

Definiteness Effects

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Definite clitics in existential sentences: some consequences for a theory of definiteness effects

Mittwoch, 07.03.2012, 14.30 bis 15.00 Uhr

It is a well-known fact that, despite the robust constraint against definites in existentials, definite object clitics are acceptable as pivots in *haber* constructions in Spanish:

- (1) – ¿Había problemas en ese momento? – Sí, los había.
‘– Were there problems at that moment? – Yes, there were’

A plausible account of this unexpected presence is offered in Longa et al. (1998) who suggest that accusative clitics are “recycled” as partitives. In fact *los/las* receive an indefinite interpretation in (1). Thus, the data no longer count as counterexamples. However, in (2) the clitic gives rise to the classical definiteness-effect, due to the incompatibility between definite pivots and existential contexts with locative codas (Leonetti 2008).

- (2) – ¿Hay vino blanco? – *Lo hay en la cocina. (Cf. Lo hay. / Hay en la cocina.)
‘–Is there any white wine? – There is (some) in the kitchen’

Things are complicated since definite clitics are nevertheless acceptable in some existential contexts even with locative codas, provided that the sentence is generic:

- (3) Buenas naranjas, (las) hay en Florida.
‘There are good oranges in Florida’

To sum up, accusative clitics in existential sentences behave like definite DPs only under certain conditions. This raises at least the following questions: How can we account for the divergent properties of clitics and definite DPs? What kind of existential sentences give rise to constraints on definite DPs? Is there any common feature connecting all the cases where the definiteness-effect fails to appear? I shall provide arguments for a semantic/pragmatic approach to the constraint.

- Leonetti, M. (2008): Definiteness Effects and the Role of the Coda in Existential Constructions. In: Klinge, Alex, Hoeg-Müller, Henrik (Hg.): On Nominal Determination. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 131–162.
- Longa, V., Lorenzo, G., Rigau, G. (1998): Subject Clitics and Clitic Recycling. Locative Sentences in Some Iberian Romance Languages. In: Journal of Linguistics 34:1, 125–164.

Delia Bentley
University of Manchester

Definiteness effects: a crosslinguistic perspective

Mittwoch, 07.03.2012, 15.00 bis 15.30 Uhr

In this paper, we develop a proposal by Beaver *et al.* (2006), which originates in work by Mikkelsen (2002). On the basis of evidence from well-known and lesser-known Romance languages, we claim that the DEs, i.e., the constraints on the licensing and coding of existential pivots, largely depend on the interaction of markedness constraints on the subject. The crosslinguistic variation in the DEs depends on the variation in subject markedness. We adopt the Optimality Theory notion of markedness as a relation; specifically, the relation between, on the one hand, the binary \pm subject scale and, on the other hand, a prominence scale of subjecthood properties: in Romance, topicality and specificity. The Romance languages provide evidence for a tripartite typology of the DEs: languages which consistently fail to encode pivots as subjects; languages which mark pivots differentially as subjects and non-subjects, depending on their degree of markedness; finally, languages which consistently encode pivots as subjects.

We broaden the scope of our investigation to languages which provide insufficient or inconsistent evidence for grammatical relations. In these languages, the DEs may reduce to semantic or pragmatic constraints on existential constructions, whilst failing to be characterized by the coding and behavioural properties which distinguish between subjects and non subjects in Romance.

Crosslinguistically, existentials require a construal in which the pivot is not presupposed: a putative existential structure in which such a construal is unavailable may be infelicitous or ungrammatical.

- Beaver, D., I. Francez & D. Levinson (2006): Bad subject. (Non-) canonicity and NP distribution in existentials. In E. Georgala & J. Howell (Hg.): Proceedings of Semantic and Linguistic Theory XV. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 19–43.
- Mikkelsen, L. (2002): Reanalysing the definiteness effect. Evidence from Danish. In: Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax 69, 1–75.

Patrick Brandt
Universität zu Köln

Definiteness effects and token-reflexivity (again)

Mittwoch, 07.03.2012, 15.30 bis 16.00 Uhr

This talk defends an analysis of Definiteness Effects (DEs) in presentational/existential constructions (PTCs) based on the idea that PTCs lack expressions counting as logical and grammatical subjects. Therefore, they reach the PF/LF interface unsaturated hence uninterpretable. The interface uses a trick in PTCs to achieve interpretability, namely it uses the PTC token to saturate the structure (in the simplest, i.e., nonanaphoric case).

Patterns pertaining to defective case and agreement in relation to in particular temporal interpretation suggest that PTCs are poorer structures both from a syntactic and a semantic perspective. We propose that DEs are a consequence of particular types of NPs' (non)ability to be integrated into these poorer structures: Quantified (set-of-set-denoting) NPs like "every N" or "most N" are ruled in PTCs as the set they select for can only be formed above the structural level corresponding to that of PTCs. In contrast, non-quantified (set-denoting) NPs like "(a)/some/n N" may combine with what other property is coded in the structure via intersection. Definite NPs like "the N" as well as pronouns and names also denote sets, but they carry a presupposition of singularity. By making them subject, this presupposition could hence should have been used to saturate the structure.

DEs weaken in complex tenses and modal contexts, and we see more leeway with regard to DEs in so-called pro-drop languages. We expect this to be so to the extent that in such cases, presuppositional material that is independently around may help achieve saturation.

- Brandt, P. (2001): Time and Definiteness Effects again. In: L. Carmichael, C.-H. Huang & V. Samiian (Hg.), *Proceedings of the Western Conference on Linguistics (WECOL)*, Fresno: California State University. 43–55.
- Dobrovie-Sorin, C. (1995): Types of predicates and the representation of existential readings. In: Lawson, A. (Hg.). *Proceedings from SALT VII*.
- McNally, L. (1998): Existential sentences without existential quantification. In: *Linguistics and Philosophy* 21, 353–392.
- Milsark, G. (1977): Toward and explanation of certain peculiarities of the existential construction in English. In: *Linguistic Analysis* 3, 1–30.

Charlotte Coy
Eberhard Karls Universität Tübingen

A diachronic corpus study of definiteness effects in French existential constructions

Mittwoch, 07.03.2012, 16.30 bis 17.00 Uhr

This study investigates three French existential constructions, *il y a*, *exister* and *il existe* with respect to the definiteness restriction. The impersonal *il y a* is present in all periods of French, whereas *exister* entered the French language in the XVth century and can be constructed both personally with regular subject verb agreement and impersonally with the expletive subject pronoun *il*. The first occurrences of *il y a* + *definite DP* (1509) clearly precede *exister* + *definite DP* (1764) and *il existe* + *definite DP* (1831).

Previous studies (i.a. Dobrovie-Sorin/Beyssade 2004; Etchegoyhen/Tsoulas 1998) identified three groups of systematic exceptions to the French definiteness effect: list readings, cataphoric uses and superlatives. My results show that a fourth group, localisations, has to be added. All four groups are attested with *il y a*. Some of the occurrences are ambiguous and possibly belong to more than one group. *exister* + *definite DP* occurs mainly with subject inversion and right dislocation. There seem to be few restrictions on the definiteness of the DP. *il existe* + *definite DP* is mostly found with list readings and cataphoric uses. Contrary to *il y a* and *exister*, it neither allows for localisations nor for any other type of definite DP, thus showing the definiteness effect in its most pronounced form.

Localisations received little attention in the literature on French definiteness effects. However, there exist several theories on the inherent link between existential and locational constructions (i.a. Freeze 1992), which provides a new perspective on these findings.

Freeze, Ray (1992): Existentials and other locatives. In: *Language* 68, 553–595.

Dobrovie-Sorin, Carmen/ Beyssade, Claire (2004): *Définir les indéfinis*. Paris: CNRS Editions.

Etchegoyhen, Thierry/Tsoulas, George (1998): Thetic and Categorical, Attributive and Referential.

Towards an explanation of definiteness effects. In: Schwegler, Armin u.a. (Hg.): *Romance Linguistics. Theoretical Perspectives*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 81–95.

Silvio Cruschina
University of Manchester

Definiteness effects: Locative and existential constructions

Mittwoch, 07.03.2012, 17.00 bis 18.00 Uhr

This paper examines the hypothesis that Italian, and null subject languages in general, provide exceptions to the Definiteness Effects. Several scholars have suggested that Italian existential constructions with a definite DP are not genuine existentials (Moro 1997, Zamparelli 2000), but rather locative sentences. However, the apparent morphosyntactic identity between existentials with indefinite DPs (I-ExS) and existentials with definite DPs (D-ExS) has blurred this distinction. Starting from some observations on the information structure of existentials (cf. Leonetti 2008) and on the nature of the clitic *ci*, we claim that D-ExS are in reality locative constructions with a focal DP and a topical, dislocated coda. In these constructions, the pronoun *ci* is a locative resumptive clitic picking up the dislocated coda.

Resumptive clitics are typical of topics, but impossible with foci (Rizzi 1997). We therefore expect to find a contrast between D-ExS with a topic coda, where the dislocated constituent can be resumed by *ci*, and D-ExS in which the locative corresponds to focal elements, such as a contrastive focus (1), a locative quantified phrase (2) or a wh-operator, which are incompatible with resumptive clitics:

- (1) a. IN GIARDINO c'è un gatto / *il gatto (,non al balcone)
in garden there-is a cat the cat not at-the balcony
- (2) b. In nessun paese ci sono politici onesti / *i politici onesti.
in no country there-are politicians honest / the honest politicians

Further evidence for this distinction will be provided from some dialects of Italy and from recent works on the diachronic development of existentials in Italo-Romance.

Leonetti, Manuel (2008): Definiteness Effects and the Role of the Coda in Existential Constructions. In: Høeg Müller, Henrik and Alex Klinge (Hg.): Essays on Determination. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 131–162.

Moro, Andrea (1997): The Raising of Predicates. Predicative Noun Phrases and the Theory of Clause Structure. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rizzi, Luigi (1997): The fine structure of the left periphery. In: Haegeman, Liliane (Hg.): Elements of Grammar. Handbook of Generative Syntax. Dordrecht: Kluwer, 281–337.

Zamparelli, Roberto (2000): Layers in the Determiner Phrase. New York: Garland.

Matthias Gerner
City University of Hong Kong

Referring classifiers in Qanao

Mittwoch 07.03.2012, 18.00 bis 18.30 Uhr

Qanao (Miao-Yao: China, Guizhou) is unique for the following property. *Classifier-noun* constructions are always interpreted to be referring to a discourse participant, whereas *bare-noun* constructions always generate non-referring readings.

- | | | | | | | | |
|--------|--|------|--------|--------|---------|----------------|--------------|
| (1) a. | dlad | bit | niangb | gid | guzx | Unspecific dog | |
| | dog | lie | at | | outside | | |
| | ‘Dogs lie outside (... whereas people live inside).’ | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | |
| b. | dail | dlad | bit | niangb | gid | gux | Specific dog |
| | CL | dog | lie | at | | outside | |
| | ‘A/the dog lies outside (... it is barking).’ | | | | | | |

For events, there are different degrees of referentiality depending on the number of NPs containing a referring classifier.

- | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--------|---|--------|-----|------|------|-------|------|------|-------|------|---|
| (2) a. | dail | ghab | bul | baib | dail | jib | daib | laib | bix | seix | Specific event with 3/3 specific arguments |
| | CL | friend | | give | CL | child | | CL | money | | |
| | ‘A/the friend gave a/the child a/the coin.’ | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | |
| b. | dail | ghab | bul | baib | dail | jib | daib | | bix | seix | Less specific event with 2/3 specific arguments |
| | CL | friend | | give | CL | child | | | money | | |
| | ‘A/the friend gave a/the child money.’ | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | |
| c. | | ghab | bul | baib | | jib | daib | | bix | seix | Unspecific event with 0/3 specific arguments |
| | | friend | | give | | child | | | money | | |
| | ‘Friends gave children money.’ | | | | | | | | | | |

Referentiality is analyzed by *de re/de dicto* representations. The possibility to refer is a covert property of the noun phrase or the clause akin of overt belief predicates. Let \Box be the necessity operator in modal logic (Hintikka 1969).

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|--------|---|-----------------------------------|
| (3) a. | $\exists x \Box Nx$ | Classifier-noun (<i>de re</i>) |
| b. | $\Box \exists x Nx$ | Bare-noun (<i>de dicto</i>) |
| | | |
| (4) a. | $\exists x \exists y \exists z \Box (Nx \wedge Py \wedge Qz)$ | Event with 3/3 specific arguments |
| b. | $\exists x \exists y \Box \exists z (Nx \wedge Py \wedge Qz)$ | Event with 2/3 specific arguments |
| c. | $\Box \exists x \exists y \exists z (Nx \wedge Py \wedge Qz)$ | Event with 0/3 specific arguments |

Hintikka, J. (1969). Semantics for Propositional Attitudes, In: Hockney, Davis, Wilson (Hg.): Philosophical Logic Dordrecht; Reidel.

Elisa Sorrenti & Maria Goldbach
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The structure of eventives: the distribution of DPs and locative clitics in Standard Italian and Cittanovese

Donnerstag, 08.03.2012, 09.00 bis 09.30 Uhr

In our presentation we analyse eventive sentences in Standard Italian and in Calabrese from Cittanova.

- (1) a. (*C') È stata premiata una scultura (St. Ital.)
 b. Premiaru na statua (Citt.)
 [It] has been awarded a sculpture

We want to investigate the distribution of this locative clitic *ci* / *'nci* and the form of the DP in Standard Italian and Cittanova Calabrese. In Standard Italian the locative clitic is not allowed. In Cittanovese *'nci* can appear but its meaning is that of an ethical dative. Thus, the locative clitic cannot occur in structures like those in (1). The definite determiner is legitimate as well.

- (2) a. (*C') È stata premiata la scultura (St. Ital.)
 b. Premiaru a statua (Citt.)
 [It] has been awarded the sculpture

The occurrence of the locative clitic *ci* / *'nci* provokes ungrammaticality. On the other hand, there are constructions which permit both:

- (3) a. C'è stato un incidente (St. Ital.)
 b. 'Nci fu n'incidenti (Citt.)
 c. È stato un incidente (St. Ital.)
 d. Fu n'incidenti (Citt.)
 There was an accident

While (3a,b) are neutral assertions, (3c,d) can only be uttered in response to the question 'what was that? Was this an accident?'. The question therefore is whether the accident- and the sculpture-sentences share a common structure or whether one is derived from the other.

Ciconte, Francesco (2008): Existential constructions in early Italo-Romance vernaculars. The locative hypothesis. In: Proceedings of the Oxford Postgraduate Conference LingO 2007. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 35–42.

Kordula de Kuthy & Detmar Meurers
Universität Tübingen

Definiteness effects as epiphenomena of information structure

Donnerstag, 08.03.2012, 09.30 bis 10.00 Uhr

Definiteness effects have been observed in connection with a number of word order phenomena in German. We here take a closer look at definiteness effects occurring with partial constituents. The first phenomenon under investigation is the **NP-PP split** (De Kuthy 2002) in which a PP occurs separate from its nominal head. It exhibits a definiteness effect resulting in unacceptable examples when the NP is definite (1).

- (1) *Über Syntax* hat Max sich [ein/***das** Buch] ausgeliehen.
About syntax has Max self a/the book borrowed

The ungrammaticality has been explained as a specificity effect (Müller 1996), a classical syntactic restriction on extraction, which leaves clear counterexamples (2) unexplained.

- (2) *Über Syntax* hat Karl nur **dieses**, aber nicht **jenes** Buch gelesen.
on syntax has Karl only this but not that book read

The second instance of a partial constituent phenomenon showing a definiteness effect involves subject realized as part of a fronted non-finite verbal constituent (3) – a definiteness effect for which we again find counterexamples (4).

- (3) [Ein/***Der** Außenseiter gewonnen] hat hier noch nie.
an_{nom}/the_{nom} outsider won has here still never
(4) **Die** Hände gezittert haben ihm diesmal nicht. (Höhle, 1997, p. 114)
the hands trembled have him this time not

We show that the definiteness effect occurring with the two partial constituent phenomena can be explained as an interaction of information structure requirements of those partial constituents and the general discourse properties of definite NPs. We show that the counter-examples to a syntactic explanation automatically follow from our information structure-based explanation.

De Kuthy, Kordula (2002): Discontinuous NPs in German. A Case Study of the Interaction of Syntax, Semantics and Pragmatics. Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications.

Müller, Gereon (1996): Incomplete Category Fronting. Tübingen, Universität Tübingen, Habilitationsschrift, Published as Sfs-Report 01–96.

Höhle, T. N. (1997): Vorangestellte Verben und Komplementierer sind eine natürliche Klasse. In: Dürscheid, C., Ramers K. H., Schwarz, M. (Hg.): Sprache im Fokus. Festschrift für Heinz Vater zum 65. Geburtstag, Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 107–120.

Mohamed Jlassi
University of Newcastle

Two distinct *theres* in Tunisian Arabic (TA) and definiteness effects revisited

Donnerstag, 08.03.2012, 10.00 bis 10.30 Uhr

A relaxed understanding of Milsark's (1974) 'definiteness effect' is possible in TA's existentials.

- (1) a. **fammawled**yal^cebfi-l-ku:ra b. There is **a boy** playing football.
 "There is a boy playing football."
(2) a. **famma le-wled**yal^cebfi-l-ku:ra b. *There is **the boy** playing football.
 "I can witness the boy playing football."

Even if this restriction is relaxed in the deictic uses of English *there*, such an exception remains irrelevant to TA, given that TA has two *theres*: the exclusively existential *famma* (*there*) and the exclusively deictic *gha:di*: (*there*).

In (3), not only definiteness is visible, but also a cluster of semantic and pragmatic features.

- (3) a. **famma rje:l** wa (famma) nsa:
 "There are men and women."
 b. **famma e-rrje:l** wa (famma) e-nnsa:
 "I can witness the men and women."

In (3a), for instance, the indefinite DP-pivot observes the definiteness effect but also exhibits a narrower scope and introduces a new discourse referent, compared to the definite DP-pivot of (3b). This talk would suggest that TA distinguishes between two distinct *theres*, and elaborates some semantic and pragmatic aspects of the DP-pivot to fathom the syntax-semantics and pragmatics interface of existentials. It aims at relaxing the definiteness restriction to include semantic features crosscutting with pragmatic features.

Chomsky, N. (1981): Lectures on Government and Binding. Dordrecht: Foris

Freeze, R. (1992): Existentials and other locatives. In: Language 68, 553–595.

Milsark, G. (1974): Cambridge, Mass., MIT, Doctoral dissertation.

Eva-Maria Remberger
Universität Konstanz

Definiteness effects in Sardinian

Donnerstag, 08.03.2012, 10.30 bis 11.00 Uhr

Since Jones' (1993) seminal work on Sardinian syntax it is a well-known fact that Sardinian, a Romance language, shows definiteness effects not only in existential constructions proper, where the existence of a referential DP is predicated, but also in analytic constructions in the compound perfect, namely impersonal presentational constructions with unaccusative verbs, where an event is brought into existence. Both constructions show the same correlations between definiteness vs. indefiniteness of the „subject“ (or pivot) of the construction, its pre- vs. postverbal position, its agreement with the verb vs. default agreement, auxiliary selection BE vs. auxiliary selection HAVE, and the properties of the clitic present (locative vs. existential), namely:

- (i) with an indefinite/weak DP we find:
=> postverbal position of the subject, HAVE-selection, default-agreement, an obligatory clitic;
- (ii) with a definite/strong DP we find:
=> pre- and postverbal position of the subject, BE-selection, S-V-agreement, a locative clitic (often referring to an overt locative PP);

The Sardinian constructions have already been analysed in several studies (e.g. La Fauci & Loporcaro 1997, Bentley 2004, 2011, Remberger 2009); in Remberger (2009), for example, I argued for a syntactic analysis where the “subject”-DPs at issue occupy the specifier of different functional/lexical categories, depending on their properties. However, in this talk I will add a more detailed analysis concerning further semantic and information structural properties of the arguments and events in the Sardinian constructions under discussion, considering also sentence mood, polarity, focus fronting and topicalisation.

Bentley, Delia (2004): Definiteness effects. Evidence from Sardinian. In: *Transactions of the Philological Society* 102:1, 57–101.

Bentley, Delia (2011): Sui costrutti esistenziali sardi. Effetti di definitezza, deissi, evidenzialità. In: *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 127:1, 111–140.

Jones, Michael Allan (1993): *Sardinian Syntax*. London & New York: Routledge.

La Fauci, Nunzio & Michele Loporcaro (1997): Outline of a theory of existentials on evidence from Romance. In: *Studi Italiani di Linguistica Teorica e Applicata* 26, 5–55.

Remberger, Eva-Maria (2009): Null subjects, expletives and locatives in Sardinian. In: Kaiser, Georg, Remberger, Eva-Maria (Hg.): *Null subjects, expletives and locatives in Romance*. Konstanz, Universität Konstanz, *Konstanzer Arbeitspapiere des Fachbereichs Sprachwissenschaft* (No. 123), 231–261.

Nadia Varley
Bergische Universität Wuppertal

Definiteness effects, agreement, and feature valuation: The case of “absence existentials”

Donnerstag, 08.03.2012, 11.30 bis 12.00 Uhr

This talk explores the (In)Definiteness Effects (DE) in existentials in relation to agreement, EPP, Case and feature valuation. Thus existentials of the kind “There are *the piglets* in the garden” are arguably considered infelicitous not only in English:

- (1) a. V gradinata ima *prasencata BG
in garden-the have_{AUX,3SG,NEUT} piglets-the_{NOM}
b. V sadu est’ *eti porosjata RU
in garden_{PREP} be_{AUX,INF} these_{NOM} piglets_{NOM}

Generally existentials can provide valuable insights into the notion of “subject” and the constraints governing existentially bound vs. referential readings (Kiss 1996). Following Partee & Borschev (2007) I take existentials to be exemplified in their best when negated. In this respect I address the issue of DE in “absence existentials” (AE) in Bulgarian and Russian. Both languages exhibit common features in terms of AE: (i) DFLT agreement, and (ii) morphological constraints on their subjects of predication which are clitic-doubled in BG and GEN-valued in RU:

- (2) a. Njama *(gi) prasencata (AE)/BG
not-have_{AUX,3SG,PRS} CL_{3PL} piglets-the_{PL,DEF}
‘The piglets are no more_{EXIST}/absent_{LOC}’
b. (V sadu) net (etix) porosjat (AE)/RU
(in garden_{PREP}) NEG (these) piglets_{PL,GEN}
‘There are no piglets in the garden/these piglets are no more’

DFLT agreement follows from the fact that no matching takes place between T_{ϕ} (PRSN) and φ/θ features on v (cf. also Lavine & Freidin 2002). My take on the puzzle of AE is assuming that feature valuation proceeds at the level of sign formation prior the morpho-phonological subinterface (cf. Halle & Marantz 1993 et seq.).

- Chomsky, N. (2008): On Phases. In: Freidin, R. et al. (Hg.): Foundational Issues in Linguistic Theory. Essays in Honor of Jean-Roger Vergnaud. Cambridge: MIT Press, 133–66.
Halle, M., Marantz, A. (1993): Distributed Morphology and the Pieces of Inflection. In: Hale, K. & Keyser, S. (Hg.): The View from Building 20. Essays in Linguistics in Honor of Sylvain Bromberger. Cambridge: MIT Press, 111–76.
Kiss, K. É. (1996): Two Subject Positions in English. In: The Linguistic Review 13, 119–42.
Lavine, J. & Freidin, R. (2002): The Subject of Defective T(ense) in Slavic. In: Journal of Slavic Linguistics 10, 253–89.
Partee, B. & Borschev, V. (2007): Existential Sentences, BE, and the Genitive of Negation. In: Comorovski, I. & von Heusinger, K. (Hg.): Existence: Semantics and Syntax. Springer, 147–90.

Alexander Werth
Universität Marburg

Das Verhältnis von definitem Artikel und Personennamen in deutschen Regionalsprachen

Donnerstag, 08.03.2012, 12.00 bis 12.30 Uhr

Unter semantischen Gesichtspunkten scheint das Verhältnis des definiten Artikels zu Personennamen denkbar einfach zu sein: Personennamen sind maximal definit, die Kookkurrenz um definiten Artikel ist deshalb redundant. Vereinzelte Befunde aus der Forschung weisen jedoch darauf hin, dass das Deutsche – und insbesondere die deutschen Regionalsprachen – diesbezüglich einem komplexeren Verhältnis als vermutet unterliegt. Im Standarddeutschen werden Personennamen – mit wenigen pragmatisch bedingten Ausnahmen (vgl. Duden 2009, § 396ff; Gallmann 1997) – obligatorisch ohne definiten Artikel verwendet. Für die oberen Sprechlagen der deutschen Regionalsprachen konnte Bellmann (1990) dagegen zeigen, dass Sprecher südlicherer Sprachräume Personennamen obligatorisch mit definitem Artikel verwenden, während Artikel vor Personennamen im Niederdeutschen nie Verwendung finden. In diesem Zusammenhang sind auch vereinzelt Befunde von Interesse, wonach es Dialekte gibt, die neben dem definiten und indefiniten Artikel noch ein drittes Artikelsystem mit stärker deiktischer und/oder demonstrativer Komponente ausgebildet haben (vgl. Hartmann 1982). Im Vortrag werden sowohl Sprachgebrauchsdaten aus dem Zwirner-Korpus als auch Daten aus einer Kompetenzerhebung mittels Fragebogen vorgestellt, die die These erhärten, wonach die deutschen Regionalsprachen den definiten Artikel (auch, aber nicht nur) bei Personennamen völlig unterschiedlich verwenden. Es wird dafür argumentiert, dass der definite Artikel im oberdeutschen Raum sowie in Teilen des mitteldeutschen Raums seine Definitheitsfunktion in der Kombination mit Personennamen vollständig abgelegt hat und nun primär dazu dient, den morphologischen Kasus zu tragen und damit semantische Rollen zu kodieren. In den übrigen Dialekten des Deutschen wird diese Funktion dagegen durch andere formale Kodierungsmittel wie durch Serialisierung oder Namendeklination erfüllt, wodurch der definite Artikel seine genuine semantische Funktion behält.

Bellmann, G. (1990): *Pronomen und Korrektur*. Berlin u. a.: de Gruyter.

Duden (2009⁸): *Duden. Die Grammatik*. Mannheim: Dudenverlag.

Gallmann, P. (1997): *Zur Morphosyntax der Eigennamen im Deutschen*. In: Löbel, E., Rauh, G. (Hg.): *Lexikalische Kategorien und Merkmale*. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 73–86.

Hartmann, D. (1982): *Deixis and anaphora in German dialects*. In: Klein, W., Weissenborn, J. (Hg.): *Here and there. Cross-linguistic studies on deixis and demonstration*. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: Benjamins, 187–207.

Guido Mensching & Anja Weingart
Freie Universität Berlin

Definiteness effects in Romance VS(X) structures

Freitag, 09.03.2012, 11.30 bis 12.00 Uhr

In this talk we shall focus on VS(X) structures in Romance. In examples withthetic/all-new readings, VS(X) is grammatical in Spanish with several verb types, whereas Italian, French and Portuguese show VS(X) order only with unaccusative verbs. In previous papers (Mensching & Remberger 2011, Mensching & Weingart 2009, 2011), these word order facts have been explained by the assumption that these structures always imply expletives, which are covert (variants of *pro*) in Italian, Portuguese and Spanish and overt (*il*) in French. We have argued for Portuguese, Italian and French that expletives need case and therefore merge in [spec,vP], a position occupied by the subject and thus unavailable in transitive/unergative structures. In Spanish, the expletive merges in [Spec,TP], thus independent of the verb type. French, Italian and Portuguese (cf. Belletti 1988, Sheehan 2007) almost exclusively license indefinite associates. We shall argue that this falls in with our theory: Since Italian, Portuguese and French have the expletive merged in the same phrasal domain as the associate, an influence (maybe connected to existential quantification) of the expletive on the associate is expected. In fact, as we have argued, in Italian and Portuguese, the expletive itself probes the associate, whereas, in Spanish, this connection is only indirect, since the expletive probes T°. This is borne out by the absence of definiteness effects in Spanish VS(X) types. We shall show how the probing mechanism and the nature of the expletive can be related to the existence / non-existence of definiteness effects in Italian and Portuguese.

- Belletti, Adriana. (1988): The case of unaccusatives. In: Linguistic Inquiry 19, 1–34.
- Mensching, Guido, Remberger, Eva-Maria (2011): Syntactic Variation and Change in Romance. A Minimalist Approach. In: Siemund, Peter (Hg.): Linguistic Universals and language Variation. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 361–403.
- Mensching, Guido, Weingart, Anja (2009): Word order, pro and expletives in Romance. A comparative minimalist analysis. Paper presented at GGS Leipzig; 27. April 2009.
- Mensching, Guido, Weingart, Anja (2011): The Null Subject Parameter and the lexicon in minimalist syntax. Paper presented at Workshop on Formal Grammar and Syntactic Variation. Rethinking Parameters. Universidad Autónoma de Madrid; 27. October 2011.
- Sheehan, Michelle (2007): The EPP and the Null Subjects in Romance. PhD thesis, Newcastle University.

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The acquisition of definiteness effects in L2 Spanish

Freitag, 09.03.2012, 12.00 bis 12.30 Uhr

According to Milsark (1977) existential constructions show a Definiteness Effect (DE). As shown here for Spanish, they allow an indefinite DP (1a) but disallow definite DPs (1b):

- (1) a. *Hay un hombre en la habitación*
 There-is a men in the room
 ‘There is a man in the room.’
 b. **Hay el hombre en la habitación*
 There-is the man in the room
 There’s the man in the room.

White (2008) and White et. al. (2009) show that the DE can be acquired in L2 English even if the DE in the speakers’ L1 plays out differently. For example, Russian, Turkish and Mandarin speakers can acquire the DE in English negative existentials although their L1 patterns differently in these contexts irrespective of how they perform in non-existential uses of English articles. To my knowledge, there are no studies testing the acquisition of the DE in languages other than English.

In this presentation I will start by giving a detailed account of the DE in (European) Spanish. In general, this system seems to be very restrictive. The Impersonal *hay* ‘there is/are’ is used in true existential constructions (2c) *estar* ‘be’ is used with definite DPs:

- (2) c. *Los hombres están en la habitación.*
 The men are in the room
 ‘The men are in the room.’

In the second part of this presentation I will show that L2 learners of Spanish having German or Turkish as their L1s are sensitive to the DE even in those contexts where their L1s differ from Spanish.

Milsark, G. (1977): Toward an explanation of certain peculiarities of the existential construction in English. In: *Linguistic Analysis* 3(1), 1–31.

Rodríguez-Mondoñedo, M. (in press): A restriction on the Definiteness Effect in Spanish. In: *Proceedings of the 37th North-Eastern Linguistics Society (NELS 37)*.

White, L. (2008): Different? Yes. Fundamentally? No. Definiteness Effects in the L2 English of Mandarin Speakers. In R. Slabakova, J. Rothman, P. Kempchinsky and E. Gavrusseva (Hg.) *Proceedings of the 9th Generative Approaches to Second Language Acquisition Conference (GASLA 2007)*, 251–261.

White, L., Belikova, A., Hagstrom, P., Kupisch, T. and Ozcelik, O. (2009): Restrictions on definiteness in L2 English. In J. Chandlee et al. (Hg.) Proceedings of the 33rd Annual Boston University Conference on Language Development, Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Press, 622–633.

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Definiteness effects in impersonal constructions: The case of French

Freitag, 09.03.2012, 12.30 bis 13.00 Uhr

Impersonal constructions with a postverbal DP in Modern Standard French, usually analyzed as a non-null subject language, show, except for certain well defined cases, a Definiteness Effect (DE), in that this DP must not be definite. In the literature, it is generally claimed that the DE in impersonal constructions consistently correlates with the non-null subject property, a claim evidently substantiated by Modern Standard French.

Given their general analysis as null subject languages, this correlation predicts that in Old and Middle French, the DE does not obligatorily hold. Yet, as the data from an extensive diachronic text corpus show, this prediction is not borne out: apart from cases identical to those encountered in Modern Standard French, none of the relevant impersonal constructions have a definite postverbal DP. Unexpectedly, then, Old and Middle French show a DE, an idiosyncrasy which represents clear evidence against the assumed correlation between the DE and the non-null subject property.

Interestingly, Old and Middle French show a further idiosyncrasy otherwise characteristic of non-null subject languages: the (non-marginal) expression of expletive subject pronouns in impersonal constructions.

This talk will argue that Old and Middle French are best analyzed as non-null subject languages. Under this analysis, both the expression of expletive subject pronouns in impersonal constructions and the obligatoriness of the DE in (some of) these follow naturally. In light of this analysis, then, the diachronic data from French may eventually be considered evidence for, rather than against, the assumed correlation between the DE and the non-null subject property.

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Definiteness effects in Romance predicative DPs

Freitag, 09.03.2012, 13.00 bis 13.30 Uhr

The definiteness effect (DE) has been a matter of much debate, particularly in connection with the null-subject-parameter. In this respect, the main evidence discussed has been existential sentences. In (1) English but not Catalan shows DE:

- (1) a. *There is the doctor at the front door.
 b. Hi ha el metge, a la porta principal.

In this communication I will discuss evidence from the nominal domain that sheds new light on the semantic/pragmatic nature of the DE: the 'N of a N' construction. As discussed in Bennis (1998), and Bennis, Corver&denDikken (2006), the subject of this construction cannot be definite *in Germanic*. Yet, this restriction doesn't extend to Catalan (Villalba 2007):

- (2) a. that idiot of *the/a doctor
 b. aquell idiota del/*d'un metge

As happens with the existential construction, the subject must be specific (Villalba 2007), which explains the incompatibility with nonspecific indefinite DPs:

- (3) a. *Hi ha un metge qualsevol. '*There is any doctor'
 b. *l'idiota d'un metge qualsevol '*that idiot of any doctor'

The second parallelism concerns strong pronouns. Both the 'N of a N' and the existential construction are antipronominal contexts:

- (4) a. *Hi ha ell. '*There is him'
 b. *l'idiota d'ell '*that idiot of him'

Following the analysis of the 'N of a N' construction" defended in Villalba (2007), Villalba&Bartra (2010), which resorts to a topic-focus articulation internal to the DP with predicate raising, I will suggest that the DE displayed, is best analyzed in pragmatic terms, as a restriction on the informational status of the referents denoted by the DP (see also Leonetti 2009).

Bennis, Hans, Corver, Norbert, den Dikken, Marcel (1998): Predication in nominal phrases. In *Journal of comparative Germanic linguistics*, 1:85–117.

den Dikken, Marcel (2006): *Relators and Linkers*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

Leonetti, M. (2009): Remarks on Focus Structure and Non-Specificity. In Espinal, M. et.al. (Hg.) *Definiteness and DP Structure in Romance Languages*, Arbeitspapier 124, Universität Konstanz, pages 83–111.

Villalba, Xavier, Bartra-Kaufmann, Anna (2010): Predicate focus fronting in the Spanish determiner phrase. In *Lingua*, 120(4): 819–849.

Villalba, Xavier (2007): True and spurious articles in Germanic and Romance. In: *Cuadernos de Lingüística*, 14:121–134, 2007.