Disentangling Bare Nouns and Nominals Introduced by a Partitive Article

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CHAPTER 4

Why "Partitive Articles" Do Not Exist in (Old) Spanish

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1 Introduction

The aim of this paper is twofold. Firstly, we present a formal analysis of so-called indefinite "partitive articles" available in some Modern Gallo- and Italo-romance varieties. We put forward the idea that these are, *sensu lato*, a sort of nominal classifier and indicate non-individuation or mass in the singular, a value often considered to be the unmarked, default interpretation of nominals (cf. Borer 2005, 93). In a Pan-Romance perspective, "partitive articles" are in complementary distribution with unambiguous, agglutinative plural markers (like *-s* in Spanish *amigo-s*, 'friend-s'), and lead to a mass reading of the respective nominal. We will argue that their existence is due to a (partial) diachronic loss of unambiguous number markers, that is, vocabulary items (VI) to express interpretable φ-features (number) on nouns and general AGREE requirements inside nominals (Stark 2008b; Mathieu 2009). We will follow Borer (2005, 93) in assuming identity for elements in complementary distribution across languages and argue that the *de*-element in Romance "partitive articles" realizes the same functional head as agglutinative plural morphemes. This leads to a strong generalization, namely that in Romance varieties or older stages of Romance languages with unambiguous (usually sigmatic) nominal plural marking, indefinite "partitive articles" in the singular, that is, mass determiners or classifiers, should not be available (cf. also Mathieu 2009, for Old French).[1] Secondly, this generalization will be tested against 275 Old Spanish occurrences of *con del*/*de la*/*de los*/*de las* 'with of.the' from the 13th–16th century stemming from the *Corpus Diacrónico del Español* (CORDE) and the *Corpus*

1 We only claim complementary distribution of "partitive articles" and unambiguous plural markers in Romance (complementary across languages and varieties) and the grammaticalization of the former due to the loss of the latter (cf. Schurr, this volume, on additional grammaticalization facts). There is no universal generalization intended—except for the claim that every language needs some classification device to encode the conceptual distinction between mass and count.

del Español (*CDE*). Contrary to some authors who have claimed that Modern Gallo- or Italo-Romance-like indefinite "partitive articles" are sporadically attested in this variety, too (e.g., Lapesa 1964; Cano 1992; Eberenz 2008; cf. also Crispim 1996; Mattos e Silva 2008, for Old Portuguese), we will show that Old Spanish did not possess indefinite mass determiners ("partitive articles" in the singular). Instead, what seem to be "partitive articles" are to be analyzed as PPs governed by a zero Q° and containing a definite DP with a representative object interpretation licensed by the so-called kind-oriented mode of talk (Krifka et al. 1995, 83–88). Such PPs are restricted mainly to the 13th century. Old Spanish, which has agglutinative sigmatic nominal plural marking, like Modern Spanish, is thus no counterexample to our generalization.

In Section 2, we will present the theoretical background (Section 2.1) as well as our analysis of Modern Gallo- and Italo-Romance "partitive articles" as indefinite mass classifiers (Section 2.2). Section 3 will be dedicated to Old Spanish *del*-constituents. It presents the data, that is, the results of an exhaustive string query in two (Old) Spanish corpora (Section 3.1), followed by an analysis of these Old Spanish data as PPs containing *definites with representative object interpretations* (Krifka et al. 1995), a special class of weakly referential DPs merged in D and denoting prototypical instantiations of the respective kind (Section 3.2). This makes Old Spanish *del*-constituents semantically and syntactically different from Modern Gallo- and Italo-Romance "partitive articles", that is, from indefinite mass classifiers. Additionally, in Section 3.3, we will address a possible alternative analysis of the Old Spanish data in terms of *short weak definites* in the sense of Carlson and Sussman (2005) and Carlson et al. (2006). We will show that short weak definites and definites with representative object interpretations, despite sharing some properties, are clearly different from each other and that only an analysis in terms of representative object interpretations can adequately capture the Old Spanish data. Section 4 summarizes the main findings of the paper.

2 Why "Partitive Articles" in Romance?

2.1 *Theoretical and Typological Background*

Some Romance languages are known for a typologically highly marked element, namely an indefinite determiner encoding mass in the singular (Herslund 1998; Stark 2008a, 2008b, 2016; Cardinaletti and Giusti 2016a, 2018).[2]

2 The equivalent plural form (e.g., Fr. *des*, It. *dei*) is different from the singular in its syntac-

Despite their being "DP-argument languages" in Chierchia's (1998) parametrization, that is, languages without nominal classifiers in the strict typological sense, Romance languages and varieties feature a systematic opposition between mass and count interpretations (= reference to portions vs. atomic units, individuals, see below) of the nominal predicate, for example 'bread' in (1) and (2). This opposition is encoded in their system of nominal determination in two different ways, either by marking the count vs. mass reading by an adequate numeral or quantifier, and having most often zero as the non-marked default case (= mass), or by systematically marking also the mass reading, namely by means of a "partitive article":

(1) Sp.: *Compro* *pan*.
Fr.: *J'achète* ***(du)** *pain*.
It.: *Compro* **(*del*)** *pane*.
'I buy bread.'

(2) Sp.: *Compro un pan muy rico*.
Fr.: *J'achète un pain très bon*.
It.: *Compro un pane molto buono*.
'I buy a very tasty bread.'

Even though, etymologically, the element *du*/*del*[3] in (1) goes back to a composition of the Latin preposition DE 'from, of' and the definite article (resulting in 'of the' when translated literally; a possible reading of the homonymous expressions combining a preposition *de* or *di* and a definite article in Modern Romance), there is no doubt that the indefinite determiners under investigation here are no longer compound PPs (cf. e.g., the extraction facts discussed in Ihsane 2013, 236; see also Cardinaletti and Giusti 2016a, 2018). Their semantics is also clearly indefinite. Like the indefinite count determiner in (2), stemming from the Latin numeral UNUS (cf. Givón 1981 and, e.g., the detailed and comparative discussion of the different grammaticalization steps in Mulder und Carlier 2011), the mass determiners ("partitive articles", PA in the glosses), too,

tic distribution, semantic function and dialectal distribution (cf. Ihsane 2008; Zamparelli 2008; Garzonio and Poletto 2014; Cardinaletti and Giusti 2016a, 2018; Stark 2016, 132). In what follows, we will focus on the singular but include the plural in our morphosyntactic analyses.

3 In what follows, we will use the masculine singular form as a representative of the entire paradigm.

are excluded with textually or situationally given discourse referents, which inherit their mass- vs. count interpretation from their antecedent.[4]

While in the last decades, in-depth research has been done on the history (e.g., Carlier 2007; Carlier and Lamiroy 2014), syntax and semantics of Romance determiners, especially for French and standard Italian, we want to rather focus on an explanation of their cross-linguistic distribution, as not every Romance variety features all of them. In fact, indefinite mass determiners ("partitive articles") are only found with a certain regularity in French (cf. Dobrovie-Sorin, this volume) and Northern Italian varieties (cf. Giusti, this volume), in some Occitan varieties and in Francoprovençal (cf. Schurr, this volume, and Stark and Gerards, this volume), whereas they do not exist in Modern Ibero-Romance varieties (see Section 3), central and southern Italian varieties or Romanian (see Bossong 2016; also Giusti, this volume). These latter languages and varieties admit bare plurals and bare singulars in argument position, contrary especially to French, and to a lesser extent to non-central and non-southern Italian varieties (Stark 2008a, 2008b, and 2016). We would like to put forward the hypothesis that the (non-)existence of "partitive articles" and their complementary distribution with bare plural arguments is causally linked to the (non-)availability of a dedicated nominal plural morpheme (cf. Delfitto and Schroten 1991; Mathieu 2009; Carlier and Lamiroy 2014 for a similar descriptive generalization), that is, to morphosyntactic properties of nominal declension in Romance.

Ever since Borer's (2005) seminal work on (among other things) the count-mass distinction, plural morphemes can be considered signals of "nominal classification" in a broad sense in non-classifier languages (cf. e.g., Cowper and Hall 2012).

> Rather, all nouns, in all languages, are mass, and are in need of being portioned out, in some sense, before they can interact with the 'count' system. This portioning-out function, accomplished in languages like Chinese through the projection of classifiers, is accomplished in languages like English, by the plural inflection, as well as by the indefinite article.
>
> BORER 2005, 93

Borer (2005, 111, 114, for a preliminary conclusion) later discusses the exact location of the indefinite article, which, contrary to plural morphemes, is to be seen

4 Note that there are some Italian varieties where the indefinite mass interpretation typical of *du*/*del*-nominals also holds for nominals with the definite article not meeting the standard criteria for definiteness (Kupisch and Koops 2007; Cardinaletti and Giusti 2016b, 2018; Leonetti 2019; Giusti, this volume).

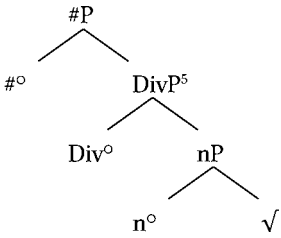


FIGURE 4.1
Internal structure of a count nominal following Borer (2005)

as an "individuator" (cf. Wiese 2012, 72), that is, both as a "divider" and as a "counter" (= some kind of portmanteau-morpheme). It therefore ends up being located higher in the internal structure of nominals.

Plurals in Modern Romance (and generally Indoeuropean) varieties are thus classifying plurals in the sense that they unambiguously denote sets of sets (cf. already Link 1983; Borer 2005, 127), contrary, for instance, to Latin, where plurals could also denote intensive manifestations of the noun's denotation or collectives (Stark 2008b). Overt quantifiers and numerals, including the indefinite article deriving from the numeral 'one', explicitly assign a specific quantity to the expression. Based on these assumptions, Borer (2005, 109) proposes the structure represented in Figure 4.1 for English count nominals, which we slightly modified for the lexical material (nP).

2.2 *Our Analysis*

Applying the analysis of indefinite (plural) nominals in Borer (2005) and Mathieu (2009, 2014), for instance, to Spanish, we can analyze the Spanish plural *-s* as the overt exponent of Div°, in parallel to English (cf. Pomino 2016, 111).

Following general assumptions in Distributed Morphology (Halle and Marantz 1993), we hold it that roots are not specified for grammatical categories, and follow Borer (2005, 93) in that they, that is, nouns, are not specified for mass or count readings either (cf. also Pelletier 2012). Roots combine in syntax with functional heads (n°, v°, a°) in order to form nominal, verbal, or adjectival constituents. These heads may contain lexical properties like animacy, often linked to gender or noun class. n° is, more concretely, the "locus of gender negotiation"; the gender feature of n° is valued under AGREE with the lexical root (cf. Lowenstamm 2007, 2012, for French; but cf. Stark 2016, for the assumption of a defective n° in French; cf. also Picallo 2008; Alexiadou 2015). nP then merges

5 Borer (2005, 109) calls DivP *ClP*, despite the fact that it is headed by $\langle e \rangle_{DIV}$, while #P is the maximal projection of a head $\langle e \rangle_{\#}$. We will not go into the details of Borer's derivation and nomenclature here and name her Classifier Phrase *DivP*, a more transparent label as to its semantic contribution.

with a functional projection DivP, hosting the Num feature, expressed by number morphology, if available[6] (cf. *ClassP* in Picallo 2008, 57; *NumP* in Mathieu 2009; note that Alexiadou (2015) calls the higher functional projection *ClassP*, i.e., what is called *NumP* in Picallo's work and *#P* in Figure 4.1). Merge of #° brings the counting or quantifying head, carrying a probe for gender and number, for agreeing quantifiers and numerals (e.g., *much-o*$_{\text{M.SG}}$/-a$_{\text{F.SG}}$/-o$_{\text{M}}$-s$_{\text{PL}}$/-a$_{\text{F}}$-s$_{\text{PL}}$, 'much', 'many', in Spanish).

However, applying Borer's analysis for English to French brings some complication to the picture. The main difference lies in the availability of a mass classifier (cf. examples under (1)), absent in English or Spanish, correlating with the absence of number marking on nouns (cf. e.g., Pomino 2012, 2016). French looks like the complete opposite of English and Spanish, in that a plural exponent for Div° is not available, but rather an exponent for "not portioning out", namely *de*. French seems to possess an exponent for non-individuation, in complementary distribution with exponents for individuation, as a result of the interaction of the elements available in #° and Div° (cf. examples under (1) against examples under (2); cf. Borer 2005, 128). A nominal such as [vɛ̃], ⟨vin(s)⟩, 'wine(s)' itself is not specified (in the spoken, that is, naturally acquired registers) for number. For plural, this is only achieved by some determiners, numerals or quantifiers rather high in the structure, and by the opposition between *un* (= count) vs. *du* (= mass) in the singular:

(3) *I drink—Je bois—Bebo …*

Table 4.1 shows possible continuations of the sequence 'I drink' in three languages. In grey, we see the complete underspecification of French nominal roots (and nPs) for number (3a), in parallel to languages like, for instance, Chinese. In contrast to Chinese, quantifying does not automatically lead to disambiguation or individuation (3e), as quantifiers like *beaucoup* ('much' / 'many') or *peu* ('little'/ 'few') are also underspecified for count or mass and obligatorily combined with *de*, compatible with singular as well as with plural nominals (also under the scope of negation, where *de* shows up even with singular count nominals, see below). This observation and the sequence of *beaucoup—de*—[vɛ̃] leads to the assumption that, at least in French, Div° is always projected and overtly realized, also in mass nominals. The detailed adaptation of

6 See Pomino (2016, 122–127) for the proposal to locate *liaison* [-z] in French plural nominals originally in Div°, claiming however a phrasal clitic status for [-z], which may also be realized rather high in the structure, under D° [lezami] (*les amis* 'the friends').

TABLE 4.1 Plural marking and mass-count specification of arguments in English, French and Spanish

	Plural marking and mass-count specification			
		English	**French**	**Spanish**
(a)	Unspecified for number	–	*[vɛ̃]	–
(b)	Mass	(*some*) *wine*	*du* [vɛ̃]	*vino*
(c)	Count	*a* (*very good*) *wine*	*un* [vɛ̃] (*très bon*)	*un vino* (*muy rico*)
(d)	Plural > count	(*some very good*) *wine-s*	*des* [vɛ̃] (*très bons*)	*vino-s* (*muy ricos*)
(e)	High quantity—unspecified for number/mass-count	–	*beaucoup de* [vɛ̃]	–
(f)	High quantity—mass	*much wine*	-	*mucho vino*
(g)	High quantity—count	*many wine-s*	*plusieurs* [vɛ̃]	*mucho-s vino-s*

Figure 4.1 for French goes as represented in Figure 4.2 below: we assume that French roots come with a gender (for details, see Stark 2016, 138–139), but that there is no AGREE or probing operation between the root and n° (we take as morphological evidence the absence of word class or gender markers in French). Therefore, the root remains *in situ*, and the result is a highly defective nominal, actually only a property-denoting expression that can usually not occupy an argument position, not even under the scope of negation (**Je ne bois pas vin*, intended: 'I do not drink wine'; correct: *Je ne bois pas de vin*; **Je n'ai pas acheté voitures*, intended: 'I did not buy cars'; correct: *Je n'ai pas acheté de voitures*). The combination of this root with Div°, carrying no number feature in French and incapable of successful probing (cf. e.g., Mathieu 2009, 147 f., where the probe on his Num° probes unsuccessfully for number, the Modern French nominal not carrying a number feature), does not change things much. This is due to the absence of plural markers and the general assumption that functional heads without any morphological or semantic effect should not be assumed to exist (cf. Heycock and Zamparelli 2005). Above, however, we saw that there exists an element in French, contrary, for instance, to Spanish or English, which always realizes Div°, namely *de*. This *de*-element alone (having its own functional projection *de-P* in Ihsane 2008, 163, cf. also Shlonsky 2014) cannot in itself be analyzed as an explicit mass or non-individuation marker, as it is even found, in some colloquial varieties of French, after numerals (cf. Kayne 1977 citing Bauche 1951, *J'ai deux de bonnets*, 'I have two caps'; cf. Ihsane 2013, 4 f., *deux vins* or *deux bonnets* would then be the result of a normative deletion rule).

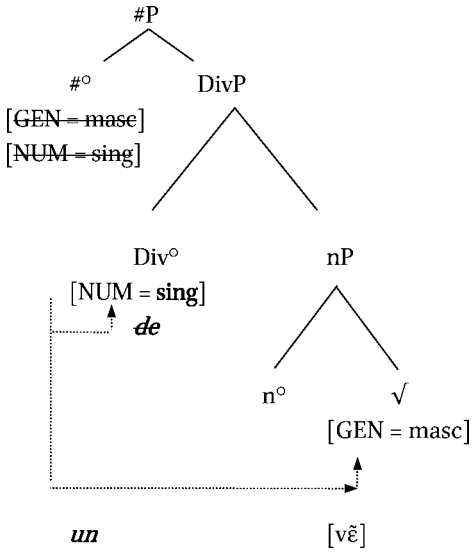


FIGURE 4.2
Deriving indefinite nominals in French with internal AGREE operations

Now, and as shown in Figure 4.3 below, in the absence of explicit quantification (or individuation) via suitable elements in #°, an obligatory insertion of *le/la/les* 'the' takes place in this position (cf. Ihsane 2008, 163; Mathieu 2009, 148, for a similar idea; see also Borer 2005, 164). This happens, after probing with the root, in order to minimally realize gender and already valued number features of French indefinite nominals in the sense of Greenberg's (1978) noun markers (note that this is the only locus of gender- and number-marking in indefinite nominals in Modern French). With *le/la/les* 'the' inserted in #° as a default—that is, as a mere number (and gender) morpheme and not as a generic or non-specific definite article (≠ D°; contra Gross 1967; Milner 1978; Kupferman 1979, 1994; Zamparelli 2008)—there is no explicit counting or quantification, potentially leading to individuation (cf. Borer 2005, 128). Subsequently, a post-syntactic operation called *lowering* (Embick and Noyer 2001)[7] takes place in indefinite nominals,[8] moving (the exponent of) a hierarchically

7 Embick and Noyer (1999, 2001) introduce this operation to account for English verbal inflection in the past: with syntax giving abundant evidence that there is no *v*°-to-T° movement in English (Pollock 1989), temporal features of T° have to be lowered to *v*° in order to explain forms like *she laugh-ed*: [$_{TP}$ T° … [$_{vP}$ … *v*° …]]—[$_{TP}$ … [$_{vP}$ … [$_{v°}$ *v*° + T°] …]].

8 For definite nominals and the English determiner *the*, Borer (2005, 164, example (8a)) speculates about a possible merge in Div° and subsequent movement towards #°, which could account for the absence of *de* in definite French nominals. Note that **l'un vin* is ungrammatical in French (contrary to *the one wine* in English), which might be evidence for an initial insertion of *le/la/les* in Div° in definite nominals (which inherit their mass-count distinction

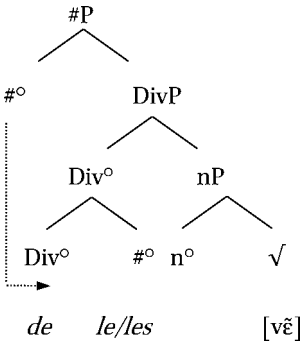


FIGURE 4.3
Indefinite nominals in French (without probes) with lowering of #° into Div°

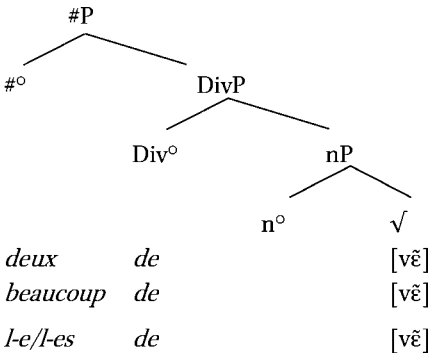


FIGURE 4.4
Indefinite nominals in French

higher head$_2$ to a lower head$_1$ being part of its complement. This yields *de* + *le* = *du/de la* and *de* + *les* = *des*.

As represented in Figure 4.4 above, French quantified indefinite nominals are derived by the same structure, and depending on the element inserted in #°, semantic number is specified (*deux*, 'two', *plusieurs*, 'several', etc.), and sometimes even morphological number and gender (e.g., in agreeing quantifiers such as *différent-e*$_{\text{F}}$-*s*$_{\text{PL}}$, 'different'). This may, as a consequence, either yield a count, that is, individuated interpretation, or an interpretation for which individuation is left underspecified (*beaucoup*, 'much/many').

This analysis accounts for the fact that, at least for French, the interaction described in Borer (2005) between the lexical element (NP) and #P is not enough to yield an unambiguous mass reading of the whole nominal, contrary to, for example, Chinese, English or Spanish. Note that Borer rejects DivP for

from their antecedent, cf. Borer 2005, 166; recall that there is no plural morpheme on nP available in French to occupy Div°: *les vins*, [levɛ̃]). We leave the question of an exact derivation of Romance definite nominals and a potential relation to case (cf. e.g., Giusti 2015) open for future research.

bare mass nominals as well as #P for *bare* plurals (Borer 2005, 130), structures not available in French in argument position.[9]

The proposed analysis for French allows us to account for the underspecification of French bare nominals for number and of some French quantified nominals for individuation (e.g., with *beaucoup*), for the obligatory insertion of at least *de* with argument nominals, irrespectively of their mass or count interpretation, and for the observed correlation with a highly defective nominal morphology. It accounts also for the much discussed *en*-pronominalization facts (cf. Ihsane 2013; Shlonsky 2014); *en* pronominalizes DivP:

(4) a. *Je bois deux vin-s.* — *J' en bois deux.*
I drink two wine-M.PL — I =PART drink two
'I drink two wines.—I drink two.'

b. *Je bois beaucoup de vin(-s).* — *J' en bois beaucoup.*
I drink much/many DE wine.M(-PL) — I =PART drink much/many
'I drink much wine/many wines.—I drink much/many.'

c. *Je bois du vin* — *J' en bois.*
I drink PA.M.SG wine.M — I =PART drink
'I drink wine.—I drink (sm).'

d. *Je ne bois pas de vin(s).* — *Je n' en bois pas.*
I NEG drink NEG DE wine.M(PL) — I NEG =PART drink NEG
'I don't drink wine(s).—I don't drink (any).'

Standard Italian features a "partitive article", too, albeit optionally and with slightly different scope properties (Zamparelli 2008; Cardinaletti and Giusti 2016a, 2016b; Giusti, this volume). As represented in Table 4.2 below, Italian nouns are marked overtly for plural, but the inventory of plural markers is highly syncretic. Except for -$i_{\text{M.PL}}$, all plural endings can also be interpreted as M.SG. or F.SG. (-$e_{\text{F.PL}}$; -$a_{\text{F.PL}}$).

That means that *vino* in Italian is not a morphological component of *vin-i* or a constituent of a plural expression in DivP (it is not parallel to *vino—vino-s* in

9 Furthermore, Borer (2005, 164) seems to allow for projected, but not overtly realized heads: "[…] that plural or mass interpretations could emerge, in principle, without #P, or alternatively, with ⟨e⟩$_{\#}$ but without any range assigned to it […]."

TABLE 4.2 Italian noun classes

Italian noun classes		
libr-o – libr-i (M.) 'book(s)'	*man-o – man-i* (F.) 'hand(s)'	*bracci-o – bracci-a* (M.- F.) 'arm(s)'
cas-a – cas-e (F.) 'home(s)'	*poet-a – poet-i* (M.) 'poet(s)'	
can-e – can-i (M.) 'dog(s)'	*nott-e – nott-i* (F.) 'night(s)'	

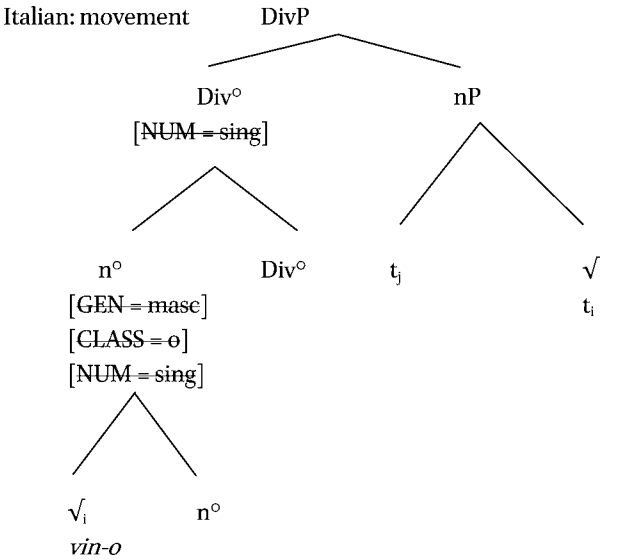


FIGURE 4.5 Deriving indefinite nominals without "partitive articles" in Italian with internal AGREE operations

Spanish or *wine—wine-s* in English); it cannot incorporate into Div° in order to be pluralized. Rather, we assume that it is already specified for number on the level of nP, carrying a valued number feature (cf. Eichler 2012, 358 f.; Alexiadou 2004, 27; Alexiadou 2015). Like in Spanish (see below), Italian nominal roots are combined with overt exponents of noun classes and incorporate, after a successful AGREE operation for gender (and noun class) between a probe in n° and valued features of the root (which thus becomes mobile), into n°. However, nP is not the locus of "portioning out". This can be done in two ways: assuming a number probe on Div°, AGREE with the expression in n° either triggers movement, and the whole expression is incorporated into Div° (see Figure 4.5), like in Spanish. Or, like in French, no movement takes place and the nominal, stuck in n°, needs a default element in Div°, namely, *di* as the first part of the Italian "partitive article" (see Figure 4.6).

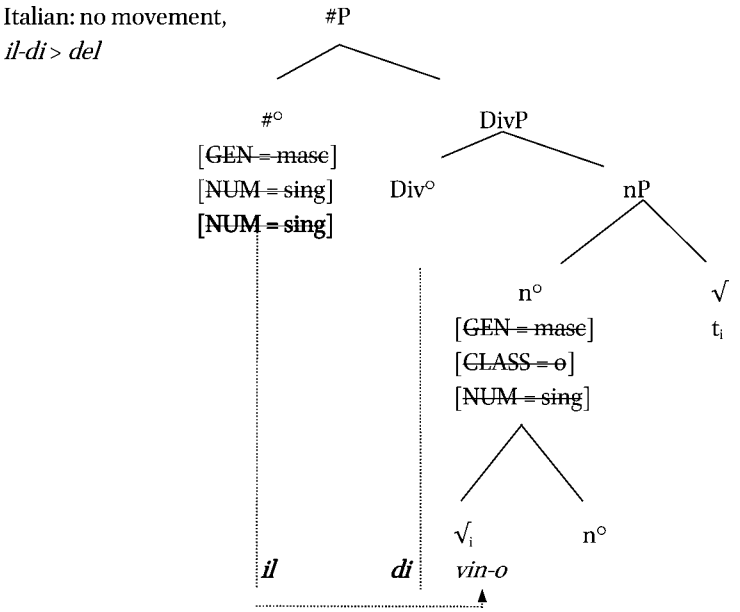


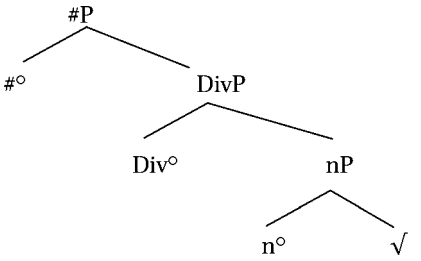
FIGURE 4.6 Deriving indefinite nominals with "partitive articles" in Italian with internal AGREE operations

It seems as if, at least in Standard Italian, no semantic or other substantial difference exists between the bare nominal and the nominal with a "partitive article" in the singular (indefinite reading; cf. Cardinaletti and Giusti 2016a), but this issue has to be further explored. Different Italian varieties, dialects as well as regional varieties, show different patterns of indefinite determination with much less optionality (cf. Cardinaletti and Giusti 2018; Giusti, this volume), so that the standard Italian pattern might also reflect some inconsistency due to standardization and koineization processes (cf. Stark 2007).

Applying the analysis to Spanish yields, of course, a somehow redundant derivation at first sight. This is shown in Figure 4.7 below.

Contrary to Borer (2005), we assume DivP to always be present in indefinite nominals, at least in Romance. In Spanish, due to transparent plural morphology (cf. (3)), the absence of plural (marking) or higher quantifiers or numerals results in a default mass reading.[10]

10 Cf. also Borer (2005, 107, note 18): "As to the possibility that languages project distinct functional structures, I assume, pending evidence suggesting otherwise, that the inventory and interpretation of functional structure is identical across all languages, and that to the extent that the output differs, it must be due to the mode of range assignment selected in a particular structure by a particular language."



dos	*gato*$_{\text{i}}$*-s*	~~*gat*$_{\text{i}}$*-o*~~	~~*gat*$_{\text{i}}$~~
mucho-s	*gato*$_{\text{i}}$*-s*	~~*gat*$_{\text{i}}$*-o*~~	~~*gat*$_{\text{i}}$~~
mucho	*vino*$_{\text{i}}$	~~*vin*$_{\text{i}}$*-o*~~	~~*vin*$_{\text{i}}$~~

FIGURE 4.7
Indefinite nominals in Spanish

Again, we assume Spanish roots to be combined with overt exponents of noun classes and to incorporate, after a successful AGREE operation for gender between a probe in n° and valued features of the root (which thus becomes mobile), into n° (see Figure 4.8 for deriving Sp. *gato-s*). Then, they are combined with Div° coming with a gender probe and a valued number feature,[11] realized by *-s* if plural, and incorporate into Div°. Further merge of #°, carrying a gender and number probe for agreeing quantifiers and numerals, may subsequently lead to the combination of the expression in Div° with a numeral (*dos*, 'two') or a quantifier, yielding an (unspecific) quantification with forms inflecting for gender and number (*much-o*$_{\text{M.SG}}$/*-a*$_{\text{F.SG}}$, 'much' or *much-o*$_{\text{M}}$-*s*$_{\text{PL}}$/*-a*$_{\text{F}}$-*s*$_{\text{PL}}$ 'many'). Note that the mass or count interpretation of the complex element *vin-o* in n°, *vino* in Figure 4.7 (third line), results from the form being clearly singular and not being combined with an explicit "counter" in #°: *un vino* would automatically yield a count interpretation ('one special sort of wine' or 'a glass of wine').

Now, if it is true that for Spanish, just like for English, the interaction of nP with #P is enough to yield a count vs. mass interpretation in bare nominals or quantified nominals, the comparative approach we choose here allows us to account for the typologically complementary distribution in Romance of "partitive articles" always including some variant of *de* and unambiguous plural marking, in parallel to Borer's (2005) observation starting from Chierchia (1998) of the widespread complementary distribution of classifiers and plural morphemes in the languages of the world.

If our analyses are on the right track, they make a strong prediction about the cross-linguistic distribution of the indefinite Romance mass classifier (i.e., the traditionally wrongly labeled "partitive article") containing DE: this element is

11 This is different from Mathieu (2009), who does not take gender probing into account.

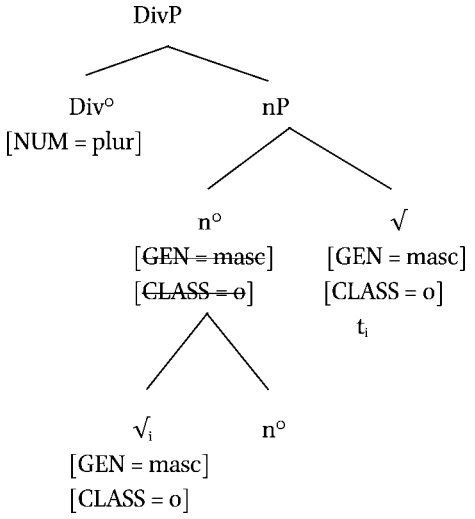


FIGURE 4.8
Deriving indefinite nominals in Spanish with internal AGREE operations

not to be expected in Romance languages or varieties with overt and unambiguous morphological exponents of plural in Div°, as is the case in Ibero-Romance. In the next section, we will discuss apparent counterevidence to this prediction in the history of Spanish.

3 The Case of Old Spanish

Different authors (e.g., Lapesa 1964; Cano 1992; Eberenz 2008) have claimed that Old Spanish featured (optional) "partitive articles" in the sense of indefinite mass classifiers comparable to those of French and Italian discussed in Section 2. Based on data obtained by an exhaustive string search in the *Corpus Diacrónico del Español* (*CORDE*) and the *Corpus del Español* (*CDE*),[12] we will show that this claim originates from an incorrect analysis of the data: all Old Spanish *del*-constituents are superset-denoting PPs headed by a zero Q° (which, besides the superset PP, also governs a subset-denoting zero DP, cf. Cardinaletti and Giusti 2006).[13] In other words, they are *bare partitives* in the sense

12 *CORDE* (http://corpus.rae.es/cordenet.html) contains data from the beginning of documentation until 1974 (236,709,914 tokens; 34,155 texts) from Spain, Latin America, and the Philippines. The *Corpus del Español* (http://www.corpusdelespanol.org/) covers Peninsular and Latin American varieties. It comprises 101,311,682 tokens from 1200–1999 (13,926 texts). Cf. Schurr, this volume, for another corpus study of Old Spanish.

13 Throughout the rest of this paper, the neutral label *del-constituent* comprises both singu-

of Hoeksema (1996, 15 f.) and Kornfilt (1996) and never feature "partitive articles".[14] Yet, besides regular strong definite DPs, Old Spanish *bare partitives* can also contain weakly referential definite DPs with a so-called *representative object interpretation* licensed by what is known as the *kind-oriented mode of talk* (Krifka et al. 1995). Such weakly referential definite DPs, responsible for the wrong "partitive article" analysis of the Old Spanish data in older literature, are not to be confounded with short weak definites in the sense of Carlson and Sussman (2005) and Carlson et al. (2006). Although, due to reasons of space, we will focus on Old Spanish data, all analyses presented hold true of Old Portuguese as well. This can be evidenced by a survey of data from the *Corpus do Português* (cf. also Gerards 2020).[15] Neither Old Spanish nor Old Portuguese are, thus, counterexamples to the prediction resulting from Section 2.2.

3.1 *The Data*

The aim of this section is to determine the morphosyntactic and semantic status of seemingly Modern Gallo- and Italo-Romance-like *del*-constituents in Old Spanish. To this aim, we performed an exploratory corpus search, for practical reasons restricted to one specific context, namely, *del*-constituents governed

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lar masculine *del* + N and feminine *de la* + N, as well as the plural forms *de los* + N and *de las* + N.

14 Note that this use of *bare partitive* is different from that of Chierchia (1998) and Le Bruyn (2010), who use the label *bare partitive* for referring to "partitive articles", that is, D-elements, as discussed in Section 2. Disagreeing with Kupferman (1994), we take as evidence for bare partitives to be headed by a zero Q° two facts. First, with bare partitives in subject function, the verbal predicate clearly agrees with zero Q° (cf. Seržant 2012, for the same observation on partitive genitives in Ancient Greek). This is illustrated by data from Palatian ((i); see also Old Spanish (18) below), a Rhine Franconian variety of German in which bare partitives are particularly frequent (cf. Glaser 1993, for issues of general frequency, but not for agreement facts; Strobel and Glaser, this volume, on partitive markers in some Germanic varieties; cf. also Martin, Carvalho and Alexiadou, this volume, on (dis-)agreement facts between subject and predicate):

(i) [ø] *Vunn de Bohne leit* (*noch*) *uffem Deller.*
[ø]$_{SG}$ of the.PL bean.PL lie.PRS.3SG (still) on.the plate
'There is [still] (a portion) of the beans on the plate.'
(lit.: 'Of the beans [still] lies on the plate.')

Second, the pronominal expression *sie* 'it' in Standard German (ii) is clearly coreferential with zero Q°, not with the overt DP *der Milch* 'the milk':

(ii) *Ich habe* [ø]$_j$ *von der Milch genommen und sie*$_j$ *dann getrunken.*
1SG AUX.PRS.1SG [ø] of the milk take.PTCP and 3SG then drink.PTCP
'I took of the milk and then drank it.'

15 *Corpus do Português* (https://www.corpusdoportugues.org/hist-gen/) covers European and Brazilian varieties. It comprises 45,606,959 tokens from 1200–1999 (55,493 texts).

TABLE 4.3 Chronologic distribution of the 275 *del*-constituents governed by *con* from *CORDE* and *CDE*

Chronological distribution		
Century	**N texts**	***del* (disc. new)**
13th	11	62.5% (172/275)
14th	4	18.9% (52/275)
15th	12	15.6% (43/275)
16th	5	2.2% (6/275)
17th	1	0.4% (1/275)
20th	1	0.4% (1/275)
TOTAL	34	100% (275/275)

by the preposition *con* 'with'.[16] As represented in Table 4.3, we obtained 275 occurrences from 34 texts,[17] out of which most are from the 13th-, 14th-, and 15th-century; six occurrences are from the first quarter of the 16th century, 1 is from the 17th century, and 1 from the 20th century.[18]

16 Restriction to one context was necessary as *CORDE* is not lemmatized and data collection, therefore, was extremely complicated and time-consuming. According to the literature (cf. e.g., Lapesa 1964, 79; Sánchez Lancis 2009), *del*-constituents are attested as direct objects, as objects of P°, and as subjects of unaccusative constructions, that is, as internal arguments. Gerards 2020 shows that what will be said in this section about *del*-constituents governed by *con* 'with' holds across the board for *del*-constituents in direct object and subject function and explains their syntactic distribution in terms of case theory.

17 The initial number was considerably higher. However, *CDE* proved to be unreliable due to scanning mistakes in the process of corpus compilation (e.g., pages with two columns scanned as if they contained one). In order to warrant a scrupulous analysis, all data from this latter corpus had to be checked manually. This procedure led to the exclusion of many false positives.

18 These proportions would be even more biased towards the 13th century if we counted as belonging to the 13th century those attestations from later centuries that are (often *verbatim*) copies of 13th-century ones (among which the only datum from the 20th century). Note furthermore that both *CORDE* and *CDE* contain up to three times more tokens for the 15th and up to six times more tokens for the 16th century than for the 13th and 14th century. Obviously, this, too, means that the proportions reflected in Table 4.3 would be even more biased towards the 13th century if the corpora were to contain an equal number of tokens per century.

TABLE 4.4 Distribution of discourse-given and discourse-new *con*-governed *del*-constituents from *CORDE* and *CDE*

Distribution of *del*-constituents			
Discourse-given	**Discourse-new**	**Total N**	**Total texts**
78/275 (28.4%)	197/275 (71.6%)	275 (100%)	34

Del-constituents are thus a phenomenon characteristic of the 13th century (cf. also Gerards 2020 for more details).

As represented in Table 4.4, out of the 275 *del*-constituents governed by *con*, 78 (= 28.4%) could readily be identified as bare partitive PPs governed by a zero Q°, as they contain a discourse-given definite superset DP referring back to a specific entity introduced cotextually by indefinite or bare nominals or given by accommodation of the type *the car … the wheels*. For the remaining 197 (= 71.6%) occurrences, in contrast, an analysis as textual or situational definites à la Russell (1905), Christophersen (1939), Hawkins (1978), or Heim (1982) is difficult to construct:

(5) *destiénpren=la* […] *con* *d=el* *vinagre*
dissolve.IMP.3PL=3F.SG.ACC with of=the.M.SG vinegar.M.SG
fuerte
strong.M.SG
'Dissolve it with strong vinegar.' (*Gerardus Falconarius*, 13th century)

The occurrence of *vinagre fuerte* 'strong vinegar' in (5) is the first mention of the substance in a recipe text, which, furthermore, comes without an initial list of ingredients. The reason why it is highly implausible to assume that *del vinagre fuerte* in (5) denotes an unspecified subset portion of a *situationally unique* or *familiar* superset portion of vinegar is the enormous diversity of lexemes contained in the 197 occurrences of type (5) without any immediate cotextual givenness (see Section 3.3). Such *del*-constituents, the only ones of interest in the remainder of this paper, are only attested in the data until the first quarter of the 16th century.

At first sight, a plausible analysis of discourse-new *del*-constituents governed by *con* seems to be one in terms of Modern Gallo- or Italo-Romance "partitive articles" seen in Section 2.2: indefiniteness, mass interpretation. A closer investigation, however, shows that such an analysis is incorrect: both intra-

textually and intertextually discourse-new *del*-constituents like in (5) alternate under identical discourse-pragmatic conditions and in the same syntactic functions with bare nominals (6), but also with definitely marked nominals (7) (cf. also Eberenz 2008):[19]

(6) *trénpla=lo* *con* *binagre* *fuerte*
dissolve.IMP.3SG=3M.SG.ACC with vinegar.M.SG strong.M.SG
'Dissolve it with strong vinegar.' (*Modo de Meleçinar las Aves*, 16th-century copy of (5))

(7) *destiénpra=lo* *con* *el* *binagre* *fuerte*
dissolve.IMP.3SG=3M.SG.ACC with the.M.SG vinegar.M.SG strong.M.SG
'Dissolve it with strong vinegar.' (*Dancus Rex. Esc. V.11.19*, 13th century)

Like in example (5) (and like the bare nominal in (6)), the definite nominal *el vinagre fuerte* in (7) is discourse-new: it is the first mention of the substance, and the use of the definite article is not licensed by the availability of a situationally unique or familiar discourse referent. This strongly suggests that discourse-new *del*-constituents (5)—unlike "partitive articles" (see Section 2.2)—also contain a definite article and that they are, thus, PPs with a zero Q°.[20] Crucially, this is the morphosyntax of bare partitives (see introduction to Section 3).

Besides the chronological one, two more restrictions apply to discourse-new *del*-constituents governed by *con* (5): first, 195/197 (= 99.0%) discourse-new *del*-constituents denote concrete referents.[21] Second, in the data analyzed, almost all (187/197 = 94.9%) such constituents are from technical prose, more precisely *medical*, *veterinary*, or *culinary treatises*.[22] This bias is not due to overrepresentation of some ingredient nouns in technical prose, a potential

19 For reasons elaborated on below, such uses of the definite article are not mentioned in grammars of Old Spanish (cf. e.g., Ortiz Ciscomani 2009).

20 The use of the definite article in (7) is to be distinguished from that of some Modern Italian varieties in which the definite article is the default morphosyntactic means to encode indefinite mass interpretations (cf. Cardinaletti and Giusti 2016b, 2018, and note 4; Giusti, this volume). In this context, note that Kupisch and Koops (2007, 194, their note 5) sustain that such uses in Modern Italian varieties are the result of a grammaticalization process of definites with representative object interpretations in the kind-oriented mode of talk (see Section 3.2).

21 From our point of view, the only two attestations with abstract nouns are doubtful as to whether they really instantiate bare partitives.

22 The percentage could be argued to even be higher, as 6 out of the 10 occurrences from gen-

objection raised by an anonymous reviewer: an exemplary string search for ⟨miel⟩ 'honey' in a relevant non-technical prose subportion of *CORDE* (register: narrative prose until 1599) yielded 247 attestations, none of which was a discourse-new *del*-constituent and 93 of which were bare nouns in argument position.

Importantly, this ⟨miel⟩-string search also shows that unembedded discourse-new definites of type (7) display the same genre bias as discourse-new *del*-constituents: besides the 93 bare nominals, the 247 attestations of *miel* also contain 91 tokens of definite *la miel* 'the honey'. Crucially, all of them instantiate one of Hawkins' (1978) eight different usage types of definite articles, that is, are regularly unique and/or familiar strong definites (≠ (7)).[23]

Returning to the question addressed in this paper, that is, whether Old Spanish featured (optional) "partitive articles" in the sense of indefinite mass determiners as available in Modern French and Modern Italian, and summarizing the preceding observations based on data from *CORDE* and *CDE*, we can state the following:

(a) Old Spanish featured optional discourse-new *del*-constituents for which co(n)textual uniqueness or familiarity is difficult to construct (5). Such *del*-constituents are, at first sight, reminiscent of "partitive articles".

(b) In Old Spanish, and under identical discourse-pragmatic conditions, there is intratextual and intertextual variation between such discourse-new *del*-constituents and discourse-new nominals with the definite article only (7). This strongly suggests that discourse-new *del*-constituents in Old Spanish, differently from "partitive articles" (see Section 2.2), also contain a definite article and are, hence, PPs with a zero Q°. This is the morphosyntax of *bare partitives*, not of "partitive articles". The overt DP embedded in the PP of discourse-new *del*-constituents is superset-denoting.

(c) Both discourse-new *del*-constituents and discourse-new definite nominals display a strong genre-bias in our data, being almost exclusively attested in technical prose.

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res *other* than technical prose are found in clearly instructive passages. This adds further robustness to the genre bias (for the reason of the bias, see Section 3.2).

23 This is, we believe, the reason why uses of the definite article such as the one in (7) are not mentioned in grammars of Old Spanish: these are mostly based on literary and poetic text genres. For a discussion of the problematic text selection underlying grammars of Old Spanish, see, for instance, Kabatek (2005) and references therein.

In view of (a)–(c), we need an adequate semantic analysis of the definite article in (5) and (7), as well as an explanation of the genre bias observed.

3.2 *Definite Articles in Need of Explanation: Representative Object Interpretations in the Kind-Oriented Mode of Talk*

We propose that discourse-new definites such as *el vinagre fuerte* in (7) and the same type of definite nominal contained in discourse-new *del*-constituents (5) are to be analyzed as definites with *representative object interpretations* (*ROI*) made available by what Krifka et al. (1995, 85–88) have dubbed *kind-oriented mode of talk* (*KoM*).[24] The label *representative object interpretation* (*ROI*) designates in our understanding a weakly referential use of definite nominals, often complements of V° or P°.[25] Such definites do not meet uniqueness or familiarity requirements at the object level and come with a "generic flavor" even though they occur with verbal predicates not licensing kind-denoting arguments. In this vein, *the grizzly* in (8) and *el gorila* 'the gorilla' in Spanish (9) are not generic in the sense of kind denotation, as the whole sentence does not make a straightforward predication about a property of URSUS ARCTOS HORRIBILIS or GORILLA, respectively. Rather, in the ROI-reading of interest here, the definites denote *arbitrary* yet *prototypical instantiations* of kinds, which were filmed or encountered. As will be shown below, such instantiations are inherently non-specific, the definite itself being semantically number-neutral:

(8) *In Alaska, we filmed the grizzly.* (Krifka et al. 1995, 78)

(9) *Aquella mañana tuvimos nuestro primer encuentro con el gorila.*
that morning have.PST.1PL our first encounter with the.M.SG gorilla
'Yesterday we had our first encounter with the gorilla.' (Leonetti 1999, 873)

ROI-definites as in (8) and (9) are under-researched and, therefore, not well understood. Yet, what we do know is that they are attested in many Indo-

24 As opposed to the default *object-oriented mode of talk* (Krifka et al. 1995, 87). The first scholar to (briefly) note the existence of this class of DPs was, to the best of our knowledge, Bally ([4]1965 [1932], 89–90).

25 For the discussion of ROIs in the context of weak referentiality, see Pires de Oliveira (2013, 28–29). For an overview of many different types of weak referentiality, see the contributions in Aguilar-Guevara, Le Bruyn, and Zwarts (2014).

European and at least some non-Indo-European languages and that, truth-conditionally, they are equivalent to indefinites (Oosterhof 2006, 67).[26]

As pointed out above, ROI-definites refer to (an) arbitrary prototypical exemplar(s) of the respective kind, as noted by Krifka et al. (1995) and confirmed, among others, by Mueller-Reichau (2013):[27]

> [...] the object in the situation described is only relevant as a representative of the whole kind [and] a property can be projected from the object to the kind.
>
> KRIFKA et al. 1995, 79

> [an] object term [...] function[s] as a kind term [and] reference to the kind is realised indirectly via reference to a representative of the kind.
>
> MUELLER-REICHAU 2013, 93

The fact that ROI-definites are about representative prototypical *exemplars* of kinds and not about kinds 'on the whole' can only mean that such definites are, in principle, subject to the [± specific]-distinction. In other words, they introduce variables bound by an existential quantifier (Oosterhof 2008, 55, 159–161). Yet, we claim that ROI-definites, despite being subject to this distinction in principle, are inherently non-specific (see for the same claim, Koss Torkildsen 2002, 83 and, for closely related observations, Kupisch and Koops 2007). This claim is—we believe—in line with Krifka et al.'s (1995) and Mueller-Reichau's (2013) observations. Support for inherent non-specificity of ROI-definites comes from their hitherto unnoticed semantic number neutrality. Both versions of (10), which are about one or two gorillas, respectively, are semantically felicitous continuations of (9):[28]

(10) *A=l* *cruzar* *el* *bosque,* *de repente* *apareció/aparecieron*
at=the.M.SG cross.INF the forest suddenly appear.PST.3SG/ 3PL
una/dos *espalda*(*/s*) *plateada*(*/s*) *impresionante*(*/s*)
an/ two silverback(/s) impressive.SG(/PL)
'When crossing the forest, there suddenly appeared an/two impressive silverback(/s).'

26 For ROI-definites in Indo-European languages, see the references in this section. For Arabic, see Jaber (2014).

27 See also Leonetti (1999, 872 f.), Oosterhof (2008), and Pelletier (2010, 6).

28 For further evidence, see also the discussion of example (13) in Section 3.3.

Finally, note that from a syntactic point of view, the only plausible locus where the definite article in ROI-definites is located is D°—as this is where referentiality (be it weak or strong) is established.

We believe that discourse-new Old Spanish definites (7) and discourse-new *del*-constituents (5) are—or, in the case of (5), contain—ROI-definites. The genre bias of our Old Spanish data (see Section 3.1) is perfectly compatible with Krifka et al.'s (1995) observations, whose hypothesis is that ROI-definites are pragmatically conditioned phenomena sensitive to a varietal bias. Yet, two possible objections need to be addressed.[29]

First, ROIs in modern article languages—the exclusive empirical basis of the scarce literature on such definites—are generally count nouns (cf. (8)–(9)). This is not the case of the Old Spanish data (cf. (5), (7)). However, in the case of Old Spanish, we are dealing with a less grammaticalized article system than that of modern languages. Such article systems are known to display greater freedom of article use and/or non-use (cf. e.g., Carlier and Lamiroy 2014). In this vein, for Old French, a language closely related to Old Spanish, it has explicitly been argued that definite articles with mass nouns could be used with non-unique and non-familiar referents in order to signal *discourse prominence* (Epstein 2001; cf. also Epstein 1993, 1994).[30] Our claim that the Old Spanish data involve ROI-definites, thus, does not seem far-fetched at all: after all, in recipes, ingredients are clearly central discourse referents (for statistical support of the discursive importance of ROI-definites in Old Spanish, see Gerards 2020). Drawing on Epstein (2001) also leads to the prediction that ROI-definites become rarer once the definite article of a given language continues to grammaticalize. Again, this is confirmed by the Old Spanish data, in which discourse-new *del*-constituents are only attested until the first quarter of the 16th century (see Section 3.1).

Second, ROI-definites in modern article languages, besides being count nouns, are generally morphologically singular only. Once more, this is not true of the Old Spanish data. Again, the diachronic argument sketched in the preceding paragraph is a reasonable counterargument against this objection. However, it is no longer the only one: experimental investigations on ROIs in Modern Dutch (Oosterhof 2006, 2008, 159–161), despite confirming that singular count nouns clearly get such readings most easily, reveal that, at least for some

29 We thank Anna Kocher and an anonymous reviewer of a previous version of this paper for these observations.

30 Possibly, the pragmatic notion of prominence can be formalized in terms of *salience*, which some have claimed to be the only universal meaning of definite articles (see, most recently, Von Heusinger 2013).

speakers, ROI-readings seem to not be completely ruled out with bare plurals. From our point of view, this suggests that it is reasonable to propose that Old Spanish plural definites, too, are amenable to ROIs.

Summing up, an analysis of the Old Spanish data, that is, of both unembedded discourse-new definites (7) and the definites contained in discourse-new *del*-constituents (5), in terms of ROI-definites is perfectly plausible: both are most typical of the 13th century, that is, of a less grammaticalized article system, instantiate a pragmatically-conditioned genre-biased usage type of the definite article, and vary intertextually and intratextually with bare nominals, as they are truth-conditionally equivalent to indefinites. Clearly though, having the same truth-conditions as indefinites does not mean that Old Spanish *del*-constituents featuring ROI-definites are semantically (let alone syntactically) identical to Modern Gallo- and Italo-Romance indefinite mass classifiers ("partitive articles"). Old Spanish *del*-constituents with ROI-definites but not "partitive articles" involve superset reference to prototypical instantiations of kinds. Only Old Spanish *del*-constituents with ROI-definites but not "partitive articles" (see Section 2.2) involve (weakly) referential definite articles located in D°. Furthermore, Modern Romance "partitive articles", differently from Old Spanish *del*-constituents, do not involve prepositions and, differently from ROI-definites, are not number neutral. In short, Old Spanish *del*-constituents featuring ROI-definites are *bare partitives*, and do not involve "partitive articles".

In the following section, we will address a possible alternative analysis of the Old Spanish data in terms of short weak definites. We will show that such an analysis is clearly inferior to one in terms of ROI-definites.

3.3 *The Old Spanish Data Are Not Short Weak Definites*[31]

Another class of weak referentials besides ROI-definites are so-called *short weak definites* (Carlson and Sussman 2005; Carlson et al. 2006; Aguilar-Guevara and Zwarts 2013).[32] Short weak definites are definites that share a number of properties with ROI-definites, among others semantic number neutrality, non-

31 This section is the fruit of numerous informal discussions over the past three years, in the course of which we were repeatedly challenged to position ourselves with regard to whether short weak definites and ROI-definites are one and the same class of nominals. We particularly thank an anonymous reviewer of a previous version of this paper for his/her insightful comments.

32 The term *weak definite* is originally due to Poesio (1994), who was, however, mostly concerned with what is now known as *long weak definites*. For a recent comprehensive typology of weak definites, see Espinal and Cyrino (2017a).

uniqueness, non-familiarity, and some fuzzy "generic flavor". In this vein, in (11), Lola could have taken several potentially different, previously unfamiliar trains:

(11) *Lola took **the train** from Amsterdam to Nijmegen.* (Aguilar-Guevara and Zwarts 2013, 34)

Inherent semantic number neutrality, non-uniqueness, and non-familiarity seem to approximate short weak definites to ROI-definites. Upon closer scrutiny, however, both turn out to be different classes of weak referentials. In the remainder of this section, this will be shown by means of three morphosyntactic, lexical, and semantic properties of short weak definites that are found neither in ROI-definites nor in our Old Spanish data: defectiveness with regard to introducing discourse referents, strong lexical restrictions, and restriction to one morphological number only.[33]

It is commonplace that short weak definites (SWDs) are bad at introducing discourse referents (Carlson et al. 2006; Aguilar-Guevara and Zwarts 2013; Aguilar-Guevara 2014, among many others). Pronominal resumption of potential short weak definites, at least with stage-level predicates, obligatorily triggers a strong, "regular" definite reading of the nominal (SD), that is, a regularly unique and/or familiar interpretation:[34]

(12) *Lola listened to **the radio**$_i$ until she fell asleep. She turned **it**$_i$ off when she woke up in the middle of the night.* (? SWD/SD fine) (Aguilar-Guevara and Zwarts 2013, 35)

ROI-definites, in turn, can perfectly function as antecedents of pronominal expressions also with stage-level predicates, without the ROI-reading being lost:

(13) *In Alaska, we filmed **the grizzly**$_i$. Often, we would even be able to observe **it**$_i$ /**them**$_i$[35] interact with **its**$_i$/**their**$_i$ young.*

33 These properties of short weak definites, among others, are why Carlson et al. (2006, 2013) and Schwarz (2014) analyze short weak definites as a special type of incorporation. For different accounts, see Aguilar-Guevara and Zwarts (2013), Beyssade (2013), Corblin (2013), Aguilar-Guevara (2014), and Zwarts (2014).

34 As a reviewer notes, pronominal resumption of SWDs is fine with individual or kind-level predicates (*Lola listened to the radio$_i$. It$_i$ is her favorite medium for listening to music*).

35 Note how the grammaticality of both a singular and a plural pronominal expression resuming a singular count ROI-definite in (13) adds further support to the semantic number neutrality of ROI-definites (see Section 3.2).

In the Old Spanish data, 101/197 (= 51.3%) discourse-new *del*-constituents serve as antecedents for either clitic or strong pronominal expressions with stage-level predicates:[36]

(14) *tomen d=el eneldo e cuégan=lo*
take.IMP.3PL of=the.M.SG dill.M.SG and cook.IMP.3PL=3M.SG.ACC
con ***d=el agua***$_i$ *e póngán=ge=****la***$_i$
with of=the.F.SG water.F.SG and put.IMP.3PL=3PL.DAT=3F.SG.ACC
*delantre por tal que beuan d'=****ella***$_i$
in.front so.that drink.PRS.SBJV.3PL of=3F.SG
'Take dill and cook it with water and put it [the water] in front of them so that they drink of it [of the water].' (*Moamín*, ca. 1250)

Summing up, the Old Spanish data clearly align with RO1-definites and not with short weak definites with regard to the introduction of discourse referents.

Short weak definites are also subject to strong lexical restrictions (Carlson et al. 2006; Aguilar-Guevara and Zwarts 2013; Aguilar-Guevara 2014; Schwarz 2014). This holds true with regard to the noun itself, even for near synonyms (15a–b), the governing verb (15c–d), and the governing preposition (15e–f):

(15) a. *I went to the hospital*. (SWD fine)
b. *I went to the clinic*. (no SWD)
c. *Sally checked the calendar*. (SWD fine)
d. *Sally tore the calendar*. (no SWD)
e. *Kenneth is at the store*. (SWD fine)
f. *Kenneth is behind the store*. (no SWD)
([a], [b] Aguilar-Guevara 2014, 153; [c]–[f] Carlson and Sussman 2005, 76)

The 197 discourse-new Old Spanish *del*-constituents in the data contain 37 different governing verbs and 42 different nouns. Altogether, 85 different verb + *con* + noun combinations are attested in the data. Again, the Old Spanish data thus clearly align with RO1-definites and not with short weak definites.

36 In order to warrant comparable results, we only took into consideration the two clauses immediately following the one containing the *del*-constituent. Note that the actual number of *del*-constituents introducing discourse referents would have even been higher had we taken into account the 14 cases of resumption of *del*-constituents by means of a lexical DP. However, we decided not to include such data in our count as, so far, the defectiveness of short weak definites with regard to introducing discourse referents has exclusively been discussed and tested for pronominal expressions.

Finally, short weak definites are morphologically defective. With a given nominal lexeme, they can either be morphologically singular ((16a) vs. (16b)) *or* morphologically plural ((16c) vs. (16d)), but never both (Aguilar-Guevara and Zwarts 2011, 181; Espinal and Cyrino 2017b, 130):

(16) a. *Sally listened to the radio*. (SWD fine)
b. *Sally listened to the radios*. (SD only)
c. *Lola went to the mountain*. (SD only)
d. *Lola went to the mountains*. (SWD fine)
(Aguilar-Guevara and Zwarts 2011, 181; [a–b] adapted)

ROIs, in turn—though preferably singular—are, according to previous research (see Section 3.2), not categorically ruled out in the plural and, more importantly, have, for a given nominal lexeme, never been argued to be restricted to only one morphological number. Again, the type of Old Spanish *del*-constituents studied in this paper align with ROI-definites rather than with short weak definites. As proof of this, consider the data in (17) and (18), taken from Gerards (2020), which not only analyzes *del*-constituents governed by *con* 'with' but also in other syntactic functions:

(17) *tomen* ***d=el*** ***seuo*** *de=las* *uacas*
take.IMP.3PL of=the.M.SG suet.M.SG of=the.F.PL cow.F.PL
'Take cow suet.' (*Moamín*, ca. 1250)

(18) *den=les* [...] ***de=los*** ***seuos*** *de=las*
give.IMP.3PL=3PL.DAT ... of=the.M.PL suet.M.PL of=the.F.PL
aues *que* ***les*** *conuiene*
bird.F.PL REL 3PL.DAT be.adequate.3.SG
'Take bird suets that suit (lit.: suits) them.' (*Moamín*, ca. 1250)

Both (17) and (18)—two examples from the same text—feature discourse-new *del*-constituents containing the lexical head noun *seuo* 'suet'. Yet, *seuo* is morphologically singular in (17), while it is plural in (18). In addition, note how (18) may be further proof of our claim that the Old Spanish *del*-constituents under study in this paper—differently from "partitive articles" (see Section 2.2)—feature an empty Q° (see note 14): in (18), the *del*-constituent is the subject of the modifying relative clause *que les conuiene* 'which suit (lit. suits) them', where *conuiene* is 3rd person singular. Yet, neither *seuos* 'suets' nor its PP-complement *de las aues* 'of the birds' is morphologically singular. Hence, it is reasonable to assume that 3rd person singular *conuiene* agrees with

an empty Q-head specified for singular and which embeds the entire complex *del*-constituent.

Summing up, the Old Spanish data discussed are (i) perfectly able to introduce discourse referents and to function as antecedents of coreferential expressions even with stage-level predicates, (ii) lack strong lexical restrictions, and (iii) are not restricted to one morphological number for a given nominal lexeme. They thus clearly align with ROI-definites, and not with short weak definites.

4 Conclusion

We have shown in this contribution that the typologically marked existence of an indefinite mass determiner ("partitive article") in many Gallo-Romance and Italo-Romance varieties and also in standard French (and to a lesser extent in standard Italian) can be correlated empirically with the (non-)availability of word class markers and agglutinative plural morphemes in Romance languages. A formal analysis of the internal structure of indefinite nominals (based on Borer 2005, plus some minimalist assumptions on AGREE and Distributed Morphology mechanisms) has shown that *de* is the minimal expression of Div°, in complementary distribution with overt and unambiguous plural morphemes. This analysis makes the prediction that languages like Ibero-Romance varieties with such a plural-*s* should not possess indefinite mass determiners ("partitive articles"). The prediction, contrary to older claims (Lapesa 1964; Cano 1992; Eberenz 2008), is borne out: the discourse-new Old Spanish *del*-constituents discussed in this paper, frequent only in the 13th century, turned out to be bare partitives, that is, QPs with a zero Q° that contain PPs. These PPs, in turn, contain weakly referential definite superset DPs with representative object interpretations licensed by the kind-oriented mode of talk. In Modern Spanish, these *del*-constituents are no longer available.[37] The reason for this, we believe, is that in the 13th century, the system of nominal determination was much less grammaticalized than in Modern Spanish. Definites in Old Spanish were able to signal discourse prominence more easily than in Modern Spanish, even in the absence of uniqueness and/or familiarity of a discourse referent.

37 Whereas ROI-definites not embedded in *del*-constituents are still available, at least with singular count nouns (9).

Acknowledgements

We would like to express our gratitude to two anonymous reviewers and the audience of *Going Romance* 30 at *Goethe-University Frankfurt* for many helpful comments on previous versions of this paper. Additionally, we would like to thank the *Swiss National Science Foundation* (*SNSF*) and the *URPP Language and Space* (University of Zurich) for financial support. Usual disclaimers apply.

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