A CROSS-LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF IL/SL COPULAR CONSTRUCTIONS IN ROMANCE

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INTRODUCTION

Aim:

Studying the IL/SL distinction in the domain of non-verbal predication in Romance languages: a comparison between *ser/estar* languages (e.g. Spanish, Portuguese, Catalan) and mono-copular languages (namely, French and Italian).

The problem:

- The IL/SL contrast has been deeply analysed for *ser/estar* languages (1): *ser*P = ILP / *estar*P = SLP (Fábregas 2012, Pérez Jiménez et al. 2015, Silvagni 2017, a.o.). Oppositely, very little attention has been paid to mono-copular languages, which lack a SL-copula (2).

(1) Ana es estudiante / está enfadada. (Spanish)
'Ana is$_{ser}$ a student / is$_{estar}$ angry'

(2) a. Anne est {étudiante / en colère}. (French)
b. Anna è {studentessa / arrabbiata}. (Italian)
'Ana is a student / angry'

- The IL/SL contrast is a cross-linguistic phenomenon. The lack of copular alternation does not prevent the IL/SL distinction: also in Italian and French, CopPs are divided into ILP and SLP, as shown by the eventivity tests in (3)-(12) (Silvagni 2017).

ILP	SLP
Eventive modifiers (locative and comitative)	
(3) a. *Ana **es** estudiante {en la biblioteca / con sus libros}. (Spanish) b *Anne est étudiante {à la biblioteque / avec ses livres}. (French) c. *Anna è studentessa {in biblioteca / con i suoi libri}. (Italian) 'Ana is a student in the library / with her books'	(4) a. Anna **está** tumbada {en su habitación / con su peluche}. (Spanish) b. Anne est allongée {dans son lit / avec son ours en peluche}. (French) c. Anna è stesa {nel suo letto / con il suo peluche}. (Italian) 'Ana is lying on her bed / with her teddy bear'
Depictives	
(5) a. *Ana **es** estudiante contenta. (Spanish) b. *Anne est étudiante heureuse. (French) c. *Anna è studentessa contenta. (Italian) 'Ana is a student happy'	(6) a. Anna **está** en su cama llorando. (Spanish) b. Anne est dans son lit en pleurs. (French) c. Anna è nel suo letto in lacrime. (Italian) 'Ana is in her bed in tears'
Quantification	
(7) a. *Cada vez que Ana **es** madrileña… (Spanish) b. *À chaque fois qu'Anne est parisienne… (French) c. *Ogni volta che Anna è romana… (Italian) 'Whenever Ana is spanish…'	(8) a. Cada vez que Ana **está** enfadada, llora. (Spanish) b. À chaque fois qu'Anne est en colère, elle pleure. (French) c. Ogni volta che Anna è arrabbiata, piange. (Italian) 'Whenever Ana is angry, she cries'
Eventive reading: "here and now" in the present	
(9) a. Ana **es** actriz. [≠ Aquí y ahora] (Spanish) b. Anne est actrice. [≠ Ici et maintenant] (French) c. Anna è un'attrice. [≠ Qui e ora] (Italian) 'Ana is an actress. [Here and now]'	(10) a. Ana **está** tumbada. [Aquí y ahora] (Spanish) b. Anne est allongée. [Ici et maintenant] (French) c. Anna è stesa. [Qui e ora] (Italian) 'Ana is lying. [Here and now]'
Eventive reading: "once" or "several times" in the past	
(11) a. Ana **fue** actriz. [#Solo una vez / #muchas veces] (Spanish) b. Anne a été actrice. [#Une seule fois / #plusieurs fois] (French) c. Anna è stata un'attrice. [#Solo una volta / #varie volte] (Italian) 'Ana was beautiful. [Only once / several times]'	(12) a. Ana **estuvo** enferma. [Solo una vez / muchas veces] (Spanish) b. Anne a été malade. [Une seule fois / plusieurs fois] (French) c. Anna è stata malata. [Solo una volta / varie volte] (Italian) 'Ana was sick. [Only once / several times]'

MAIN QUESTION:

How is the IL/SL distinction encoded in mono-copular languages?
To what extent are *ser/estar* languages and mono-copular languages similar?

PROPOSAL

Analytical foundations:

Silvagni's (2017) proposal for Spanish:

- IL/SL distinction is the first parameter of inner aspect (also Hoekstra 1992)

(13) ILPs = property-descriptive = lack of inner aspect = VPs
SLPs = event-descriptive = inner aspectual content: spacetime point (or "Stage") = AspPs

- Contrary to IL-structures (14), the derivation of SL-structures involve a formal feature [Stage] (15) ("formal" in the sense of Zeijlstra 2008, 2014), which is responsible for the grammatical effects in (3)-(12).

(14) *ser*Ps:
[VP [V ser] [AP … [A inteligente]]]

(15) *estar*Ps:
[AspP [Asp estar$_{[iS]}$] [AP … [A harta$_{[uS]}$]]]

(16) Spanish aspectual elements:
Asp (*estar*) [iS]
SLPs [uS]

Hypothesis:

The same formal feature [i/uS] is at play in the derivation of SL-CopPs in mono-copular languages.

Evidence:

- (3)-(12): evidence for IL and SL-structures in mono-copular languages

(17) a. Anne VP[est étudiante]. (French)
b. Anna VP[è studentessa]. (Italian)
'Ana is a student'

(18) a. Anne AspP[est fatiguée]. (French)
b. Anna AspP[è stanca]. (Italian)
'Ana is tired'

- SL-ness is rooted in predicates:

• As in *ser/estar* languages (19a-20a), SLPs can receive only the SL-reading (19b-c). Unlike ILPs, which can be coerced into SL (20b-c) (Silvagni 2015).

(19) a. Ana {*es / está} cansada. (Spanish)
b. Anne est fatiguée$_{(only\ SL\text{-}reading)}$. (French)
c. Anna è stanca$_{(only\ SL\text{-}reading)}$. (Italian)
'Ana is tired'

(20) a. Ana {es / está} gorda. (Spanish)
b. Anne est grosse$_{(IL\ or\ SL\text{-}reading)}$. (French)
c. Anna è grassa$_{(IL\ or\ SL\text{-}reading)}$. (Italian)
'Ana is fat'

• ILPs can only be complements of N, while SLPs can serve as NP adjuncts (21) (Leonetti & Escandell 1991 for Spanish).

(21) a. Le portrait d'Anne {*étudiante / furieuse}. (French)
b. Il ritratto di Anna {*studentessa / furiosa}. (Italian)
'The picture of Ana student / furious'

• Only SLPs can serve as depictives (22) and as complements of perception verbs (23) (Demonte & Masullo 1999, Hernanz 1988, Rapoport 1991).

(22) a. Anne est allée au travail {*intelligente / malade}. (French)
b. Anna è andata al lavoro {*intelligente / ammalata}. (Italian)
'Ana went to work intelligent / sick'

(23) a. J'ai vu Anne {*étudiante / triste}. (French)
b. Ho visto Anna {*studentessa / triste}. (Italian)
'I saw Anna student/sick'

- As in Spanish, SLPs show a formal requirement to stand in a proper syntactic relation with an occurrence of the [Stage] feature: SL-adjectives can appear exclusively post-nominally (24) (Contreras & Zagona 2014, Demonte 1999, Picallo 2012).

(24) a. la (*enferma) niña (enferma) (Spanish)
b. l' (*malade) enfant (malade) (French)
c. la (*ammalata) bambina (ammalata) (Italian)
'The sick child'

(Cinque 2010: post-nominal SL-adjectives are merged via a reduced relative clause) >>> need of establishing a relation with a c-commanding element (25).

(25) a. la niña (que está$_{[iS]}$) enferma$_{[uS]}$ (Spanish)
b. l'enfant (qui est)$_{[iS]}$ malade$_{[uS]}$ (French)
c. la bambina (che è)$_{[iS]}$ ammalata$_{[uS]}$ (Italian)

ANALYSIS

- The [i/uS] feature is at play in the derivation of SL-CopPs in mono-copular languages, the only difference being the lack of a SL-Cop, i.e., an overt realization of Asp.

(26) Aspectual elements in mono-copular languages (e.g., Italian and French):
Asp [iS]
SLPs [uS]

- SL-CopPs: SLPs exhibit an agreement relationship with a covert Asp head (27).

(27) SL-CopPs:
[AspP [Asp$_{[iS]}$] [VP [V essere/être] [AP … [A enfermo/malad$_{[uS]}$]]]]

- IL-CopPs: no feature, no agreement (28)

(28) IL-CopPs:
[VP [V essere/être] [AP … [A intelligente]]]

CONCLUSIONS

- The lack of a copular alternation does not block the IL/SL distinction in mono-copular languages: CopPs in Romance are split into the IL and SL classes.
- The same formal feature [i/uS] drives the derivation of SL-CopPs across languages.
- The difference between copular alternation languages (*ser/estar*) and mono-copular languages is reduced to a lexical accident: the presence or the lack of a SL-Cop (*estar*).
- Overt aspectual agreement in copular alternation languages (i.e., Spanish, Catalan, Portuguese) / Covert aspectual agreement in mono-copular languages (i.e., Italian, French).

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