 126), such predicates are different from stage-level ones in that they lack an extra argument position for events or spatiotemporal locations, the so-called *Davidsonian* argument (see Davidson 1967). This does not necessarily mean that they have to be conceived as a permanent situation, but it means that they cannot be conceived of as events or happenings.<sup>54</sup> That is why sentence (32) below is still licensed with SEVs and does not presuppose any event of hating.

- (32) *The moment she left the room, she hated men.*

This lack of an extra argument position, characterized by Glasbey (2006) in syntactic terms by means of a [-e] feature, is associated in semantic terms with the lack of existential reading for bare plural objects in English (Glasbey 2006: 144). According to Cohen and Erteschik-Shir (2002), SEVs represent a semantic class of psychological

<sup>52</sup> The same pragmatic effect is found when plural nominals in subject position are interpreted generically.

<sup>53</sup> According to Carlson's classification of predicates (1977), a k(ind)-level predicate is true of a kind as a whole but cannot be applied to its individual members. An i(ndividual)-level predicate selects for either an individual or a kind entity and is true throughout their existence. S(tage)-level predicates are true of a temporal stage of an individual and only select for individual entities, never for kinds.

<sup>54</sup> Note that SEVs must also be distinguished from those kind-level predicates (e.g., Spanish *descubrir* 'to discover', *inventar* 'to invent') that select a kind argument in object position. The latter class of verbs select for arguments that cannot be plural since, according to Borik & Espinal (2015), the object DP is not specified for Number. See (i), where *la rueda* 'the wheel' and *el iPod* 'the iPod' are examples of definite kinds.

(i) a. *Hace unos 5000 años se descubrió la rueda.*  
 makes some 5000 years CL discovered the wheel  
 'The wheel was invented about 5000 years ago.'  
 b. *Steve Jobs inventó el iPod.* (Borik & Espinal 2015:211, (57b))  
 Steve Jobs invented the iPod  
 'Steve Jobs invented the iPod.'

predicates that lack spatiotemporal anchoring force.

Glasbey (2006) claims that predicates such as *like*, *love* or *hate* generalize over eventualities and serve to generalize over individual ('liking', 'loving', or 'hating') experiences of the subject entity. However, this approach does not account for the restrictions that SEVs impose on the interpretation of their objects, as the property of being individual-level concerns the subject that the predicate selects and does not necessarily apply to objects. As a result, it cannot explain the particular behaviour of their objects, that is, the obligatory reference to either generic plural entities or specific individuals.

Nevertheless, the absence of spatiotemporal anchoring is a feature that distinguishes SEVs (33) from stage-level predicates (34).

(33) *I hate cherries.* generic

(34) *I eat cherries.* existential

The referents of the object NP in (34) must share the spatiotemporal position of the referents of the subject NP. One cannot eat what is in a different place or existed (or will exist) at a different time. Thus, the set of referents of the object NP is pragmatically restricted by the same temporal and spatial restrictions that hold for the subject (Declerck 1987: 149). By contrast, the interpretation of plural internal arguments of SEVs as generic, as in (33), is partly due to the fact that the situation denoted by the verb is not tied to any spatiotemporal event.

### 3.3 SEVs as intensional predicates

According to Carlson (1977: 190), psychological predicates such as *fear*, *worry-about*, *love* or *despise*, create an intensional context for their objects, so that their existence does not follow, which makes it possible for plural nominals (as sums of individuals) to be reinterpreted as referring to a kind.

Den Dikken, Larson, and Ludlow (1996) consider such verbs to belong to a class of *intensional transitive predicates*, in contrast to extensional predicates (e.g., *see*). Intensional predicates (e.g., *love*) admit complements that do not denote real objects, but still do not yield falsity of the whole proposition. Furthermore, unlike other intensional transitive verbs, such as *search* or *desire*, SEVs do not admit complements with non-specific readings (Forbes 2013), which is in line with the hypotheses that SEVs presuppose the existence of two individual entities, the Experiencer and the Target-of-Emotion, as illustrated in (35).

- (35) (a) #*Jane loves a dog, but not any dog in particular.*  
 (b) *Jane wants a dog, but not any dog in particular.*

It is also important to note that unlike other intensional verbs, SEVs do not impose the inclusive (generic) reading on their objects. In (36) below the bare plural nominal *dogs* is interpreted as indefinite non-specific, while in (37) it is interpreted as generic.

(36) *I search for dogs.*  $\nRightarrow$  I search for all dogs.

(37) *I love dogs.*  $\Rightarrow$  I love all (kinds of) dogs.

#### 4. Conclusions

In this paper we have examined psychological subject-experiencer verbs and the interpretation of their arguments in Catalan, English and Russian. Such verbs constrain cross-linguistically the possible readings of their internal arguments: objects of SEVs are interpreted as either specific or generic, while NPs that encode a non-specific interpretation are excluded from this position.

We have argued that there is a strong affinity between the specific and the generic readings of objects of SEVs, in the sense that under both readings the existence of the referent is presupposed, and, moreover, this referent must be identifiable at least to the speaker.

The restrictions we have described on the interpretation of objects of SEVs originate from the nature of the relation expressed by these verbs, which is a psychological relation between two individual entities, the Experiencer and the Target-of-Emotion, both of which need to exist in order for the relation to be established. The generic interpretation, conceived as inclusive reference, is triggered in bare plural nominals in English and Russian and in definite plurals in Romance as a result of the lack of spatiotemporal localization and anaphoricity. Otherwise, the object is interpreted specifically.

#### 5. References

- Belletti, Adriana & Luigi Rizzi 1988. Psych-verbs and  $\theta$  theory. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 6, 291-352.
- Borik, Olga & M.Teresa Espinal 2015. Reference to kinds and to other generic expressions in Spanish: definiteness and number. *The Linguistic Review* 32 (2), 217-275.
- Borik, Olga 2016 Constraints on the position and interpretation of bare singular indefinites in Russian. *Linguistica, University of Ljubljana* 56, 9-23.
- Carlson, Gregory 1977. *Reference to kinds in English*. PhD. Dissertation. University of Massachusetts at Amherst.
- Carlson, Gregory, Sussman, Rachel, Klein, Natalie and Michael Tanenhaus 2005. Weak definite NPs. In: C. Davis, A. Deal & Y. Zabbal (eds.). *Proceedings of NELS 36*, Amherst, MA: GLSA Publications, 179-196.
- Chierchia, Gennaro 1998. Reference to kinds across languages. *Natural Language Semantics Semantics* 6, 339-405.
- Christophersen, Paul 1939. *The articles: A study of their theory and use in English*. Copenhagen: Munksgaard.
- Cohen, Ariel & Nomi Erteschik-Shir 2002. Topic, Focus and the Interpretation of Bare Plurals. *Natural Language Semantics* 10, 125-165.
- Davidson, Donald 1967. The Logical Form of Action Sentences. In: N. Rescher (ed.). *The Logic of Decision and Action*. University of Pittsburgh Press, 81-95.
- Dayal, Veneeta 2017. (In)definiteness through genericity, presentation at the workshop The Generic Notebook, Humboldt University, Berlin. <http://www.dimitra-lazaridou-chatzigoga.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/04/Dayal-2017-presentation.pdf>
- Declerck, Renaat 1986. The manifold interpretations of generic sentences. *Lingua* 68, 149-188.
- Declerck, Renaat 1987. A puzzle about generics. *Folia Linguistica* 21, 143-153.
- Declerck, Renaat 1991. The origins of genericity. *Linguistics* 29(1), 79-102.
- den Dikken, Marcel, Larson, Richard & Peter Ludlow 1996. Intensional 'Transitive' Verbs and Concealed Complement Clauses. *Rivista di Linguistica* 8, 331-348.
- Dowty, David 1989. On the semantic content of the notion of "thematic role". In G. Chierchia, B. H. Partee, & R. Turner (eds.). *Properties, types and meaning*. Dordrecht: Kluwer, 69-129.
- Enç, Mürvet 1991. The semantics of specificity. *Linguistic Inquiry* 22(1), 1-25.
- Espinal M.Teresa & Sonia Cyrino 2017a. The definite article in Romance expletives and long weak definites. *Glossa* 2(1), 23. DOI: <http://doi.org/10.5334/gigl.160>
- Espinal M.Teresa & Sonia Cyrino 2017b. On weak definites and their contribution to event kinds. In: O. Fernández-Soriano, E. Castroviejo Miró & I. Pérez-Jiménez (eds.). *Boundaries, Phases and*

- Interfaces: Case studies in honor of Violeta Demonte*, [Linguistik Aktuell/Linguistics Today Today 239], 130-150.
- Fábregas, Antonio & Rafael Marín 2015. Deriving individual-level and stage-level psych verbs in Spanish. *The Linguistic Review* 32(2), 227-275.
- Fodor, Janet D. & Ivan A. Sag 1982. Referential and quantificational indefinites. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 5, 355-398.
- Forbes, Graeme 2013. Intensional transitive verbs. In: E. N. Zalta (ed.). *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Fall 2013 Edition) <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2013/entries/intensional-trans-verbs/>.
- Frege, Gotlob 1879. *Begriffsschrift: eine der arithmetischen nachgebildete Formelsprache des reinen Denkens*. Halle.
- Geist, Ljudmila 2008. Specificity as referential anchoring: Evidence from Russian. In: A. Grønn, A. (ed.). *Proceedings of SuB12, ILOS*, 151-164.
- Glasbey, Sheila 2006. Bare plurals in object position. Which verbs fail to give existential readings, and why? In: S. Vogeleer & L. Tasmowski (eds.). *Non-definiteness and Plurality*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 133-157.
- Grice, H. Paul 1975. Logic and conversation. In: P. Cole, & J. L. Morgan (eds.). *Syntax and Semantics*, Vol. 3, Speech Acts. New York: Academic Press, 41-58
- Heim, Irene 1982. *The semantics of definite and indefinite noun phrases*. PhD. Dissertation, University of Massachusetts, Amherst.
- Heim, Irene 2011. Definiteness and indefiniteness. In: K. von Heusinger, C. Maienborn & P. Portner (eds.). *Handbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft / Handbooks of Linguistics and Communication Science. De Gruyter*, 1025-1058.
- Ionin, Tania 2013. Pragmatic variation among specificity markers. In: C. Ebert & S. Hinterwimmer (eds.). *Different Kinds of Specificity Across Languages*, Studies in Linguistics and Philosophy, vol 92, Dordrecht: Springer, 75-103.
- Kanouse, David E. 1972. Verbs as implicit quantifiers. *Journal of Verbal Learning and Verbal Behavior* 11.2, 141-147.
- Kratzer, Angelika 1995. Stage-level and individual-level predicates. In: G. Carlson & F.J. Pelletier (eds.). *The Generic Book*. The University of Chicago Press, 125-175.
- Krifka, Manfred 1995. Common nouns in Chinese and English. In: G. Carlson & F. J. Pelletier (eds.). *The Generic Book*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 398-411.
- Krifka, Manfred, Pelletier Francis J., Carlson Gregory, ter Meulen Alice, Link Godehard & Gennaro Chierchia 1995. Introduction. In: G. Carlson & F. J. Pelletier (eds.). *The Generic Book*. The University of Chicago Press, 1-124.
- Laca, Brenda 1990. Generic objects: some more pieces of the puzzle. *Lingua* 81, 25-46.
- Lawler, John Michael 1973. *Studies in English generics*, PhD. Dissertation, University of Michigan Ann Arbor.
- Leslie, Sarah-Jane 2007. Generics and the structure of the mind. *Philosophical Perspectives Perspectives* 21, 375-405.
- Link, Godehard 1983. The logical analysis of plural and mass terms: a lattice theoretical approach. In R. Bäuerle, C. Schwarze & A. von Stechow (eds.). *Meaning, Use and Interpretation of Language*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 303-323.
- Lyons, Christopher 1999. *Definiteness*. Cambridge University Press.
- Mari, Alda, Beyssade, Claire & Fabio del Prete 2012. Introduction. In: *Genericity*, Oxford University Press, 1-92.
- Mueller-Reichau, Olav 2011. *Sorting the World: On the Relevance of the Kind-level / Object-level Distinction to Referential Semantics*. Frankfurt a.M.: Ontos Verlag.
- Pesetsky, David 1995. *Zero Syntax*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.
- Schaden, Gerhard. 2012. Two ways of referring to generalities in German. In: A. Mari, C. Beyssade, & F. del Prete (eds.). *Genericity*. Oxford University Press, 157-175.
- Schwarz, Florian 2009. *Two Types of Definites in Natural Language*, PhD. Dissertation, University of Massachusetts Amherst.
- Seres, Daria & M.Teresa Espinal 2018. Psychological verbs and their arguments. *Borealis – An International Journal of Hispanic Linguistics* 7.1, 27-44.
- Sharvy, Richard 1980. A more general theory of definite descriptions. *The Philosophical Review* 89.4, 607-624.
- Silvagni, Federico 2017. *Entre Estados y Eventos: Un Estudio del Aspecto Interno Español*. PhD. Dissertation, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona.
- Strawson, Peter 1950. On referring. *Mind* 59, 320-344.

- Teichman, Matthew 2015. *Characterizing Kinds: A Semantics for Generic Sentences*. PhD. Dissertation. University of Chicago.
- von Stechow, Klaus 2002. Specificity and definiteness in sentence and discourse structure. *Journal of Semantics* 9.3, 245-274.
- Yanovich, Igor 2005. Choice-functional series of indefinites and Hamblin semantics. *Semantics and Linguistic Theory, Linguistic Society of America* 15, 309-326.



## On oblique experiencers in psych verb constructions\*

Susann Fischer

susann.fischer<at>uni-hamburg.de

### 1. Introduction

Psych verbs show a different behaviour in different languages. The differences are (among others) whether the experiencer of these verbs show nominative (1) or oblique case (2-6) and whether they are analyzed as (oblique) subjects (3-5) or objects (6), and whether the oblique subject needs to be doubled by a clitic (3 and 5) or not (1, 2, 4, 6).

- |     |                                            |           |
|-----|--------------------------------------------|-----------|
| (1) | <i>I like rock music</i>                   | English   |
| (2) | <i>Mér líkar rokkónlist</i>                | Icelandic |
| (3) | <i>A Marcos le gusta la música rock</i>    | Spanish   |
| (4) | <i>A Gianni piace la musica rock</i>       | Italian   |
| (5) | <i>A en Jordi li agrada la música rock</i> | Catalan   |
| (6) | <i>La musique rock plait à Marie</i>       | French    |

In the Old Romance and Old Germanic languages, most experiencer verbs are attested with oblique experiencers that look like structural subjects; even in English (7) and French (8).

- |     |                                                                                 |        |
|-----|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------|
| (7) | <i>Me hungrep<sup>55</sup></i>                                                  | OldEng |
|     | me <sub>OBL</sub> go <sub>3SG</sub> hungry                                      |        |
|     | ‘I am hungry.’                                                                  |        |
| (8) | <i>Moi/Me souviens</i>                                                          | OldFre |
|     | me <sub>OBL</sub> remember <sub>3SG</sub> → Modern French <i>Je me souviens</i> |        |
|     | ‘I remember.’                                                                   |        |

In many European languages, these oblique experiencers are reanalysed as nominative subject. The reason for this change was often said to depend on factors such as lexical case phenomena and on how nominative case is assigned (Belletti 1988, Anagnostopoulou 1999, Sigurðsson 2004 among others). The loss of oblique experiencers was usually explained with a loss of case morphology and/or with a loss of the possibility to assign lexical case (Lightfoot 1979, Seeffranz-Montag 1983, Allen 1995, Mathieu 2006, van Gelderen 2014 among others). A look at the historical development in a comparative approach will show that we need to rely on a different explanation in order to account for the loss of oblique experiencers cross-linguistically. We will provide data showing that Old Romance (even Old French) allow oblique experiencers that seem to pass most tests for subjecthood (Keenan 1976). We will

---

\* This work was funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft DFG (German Research Foundation), Grant number FI 875/3-1 and FI 875/3-2 “Clitic Doubling across Romance”.

<sup>55</sup> For convenience, we only highlight those grammatical abbreviations that are not directly translatable from the glosses. Furthermore, since we also use diachronic texts, the examples are a direct copy of the texts. If there are spaces between the clitic and the words preceding or following e.g. (3), the examples are given with spaces; if between the clitic and the word preceding or following is an apostrophe e.g. (42a) or a hyphen, e.g. (42c), the examples are given with these. We are aware of the fact that according to the Leipziger Glossing Rules clitics should be attached by an equal sign. However, since we believe that the categorial status of the clitic (whether they are phrases, heads or agreement markers) changes through time, the equal sign enforces for most historical stages a wrong analysis. For further discussion on this matter, see (Navarro, Fischer & Vega 2019).

suggest that the change concerning these experiencers in Romance, cannot be explained with a loss of case- or verbal-morphology (only). Maybe with the exception of Old French, case marking on lexical NPs/DPs had already declined and verbal morphology in Spanish and Catalan did not change considerably which can be seen in the fact that both remain null-subject-languages. It seems that the change can be connected to a loss of functional material which can be explained in more general terms as a change from topic to subject language (Lehman 1976). We will argue that the change from topic prominence to subject prominence in Romance cannot only be seen in the change concerning the variability of word order and in the change concerning the status of the oblique experiencers. We suggest it can also be seen in the fact that oblique experiencers in psych verb constructions need to be doubled obligatorily in Modern Catalan and Spanish.

In section 2, the subject tests proposed by Keenan (1976) will be applied to the oblique experiencers in psych verb constructions in order to verify their behaviour and status. Section 3 will give a brief overview of the accounts that have been proposed in the literature in order to explain the behaviour of oblique experiencers in the different languages. We will propose that the behaviour of the oblique experiencers can in part be explained by referring to the different interpretations of little *v* (cf. Harley 1995) and in part by the type of preverbal position that exists in a language (Gutiérrez-Bravo 2006). Section 4 will provide an explanation for their change and in section 5, we will briefly explain why oblique experiencers are doubled in Spanish and Catalan.

## 2. The status of the oblique experiencers in Modern and Old Romance

Oblique experiencers in e.g. Icelandic are analyzed as oblique structural subjects or quirky subjects and are described as NPs/DPs in a preverbal position with a lexically selected non-nominative Case. This description leaves the impression that the linguistic concept subject is clear-cut and only the obliqueness of a subject is somehow “quirky”. However, there is still no theory-independent definition of the concept *subject*: so far, linguists have not come to an agreement as to which noun phrase in a given construction in a given language is the subject.

The phenomenon of oblique or quirky subjects in psych-verb constructions has been investigated from various perspectives. There have been questions as to what the semantics of these constructions is, how oblique case in these constructions is assigned, why oblique elements surface in subject position, and why if they are structural subjects (in contrast to logical subjects) they do not induce agreement on the verb and why these oblique subjects often tend to be reanalysed as nominative subjects. So far, it has been generally accepted that these constructions encode expressions of a specific semantic class, namely the psych verb class. These verbs denote physical, emotional and mental experiences (hunger, thirst, cold, hearing, pain, joy, grief, anger, shame, doubt, recollection etc.); and also needs, obligations, possession and sometimes perceptions and abilities, existence and happenstance – processes in which a person is unvolitionally/unself-controllably involved (cf. McCawley 1976: 194, Belletti & Rizzi 1988, Fischer 2010: 49, Batllori 2012, among many others). Yet, there has been no agreement as to what these oblique subjects are, whether they are underlying objects that have been moved to the preverbal subject position or whether they are actual subjects.

The determination of what properties are considered subject-like can be traced back to Keenan (1976), who proposed ten subject tests to identify the universal properties of subjects. The criteria he proposed can be divided into coding, behavioural and semantic properties. Morphological case, subject verb agreement, and position are coding properties of subjects, while controlling, reflexivization and omission on identity in second conjuncts and in controlled infinitives count as behavioural properties of subjects. Six of these tests are still used to test subjecthood of the oblique subjects of psych verbs in the Indo-European languages (cf. Butler 1977, Masullo 1993, Hrafnbjargsson 2004a). Next to these criteria,



Belletti & Rizzi (1988) have added WH-extraction and quantifier raising to verify the subject-status.

In order to see what status, the oblique subjects of psych verbs show in the different Romance languages at different points in their history the subject tests of Keenan (1976) and Belletti & Rizzi (1988) will be applied where possible.

## 2.1 Testing subject-hood in Modern Romance

Looking at Modern French, we see the canonical position of the experiencer argument is postverbally (9a). The only way to appear in front of the verb is by topicalization, i.e., dislocated to a position in front of the subject [*la musique rock*] and it then needs to be doubled by a clitic pronoun in canonical position (9c).

- (9) (a) *La musique rock plaît à Marie* ModFr  
 the music rock pleases3SG to Mary  
 ‘Mary likes rock music.’  
 (b) \**À Marie plaît la musique rock.*  
 to Mary please.3SG the music rock  
 (c) *À Marie, la musique rock lui plaît.*  
 to Mary the music rock her.DAT please.3SG

With respect to the experiencer argument in Modern French, there has never been any doubt that the experiencer argument [*à Marie*] in psych-verb constructions is the object and [*la musique*] is the subject. The only way to get the object in front of the verb and in front of the subject is by topicalization (9c).

Looking at Italian, Catalan, and Spanish, we see that some of the criteria to identify a subject seem to hold concerning the oblique argument of psych-verb constructions, i.e., for type III psych-verbs in the classification of Belletti & Rizzi (1988).

The examples in (10) to (12) show that experiencers of psych verb constructions can appear in a preverbal and postverbal position (cf. Belletti & Rizzi 1988: 340 for Italian) with an unmarked intonation contour with sentence final nuclear accent (cf. Gabriel 2007). As Belletti & Rizzi (1988: 343) point out, only the inversion of dative experiencers has no effect on the grammaticality of the sentences. Concerning other verbs this is not possible, the internal argument, cannot appear in a preverbal position

- (10) (a) *A en Jordi li agrada la música clàssica.* Catalan  
 to the Jordi him.DAT pleases the music classical  
 ‘Classical music pleases Jordi.’  
 (b) *La música clàssica li agrada a en Jordi.*  
 the music classical him.DAT pleases to the Jordi  
 (c) *En Jordi escolta la música clàssica.*  
 the Jordi listens the music classical  
 ‘Jordi listens to classical music.’  
 (d) \**La música clàssica escolta en Jordi.*  
 the music classical listens the Jordi
- (11) (a) *A Gianni piace la música classica.* Italian  
 to Gianni pleases the music classical  
 ‘Classical music pleases Gianni.’  
 (b) *La música classica piace a Gianni.*  
 the music classical pleases to Gianni

- (c) *Gianni ascolta la música classica.*  
Gianni listens the music classical  
'Gianni listens to classical music.'
- (d) \**La música classica escolta Gianni.*  
the music classical listens Gianni
- (12) (a) *A Marcos le gusta la música clásica.* Spanish  
to Marcos him.DAT pleases the music classical  
'Classical music pleases Marcos.'
- (b) *La música clásica le gusta a Marcos.*  
the music classical him.DAT pleases to Marcos
- (c) *Marcos escucha la música clásica.*  
Marcos listens the music classical  
'Marco listens to classical music.'
- (d) \**La música clásica escucha Marcos.*  
the music classical listens Marcos

In raising constructions, the subject of the embedded clause raises to the subject position of the matrix clause. Examples (13) to (15) show that nominative subjects and oblique experiencers of psych-verbs can be raised to the matrix clause fulfilling this criterion of subjecthood.

- (13) (a) *En Jordi sembla escoltar la música clàssica.* Catalan  
the Jordi seems to.listen the music classical  
'Jordi seems to listen to classical music.'
- (b) *A en Jordi sembla agradarli la música clàssica.*  
to the Jordi seems to.please.him.DAT the music classical  
'It seems that classical music pleases Jordi.'
- (14) (a) *Gianni sembra amare la musica classica.* Italian  
Gianni seems to.love the music classical  
'Gianni seems to love classical music.'
- (b) *A Gianni sembra piacere la musica classica.*  
to Gianni seems to.please the music classical  
'It seems that classical music pleases Gianni.'
- (15) (a) *María parece escuchar la música clásica.* Spanish  
Maria seems to.listen the music classical  
'Maria seems to adore classical music.'
- (b) *A Marcos parece gustarle<sup>56</sup> la música clásica.*  
to Marcos seems to.please.him.DAT the music classical  
'It seems that classical music pleases Marcos.'

Nominative subjects trigger reflexivization inside their minimal clause, provided that the phrase that contains the reflexive is the predicate of the subject (16a, 17a, 18a).

- (16) (a) *La Mercè es renta a si mateixa.* Catalan  
the Mercè ref washes to ref self  
'Mercè washes herself.'

<sup>56</sup> Some people even allow the clitic to be raised as well: *A Marcos le parece gustar la música clásica.*

- (b) \**A la Mercè li agrada si mateixa.*  
to the Mercè her.DAT pleases ref self
- (17) (a) *Gianni<sub>i</sub> lava se stesso<sub>i</sub>.* Italian  
Gianni washes ref self  
'Gianni washes himself.'  
(b) ?*A Gianni<sub>i</sub> piace se stesso<sub>i</sub>.*  
to Gianni pleases himself
- (18) (a) *Adriana<sub>i</sub> se lava a sí misma<sub>i</sub>.* Spanish  
Adriana ref washes to ref self  
'Adriana washes herself.'  
(b) \**A Adriana<sub>i</sub> le gusta sí misma<sub>i</sub>.*  
to Adriana her.DAT pleases ref self

Concerning reflexivization, this only holds for Italian experiencer verbs of type III. The Spanish (18b) (cf. Masullo 1993: 310) and Catalan (16b) examples with dative experiencer are incorrect, whereas in Italian reflexivization is possible (for some speakers at least) with nominative subjects and with dative experiencers (cf. (17b)).

The subject of coordinated clauses can be omitted if it is co-referential with the subject of the main clause. In such a context, the object cannot be omitted. The examples of Catalan (19a), Italian (20a), and Spanish (21a) show that co-referential nominative subjects can be omitted whereas oblique experiencers cannot (19b, 20b, 21b).

- (19) (a) *En Jordi<sub>i</sub> estima la poesia i \_\_\_<sub>i</sub> escolta la música clàssica.* Catalan  
the Jordi loves the poetry and listens the music classical  
'Jordi loves poetry and listens to classical music.'  
(b) \**En Jordi<sub>i</sub> estima la poesia i \_\_\_<sub>i</sub> agraden les matemàtiques.*  
the Jordi loves the poetry and pleases the mathematics
- (20) (a) *Gianni<sub>i</sub> ama la poesia e \_\_\_<sub>i</sub> ascolta la música classica.* Italian  
Gianni loves the poetry and listens the music classical  
'Gianni loves poetry and listens to classical music.'  
(b) \**Gianni<sub>i</sub> ama la poesia e \_\_\_<sub>i</sub> piace la matematica.*  
Gianni loves the poetry and pleases the mathematics
- (21) (a) *Adriana<sub>i</sub> ama la poesía y \_\_\_<sub>i</sub> escucha la música clásica.* Spanish  
Adriana loves the poetry and listens the music classical  
'Adriana loves poetry and listens to classical music.'  
(b) \**Adriana<sub>i</sub> ama la poesía y \_\_\_<sub>i</sub> gustan las matemáticas.*  
Adriana loves the poetry and pleases the mathematics

Control infinitives are embedded infinitival clauses in which the subject has been omitted. In these constructions, the subject of the matrix clause controls and allows for the omission of the subject in the embedded clause. In the following sentences (22a, 23a, 24a) the dropped nominative expletive controls the nominative PRO in the embedded clause.

- (22) (a) *pro<sub>NOM</sub> És difícil [pro<sub>NOM</sub> estudiar les matemàtiques].* Catalan  
is difficult to.study the mathematics  
'It is difficult to study mathematics.'

- (b) \*<sub>PRO<sub>NOM</sub></sub> *Ès difícil* [<sub>PRO<sub>OBL</sub></sub> *agradarli les matemàtiques*].  
 is difficult to.please.him.OBL the mathematics
- (23) (a) <sub>PRO<sub>NOM</sub></sub> *È difícil* [<sub>PRO<sub>NOM</sub></sub> *studiare la matematica*]. Italian  
 is difficult to.study the mathematics  
 ‘It is difficult to study mathematics.’  
 (b) \*<sub>PRO<sub>NOM</sub></sub> *È difícil* [<sub>PRO<sub>OBL</sub></sub> *piacere la matematica*].  
 is difficult to.please the mathematics
- (24) (a) <sub>PRO<sub>NOM</sub></sub> *Es difícil* [<sub>PRO<sub>NOM</sub></sub> *estudiar las matemáticas*]. Spanish  
 is difficult to.study las mathematics  
 ‘It is difficult to study mathematics.’  
 (b) \*<sub>PRO<sub>NOM</sub></sub> *Es difícil* [<sub>PRO<sub>OBL</sub></sub> *gustarle las matemáticas*].  
 is difficult to.please.him.OBL the mathematics

The above examples show that in Spanish, Italian and Catalan PRO only show up with verbs that assign a nominative to their subject (22a, 23a, 24a), but not with verbs that assign dative case to their experiencer.

Summarizing, it has been shown that two subject criteria hold, these are inversion and raising, whereas reflexivization works in Italian, but not in Catalan and Spanish. Control and omission in coordinate sentences are only accepted with nominatives subjects but not with oblique experiencers.

## 2.2 Testing subject-hood in Old Romance (French, Spanish, and Old Catalan)

In section 2.1, it has been shown that the Modern Romance languages behave differently with respect to the subject tests proposed by Keenan (1976). Looking at the old languages, more conformity can be attested. In this context, French is especially interesting, because nowadays it does not permit oblique experiencer subjects anymore. Consider (25) with the development concerning oblique experiencers from Old to Modern French, proposed in Seefranz-Montag (1984). In example (26a), we see subject inversion in questions, (26b) is an example for reflexivization of an oblique experiencer, (26c) shows raising, and (26d) omission in coordinate sentences.

- (25) (a) *me / moi souviens* Old French  
 (b) *il me souvient* ↓  
 (c) *je me souviens* Modern French
- (26) (a) *Plest vos oïr de une corneile?* (Mathieu 2006: 289)  
 pleases you.2PL.DAT hear of a crow 12<sup>th</sup> century  
 ‘Do you want to hear about a crow?’  
 (b) *de soi meisme li souvient* (Mathieu 2006: 289)  
 of ref self him.DAT remember 12<sup>th</sup> century  
 ‘He remembers himself.’  
 (c) *lez cors a trembler leur commence* (Mathieu 2006: 289)  
 at body to tremble them.DAT start 14<sup>th</sup> century  
 ‘Their body starts to tremble.’  
 (d) *Il la regarde e \_\_\_DAT prist lui*  
 he.NOM her.AKK looks.at and urge her.DAT  
*a demander* (Mathieu 2006: 293)  
 to ask 12<sup>th</sup> century  
 ‘He looks at her and it overcomes him to ask her ...’

Concerning Old Catalan, it has already been argued by Par (1923) that oblique subjects are attested. He mainly investigated the language of the author Bernard Metge and he observes that the oblique subjects of Old Catalan behave differently compared to the modern ones. Applying the different criteria, we see that Old Catalan oblique experiencers do not agree with the verb in phi-features, but they can appear in the same positions as nominative subjects, i.e. preceding and following the verb (27).

- (27) *Molt plagneren a Fèlix les paraules que dix la pastora ...* Old Catalan  
 much liked.3PL to Felix.DAT the words that said the shepardess.NOM  
 ‘Felix liked the words very much that the shepardess said ...’ (Fischer 2010: 76)

Furthermore, the oblique experiencer allow reflexivization (28), omission in coordinated sentences (29), and they appear in control constructions (30).

- (28) *ja no li<sub>i</sub> plau de ses mateixes<sub>i</sub> volers*  
 already not him.DAT like of his ref desires  
 ‘already now he<sub>i</sub> didn’t like his<sub>i</sub> desires’

- (29) *No em recorda jamai [PRO] haver llest d’ells ...*  
 not me.DAT remember never PRO.NOM have read of them  
 ‘I don’t remember to have ever read about them ...’

- (30) *entrà Fèlix en pensament de ço que vist havia e \_\_DAT remembra les paraules*  
 entered Fèlix in thought of so what seen had and \_\_ remember the words  
 ‘Fèlix entered thinking about what he had seen and remembered the words.’  
 (Fischer 2010: 76-77)

In Old Spanish oblique experiencers appear in the same positions as nominative subjects, i.e. preceding and following the verb (31). They allow reflexivization (32), omission in coordinated (33) sentences and also appear in control constructions (34).

- (31) *Plazrie a sus parientes de veerla transida* Old Spanish  
 pleases to his parents to see.her.ACC exhausted<sub>F</sub>  
 ‘His parents like to see her exhausted.’

- (32) *e miembra te de ti mismo come fuste sieruo en tierra de egipto*  
 and remember you.ACC of you.DAT ref how were servant in land of Egypt  
 ‘and remember, when you were slave in Egypt’

- (33) *de todo lo que Dios quiere y \_\_.DAT gusta*  
 of all that what God loves and \_\_ pleases  
 ‘all that, what Gott likes and what pleases him’

- (34) *En conclusion me recorda [PRO] haver visto un árbol*  
 finally me.DAT remember [PRO.NOM] have seen a tree  
 ‘Finally, I remember to have seen a tree.’ (Fischer 2010: 83-85)

To summarize, it has been shown that the behavioural properties of oblique experiencers in Old Romance are different from the behavioural properties of the Modern Romance ones. Whereas in modern French oblique experiencers pass none of the subject test and can only be analyzed as the structural object of the sentence, the oblique subjects of Old French, like the

ones in Old Catalan and Old Spanish, pass many of the subject tests. In the Old Romance languages, oblique experiencers can be found in control- and raising-constructions, they are attested with reflexivization, can be omitted in coordination with a nominative subject and appear in the same position as nominative subjects. Thus, there is a clear difference between the Old Romance and Modern Romance languages concerning the oblique experiencers and also among the different Modern Romance languages, i.e. there is a difference between French, on the one hand, and Catalan and Spanish, on the other hand.

### 3. Explaining the appearance of oblique subjects

#### 3.1 Previous explanations and the problems they face

Overall, it has been established that there are behavioural properties of subjects that can be tested and that these properties define structural subjects in contrast to structural objects. It is also known that subjects display a different behaviour across languages and even within languages, that there is not one single property but several properties that need to be shared in order to be considered the subject of a sentence. Furthermore, there is no theory-independent definition of the notion subject, which is universally valid. These facts have been interpreted differently in the different frameworks, but the most common reaction is by claiming that nevertheless SUBJECT is a universal entity with such and such properties. Whenever the subjects of a language do not meet the properties or if there are more constituents that could be called the subject, then, there have to be language specific reasons, which need to be identified and explained. In Chomskian syntax subjects and objects are not theoretical primitives and do not have any direct relevance to the grammar. Under this view, subjects and objects are defined in configurational terms, the DP, phonological or 'silent' that either occupies or is co-indexed with the structurally highest DP position is called the subject. Concerning case-theory, it is, however, problematic if an oblique subject is located, or co-indexed in this position. Since to this position, i.e. Spec,IP/TP structural nominative case is assigned/or in this position structural nominative is instantiated. Several analyses have been proposed in order to solve this puzzle.

Following generative considerations, oblique subjects are regarded as the result of inherent case allocation. In the older generative model, Belletti (1988) proposed the so-called double-case approach, according to which these oblique subjects carry both inherent (oblique) and structural (nominative) case. Unlike passive sentences, where the verb cannot assign structural (accusative) case due to the verbal passive morphology, the oblique experiencers are assigned inherent (oblique) case, which is morphologically visible. In the Germanic languages via case-morphology on the full DPs e.g. *dem<sub>DAT</sub> Manne<sub>DAT</sub>* 'the man', in the Romance languages via the preposition *a*, e.g. Spanish *a Mario* 'to Mario'. In order to explain why oblique experiencer of type III psych-verbs pass some subject tests, it is assumed that the constituent is assigned nominative case in Spec,IP. The assumption here is that even if the constituent is already inherently marked for oblique case, it needs structural nominative to be licensed. This however, does not explain why the oblique subject does not agree with the verb in phi-features and why the so-called object, *la musica*, in these sentences, e.g. *A Gianni piace la musica rock*, is clearly marked for structural nominative. The double case approach would predict that nominative is assigned to the oblique subject and the nominative object.

A newer approach, Sigurðsson (2004), assumes that some languages have two layers of case allocation: one layer where structural case is assigned and another layer where morphological case is assigned. What sounds like a double case approach is in fact a single case approach concerning syntax. The second case assignment is the morphological spelling out of the case, i.e. case is assigned, checked, or instantiated in syntax, and the spell out of morphological case assignment is transferred to PF (Phonetic Form). More specifically, in a Chomsky approach (e.g. 2001) arguments match abstract structural features, a VP-external

one and a VP-internal one. These features are more or less equivalent to structural case, i.e. nominative and accusative case. Sigurðsson calls the VP-external feature AR1 (Argument Relation 1) and the VP-internal feature AR2 (Argument Relation 2) and proposes that the matching of AR1 and AR2 is unrelated to m(orphological)-case. That is to say that in languages without morphological case only a single layer of structural m-case exists (Sigurðsson 2004: 147), whereas languages with morphological case like e.g. Icelandic and German have both, a layer of inherent and a layer of structural m-case, the former blocking or bleeding the latter. Subjecthood in these languages does not stem from nominative case but from a featural relationship between oblique subjects and the finite complex of the clause, i.e. the relationship of “Person Matching”. He takes the following agreement asymmetries of Icelandic oblique subjects in (35) to show that the dative subjects match PERSON.

- (35) (a) *Honum mundu alltaf líka þeir.* Icelandic  
 him.3.SG.DAT would.3.PL always like them.3.PL.NOM  
 ‘He would always like them’  
 (b) \**Honum munduð alltaf líka þið.*  
 him.3.SG.DAT would.2.PL always like you.2.PL.NOM  
 \*‘He would always like you.’  
 (c) \**Honum mundum alltaf líka við*  
 him.3.SG.DAT would.1PL always like us.1.PL.NOM  
 \*‘He would always like us’ (Sigurðsson 2004:148)

The agreement asymmetries are derived on two assumptions: First, 3rd person is not ‘true’ person therefore,

(...) the 3Pl agreement in (31a, here 35a) involves only number agreement, not ‘true’ person agreement. Second the dative subject enters into a default (3rd person) ‘null-agreement’ correlation with the Person feature or head of the finite verb complex and hence the nominative object cannot enter into that relation and is thus blocked from controlling Person agreement whereas it is free to control Number agreement. (Sigurðsson 2004: 149).

Under this assumption, Icelandic has split Person-Number agreement as sketched below (36), whereas e.g. in German only the nominative can enter into an agreement correlation with the finite verb complex (37).

- (36) C .... Pers<sub>i</sub> .... Num<sub>j</sub> .... [Dat<sub>i</sub>] ...[Nom<sub>j</sub>] (Sigurðsson 2004)

- (37) (a) *Ihm gefälltst du immer* German  
 him.3.SG.DAT please.2.SG you.2.SG.NOM always  
 ‘You always please him.’ (i.e. ‘He always likes you’)  
 (b) *Ihm gefallen wir immer*  
 him.3.SG.DAT please.1.PL we.1.PL.NOM always  
 ‘We always please him.’ (i.e. ‘He always likes us.’)

Sigurðsson provides a good explanation of how the assumption of two layers of case-assignment can explain the appearance of structural oblique subjects in languages.

In order to derive the difference between German and Icelandic with respect to the behavioural and coding properties of oblique subjects, he needs to refer to split Person-Number agreement which he suggests to be available in Icelandic but not in German. This seems like a reasonable approach; however, the question remains why the abstract

“subjecthood” feature is taken to be “Person Matching” if the only agreement we find between oblique structural subjects and the verb is a default or “null-agreement”. Wouldn’t we expect – under the assumption of a split between Person and Number agreement – sentences of the kind where the dative subject checks Person (e.g. 1<sup>st</sup> Person) and the nominative checks number (e.g. pl) like in (38).

- (38) \**Mér höfum við alltaf líkað* Icelandic  
 Me.1.SG.DAT have.1.PL we.1.PL.NOM always liked  
 ‘I have always liked us.’

However, these kinds of sentences are clearly ungrammatical. Furthermore, as soon as we look at sentences with accusative subjects, we always get 3sg agreement, i.e. default agreement.

- (39) (a) *Mig dreymdi þig* Icelandic  
 Me.1.SG.ACC dreamt.3.SG you.2.SG.ACC  
 ‘I dreamt about you’  
 (b) *Ykkur dreymir okkur oft*  
 you.2.PL.ACC dream.3.SG us.1.PL.ACC often  
 ‘You often dream about us’ (Gunnar Hrafnbjargsson, p.c)

Thus, the sentences in (35) that propose a split Person-Number agreement might be better explained as exhibiting only the person agreement restriction, i.e. a Person-Case-Constraint that is often found among weak pronouns and/or clitic elements (cf. Bonet 1991, Anagnostopoulou 2005, D’Alessandro, Fischer & Hrafnbjargsson 2008 among many others).

The Person-Case Constraint was first proposed by Bonet (1991) and subsequently investigated with respect to a lot of different languages (D’Alessandro, Fischer & Hrafnbjargsson 2008), including Icelandic (Hrafnbjargsson 2004a). This constraint is usually taken to explain certain restrictions on combinations of clitics and agreement markers. In some of these studies (e.g. Anagnostopoulou 2005 and all references in there), 1st and 2nd person indirect objects are claimed to carry [+person], 3rd person indirect objects [-person]. On the other hand, 3rd person direct object pronouns are neither [+person] nor [-person], they simply lack person. However, to our knowledge the specification of an argument with [+/-person] or [no person] has never been taken as a “subject” feature in these or other studies.

Under the assumption that the Person-Case-Constraint were a feature to identify a subject, we could identify subjects only in sentences where all constituents were clitics or weak pronouns. Furthermore, under the assumption that accusative subjects in Icelandic are structurally not different from dative subjects, it seems to be the correct assumption that matching person does not seem to be a subject feature, since accusative subjects only ever invoke default agreement, i.e. 3sg.

### 3.2 Psych verbs are causative verbs

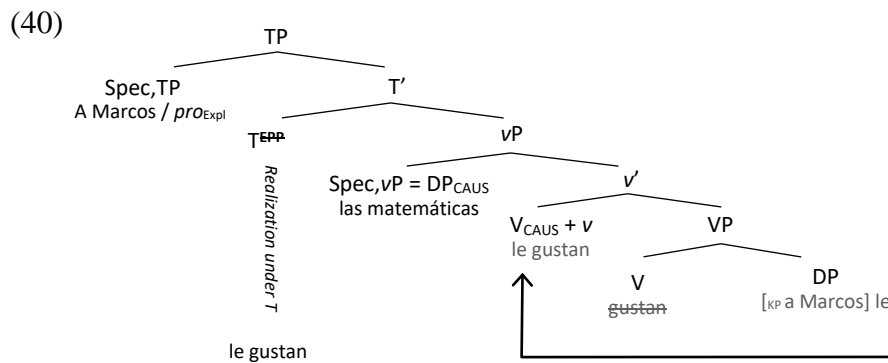
The explanation we would like to suggest builds on several previous explanations that analyse psych verbs as causative verbs (Alexiadou 2016, van Gelderen 2014, 2018), and on the long-standing assumption that Romance null-subject languages have a preverbal position (the highest DP position, SpecIP/TP) in which both structural nominative subjects, as well as oblique experiencers and other case-marked constituents (prepositional phrases, direct or indirect objects) can be positioned (Gutiérrez-Bravo 2006).

There has been a long discussion about the causative function of little *v*. Since Harley (1995), further developed by Folli & Harley (2005), it has been argued that *v* can be separated from agentive interpretation, instead it has been proposed that little *v* comes in several



flavours  $v_{DO}$ ,  $v_{CAUSE}$ ,  $v_{BECOME}$  etc. (Folli & Harley 2005). The type  $v_{DO}$  is interpreted as agentive and needs an animate subject. The type  $v_{CAUSE}$  however receives a causative interpretation without agentive interpretation and without animacy constraints. Alexiadou (2016) shows that under the assumption that  $v_{CAUSE}$  is not subject to an animacy constraint, even languages like English license inanimate subjects in typical consumption verb constructions, where we would expect an agentive animate subject, e.g. *The sea ate away the beach* (Alexiadou 2016: 169).

Following this view, we will analyse Romance psych verbs as causative verbs in which the nominative object is the causer for the oblique subject. Thus, the verb assigns the thematic role experiencer and the inherent dative to its complement. In sentences such as *A Marcos le gustan las matemáticas* the thematic role and inherent Case is assigned to DP [Spec,DP = *A Marcos* [D *le*]]. The causative inanimate DP, *las matemáticas*, is merged in Spec,vP. The phi-features of the causer are checked against the phi-features of  $T^{+FIN}$  and NOMINATIVE is thus instantiated. The V-v chain is then realised under T. The EPP-feature in Spec,TP, however, is not deleted by the nominative DP, *las matemáticas*, instead either  $pro_{EXPL}$  is merged into Spec,TP in sentences like *Le gustan las matemáticas*, or a constituent, *a Marcos*, is moved into this position. Consider the derivation in (40).



As shown in section 2, the oblique experiencers pass some of the subject tests in some of the Modern Romance languages, however it does not agree with the verb in phi-features. This was explained by the dual function of Spec,TP/IP (Masullo 1993). Constituents that still have to check or instantiate nominative case (subjects) as well as already case-marked constituents (oblique experiencers, prepositional phrases, objects) can be merged (internal – external merge) into this position, i.e. in Masullo’s view (1993) it is an A-position as well as an A’-position. Gutiérrez-Bravo (2006) further developed this idea proposing that the EPP feature of Spec,TP can be deleted by any constituent of the sentence, it is a so-called *pole* position. *Pole*, for him, is a purely structural term designating the initial position in a sentence. Which constituent is merged into this position follows from the Thematic Hierarchy in (41)<sup>57</sup> (see also Belletti & Rizzi 1988 for Italian). If a sentence has no agent, then the experiencer is merged into this position. If a sentence has neither agent nor experiencer, as is the case with passive or unaccusative constructions, then theme is merged (internal merge) into the *pole* position.

#### (41) Thematic Hierarchy

AGENT > EXPERIENCER > THEME > LOCATION

Thus, from the view that Spec,TP is a pole position follows that in sentences where there is no agent the experiencer is merged into this position. This option, however, exists only in

<sup>57</sup> See Anagnostopoulou (1999) for additional arguments from Greek and a convincing discussing why the thematic role of experiencer is ranked higher than the thematic role theme/cause.

languages in which Case is not instantiated in Spec,TP like in the Romance null-subject languages (Catalan, Italian, Spanish). In languages where Spec,TP is the position where nominative is assigned, checked, instantiated – such as in non-null-subject languages like English or French –, only a nominative constituent (the subject) can be merged into this position in order to check/delete the EPP feature.

#### 4. Explaining the change concerning oblique subjects

##### 4.1 Previous accounts and the problems they face

What has always been an issue for the various linguists is when and why the oblique experiencer started to disappear (in English), changed their status (French), or changed the behaviour regarding some of the subject tests (Spanish, Catalan). In the traditional literature, the change in English has been called a transition from the impersonal to the personal construction (Jespersen 1927). It has been argued that by the end of the Middle English period impersonal constructions had almost completely vanished (Visser 1963: 29, Seeffranz-Montag 1984: 526, among others) and that the few examples that have survived into Modern English have remained only as archaisms like *methinks* (it seems to me) or *woe is me* (it is misery to me). The loss of impersonal constructions has traditionally been described as proceeding along three different paths: First, many individual lexical items that were used with oblique subjects fell into disuse during Middle English (Visser 1963: 29). Second, many impersonal verbs started to appear with a dummy ‘it’. Third, many impersonal constructions underwent a curious change: “the human NP that was formerly a pre-posed object was replaced by or turned into a subject” (Butler 1977: 157, see also van Gelderen 2014 for a modern generative approach of these facts). The examples (42) illustrate the development in English (cf. Visser 1963) and recall example (25) for the development in French (Seeffranz-Montag 1984).

- |      |                           |                |
|------|---------------------------|----------------|
| (42) | (a) <i>me hungreth</i>    | Old English    |
|      | (b) <i>it hungreth me</i> | ↓              |
|      | (c) <i>I am hungry</i>    | Modern English |

As for the causes of this change in English, it has been proposed that impersonals had to disappear because of the decay of case marking. This loss resulted in ambiguous surface forms, which triggered a change in word order in order to compensate for this loss of morphological marking on full NPs. As a result, English became rigidly SVO. The rigidification of SVO has been argued to have caused constructions with dummy ‘it’, since the structures with ‘it’ were compatible with the emerging SVO requirements. As a consequence of the SVO requirement, the preverbal NP needed to be reanalysed as a subject whenever it was not explicitly marked as an object, that is, whenever it was morphologically ambiguous (see van der Gaaf 1904, Ch. 3 for an exhaustive list of the various noun-verb combinations that were ambiguous). The same explanations were given for the loss of oblique subjects in Old French (Seeffranz-Montag 1983, 1984).

In addition to the loss of case morphology, the loss of verbal morphology was also argued to be a trigger for the loss of oblique experiencer. This view goes together with a very popular explanation taken up by generative linguists (Lightfoot 1979, Roberts 1993, Mathieu 2006) that connects the loss of verbal morphology to the appearance of subject pronouns and thus to the loss of oblique subjects: “Wenn die Person nicht mehr durch eine Endung gekennzeichnet war, wurde es notwendig, sie durch das Subjektpronomen zu unterscheiden” (‘as soon as “person” was no longer expressed by means of morphological endings, it became necessary to differentiate person by using a subject pronoun’) (Frenzen 1939: 118)<sup>58</sup>. The tendency to

<sup>58</sup> See Frenzen (1939: 118ff) for a detailed discussion of the main representatives of this view.

express the subject was said to subsequently change the verb-second clause structure to an SVO order. As a consequence of the change from V2 to SVO, the oblique subjects in French are said to have disappeared completely (among others, cf. Harris 1978: 112). Modern generative approaches explain the change concerning psych-verbs, i.e. the loss of oblique experiencers, with the loss of causative morphology and the subsequent reanalysis of these verbs according to several stages in a cycle (cf. van Gelderen 2018)<sup>59</sup>. However, we get into problems when claiming the trigger is the loss of morphology. In fact, English did lose case morphology on full nouns, verb-morphology and causative morphology and therefore it seems reasonable to see this as a trigger for the loss of oblique subjects. The same might hold for French. Old French is considered to represent a two-case system concerning full NPs/DPs<sup>60</sup> and to still represent an intact verbal paradigm; therefore, it seems to be a straightforward explanation that the loss of morphology triggered as a final consequence the loss of structural oblique subjects. Nonetheless, it does not seem to be the correct assumption looking at the other Romance languages. Perhaps with the exception of Old French, none of the Old Romance languages made use of a highly developed case system and most of the Romance languages – maybe again with the exception of French – nowadays still show a fully intact verbal morphological system and still represent pro-drop languages. To be more specific, neither Old Spanish nor Old Catalan did use any case morphology on full NPs, and neither has Spanish nor Catalan lost verbal morphology over time: Old Spanish and Old Catalan were pro-drop languages and they are still pro-drop languages nowadays. Taking these facts together, it seems that we need to reconsider Old Romance syntax looking for other similarities we find between Old French and Old Spanish and Old Catalan and other changes within these languages that can explain the change we perceive with respect to oblique experiences in psych verbs.

#### 4.2 An alternative suggestion for the observed changes

Comparing the syntax of Old French and Old Spanish/Old Catalan it becomes obvious that even though only Old French still showed some case marking on full NPs/DPs, the three Old Romance languages behave similarly concerning word order. Old Catalan, Old French and Old Spanish all show the same flexibility concerning word order, more specifically they allow verb-second, verb-third, verb-final orders (cf. Kaiser 2002, Fischer 2010, 2012 among many others), postverbal clitics, even in embedded clauses, and what has been called stylistic fronting. Word order in Old Romance is clearly freer than in Modern Romance. Consider the following examples for Old Catalan (43), Old French (44), and Old Spanish (45).

- (43) (a) *E d'aquí avant lo rey féu-li donar tot ...* Old Catalan  
 and from there onwards the king made-him give all  
 'And from there onwards the king made him give all ...'  
 (b) *Tantost and sens triga vengueren Jacob e Curial*  
 soon and without haste came Jacob and Curial  
 'Jacob and Curial came soon without haste'

<sup>59</sup> See also Batllori (2012) for a discussion of the Latin predecessors of 9 Spanish experiencer verbs. The discussion is very interesting focusing on the aspectual behaviour of these verbs and explaining the change as a change in the event/argument structure of these verbs along the lines of van Gelderen's analysis (2008). The changes with respect to the event-structure is well studied. However, I believe the trigger for the change in the event structure of these verbs (since there is no change concerning the verbal morphology detected) needs to be investigated from a more global perspective, as proposed in section 4.2.

<sup>60</sup> On full NPs, the difference between the subject and the object is marked only on masculine nouns. However, even this distinction is only attested in early Old French texts; already in late Old French the case marking on the masculine NPs was no longer used (cf. Buridant 2000).

- (c) *lo dit bon hom hac totes les vestedures (...) que la dita infantaportà-li*  
 the said good man had all the clothing that the said Infant carried-him  
 ‘that good man had all the clothing (...) that the said Infant had given to him.’
- (d) *de ço que Déus donat<sub>i</sub> li havia \_\_\_<sub>i</sub>*  
 of this that God gave<sub>i</sub> him have \_\_\_<sub>i</sub>  
 ‘for that what God has given him’ (Fischer 2010: 44, 116)
- (44) (a) *Le matin li reis fist faire un brief* Old French  
 the morning the king let make a letter  
 ‘That morning the king arranged a letter to be written.’
- (b) *Celui soir envia Boorz le chevalier ....*  
 that night sent Boorz the knight ....  
 ‘That night Boorz sent the knight ....’
- (c) *qu’il as alanz é as venaz parole de salu mustrast*  
 that’he to.the leaving and to.the coming word of greeting accorded  
 ‘that he accorded a greeting to the people leaving and coming’
- (d) *que li fondaour profitié<sub>i</sub> ont \_\_\_<sub>i</sub> a lour ost ...*  
 that the soldiers profited<sub>i</sub> have \_\_\_<sub>i</sub> to their enemies  
 ‘that the soldiers have profited from their enemies ...’ (Fischer 2010: 45-6, 122)
- (45) (a) *Et despues el rey caso conla hermana* Old Spanish  
 and afterwards the king married with.the sister  
 ‘And afterwards the king married the sister.....’
- (b) *E entonces le dixo Muget ...*  
 and then him said Muget  
 ‘and then Muget told him ...’
- (c) *tornad-lo al que uos el pan uendio.*  
 return-it to.the who you the bread sold  
 ‘Return it to the one who sold you the bread.’
- (d) *un tal padre que forzado<sub>i</sub> ha \_\_\_<sub>i</sub> de ser*  
 a such father that forced<sub>i</sub> has \_\_\_<sub>i</sub> to be  
 ‘such a father that was forced to be’ (Fischer 2010: 46-47, 124)

The examples under (a) show a verb-third structure, the examples under (b) show a postverbal subject, the examples in (c) show the verb in final position. The Old Catalan example (43c) shows a postverbal clitic in an embedded sentence with a preceding constituent which has been argued to be non-existent in the Old Romance languages (Benincà 1995). The examples in (d) all show the construction stylistic fronting which was claimed to be a feature of symmetric verb-second languages (e.g. Cardinaletti & Roberts 1991 [2002], Holmberg 2000)<sup>61</sup>. The examples all show that Old Romance allowed a freer word order than Modern Romance that is connected to information structure.

In order to account for this variation of possible word orders, traditional approaches have described the Old Romance languages as topic-prominent languages (e.g. Lehmann 1976, Givón 1979) where word order is driven by information structure. In a generative framework, topic-prominent languages are defined as languages that realize more functional material in the left-periphery, that is to say, there are various positions preceding the finite verb, which

<sup>61</sup> Stylistic fronting is usually described as a movement by which an element is moved in front of the finite verb in those sentences where the position in front of the verb (SpecIP/SpecTP) is not occupied by an overt subject NP (Holmberg 2000) in order to guarantee the verb-second structure. However, in Old Spanish, Old Catalan and also in Old French stylistic fronting can be attested even in cases where the subject position is filled (cf. Fischer 2010).

results in various possible word orders with different information structures. Assuming additional functional material in the left periphery for the Old Romance languages seems to be a reasonable approach since independently of the data presented here, Cardinaletti & Roberts (1991 [2002]), Martins (1995), Fischer (2002), and Poletto (2000), among others, have argued for an additional functional category above IP/TP. I have suggested elsewhere that this additional category, [FP]<sup>62</sup>, is related to information structure, and that stylistic fronting, oblique experiencers and some other elements in verb-third orders make use of this additional category (cf. Fischer 2010). In sentences where FP is active, the Spec,TP position for nominative DPs is not opened. Subjects in Spec,FP position have an A' status (cf. Cardinaletti 2004), and stylistic fronting has an information structural effect (cf. Fischer 2004, Hrafnbjargarson 2004b). Thus, the old languages under investigation here all displayed much more variety concerning word order than their modern counterparts, which can be explained under the assumption of an additional category preceding TP.

From the 16<sup>th</sup> century onwards the Old Romance languages lose stylistic fronting, postverbal clitics in embedded sentences (Catalan), oblique subjects that pass most of the subject tests and verb third orders (cf. Fischer 2010). These changes can be explained by the loss of the functional category FP to the left of IP/TP. Concerning French, this resulted in a strict SVO word order where nominative case is instantiated in SpecTP explaining why oblique experiencers are clearly analysed as objects and the nominative causer is analysed as the subject of the clause. Concerning modern Spanish and modern Catalan, word order is still freer than in French, as suggested in section 3.2., nominative case is instantiated by the phi-features of T<sup>+FIN</sup> in little v, and SpecTP is a pole position where different constituents according to the thematic hierarchy can be hosted. Thus, the loss of the additional category FP seems to explain the loss of the above-mentioned word orders and the observed change from topic prominence to subject prominence discussed in the traditional literature (e.g. Lehman 1976).

## 5. An explanation of why oblique experiencers are doubled in Modern Spanish and Modern Catalan

Modern Spanish and Modern Catalan in contrast to French do not show a strict SVO word order. Since we find postverbal subjects in accusative constructions, e.g. *Llegó un tren* 'There arrived a train', oblique experiencers preceding the verb and nominative themes/causers following the verb, much discussion has been devoted as to whether preverbal overt subjects of Romance null-subject languages should rather be analyzed as preverbal topics (Zagona 2002, Cardinaletti 2004). It has been convincingly argued by Sheehan (2006: 88) that we find preverbal topics (*el jurado – estaban presionados* 'the jury – were pressured') in dislocated positions that do not have to agree with the verb in phi-features (46a) and preverbal subjects (*el jurado – estaba presionado* 'the jury – is pressured') that have to agree with the verb in phi-features (46b).

---

<sup>62</sup> FP may be understood as F(ocus) for the Germanic data (as has been argued by Hrafnbjargarson 2004b) or something similar to F(oregrounding) for the Romance data. Stylistic fronting in Romance emphasizes something that has already been mentioned, i.e. old information, a d-linked constituent in Pesetzky's (1987) terms, which is, however, understood as "outstanding/important" (as has been argued by Fischer 2010) and has therefore been put in the foreground again. In sentences where FP is present, the Spec,TP position for nominative constituents is not opened. As for the exact syntactic analysis and the exact semantic and information structural interpretation of the different sentences cited here, see Fischer (2010), where the different information structure of these and many more examples of SF as well as the specific semantics of oblique subjects in different Romance and Germanic languages are discussed.

- (46) (a) *El jurado, María nos aseguró que estaban presionados.* Spanish  
 the jury<sub>M.SG</sub> Mary us assures that were<sub>PL</sub> pressured<sub>M.PL</sub>  
 ‘The jury, Maria assured us, they felt pressured.’  
 (b) *El jurado estaba presionado / \*estaban presionados.*  
 the jury<sub>M.SG</sub> are.<sub>SG</sub> pressured<sub>M.SG</sub> / \*were<sub>PL</sub> pressured<sub>M.PL</sub>  
 ‘The jury felt pressured.’ (Sheehan 2006: 88)

Thus, even though Spanish and Catalan show greater variation w.r.t. word order than French, structural subjects can be identified, and subject prominence can be determined. One of the areas where subject prominence becomes apparent is the doubling of experiencers in Spanish and Catalan.

Looking at the change concerning oblique experiencers over the centuries, we do not only detect a change regarding their ability to pass subject tests, we also detect a change concerning the doubling of oblique experiencers. Recall examples (3) and (5) repeated below as (47) and (48) for convenience.

- (47) *A Marcos le gusta la música rock.* Spanish  
 to Marcos.DAT him.DAT pleases the music rock  
 ‘Marcos likes rock music.’  
 (48) *A en Jordi li agrada la música rock.* Catalan  
 to the Jordi.DAT him.DAT pleases the music rock  
 ‘Jordi likes rock music.’

The examples (47) and (48) would not be grammatical if *A Marcos* and *A en Jordi* were not doubled by the dative clitic. This was, however, not always the case. In Old Spanish and Old Catalan, the oblique or dative experiencers did not need to be doubled.

It has been shown by Fischer & Rinke (2013) and Fischer, Navarro & Vega (2019) that clitic doubling clearly started with full pronouns (accusative and datives) and subsequently continued with dative arguments. Fischer, Navarro & Vega (2019) proposed the following five stages for the emergence and distribution of clitic doubling in Spanish and Catalan varieties.

|                  |                                                                                                                                                          |                   |
|------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|
| <b>Stage I</b>   | → no CLD                                                                                                                                                 | Latin/ProtoRom    |
| <b>Stage II</b>  | → optional CLD with full pronouns                                                                                                                        | OSp/OCat          |
| <b>Stage III</b> | → obligatory CLD with full pronouns,<br>→ optional CLD with indirect nominal objects [+anim, +def, +spec]                                                | EMSp/DCat/Sp/Cat  |
| <b>Stage IV</b>  | → obligatory CLD with full pronouns,<br>→ obligatory CLD with indirect nominal objects<br>→ spread of CLD to direct nominal objects [+anim, +def, +spec] | (Buenos Aires Sp) |
| <b>Stage V</b>   | → generalized CLD (with all objects even inanimates)                                                                                                     | (Lima, AndeanSp)  |

Fig. 1: Synchronic and diachronic distribution of clitic doubling

Even though it was claimed that experiencer arguments are the first to be doubled in the Old Romance languages (Elvira 2014: 90), this has not been confirmed in our corpus (Navarro,

Fischer & Vega 2017, Fischer, Navarro & Vega 2019)<sup>63</sup>. The first instances of doubling are clearly attested with full pronouns in Old Spanish (OSp) and also in Old Catalan (OCat).

(49) *yo les fiz saber a ellos* OSp  
 I them.DAT made know to them.DAT  
 ‘I let them know.’ CDAR\_HH\_Sp [Fazienda de ultramar\_1210]

(50) *Prec-vos que m’ojats tots ami un poc.* OCat  
 ask-you that me.DAT’listen all to.me.DAT a little  
 ‘I ask you all to listen to me for a while.’ CDAR\_HH\_Cat [Meravelles\_1288]

Surprisingly enough, doubling of experiencers during the 13<sup>th</sup> century seems to be less frequent even with full pronoun experiencers than with other full pronouns. The specific search e.g. *ploure* ‘to like’ shows that out of 147 cases only 13 are doubled, exemplified in example (51) (cf. Vega 2015). Other psych-verbs show the same effect (52).

(51) *A mi no plac aquel exempli que*  
 to me.DAT not like that example that  
 ‘I don’t like that example that ...’ (Vega 2015)

(52) (a) *E si a mi no membrave,*  
 and if to me.DAT not remember  
 ‘And if I do not remember,’  
 (b) *A mi par que la obra*  
 to me.DAT seems that the work  
 ‘It seems to me that the work ...’  
 (c) *A mi appar que la virtut*  
 to me.DAT seems that the virtue  
 ‘It seems to me that the virtue ...’ CDAR\_HH\_Cat [Sant Vincent 1410]

Doubling of full pronouns was then followed by doubling of dative arguments (lexical DPs) during Early Modern Spanish (EMSp) and Decadència Catalan (DCat). Dative experiencer arguments start to be doubled obligatorily – at least to our findings – only from the 17<sup>th</sup> century onwards.

(53) *que li pesa a vostra senyora* DCat  
 what her.DAT feeling bad to your lady.DAT  
 ‘what your lady regrets’ CDAR\_HH\_Cat [Epistolaris d’Hipólita 1549]

In Modern Catalan and Modern Spanish, the doubling of oblique experiencers is obligatory in all regions we investigated (Castilia, Valencia, Catalonia, Balearic Islands, Argentina). We distributed an Acceptability Judgment Taks (AJT) on dative clitic doubling which has been filled in by 1,192 people. The AJT was designed in order to test the different thematic roles that have been claimed to trigger dative clitic doubling. The findings show that the thematic

<sup>63</sup> The corpora have been assembled for the DFG research project FI 875/3-1 and FI 875/3-2. They are called CDAR\_HH\_Sp, CDAR\_HH\_Cat, etc. CDAR stands for *Clitic Doubling across Romance*, HH stands for *Hamburg*, Sp for *Spanish*, etc. The year and concrete text names are given in brackets following this information. A list of all the texts used for our corpora can be found under <https://www.slm.uni-hamburg.de/romanistik/forschung/forschungsprojekte/downloads/clitic-doubling-corpus.pdf>. We would like to thank our student assistants Lisa Figura, Laura Golla, Svenja Gottschick, Sarah Jobus, and Clemens Kirsten, for their help in extracting and coding the data.

roles GOAL and RECIPIENT are optionally doubled, POSSESSIVE and BENEFACTIVE are often doubled, and dative EXPERIENCER arguments are doubled obligatorily in all regions (cf. Fischer, Navarro & Vega, to appear)<sup>64</sup>.

The diachronic and synchronic data we assembled show that oblique experiencer arguments have started to be obligatorily doubled from the 17<sup>th</sup> century onwards. Thus, they obligatorily double shortly after we attest a change concerning the available word orders, i.e. the loss of the additional functional category, the change from topic prominence to subject prominence.

In order to explain the change concerning the doubling of oblique experiencers, we would like to propose that clitic doubling with oblique experiencer arguments should be understood as a disambiguating mechanism along the following lines:

The change from topic-prominent to subject prominent languages made it necessary to identify the subject in a sentence. Experiencer arguments are however easily confused with subjects, especially in sentences where the nominative subject is an inanimate CAUSE or THEME. French reacted to the loss of topic prominence with a strict SVO word order and with oblique experiencers that do not pass any of the subject tests but can clearly be identified as the object of the sentence. In Spanish and Catalan, the change from topic to subject prominence resulted in a loss of many different word orders (verb third, verb-end, stylistic fronting etc.). However, some word order variation is still available nowadays, e.g. postverbal nominative subjects with accusatives *Llegó un tren* ‘A train arrived’ and e.g. postverbal nominative subjects with experiencers *A Marcos le gustan las matemáticas* ‘Marco likes mathematics’. The reason for this variation in word order can be explained with Spanish and Catalan being null-subject languages. Due to this fact nominative case is instantiated by the phi-features of T<sup>+FIN</sup> in little v, and Spec,TP is a pole position in which constituents can be merged according to the thematic hierarchy in (41). Furthermore in Spec,TP experiencer arguments (structural objects) pass some of the subject tests. Since Spanish and Catalan is however subject-prominent, subjects need to be identified. We would like to suggest that in order to differentiate the structural subjects from the structural objects in experiencer constructions, these animate experiencers – that even pass some subject tests but are clearly objects – need to be doubled.

## 6. Conclusion

It has been shown that the Old Romance languages Catalan, French, and Spanish, all allow oblique experiencers that exhibit some of the properties proposed by Keenan (1976). We argued that the reason for oblique experiencers to pass these subject tests can be attributed to the fact that the Old Romance languages are topic-prominent languages, i.e. that they have an additional functional category to the left of the verb into which subjects, objects, and other constituents can be internally merged. The change from Old to Modern Romance was then explained by the loss of this additional functional category which resulted in a change from topic prominence to subject prominence. Since Catalan and Spanish, in contrast to French, still show a freer word-order where subjects can precede and follow the verb, there is a need to disambiguate subjects from oblique experiencers that resemble subjects by being animate and passing some of the subject tests. This disambiguating mechanism in Modern Catalan and Modern Spanish is accomplished by the obligatory doubling of the oblique experiencers.

---

<sup>64</sup> For the exact percentages and distribution of dative clitic doubling and a description of the AJT see Fischer, Navarro & Vega (to appear).



## 7. References

- Alexiadou, Artemis. 2016. English psych verbs and the causative alternation. A case study in the history of English. *Questions and Answers. Linguistics* 3, 1-14.
- Anagnostopoulou, Elena. 1999. On experiencers. In: A. Alexidou, G. Horrocks & M. Stavrou (eds.). *Studies in Greek Syntax*. Dordrecht: Kluwer, 66-93.
- Anagnostopoulou, Elena. 2005. Strong and Weak Person Restrictions: A feature checking analysis. In: L. Heggie & F. Ordóñez (eds.) *Clitic and Affix Combinations*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 199-235.
- Allen, Cynthia. 1995. *Case Marking and Reanalysis: Grammatical Relations from Old to Early Modern English*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Batllori, Montse. 2012. Diachronía de los verbos psicologicos: una propuesta de entrada léxica. In: G. Glavería, M. Freixas, M. Prat & J. Torruella (eds.). *Historia del léxico: perspectivas de investigación*. Madrid: Vervuert. 341-374.
- Benincà, Paola. 1995. Complement Clitics in medieval Romance: the Tobler-Mussafia Law. In: A. Battye & I. Roberts, (eds.), *Clause Structure and Language Change*. New York: Oxford University Press, 325-344.
- Belletti, Adriana. 1988. The Case of Unaccusatives. *Linguistic Inquiry* 19(1): 1-34.
- Belletti, Adriana and Luigi Rizzi. 1988. Psych-Verbs and Theta-Theory. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 6: 291-352.
- Bonet, Eulalia. 1991. *Morphology after syntax. Pronominal clitics in Romance*. PhD. dissertation, Cambridge, MA: MIT. [<http://www.ai.mit.edu/projects/dm/theses/bonet91.pdf>] 24.12.2017.
- Buridant, Claude. 2000. *Grammaire nouvelle de l'ancien français*. Paris. Sedes.
- Butler, Milton, C. 1977. Reanalysis of Objects as Subjects in Middle English Impersonal Constructions. *Glossa: An International Journal of Linguistics* 11.2: 155-170.
- Cardinaletti, Anna. 2004. Towards a Cartography of Subject Positions. In: L. Rizzi (ed.), *The Structure of CP and IP. The Cartography of Syntactic Structures*, Vol. 2. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 115-165.
- Cardinaletti, Anna & Ian Roberts. 1991. Clause Structure and X-second. Ms. University di Venezia. Published 2002, in: G. Cinque (ed.) *Functional Structure in DP and IP: The Cartography of Syntactic Structures*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 123-166.
- Chomsky, Noam. 2001. Derivation by phase. In: M. Kenstowicz (ed.), *Ken Hale. A life in language*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1-52.
- D'Alessandro, Roberta, Susann Fischer & Gunnar Hrafnbjargarson, Gunnar Hrafn, (eds.). 2008 *Agreement Restrictions*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter (Interface Explorations 15).
- Elvira, Javier. 2014. Left forever. Subject datives and clitic doubling in Old Spanish. In: A. Dufter & Á. S. Octavio de Toledo y Huerta (eds.), *Left Sentence Peripheries in Spanish*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 77-97.
- Fischer, Susann. 2010. *Word-order change as a source of grammaticalisation*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Fischer, Susann 2012. Subjects, subject positions and word-order. Old Spanish vs. Old English. In: J. Fleicher & H. Simon (eds.). *Comparing Diachronies*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 119-141.
- Fischer, Susann & Esther Rinke. 2013. Explaining the variability in clitic doubling across Romance: A diachronic account. *Linguistische Berichte* 236: 455-472.
- Fischer, Susann, Mario Navarro, Jorge Vega Vilanova. 2019. The Clitic Doubling Parameter: Development and Distribution of a Cyclic Change. In: M. Bouzouita, A. Breitbarth, L. Danckaert & E. Witzhausen (eds.). *Cycles in Language Change*, Anne Breitbart et al. Oxford: OUP, 52-70.
- Fischer, Susann, Mario Navarro, Jorge Vega Vilanova. To appear. Testing an optional phenomenon. The limitations of GJTs. In Dogaru, M. Ed. *(De)constructing language structure and meaning. Studies on syntax, semantics, language acquisition*. Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Folli, Rafaella & Heidi Harley. 2005. Flavors of v. In: P. Kempchinsky & R. Slabakova (eds). *Aspectual inquiries*. Dordrecht: Springer, 95-120.
- Frenznén, Torsten. 1939. *Étude sur la syntaxe des pronoms personnels sujets en ancien français*. Thèse doctorale, Uppsala.
- Gaaf, Willem van der. 1904. *The Transition from the Impersonal to the Personal Construction in Middle English*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter. [Reprinted 1967. Amsterdam: Swets & Zeitlinger].
- Gabriel, Christoph. 2007. *Fokus im Spannungsfeld von Phonologie und Syntax. Eine Studie zum Spanischen*. Frankfurt: Vervuert.
- Givón, Talmy. 1979. From Discourse to Syntax: Grammar as a Processing Strategy. In: T. Gíón (ed.), *Syntax and Semantics*, Vol. 1. New York: Academic Press, 81-112.
- Gutiérrez-Bravo, Rodrigo. 2006. A reinterpretation of quirky subjects and related phenomena in Spanish. In: J.P. Montreuil / C. Nishida (eds.). *New Perspectives in Romance Linguistics*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 127-142.
- Harley, Heidi. 1995. *Subjects, events and licensing*. Dissertation, Cambridge, MA: MIT.
- Harris, Martin. 1978. *The evolution of French syntax: a comparative approach*. London/New York: Longman.
- Holmberg, Anders. 2000. Scandinavian Stylistic Fronting. *Linguistic Inquiry* 31: 445-483.
- Hrafnbjargarson, Gunnar Hrafn. 2004a. *Oblique Subjects and Stylistic Fronting in the History of Scandinavian*

- and English: *The Role of IP Spec*. Ph.D. Dissertation. University of Aarhus.
- Hrafnbjargarson, Gunnar Hrafn. 2004b. Stylistic Fronting. *Studia Linguistica* 58(2), 88-134.
- Jespersen, Otto. 1927. *A Modern English Grammar on Historical Principles*, Vol. 3 London: Allen & Unwin.
- Kaiser, Georg. A. 2002. *Verbstellung und Verbstellungswandel in den romanischen Sprachen*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- Keenan, Edward. 1976. Towards a universal definition of 'subject'. In: C.N. Li (ed.). *Subject and Topic*. New York: Academic Press, 303-334.
- Lehmann, Winfried P. 1976. From topic to subject in Indo-European. In: C.N. Li (ed.). *Subject and Topic*. New York: Academic Press. 445-457.
- Lightfoot, David. 1979. *Principles of Diachronic Syntax*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Martins, Ana Maria. 1995. Clitic Placement from Old to Modern European Portuguese. In: H. Andersen (ed.), *Historical Linguistics*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 295-307.
- Masullo, Pascual José. 1993. Two types of quirky subjects: Spanish vs. Icelandic. *NELS* 23, 303-317.
- Mathieu, Eric. 2006. Quirky Subjects in Old French. *Studia Linguistica*, Vol. 60, No.3, 282-312.
- McCawley, Noriko. 1976. From OE/ME 'Impersonal' to 'Personal' Constructions: What is a 'subject-less' S? In: B.S. Sanford, C.A. Walkers & S. Mufwene (eds.), *Papers from the Parasession on 'Diachronic Syntax'*. Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society. 192-204.
- Navarro, Mario, Susann Fischer & Jorge Vega Vilanova. 2017. Reconstruyendo un ciclo: doblado de clíticos y gramaticalización en las lenguas romances. In: S. Gumiel-Molina, M. Leonetti & I. Pérez-Jiménez (eds.), *Investigaciones actuales en Lingüística, Vol. III: Sintaxis*. Alcalá: Publicaciones de la Universidad de Alcalá, 111-126.
- Par, Anfós. 1923. *Sintaxi catalana segons los escrits en prosa de Bernat Metge (1398)*. Halle.
- Pesetzky, David. 1987. Wh-in-situ: Movement and unselective binding. In: E. Reuland & A. ter Meulen (eds.). *The representation of (In)Definiteness*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 98-129.
- Poletto, Cecilia. 2000. *The higher functional field. Evidence from Northern Italian dialects*. Oxford: OUP.
- Roberts, Ian. 1993. *Verbs and Diachronic Syntax: A Comparative History of English and French*. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Seefranz-Montag, Ariana von. 1983. *Syntaktische Funktionen und Wortstellungsveränderung: die Entwicklung „subjektloser“ Konstruktionen in einigen Sprachen*. München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag.
- Seefranz-Montag, Ariana von. 1984. Subjectless Constructions and Syntactic Change. In: F. Fisiak (ed.). *Historical Syntax*. Berlin: Mouton, 521-553.
- Sheehan, Michelle 2006. *The EPP and null subjects in Romance*. PhD dissertation. Newcastle University
- Sigurðsson, Halldór. 2004. Icelandic non-nominative subjects. In: K.V. Subbarao & P. Bhaskararo (eds.). *Non-nominative subjects*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 137-161.
- Van Gelderen, Elly. 2014. Changes in psych-verbs. A reanalysis of little v. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics* 13, 99-122.
- Van Gelderen, Elly. 2018. *The Diachrony of Verb Meaning: Aspect and Argument Structure*. Routledge: Routledge Studies in Historical Linguistics.
- Vega Vilanova, Jorge. 2015. Dative experiencers in Catalan: argument structure, thematic roles, and their relation with Clitic Doubling. Paper presented at the GGS (Generative Grammatik des Südens). Universität Wuppertal, 15-17 May 2015.
- Visser, F. Th. 1963-73. *An historical syntax of the English language*. 3 Vols. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- Zagona, Karen. 2002. *The syntax of Spanish*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

## Addresses of the Contributors

|                                                                                                                                                                                                        |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p><b>M.Teresa Espinal</b><br/> Dept. de Filologia Catalana / Centre de<br/> Lingüística Teòrica<br/> Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona<br/> 08193-Bellaterra<br/> Spain</p>                           | <p><b>Antonio Fábregas</b><br/> Office E-1019<br/> HSL-Fakultet<br/> University of Tromsø<br/> 9037 Tromsø<br/> Norway</p>                                                                                                               |
| <p><b>Susann Fischer</b><br/> Universität Hamburg<br/> Institut für Romanistik<br/> Von-Melle-Park 6<br/> 20146 Hamburg<br/> Germany</p>                                                               | <p><b>Klaus von Heusinger</b><br/> Institut für deutsche Sprache und Literatur I<br/> Sprachwissenschaft<br/> Universität zu Köln<br/> Albertus-Magnus-Platz<br/> 50923 Köln<br/> Germany</p>                                            |
| <p><b>Georg A. Kaiser</b><br/> Universität Konstanz<br/> Fachbereich Sprachwissenschaft<br/> Fach 189<br/> 78457 Konstanz<br/> Germany</p>                                                             | <p><b>Manuel Leonetti</b><br/> Departamento de Lengua Española y Teoría de la<br/> Literatura<br/> Facultad de Filología, Edificio D<br/> Universidad Complutense de Madrid<br/> Plaza del Profesor Aranguren, s/n<br/> 28040 Madrid</p> |
| <p><b>Svetlana Petrova</b><br/> Bergische Universität Wuppertal<br/> Fakultät für Geistes- und Kulturwissenschaften<br/> Germanistik/Linguistik<br/> Gaußstr. 20<br/> 42119 Wuppertal<br/> Germany</p> | <p><b>Svenja Schmid</b><br/> Universität Konstanz<br/> Fachbereich Sprachwissenschaft<br/> Fach 189<br/> 78457 Konstanz<br/> Germany</p>                                                                                                 |
| <p><b>Daria Seres</b><br/> Dept. de Filologia Catalana / Centre de<br/> Lingüística Teòrica<br/> Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona<br/> 08193-Bellaterra<br/> Spain</p>                                |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |

**Sekretariat des Fachbereichs Sprachwissenschaft: Frau Tania Simeoni**

Fach 185, D-78457 Konstanz, Tel. 07531/88-2465

E-Mail: Tania.Simeoni@uni-konstanz.de

Die von 1988 bis 2011 erschienenen Arbeitspapiere können teilweise über Frau Simeoni bezogen werden. Diejenigen Hefte, die in der unten stehenden Liste mit einem Stern \* versehen sind, sind vergriffen.

Die elektronisch verfügbaren Arbeitspapiere können auch über das Konstanzer Online-Publikations-System (KOPS) der Bibliothek der Universität Konstanz unter folgender Adresse bezogen werden:

<http://kops.uni-konstanz.de/handle/123456789/45/browse?authority=uniknseries1&type=konstanzseries>

75. *Susanne Günthner*: From Subordination to Coordination? Verb-second position in German causal and concessive constructions. Februar 1996. DM 5,-.
- 76.\* *Christoph Schwarze*: Lexikalisch-funktionale Grammatik. Eine Einführung in 10 Lektionen mit französischen Beispielen. April 1996. DM 6,-.
77. *Zvi Penner*: From Empty to Doubly-Filled Complementizers. A Case Study in the Acquisition of Subordination in Bernese Swiss German. Oktober 1996. DM 10,-.
78. *Klaus von Heusinger*: Turkish Relative Participles. A Reanalysis in Categorical Grammar. Oktober 1996. DM 5,-.
- 79.\* *Klaus von Heusinger und Urs Egli (Hrsg.)*: Proceedings of the Konstanz Workshop „Reference and Anaphorical Relations“. November 1996. DM 13,-.
- 80.\* *Vieri Samek-Lodovici*: A Unified Analysis of Noun- and Verb-based Italian Nominalizations in -ata. Februar 1997. DM 3,50.
81. *Holger Bückemeyer*: Zur Implementierung lexikalischer Übersetzungsbeziehungen. April 1997. DM 3,50.
82. *Bruce Mayo*: Die Konstanzer LFG-Umgebung. Mai 1997. DM 6,50.
83. *Björn Wiemer*: Displaced speech - systematic account and acquisitional background (illustrated by Polish and German). Oktober 1996 / Februar 1997. DM 7,-.
84. *Klaus von Heusinger & Urs Egli (Hrsg.)*: Proceedings of the Konstanz Workshop „Reference and Anaphorical Relations“ Vol 2. November 1997. DM 10,-.
85. *Christoph Schwarze*: Repräsentation und Variation. Zur Entwicklung der romanischen Auxiliarsyntax. November 1997. DM 3,-.
86. *Bruce Mayo*: Derivational Morphology in the Konstanz LFG-Workbench. Dezember, 1997. DM 7,-.
- 87.\* *Peter E. Pause*: Lokativalternation bei deutschen Partikelverben und ihren französischen Entsprechungen. Dezember 1997. DM 2,-.
- 88.\* *Christoph Schwarze & Aditi Lahiri*: Einführung in die französische Phonologie. April 1998. DM 10,-.
- 89.\* *Zvi Penner and Karin Wymann (eds.)*: Normal and Impaired Language Acquisition. Studies in Lexical, Syntactic, and Phonological Development. Juni 1998. DM 13,-.
90. *Ingrid Langer*: Lexikalisch-funktionale Analyse des französischen Adjektivs. Juli 1998. DM 6,-.
91. *Katrin Mutz*: I suffissi alterativi dell'italiano: prospettive sincroniche e diacroniche. November 1998. DM 4,-.
92. *Regine Eckardt*: Formale diachrone Semantik/Formal Diachronic Semantics. November 1998. DM 6,-.

93. *Klaus Hölker*: Lexikalische Variation der Zeitschemata bei einwertigen Verben im Französischen. Dezember 1998. DM 6,50.
94. *Klaus von Heusinger*: Abstraktnominalisierungen im Deutschen. Eine Bildungsgeschichte. Dezember 1998. DM 5,-.
- 95.\* *Peter Pause & Daniel Heitz*: Verbale Polysemie: Das Verb öffnen. Dezember 1998. DM 4,-.
- 96.\* *Susanne Günthner*: Entwickelt sich der Konzessivmarker “obwohl” zum Diskursmarker? Grammatikalisierungstendenzen im gesprochenen Deutsch. 1999. DM 4,-.
- 97.\* *Christine Gohl & Susanne Günthner*: Grammatikalisierung von weil als Diskursmarker in der gesprochenen Sprache. 1999. DM 4,-.
98. *Mohamed Badawi*: A propos des aspects lexicaux du passif analytique en arabe moderne. März 1999. DM 5,-.
- 99.\* *Aditi Lahiri, Alexander Patschovsky, Christoph Schwarze (eds.)*: Issues in Interdisciplinary Research on the Lexicon, März 1999, DM 10,-.
- 100.\* *Veronika Knüppel*: Two lexical-functional analyses of French, Mai 1999, DM 4,-.
- 101.\* *Milena Vagnaduzzo*: I verbi italiani in -sc: morfologia e semantica in prospettiva diacronica, Juni 1999, DM 3,50.
- 102.\* *Vieri Samek-Lodovici*: The Internal Structure of Arguments: Evidence from Italian Nominalization-based Complex Predicates, August 1999, DM 3,50.
103. *Matthias Weisgerber*: “Öffnen” und “aufmachen”. Eine empirische Studie zum Gebrauch zweier Verben, Oktober 1999. DM 4,50.
104. *Regine Eckardt*: On the underlying mechanics of certain types of meaning change. November 1999, DM 4,50.
105. *Zvi Penner, Petra Schulz and Karin Wymann*: Normal and Impaired Language Acquisition II. Studies in Lexical, Syntactic, and Phonological Development. November 1999, DM 10,-.
106. *Regine Eckardt & Klaus von Heusinger (eds.)*: Meaning Change – Meaning Variation. Workshop held at Konstanz, Feb. 1999, Vol. I, Feb. 2000, DM 7,-.
107. *Christoph Schwarze*: Aspetti semantici della formazione delle parole, April 2001, DM 2,-.
- 108.\* *Nikolaus Schpak-Dolt*: Bibliographische Materialien zur romanischen Morphologie 1875–1950, Oktober 2001, DM 5,-.
109. *Klaus von Heusinger*: Italian Nominalization of -ata: Derivation and the Structure of the Lexicon. Januar 2002, €1,-.
110. *Klaus von Heusinger & Ruth Kempson & Wilfried Meyer-Viol (eds.)*: Proceedings of the Workshop “Choice Functions and Natural Language Semantics”. Januar 2002, €3,50.
111. *Klaus von Heusinger & Christoph Schwarze*: Underspecification in the semantics of word-formation. The case of denominal verbs of removal in Italian Oktober 2002, €1,-.
112. *Götz Wienold & Christoph Schwarze*: The Lexicalization of Movement Concepts in French, Italian, Japanese and Korean: Towards a Realistic Typology; Oktober 2002, €1,-.
113. *Klaus von Heusinger & Georg A. Kaiser (eds.)*: Proceedings of the Workshop “Semantic and Syntactic Aspects of Specificity in Romance Languages”; April 2003, €3,50.
114. *Matthias Weisgerber (ed.)*: Proceedings of the Conference “SuB7 – Sinn und Bedeutung”; September 2003, €5,-.
115. *Katrin Henk*: Stammalternanz und Stammausgleich im Mittelfranzösischen; August 2004, €3,50.
116. *Marc-Olivier Hinzelin & Georg A. Kaiser*: Das neutrale Pronomen *ello* im dominikanischen Spanisch und die Nullsubjekteigenschaft. Anhang: Korpus und Bibliographie zu *ello* und unpersönlichen Konstruktionen (mit Subjekt) im Spanischen; Oktober 2004, €1,-.
117. *Cécile Meier & Matthias Weisgerber (eds.)*: Proceedings of the Conference “SuB8 – Sinn und Bedeutung”; Oktober 2004, €6,-.
118. *Judith Meinschaefer*: The prosodic domain of Italian *troncamento* is not the clitic group; Juni 2005, €1,-.
119. *Klaus von Heusinger, Georg A. Kaiser & Elisabeth Stark (eds.)*: Proceedings of the Workshop “Specificity and the Evolution / Emergence of Nominal Determination Systems in Romance”; Oktober 2005, €3,50.

120. C. Kelling, J. Meinschaefer & K. Mutz (Hg.): Morphologie und romanistische Sprachwissenschaft. Akten der gleichnamigen Sektion beim XXIX. Deutschen Romanistentag, Saarbrücken 2005; Mai 2006.
121. Luigia Garrapa: Vowel Elision in two Varieties of Spoken Italian is constrained by Morphology; April 2007.
122. Georg A. Kaiser & Manuel Leonetti (eds.): Proceedings of the Workshop “Definiteness, Specificity and Animacy in Ibero-Romance Languages”; Juli 2007, €3,50.
123. Georg A. Kaiser & Eva-Maria Remberger (eds.): Proceedings of the Workshop “Null-subjects, Expletives, and Locatives in Romance”; März 2009, €3,50.
124. M. Teresa Espinal, Manuel Leonetti & Louise McNally (eds.): Proceedings of the Workshop “Definiteness and DP structure in Romance languages”; Juni 2009, €3,50.
125. Natascha Pomino & Elisabeth Stark (eds.): Proceedings of the V NEREUS International Workshop: “Mismatches in Romance”; September 2011, €3,50.
126. Christoph Schwarze: Les “adjectifs participes”: des lexemes construits en morphologie; Januar 2012, €1,-.
127. Sofiana Chiriacescu (ed.): Proceedings of the VI NEREUS International Workshop: “Theoretical implications at the syntax/semantics interface in Romance”; Dezember 2013, €3,50.
128. Susann Fischer & Marco Navarro (eds.): Proceedings of the VII NEREUS International Workshop: “Theoretical implications at the syntax/semantics interface in Romance”; November 2016, €3,50.
129. Teresa Parodi (ed.): Proceedings of the VIII NEREUS International Workshop: “Referential properties of the Romance DP in the context of multilingualism”; November 2018, €3,50.
130. Josef Bayer & Yvonne Viesel (eds.): Proceedings of the Workshop “Clause Typing and the Syntax-to-Discourse Relation in Head-Final Languages”; November 2019, €3,50.