

Ways of specificity across languages

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<abstract>

In this presentation, I propose that specificity of DPs is expressed by means of Agree features. Chomsky (2005, 2006) claims that Agree features play three different roles in the narrow syntax; (i) the assignment of Case, (ii) the appearance of agreement morphologies, and (iii) movement of a DP. Therefore, the current proposal predicts that there should be correlation between specific interpretation, on the one hand and (i)-(iii), on the other. I argue that this prediction is borne out by both objects and subjects across languages.

The Organization

section 1: introduces the assumptions

section 2: offers the proposal and predictions

section 3: discusses Case, Agreement, and Movement of object DPs

section 4: turns to the interpretation of subject DPs

section 5: offers evidence for AspP

section 6: discusses some consequences

section 7: concludes the discussion

1. Framework

In this section, we introduce the assumptions of this presentation. In section 1.1, we briefly outline syntactic effects of Agree features. In the next subsection (section 1.2), we turn to interpretations of DPs.

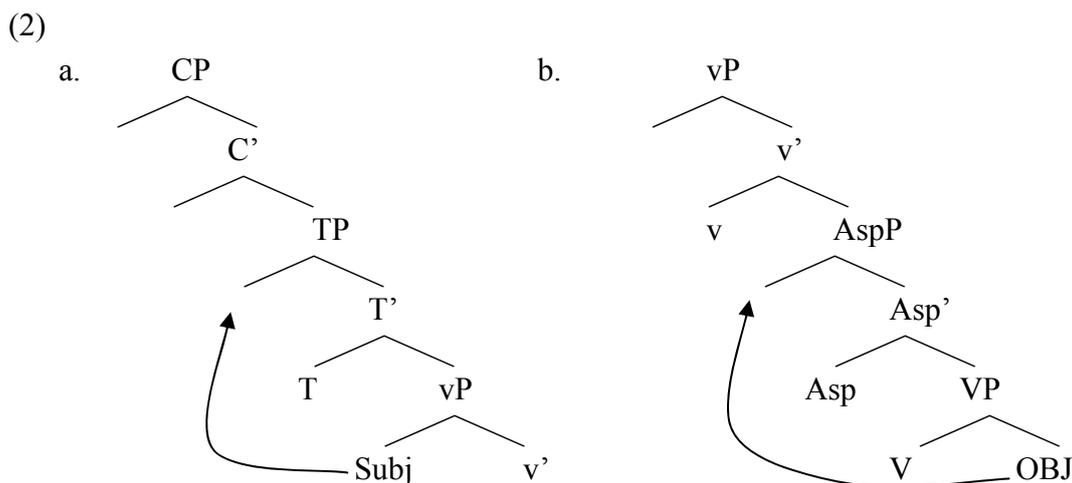
1.1 Chomsky (2005, 2006)

We take, as a point of departure, the assumptions made in Chomsky (2005, 2006). He assumes that phasal heads are the locus of uninterpretable features. Among uninterpretable features, what we are concerned with in this presentation is an Agree feature. According to Chomsky, Agree features mediate the agreement relation between a DP and V/T. Moreover, an Agree feature on a head offers a landing site of a DP (Richards (2007)). As results of the presence of an Agree feature, the following should be observed:

- (1) The roles of an Agree feature on a phase head.
 - (i) An Agree feature attracts the closest DP to a specifier position.
 - (ii) Agreement morphologies show up.
 - (iii) Case is assigned to a DP.

Next, we assume the articulated phrase structure of the vP domain (This is suggested by Masaru Nakamura). The phrase structure of vP domain that I assume takes it into the consideration that there are growing number of arguments for the presence of AspP. We then assume AspP between vP and VP. (See the following authors for the relevant discussions: Borer (1998), Hout (2000a, 2000b), Kratzer (1996), McClure (1998), Ritter and Rosen (1998, 2000), Sanz (1999), Schmitt (1995, 1999), Snyder (1995), Travis (2000a, 2000b)).

Specifically, we assume the phrase structures shown below.



DPs are attracted and move to higher positions, and agreement between the moved DPs and V/T occurs there. We adopt (2) as our syntactic configurations within CP and vP .

1.2 Specificity

Let us turn to our assumptions concerning semantics. DPs are said to be classified into two groups according to their interpretations. One group is called definite DPs and the other is called indefinite DPs.

Milsark (1977, 1979) claims that strong determiners make DPs definite. His classification of strong determiners is as follows:

(3) strong determiners and some examples:

determiners	examples
the	the dogs
demonstratives	this, these, that, those
pronouns	he, him, she,...
possessive Det's	her N, John's N
universal determiners	all, every, each
any,	any animal
∅ with universal reading	coffee, unicorns

On the other hand, indefinite DPs are headed by weak determiners such as those in (4).

(4) weak determiners and some examples

determiners	examples
a	a man, a dog
some	some girls
number determiners	two boys
∅ with mass or plural determiners in nonuniversal reading	water, sheep

Indefinite DPs are further classified into specific indefinites and non-specific indefinites. Thus, according to Milsark's claim, the following sentence is ambiguous.

(5) Some salesmen walked in. (Milsark 1977: 18)

One interpretation of the subject DP *salesmen* is specific, and the other is non-specific.

What should be clarified here is the terms "specific" and "non-specific". I essentially take Enç's (1991) claim as correct. Enç equates specific DPs with D-linked DPs, which are discussed in Pesetsky (1987). The referent of a specific DP is included in the set that is previously established discourse referents. Thus, in the specific interpretation, (5) can be paraphrased as (6).

(6) Some of the salesmen walked in. (Milsark 1977: 18)

The referents of *salesmen* have been already introduced into the discourse and the sentence claims that some of them walked in, but others did not.

The DP *some salesmen* in (5) also has a non-specific indefinite reading. In this reading, the existence of salesmen has not been presupposed. The sentence with this

reading claims that it occurs that some number of salesmen walked in and that this number is not large.

This dichotomy of indefinites in readings has been discussed with different terminologies by different authors. This can be summarized in the following table.

(7)

Indefinites	
non-specific indefinites	specific indefinites
non-presupposed	presupposed
cardinal reading	quantifier reading
existential reading	generic reading
thetic judgment	categorical judgment

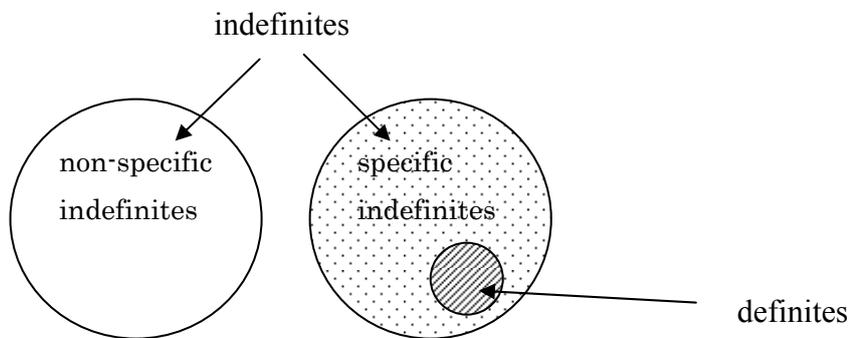
(See the following researchers for the discussion concerning this differentiation of indefinites: Enç (1991), Diesing (1992), Donnellan (1966), Hollman (2004), Kiss (1996), Kratzer (1995), Kuroda (1972), Partee (1970), Rapoport (1995))¹

In this representation, we do not discuss the problem of whether this is just a difference in terminologies or there is a deeply rooted semantic factor to derive all of them.

Importantly to my presentation, specific use of indefinites is often equated with definites. In other words, definite DPs are a subcase of specific use of indefinites (Donnellan (1966), Enç (1991), Rapoport (1995)).

Using a diagram, the relation between specific indefinites and definites are as follows:

(8)



¹ The attributive use of definites can be equated with non-specific use of indefinites (Donnellan (1966), Partee (1970), Rapoport (1995)).

With the assumptions made here in mind, let me proceed to the proposal in the next section.

2. The Proposal and Predictions

2.1 The Proposal

Let me turn to the proposal. I propose (9):

- (9) Specificity is expressed by means of Agree features.

This proposal can answer the question of why Agree features exist. Our answer is that an Agree feature is necessary in order to indicate that DPs are interpreted as specific at the C-I interface.

2.2 Predictions

The predictions from the current proposal are as follows:

- (10) If an Agree feature is used for specificity, there should be correlation between specificity and
- (i) Case, or
 - (ii) agreement morphologies, or
 - (iii) movement of DP

There should be (at least) three groups of languages described in (10). In this paper, languages where specificity is expressed by Case is called the Case languages. If languages use agreement morphologies to presuppose the reference of arguments, I call these languages the Agreement languages. Languages are called the Movement languages if specificity is expressed by means of Movement. In what follows, I argue that the expectation (10) is borne out, examining various languages.

3. Object

In this section, I discuss the semantic interpretation of object DPs. The proposal expects that there should be a correlation between specific interpretation, on the one hand, and case, agreement, and movement, on the other. I will show that the correlation holds for many languages.

3.1 Case

If we can find the Case languages, this type of languages adopts the Case strategy to express specificity of the object DPs. This expectation is borne out by Turkish.

- (11) a. *İki kız tanıyordum.* (Turkish)
two girl I-knew
'I knew two girls.'
- b. *İki kız-ı tanıyordum.*
two girl-**Acc** I-knew
'I knew two girls.' (Enç 1991: 6)

In (11a), the object is not marked as Accusative while in (11b) Accusative Case is assigned to the object. Our proposal predicts that the object only in (11b) receives a specific interpretation. This prediction is correct. The object *İki kız* 'two girls' in (11b) is interpreted as members of the previously mentioned group in the discourse. On the other hand, the object in (11a) is non-specific; that in addition to the previously mentioned group, the speaker introduces the two additional girls into the discourse.

This difference in interpretation makes an effect on the application of scrambling. Accusative-marked DPs can undergo the scrambling operation, but non-case marked objects cannot be scrambled into the sentence-initial position. This contrast is shown in (12)-(13).

- (12) a. *Ben belki **kitab** oku-r-um.*
I maybe **book** read-aor-1st-sg-AGR
'I may read/do book reading.'
- b. **Ben **kitab** belki oku-r-um.*
I **book** maybe read-aor-1st-sg.-AGR (Aygen-Tosun 1999: 1)
- (13) a. **Ben hızlı **kitab-I** okurum.*
I fast **book-acc** read-aor-1st-sg.
- b. *Ben **kitab-I** hızlı okurum.*
'I read the book fast.' (Aygen-Tosun 1999: 2)

This is because scrambling can apply only to DPs that are presupposed to exist. Specific DPs satisfy this condition on the application of scrambling. That is, they presuppose the existence of referent. Therefore, no semantic contradiction arises, hence the sentence is grammatical. (The idea that only presupposed DPs can undergo

scrambling is supported from the first language acquisition (see Otsu (1999).²)

The correlation between case-marking and the object specificity can be found in Korean. In Korean, Accusative Case seems optional, shown in (14).

- (14) a. Na-nun [sakwa sey kay-**lul**] mek-ess-ta (Korean)
 I-Nom apple 3 Cl-**Acc** eat-Past-Dc
 ‘I ate three apples.’
 b. Na-nun [sakwa sey kay] mek-ess-ta
 I-Nom apple 3 Cl eat-Past-Dc
 ‘I ate three apples.’ (Lee and Cho 2003: 39)

However, if the Korean counterpart of *certain* modifies nouns, Accusative Case obligatory appears. See the contrast between (15a) and (15b).

- (15) a. Younghi-ka [etten haksayng-**ul**] po-ass-ta
 Younghi-Nom certain student-**Acc** see-Past-Dc
 b. *Younghi-ka [etten haksayng] po-ass-ta
 Younghi-Nom certain student see-Past-Dc
 ‘Younghi saw a certain student’ (Lee and Cho 2003: 42-43)

In Korean, as well, only case-marked objects can be scrambled, shown in (16).

- (16) a. [**Sakwa sey kay-lul**]_i na-nun **t_i** mek-see-ta
 apple 3 CL-**Acc** I-Nom eat-Past-Dc
 ‘I ate three apples.’
 b. *? [**Sakwa sey kay**]_i na-nun **t_i** mek-ess-ta
 apple 3 CL I-Nom eat-Past-Dc (Kim 1993: 76)

To sum, these languages use Case for the specificity.

² I thank Shin-ichi Tamura (p.c) for bringing Otsu (1999) to my attention.

The similar correlation between Case and specificity can be observed in Hebrew, Persian, and Finnish.

Hebrew (Siloni 1996)

- (17) a. Hu kone ‘**et** ha-sfarim bezol. (Hebrew)
 he buys ACC the-books cheaply
 ‘He buys the books cheaply.’
 b.* Hu kone ‘**et** sfarim bezol.
 he buys ACC books cheaply
 ‘He buys books cheaply.’ (Siloni 1996: 242)

Persian (Browne 1970, Karimi 1990, 1999)

- (18) a. man (yek) keâb-(i) **râ** did –am
 I a book-IND **râ** saw-I (Karimi 1990: 141)
 b. diruz ru miz ye sib gozâšt-am
 yesterday on table a apple put-I
 ‘I put apples on the table yesterday’ (Karimi 1990: 140)
- (19) a. hušang-**o** did-am
 Hushuang-**râ** saw-I
 ‘I saw Hushuang’
 b.* hušang did-am
- (20) a. un -**o** did –am
 him/her-**râ** saw-I
 b. un did –am
 him/her saw-I (Karimi 1990: 147)

Finnish (Belletti 1988, Vainikka 1989, Vainikka and Mailing 1998)

- (21) a. Hän pani kiriat pöydälle. (Finnish)
 he put the books(**acc, pl**) on the table
 b. Hän pani kirjoja pöydälle
 he put (some) books(**part, pl**) on the table (Belletti 1988: 1)

3.2 Agreement Morphology

Given the claim that object clitic is a realization of object agreement morphologies (Süner 1988, among others), clitic doubling found in Romance languages also bears out the prediction that agreement morphologies indicate the specificity of the object.

An example of clitic doubling is (22), where not only does overt object occur in the postverbal position, but also clitic *la* ‘her’ appears.

- (22) **La** llamaron a ella. (Spanish)
her 3PL-call her
‘They called her’ (Süner 1988: 394)

The clitic doubling is not always possible, but its appearance is governed by the specificity of the overt object. As (23a) shows, in the case that the overt object is not specific, the presence of the clitic *lo* ‘him’ makes the sentence ungrammatical. The clitic must be dropped as in (23b).

- (23) a. * No **lo** oyeron a ningún ladrón. (Spanish)
Not **him** 3PL-heard any thief
b. No oyeron a ningún ladrón.
Not 3PL-heard any thief
‘They didn’t hear any thieves.’ (Süner 1988: 396)

On the other hand, (24) indicates that the specific object DP licenses the appearance of the clitic *la* ‘her.’

- (24) Diariamente, **la** escuchaba a una mujer que cantaba tangos.
daily, **her** 3 SG-listened to a woman whosang Indic tangos
‘S/he listened to a woman who sang tangos.’ (Süner 1988: 395)

Of course, the definite DPs permit clitic to occur since we have assumed that all definite DPs are specific (see section 1.2). See an example sentence.

- (25) **La** oían a Paca/ a la niña/ a la gata. (Spanish)
her 3PL-listened to Paca/the girl/ the cat
‘They listened to Paca/the girl/the cat.’ (Süner 1988: 396)

Romanian also offers evidence for the correlation between the specificity of the object

DPs and semantic interpretation. See (26).

- (26) a. Caut o secretară (Romanian)
(I) look for a secretary
'I look for a secretary.'
- b. **O** caut pe o secretară.
her (I) look for pe a secretary
'I look for a secretary.' (Dobrovie-Sorin 1990: 378)

In (26a), which has no clitic, the indefinite object can be interpreted as either specific or non-specific. On the other hand, once the clitic appear in (26b), the object receives only a specific interpretation.

The ambiguous interpretation of indefinite DPs in (26a) seems a problem, but it is not. This is because even indefinite DPs move to [Spec, AspP]. Due to this movement, there are two copies of the moved object. The lower copy is interpreted to be non-specific, and the upper copy ([Spec, AspP]) is interpreted to be specific. However, in this language, movement by Agree features is not relevant factor for the specificity. The crucial factor is agreement. When agreement occurs, the DP only has a specific interpretation. In other words, Agree features narrow the possibility in interpretations.

So far, clitics in these examples reflect an agreement relation between the head V and the object DP. An Agree feature mediates an Agree relation between V and the object. As a result, the clitic can occur. (Clitic, then, moves to the sentence-initial position.)

French also shows the correlation between agreement morphologies and specificity.

- (27) a. Combien de fautes a-t-elle **fait**? (French)
how many of mistakes has she **made**
- b. Combien de fautes a-t-elle **faites**?
how many of mistakes has she **made:fut:pl** (Deprez 1998: 10)

In (27a) where no agreement morphologies appears, *wh*-phrase (*combien de fautes* 'how many of mistakes') can be interpreted to be specific or non-specific. On the other hand, in the case where agreement morphologies occur on the verb, in (27b), the *wh*-phrase only receives one interpretation; specific reading.

Furthermore, as in Spanish, French definite clitic obligatory causes agreement

morphologies to appear on a verb. See (28).

- (28) Ces erreurs, je **les** ai **faites** par accident.
 these mistakes I **them** have **made:fem:pl** by accident
 ‘These mistakes, I have made them by accident.’ (Deprez 1998: 14)

However, if clitic is non-specific, the absence of these morphologies is obligatory.

- (29) Intelligente, Marie **l’** est sans aucun doute.
 intelligent Mary **it** is without any doubt. (Deprez 1998 13fn7)
- (30) Des photos, on ne peut douter que tout le monde
 of pictures one NEG can doubt that all the world
en ai pris(*es) dans sa vie à un moment ou un autre.
some has taken in one’s life at one moment or another
 ‘Pictures, undoubtedly everyone has taken some at some point in his life.’
 (Deprez 1998: 15)

In this subsection, we have seen the correlation between agreement morphologies and specificity.

Arabic

- (31) il-bint itbayyað carîð-**ha**
 the-girl_{FS} whitened_{3MS} reputation_{3MS-3FS_{CL}}
 kuddâm ahil-**ha** w-ğîzân-**ha**
 before family-**3FS_{CL}** and-husbands-**3FS_{CL}** (Hoyt 2000: 40)

Hindi

- (32) a. Patrõ likhie.
 letters write-POLITE (nonspecific)
 ‘Write letters please’
- b. Un parõ **ko** parhie
 those letters ACC read-POLITE (specific)
 ‘Please read those letters.’ (Comrie 1981: 126)

Modern Greek

- (33) **Ton_i** idha ton Petro_i
him_{cl,3SG,MASC,ACC} saw-1SG the_{DEF.ART,SG,MASC,ACC} Peter_{SG,MASC,ACC}
 ‘I saw Peter.’ (Anagnostopoulou 1999: 762)

Palauan

- (34) a. Te-‘illebed-**ii a bilis** a rengalek.
3p-Pf-hit-3s **dog** children
‘The kids hit the dog.’
b. Te-‘illebed **a bilis** a rengalek.
3p-Pf-hit **dog** children
‘The kids hit a dog/the dogs/some dog(s).’ (Woolford 2000: 218)

Ruwund (Bantu)

- (35) a. ku+kimb muntu
INF+look-for person
to look for a [any] person
b. ku+**mu**+kimb muntu
INF+**OAGR**+look-for person
to look for a/the person (speaker has a particular person in mind)
(Woolford 2001: 4)

3.3 Movement

Let me discuss the Movement languages in which the movement operation is used as means of specificity.

3.3.1 English

English offers some pieces of evidence that this language is a type of the Movement languages and that specific objects move to a higher position. For example, binding facts support this claim.

- (36) a. I wrote **all/these books_i** on each other_i’s advance.
b. *I often write **books_i** on each other_i’s advance. (Stepanov 2001: 79)

3.3.2 Object Shift

Object Shift found in Germanic languages borne out the prediction that specific object moves. Some typical examples of object shift are in (37).

- (37) a. Nemandinn las **hana_i** ekki **t_i** (Icelandic)
b. Studenten læste **den_i** ikke **t_i** (Danish)
c. Næmingurin las **hana_i** ikki **t_i** (Faroese)
d. Studenten läste **den_i** inte **t_i** (Swedish)
Stuent-the read it not
‘The student didn’t read it.’ (Thráinsson 2001: 150)

Pronouns must appear in the left position to the negative element.

As (38) shows, indefinite object can appear either the left or the right position of the adverbs.

- (38) a. Nemandinn las ekki **þrjár bækur**.
 student-the read not **three books**
 ‘It is not the case that the student read three books.’
- b. Nemandinn las **þrjár bækur** ekki t_i .
 student-the read **three books** not t_i
 ‘There are three books that the student didn’t read.’ (Thráinsson 2001: 188)

The expected difference in interpretation between (38a) and (38b) is observed. When the object stays in-situ in (38a), it receives non-specific interpretation; it does not presuppose the existence of the set denoted by the object DP. On the other hand, in (38b), the object, once moved, is interpreted to be specific. As the English translation shows, the DP is presupposed to be present.

Definite DPs in (39) and pronouns in (40) cannot stay in situ. We interpret this fact as follows: if definite DPs and pronouns stay in situ, where non-specific interpretation is given, the semantic crash arises.³

- (39) a. *? Hann las ekki oft **bókina**. (Icelandic)
 he read not often **book-the**
- b. Hann las **bókina** ekki oft.
 he read **book-the** not often (Diesing and Jelinek 1992: 78)

³ If specificity is relevant to the position of pronouns in Object Shift, we expect that the non-specific pronoun *one* does not have to move up. This prediction is correct, in (i).

- (i) Nei, jeg har ingen paraply (Norwegian)
 no I have no umbrella
 men jeg køper muligens **en** i morgen.
 but I buy possibly **one** tomorrow
 ‘No, I have no umbrella, but I will possibly buy one tomorrow.’

(Diesing and Jelinek 1992: 76)

We conclude that phonological rightness is not the relevant factor, but specificity is.

- (40) a. * Peter læste uden tvivl ikke **den**. (Danish)
 Peter read without doubt not **it**.
 b. Peter læste **den** uden tvivl ikke.
 Peter read **it** without doubt not
 ‘Without doubt, Peter didn’t read it.’ (Diesing and Jelinek 1992: 76)

3.3.3 Scrambling in Germanic

Next, let us discuss scrambling found in Germanic languages such as German and Dutch. The same effect found in Object Shift can be seen in scrambling; if objects are specific, they must move to a higher position than the base-generated one. As Diesing (1996) discusses, German offers some piece of evidence for the claim.

- (41) a. ... weil Elly immer **Lieder** singt. (German)
 since Elly always **songs** sings
 ... since Elly always sings songs.
 b. ALWAYS_t [time (t)] ∃x song (x) & sing (Elly, x)
 (42) a. ... weil Elly **Lieder** immer singt.
 since Elly **songs** always sings
 ... since, (generally) if it’s a song, Elly will sing it.
 b. ALWAYS_x [song (x)] sing (Elly, x) (Diesing 1996: 70-71)

The same contrast in interpretation of the object dependently on the position, can be seen in Dutch examples in (43). The non-scrambled object in (43a) has either specific or non-specific interpretation while the object in (43b) can only have specific one.

- (43) a. dat ik gisteren **twee krakers** heb gesproken (Dutch)
 that I yesterday **two squatters** have spoken
 ‘that I talked to two squatters yesterday.’
 b. dat ik **twee krakers** gisteren heb gesproken
 that I **two squatters** yesterday have spoken
 ‘that I talked to two squatters yesterday.’ (de Hoop 2000: 154)

Again, definite DPs offer clear example for the expected correlation. In German, the specific object must move to the left position of a *vP*-adverb as in (44).

- (44) a. *? weil ich selten **die Katze** streichle. (German)
 since I seldom **the cat** pet
 b. weil ich **die Katze** selten streichle.
 since I **the cat** seldom pet
 since I seldom pet the cat. (Diesing 1992: 78)

The discussion so far indicates the correlation between the object position and the specificity of the object. This is what the current proposal expects; if the DP attracted by an Agree feature (in other words, it moves to a higher position), it receives a specific interpretation.

The discussion concerning objects so far can be summarized as follows: the proposal predicts that there should be a correlation between the presence of Agree features and specificity. However, each languages differ in how the presence of Agree features is shown. Languages differ in a three way; Case languages, Agreement languages, and Movement languages.

4. Subject

In the preceding section, I have discussed object DPs. Let me turn to the discussion of the subject DPs. The subject DPs also show the correlation between the specificity and the effects of an Agree feature.

4.1 Case

The proposal predicts that there should be a language where the subject specificity is expressed by means of case. This prediction is borne out by Japanese.

First, in this language, nominative case can be dropped (contra Saito (1983, 1985)).

- (45) Onnako- \emptyset kita-zo/yo
 girl came-particle
 ‘A girl came.’ (Masunaga 1988: 148)

Masunaga (1988) claims that the condition on the case drop is de-emphasis. In the term of this presentation, this means that if subject receives specific/presuppositional reading, nominative case can be dropped.

Situation: At a bus stop

- (46) a. Ah! **Bas** \emptyset kita
Oh! bus come-PAST
'Oh! a bus is coming'
- b. *Ah! **Kyukyusha** \emptyset kita
Oh! ambulance come-PAST
'Oh! Ambulance came.'
- (Masunaga 1988: 149-150)

Japanese shows the expected correlation between subject specificity and Case.

4.2 Agreement Morphology and Movement

In Arabic, the combination of agreement morphologies and movement indicates the specificity of subject DPs.

In this language, subject occurs post-verbally or pre-verbally. If subjects occur postverbally, the verb shows no agreement with the subject DP. On the other hand, if subjects occur pre-verbally, the verb shows the full agreement.

In the case that subject is indefinite, it can occur post-verbally or preverbally. As expected from the proposal, preverbal subject can only receive specific interpretation.

- (47) a. baqarat-un takallam-at (Arabic)
cow-nom spoken-3.s.f.
'A cow has spoken.'
- b. marra rajul-un bi?ahmad-a
passed man-nom with-Ahmad
'A man passed by Ahmad.'
- (Fassi Fehri 1993: 28-29)

Obvious examples are where subjects are definite DPs or pronouns. These subjects cannot occur postverbally. They must stand before verbs. At this position, they are interpreted to be specific.

- (48) a. **l-?awla:d-u** ja: ?-u:
the-boys came-3.pl.masc.
- b. * ja:?-u: **l-?awla:d-u**
came-3.pl.masc. **the-boys**
- (Fassi Fehri 1990: 97-98)

4.3 Movement

Diesing claims that there are some languages where the difference of the subject positions are correlated with the difference of their specificity. She discusses German, Dutch, English, and Yiddish. For example, in German, indefinite subject receives different readings according to their positions.

German

- (49) a. ...weil ja doch **zwei Cellisten** in diesem Hotel abgestiegen sind.
...since 'indeed' **two cellists** in this hotel have-taken-rooms
b. ...weil **zwei Cellisten** ja doch in diesem Hotel abgestiegen sind.
...since **two cellists** 'indeed' in this hotel have-taken-rooms
(Diesing 1992: 78)

I assume that her argument for these languages are on the right track. I argue that these languages can be subsumed under the group of the Movement languages.

- (50) a. *Fred denkt dat **een koe** in de tuin is
Fred thought that **a cow** in the garden is
'Fred thought that a cow is in the garden.'
b. Fred denkt dat **de koe** in de tuin is
Fred thought that **the cow** in the garden is
'Fred thought that the cow is in the garden.'
(Reuland 1988: 375)

- (51) a. Not **a boy** has been born.
b. ?Not **boys** have been born but girls.
(52) * Not **John** knows the novels of Karl May but Mary. (Kiss 1996: 132)

5. Evidence for AspP

I assumed in this presentation that AspP is projected between vP and VP. In this section, I offer some pieces of evidence that specific object moves to [Spec, AspP].

It has been claimed that if objects have specificity markers (such as case and agreement morphologies), they delimit the event of verbs. As concrete examples, look at (53).

- (53) a. Hansikan tongan John-i **phyenci** sse-ss-ta (Korean)
1-hour for John-NOM **letter** write-Past-Dc (repetitive event)

- b. Hansikan tongan John-i **phyenci-lul** sse-ss-ta
 1-hour for John-NOM **letter-ACC** write-Past-Dc
 ‘John wrote a letter for an hour.’ (repetitive/single event)
 (Lee and Cho 2003: 44)

In Korean, if the object does not bear Accusative marker, in (53a), the sentence is interpreted as repetitive event. On the other hand, as in (53b), the object with Accusative delimits the event. This means that sentence can also mean the single event.

The same holds for Spanish.

- (54) a. Luara escondi **un prisionero** durante dos anos. (Spanish)
 Laura hid **a prisoner** for two years
 ‘Laura hid a prisoner for two years.’ (repetitive event)
- b. Laura escondi **a un prisionero** durante dos anos.
 Laura hid **to a prisoner** for two years’
 (repetitive/single event)
 (Torrego 1998: 21)

Only objects with specificity marker can add single event reading.

6. Consequences

In this section, let me discuss some consequences from the current proposal.

6.1 Syntactic Position Only for Specific DPs

In the literature, some syntactic positions are claimed to be interpreted to be specific. Some examples are shown in (55-56).

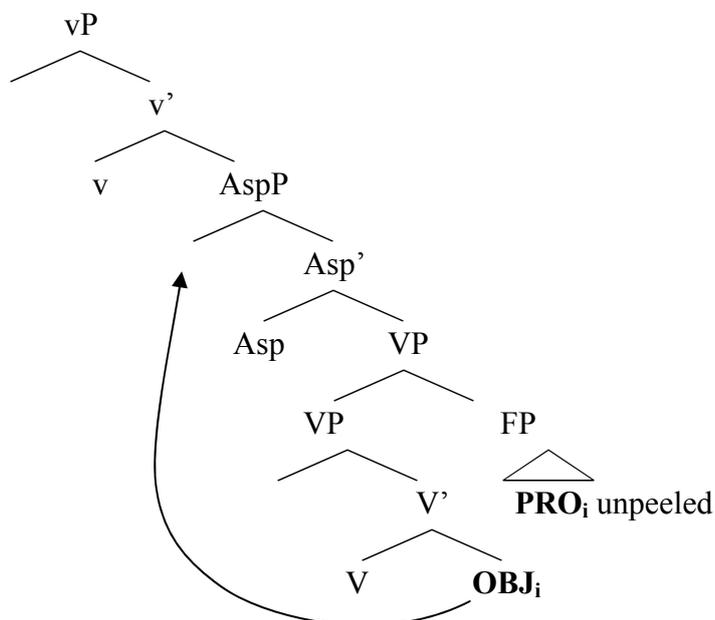
- (55) John is eating **an apple**_i [_{SC} PRO_i unpeeled].
 a. ‘John is eating a certain apple unpeeled.’
 b.# ‘John is eating a nonspecific apple unpeeled.’
- (56) John considers [_{SC} **a student** [_{AP} stupid]].
 a. ‘John considers a certain student stupid.’
 b.# ‘John considers nonspecific student stupid.’ (Tsai 2001: 137)

In secondary predicate constructions, objects must receive specific interpretation. Similarly, the subject of small clauses, (56) must be specific.

The current proposal can offer an account for this semantic restriction. Remember that the current proposal claims that objects occupy either the complement of V or [Spec, AspP]. If they occupy the complement of verbs, they are non-specific. If they are in [Spec, AspP], they are specific.

With this in mind, first take a look at the derivation of secondary predicate constructions. In these constructions, I assume that secondary predicates are adjoined to VP and that secondary predicates occur with PRO (see Barss (1986)). See (57).

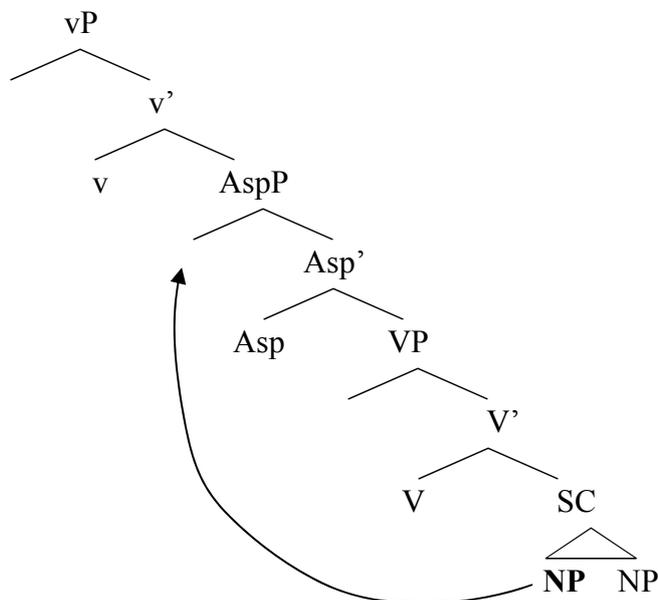
(57)



Given that PRO must be c-commanded by the controller in the narrow syntax, the object must move to [Spec, AspP] to satisfy this condition. From this position, the object can c-command PRO. At the same time, this is the position where object is interpreted to be specific. Hence, the secondary predicate constructions only permit specific objects.

Next, the derivation of small clauses as follows:

(58)



The complement of V is occupied by SC. The object is attracted by an Agree feature to [Spec, AspP]. Hence it is specific.

6.2 D⁰ as Phasal Head

So far, I have been argued that the external syntax of objects. Some researchers claim that the internal structures of DPs are different according to their specificity (Chomsky 2006, Heim 1988, Kratzer 1988, Milsark 1977, 1979, Zamparelli 1996). For example, Chomsky (2006) claims that definite DPs are phases. If I assume this claim can be extended to specific DPs in general, the claim should be:

(59) Specific DPs are phases

Moreover, the phasal heads are assumed to be the locus of uninterpretable features such as Agree features. The natural expectations are as follows:

- (60) Within the domain of specific DPs, we can observe the following, while within the non-specific DPs, we do not:
- Movement of XP by an Agree feature.
 - Agreement morphologies appear
 - the presence/absence of Case according to the interpretation.

I argue below that the first two can be observed. First, movement can be observed

in Chinese. In Chinese, if modifiers stand in post-nominal position, the whole DPs can be ambiguous on specificity. However, the modifiers moves to the pre-nominal position, the DP must be specific.

- (61) a. **dai yanjing de** san ge xuesheng (specific)
 wear lasses DE three CL student
 ‘three students who wear lasses’
 b. san ge **dai yanjing de xuesheng** (specific/ non-specific)
 three CL wear glasses DE student (Zhang 2006: 1-2)

Using existential constructions as diagnostic test, only DPs with post-nominal (= unmoved) modifiers can occur in the constructions.

- (62) a. Lai le [san ge **dai yanjing de** xuesheng].
 come prf [three cl wear glasses de student]
 ‘Three students who wear glasses have come.’
 b.*Lai le [**dai yanjing de** san ge xuesheng].
 come prf wear glasses de three cl student

Furthermore, DPs with pronominal modifiers resist the application of the extraction operation out of these DPs.

- (63) a. Akiu du-guo-le [liang ben *guanyu Xizang* de **lishi-shu**].
 Akiu read-exp-prf two cl *about Tibet* de **history-book**
 ‘Akiu has read two history books on Tibet.’
 b. Akiu (xingkui) **lishi-shu** du-guo-le [liang ben *guanyu Xizang* de *t*].
 Akiu fortunately **history-book** read-exp-prf two cl *about Tibet* de
 ‘Akiu has (fortunately) read two history books on Tibet.’
 c. **Lishi-shu** Akiu (xingkui) du-guo-le [liang ben *guanyu Xizang* de *t*].
history-book Akiu fortunately read-exp-prf two cl *about Tibet* de
 ‘Akiu has (fortunately) read two history books on Tibet.’
 (64) a. Akiu du-guo-le [*guanyu Xizang* de liang ben **lishi-shu**].
 Akiu read-exp-prf [*about Tibet* de two cl **history-book**]
 ‘Akiu has read two history books on Tibet.’
 b.*Akiu (xingkui) **lishi-shu** du-guo-le [*guanyu Xizang* de liang ben *t*].
 c.***Lishi-shu** Akiu (xingkui) du-guo-le [*guanyu Xizang* de liang ben *t*].

DPs in (63) are non-specific since modifiers occur post-nominally. From these DPs, *lishi-shu* ‘history book’ can move. On the other hand, modifiers appear before nominal in (64). Extraction out of these DPs is possible.

The same hold for Bengali.

- (65) a. *oi duTo lal boi*
 those two-CLA **red book**
 ‘those two red books’
- b. **oi lal boi duTo t_i** (specific)
those red book two-CLA
 ‘those two red books’ (Bhattacharya 1998: 2-3)

Next, the discussion turns to agreement morphologies within DPs. Again here, if clitics are a realization of agreement morphologies, clitics can be use as a diagnostic test. As expected, clitics occur in specific DPs. For example, in Yoruba, (66a) where no clitics appear, is the non-specific DP. When as in (66b), *awon* ‘they’ appears, this DP is specific.

- (66) a. *opopolopo enia* (Yoruba)
 many person
 ‘a lot of people’
- b. *opopolopo awon enia*
 many **they** person
 ‘a lot of the people’ (Lyons 1999: 88)

In the similar vein, Jacaltec supports the correlation between agreement morphologies and specific interpretation.

- (67) a. *X?oc’ heb’ix say-a? [hune ? munlab’al].* (Jacaltec)
 started PL CLASS look-for [**a** pot]
 ‘They started looking for a (specific) pot.’
- b. *X?oc’ heb’ix say-a? [hun-uj munlab’al].*
 started PL CLASS look-for [**IRR** pot]
 ‘They started looking for a (non-specific) pot.’ (Lyons 1999: 175)

To sum, the expected correlation between movement/ agreement and specificity can

be found in some languages, however we do not find languages where case within DP is responsible for the interpretation. The languages consist supporting evidence that internal structures of DPs differ in their interpretations.

6. Conclusion

In this presentation, I have proposed that specificity of DPs is expressed by means of Agree features. The current proposal predicts that there should be correlation between specific interpretation, on the one hand and (i) Case, (ii) agreement morphologies, and (iii) movement, on the other. I have argued that this prediction is borne out by both objects and subjects across languages.

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