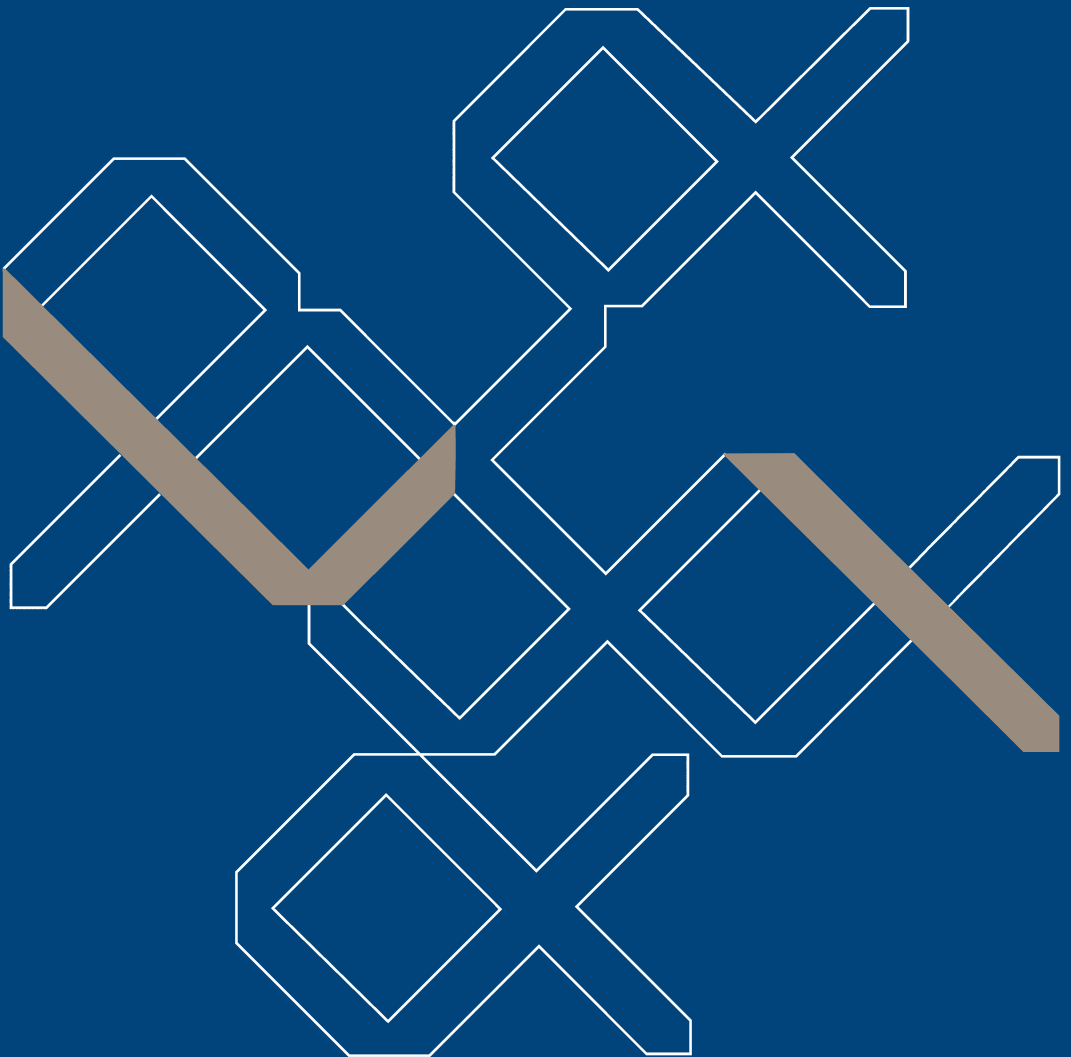




Linguistic Inquiry
Monograph Sixty-Three

Indefinite Objects
Scrambling, Choice
Functions, and
Differential Marking

Luis López



Indefinite Objects

Linguistic Inquiry Monographs

Samuel Jay Keyser, general editor

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Indefinite Objects

Scrambling, Choice Functions, and Differential Marking

Luis López

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Series Foreword

We are pleased to present the sixty-third in the series *Linguistic Inquiry Monographs*. These monographs present new and original research beyond the scope of the article. We hope they will benefit our field by bringing to it perspectives that will stimulate further research and insight.

Originally published in limited edition, the *Linguistic Inquiry Monographs* are now more widely available. This change is due to the great interest engendered by the series and by the needs of a growing readership. The editors thank the readers for their support and welcome suggestions about future directions for the series.

Samuel Jay Keyser
for the Editorial Board

Preface

I always wanted to be somebody.
Now I see that I should have been more specific.
—Lily Tomlin

The polyvalent behavior of indefinites has always been a matter of curiosity among linguists. For instance, in (1), the indefinite object *a philosopher* may take scope outside the conditional, with the meaning that there is a certain philosopher such that if Bert invites him, Lud will be upset. Since conditional clauses are strong islands for extraction, the wide scope reading suggests that the scope of indefinites depends on a semantic operation rather than on Quantifier Raising. In (2), we do not know whether Mary is looking for just any individual who has the properties of being a manager and speaking German or whether she is looking for a specific individual—known to herself or to the speaker—whom we happen to identify by using these properties.

- (1) If Bert invites a philosopher, Lud will be angry.
- (2) Mary is looking for a manager that speaks German.

In this monograph I discuss three approaches to accounting for the grammar of indefinites. Linguists working in the tradition of differential object marking (DOM) (see Bossong 1985; Aissen 2003) have connected a piece of morphology with a specific interpretation. For instance, in the Spanish sentence (3), the presence of *a* before the indefinite object makes a specific reading possible; without *a*, the specific reading is impossible.

- (3) María está buscando (a) un gestor.
María is seeking a manager
'María is looking for a manager.'

Other linguists—in particular, Diesing (1992)—have linked specificity with scrambling. The subject's position to the right of the adjunct particles in the

German example (4a) facilitates a nonspecific reading of *zwei Cellisten* ‘two cellists’, whereas its position to the left in (4b) forces a specific reading.

- (4) a. . . weil ja doch zwei Cellisten in diesem Hotel abgestiegen sind.
 because indeed two cellists in this hotel have.taken.rooms
 b. . . weil zwei Cellisten ja doch in diesem Hotel abgestiegen sind.
 (Diesing 1992, 78)

Finally, Reinhart (1997) and many others have argued that indefinite DPs obtain wide scope by means of choice functions—consequently making the scope of indefinite nominal phrases independent of their structural position.

Of particular interest for our purposes are Chung and Ladusaw’s (2004) proposals, according to which indefinite nominal phrases have two modes of semantic composition available to them: Restrict and Satisfy. Restrict combines the indefinite nominal phrase as a restrictive modifier without saturation of the predicate argument structure and leads to narrow scope. Satisfy involves a choice function and Function Application, giving rise to a variety of scopes.

In this monograph, I synthesize the three traditions. The gist of my proposal is shown schematically in (5) (where *EA* = *external argument*, *DO* = *direct object*).

- (5) $[_{VP} EA v [_{cP} DO.DOM \alpha [_{VP} V DO]]]$
 ↑ ↑
 Satisfy Restrict

That is, DOM and wide scope of indefinites entail scrambling. I substantiate this claim using data from Spanish, Persian, Hindi-Urdu, Kiswahili, Romanian, and German.

The main theoretical contribution of this research project is that it allows us to develop a more nuanced view of the syntax-semantics interface. Diesing and many others have argued that syntactic positions are linked to semantic interpretations. A rigid mapping is the only option within a theory of syntax-semantics mapping in which Function Application is the only operation that can build a semantic structure out of a syntactic structure. However, recent years have seen the development of other operations of semantic composition such as Kratzer’s (1996) Event Identification and Chung and Ladusaw’s (2004) Restrict, as well as other innovations in semantic theory relevant to the present project such as Van Geenhoven’s (1998) Semantic Incorporation. These developments in semantic theory call for a renewal of our theory of the syntax-semantics interface. Thus, I argue that there is no rigid “syntactic position–semantic interpretation” mapping; instead, the effect of the syntactic

configuration is to limit the range of possible modes of semantic composition, a restriction that in turn limits the range of possible semantic representations.

In this book, I also uncover and provide analyses for some DOM data that have not been discussed in the literature so far, and I develop analyses for well-known data that have lacked a satisfactory account.

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank Karlos Arregi, Angel Gallego, Remus Gergel, Kay González-Vilbazo, Manuel Leonetti, Silvina Montrul, and the members of the Temple of DOM reading group for numerous comments on a previous draft of this monograph and valuable advice thereafter. The comments and suggestions of three referees for MIT Press were likewise illuminating and provided crucial help in turning my submitted manuscript into a publishable monograph. I would also like to thank the audiences at the Workshop on Differential Object Marking at the University of Zurich (October 2008), the Patterns and Algorithms talk series at Freie Universität Berlin (June 2009), the UICtiL (February 2010), and the University of Iowa (March 2010) for their questions and comments.

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I would like to express my deepest gratitude to the language consultants without whose generous help this project would never have come to fruition: Muhammad Belverdi, Rajesh Bhatt, Vicki Carstens, Ioana Chitoran, Jonathan Choti, Veneeta Dayal, Haig Der-Houssikian, Remus Gergel, Jila Ghomeshi, Edward Göbbel, Kay González-Vilbazo, Zeyana Hamid, Jutta Hartmann, Gholamhossein Karimi-Doostan, Inga Kohl, Manuel Leonetti, Guido Mensching, Dennis Ott, Elisabeth Stark, Susanne Winkler, and Anja Weinberger. Any misunderstandings of the data, and any shortcomings in the book, are solely my responsibility.

Finally, I would like to thank Yasmin Mehta for her help in preparing the final manuscript as well as, last but not least, Anne Mark for impressive copy-editing work.

1 Introduction: Remarks on the Grammar of Indefinite Objects

Consider the examples (1), (2), and (3).

- (1) John ate an apple.
- (2) Mary is looking for a manager that speaks German.
- (3) If Lud invites a philosopher, Bert will be offended.

In (1), we do not know whether *an apple* refers to an individual apple or to apples in general (the second reading becomes more prominent with additional context, as in *John ate an apple whenever he saw one*). In (2), we do not know whether Mary is looking for just any individual who has the properties of being a manager and speaking German or whether she is looking for a specific individual—known to herself or to the speaker—whom we happen to identify by using these properties. In (3), the indefinite *a philosopher* may take scope outside the conditional, resulting in the meaning that there is a certain philosopher whom Lud would do better not to invite. A conditional is a strong island and therefore a quantifier cannot escape it by Quantifier Raising (QR). In fact, strong quantifiers are not able to widen their scope with the freedom that weak quantifiers have (see, e.g., Reinhart 1997).

When we add languages with *differential object marking* (DOM) to the discussion, the data at first appear more complex. On deeper examination, however, it turns out that DOM can make things clearer. I introduce here some data to arouse the reader's curiosity. Spanish indefinite objects may be introduced by a particle that I refer to as *accusative A*. Adding or subtracting accusative A to an indefinite object has interpretive consequences.

- (4) María buscó **a/Ø** una gestora que hablara alemán.
María sought a manager that spoke.SUBJ German
'María was looking for a manager that spoke.SUBJ German.'

- (5) María buscó **a**/***Ø** una gestora que hablaba alemán.
 María sought a manager that spoke.IND German
 ‘María was looking for a manager that spoke.IND German.’
- (6) a. Si Lud invita **a** un filósofo, Bert se ofenderá.
 ‘If Lud invites a philosopher, Bert will be offended.’
 $\exists > \rightarrow$
 $\rightarrow > \exists$
- b. Si Lud invita **Ø** un filósofo, Bert se ofenderá.
 ‘If Lud invites a philosopher, Bert will be offended.’
 $*\exists > \rightarrow$
 $\rightarrow > \exists$
- (7) Un hombre ama **a**/***Ø** toda mujer.
 ‘A man loves every woman.’
 $\exists > \forall$
 $*\forall > \exists$

Let us start with (4). The direct object (DO) in (4) includes a relative clause with a verb in the subjunctive mood. It is a well-known property of Spanish grammar that the presence of the subjunctive mood in a relative clause ensures that the noun modified by the relative clause can only be interpreted as nonspecific (Rivero 1979). Thus, *gestora* ‘manager’ can only be nonspecific. In this context, the DP *gestora* may either be introduced by accusative A, or not (I indicate absence of accusative A with \emptyset). In (5), the verb in the relative clause is indicative and the DP can only be interpreted as specific. In this context, accusative A is obligatory. Taken together, (4) and (5) indicate that unmarked objects cannot be specific while marked objects can be (but do not have to be). In (6), the indefinite can take wide scope *only* if it is introduced by accusative A. Thus, (6) suggests that accusative A has the property of widening scope. (7) shows that a strong quantifier in object position cannot take scope over the subject. Even though the object is introduced by accusative A, the strong quantifier cannot take wide scope. Thus, accusative A allows wide scope only if it prefixes an indefinite DP.

This chapter is composed of two sections. In section 1.1, I present three traditions in the study of indefinites that I build upon or contest in later chapters; one goal of this monograph is to synthesize some of the findings from all three traditions.¹ In this section, I also initially present the hypothesis that I argue for throughout. In section 1.2, I present the Spanish data that will be the focus of chapters 2 and 3.

1.1 Indefinites: Their Readings, Scopes, and Peculiar Morphologies

1.1.1 Indefinites and Tree Splitting

In an influential monograph, and in subsequent work, Diesing (1992, 1996; Diesing and Jelinek 1995) proposes to approach the study of specificity by linking the specific interpretation to a certain position or positions in the syntactic tree.

Diesing takes indefinites to be lexically ambiguous between strong and weak (for the strong/weak distinction, see Milsark 1974). Weak indefinites are not quantifiers proper; they are variables that need to be bound by some quantifier (Lewis 1975; Heim 1982). In (8a), the indefinite is bound by an existential quantifier; in (8b), it is bound by a universal quantifier; and in (8c), it is bound by a generic quantifier.

- (8) a. Mary saw a cat.
 $\exists x \text{ cat}(x) \wedge \text{Mary saw } x$
 b. Every cat that likes a kitten licks it.
 $= \forall x,y [\text{cat}(x) \wedge \text{kitten}(y) \wedge \text{likes}(x,y)] \rightarrow \text{licks}(x,y)$
 c. Girls like a cat.
 $\text{GEN}_x [\text{x a cat}] \text{ girls like } x$

Diesing further argues that weak indefinites must find themselves in situ—within the VP—at LF. In that position, they are bound by an existential quantifier. Consider example (9). If the determiner *some* is pronounced without stress, this sentence has the meaning expressed in (9b). This meaning is mapped from the syntactic structure in (9a). Since English subjects are forced by the Extended Projection Principle (EPP) to raise to the specifier of T (Spec,T) by S-Structure, the mapping from S-Structure to LF must involve lowering. In some languages, weak quantifier subjects do show up superficially in a predicate-internal position, making Diesing's view more plausible (see the discussion of Dutch in Diesing 1992, 80–85).

- (9) Some men arrived. (*some* pronounced without stress)
 a. $[_{TP} t(\text{some men}) T [_{VP} \text{some men arrived}]]$
 b. $\exists x \text{ man}(x) \wedge \text{arrived}(x)$

If the determiner bears stress, it is strong. Strong indefinites are quantifiers. As such, they scramble or undergo QR out of VP and into TP. Strong quantifiers create Heimian tripartite structures (Heim 1982) composed of the quantifier itself, a restrictor, and a nuclear scope. The restrictor is “presuppositional,” which in the case of indefinites means that it is interpreted as specific

or generic. Thus, (10) could be paraphrased as ‘Some of the men arrived’. *Some men* is in Spec,T at LF, and the resulting semantics is as shown in (10b).

- (10) Some men arrived. (*some* pronounced with stress)
- a. [_{TP} some men T [_{VP} t(some men) arrived]]
- b. some x [x a man] x arrived
- \uparrow \uparrow
 Restrictor Nuclear scope

Indeed, on the basis of the empirical evidence provided (mostly) by German object scrambling and Dutch subjects, Diesing proposes a direct, rigid mapping from syntactic form to semantic interpretation, which she formulates as the Mapping Hypothesis.

- (11) *Mapping Hypothesis*
- a. Material from VP is mapped into the nuclear scope.
- b. Material from IP is mapped into a restrictive clause.
- (Diesing 1992, 10)

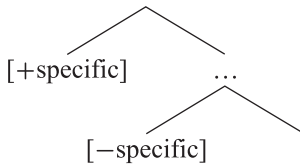
Diesing’s syntactic evidence for object scrambling is based on adverb position. Certain types of adverbs are generally assumed to demarcate the upper limit of VP; consequently, objects that appear to the left of these adverbs must have left the VP. It is precisely these objects, according to Diesing, that have strong readings. The objects in situ have weak readings (with a caveat that I introduce shortly).

- (12) a. . . . DO [_{VP} Adv [_{V'} V]]
- \uparrow
 Scrambled → in restrictor → specific, generic, etc.
- b. . . . [_{VP} Adv [_{V'} DO V]]
- \uparrow
 In situ → in nuclear scope → nonspecific

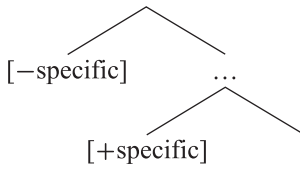
This approach to the study of indefinites has been very popular and different versions have been proposed, based on a variety of languages (see Mahajan 1989, 1990, 1992; Bhatt and Anagnostopoulou 1996; de Hoop 1996; Ramchand 1997). In (13a), I summarize the common denominator of these approaches (except de Hoop’s, as her approach varies somewhat from the schematic picture I paint here). In (13a–e), the two positions indicated in the tree as bearing a value for the feature [specific] are intended to represent two alternative positions for an argument. (13a) is the configuration that Diesing

predicts and argues for. (13b–d) are configurations that are ruled out by the Mapping Hypothesis.

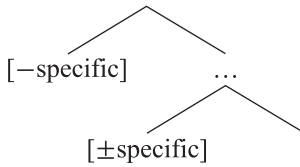
(13) a.



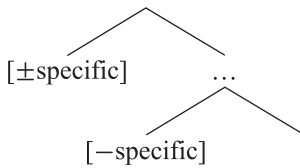
b.



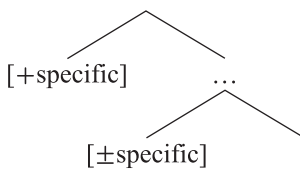
c.



d.



e.



As far as I know, (13b) and (13c) are undocumented. Since intensive research has been carried out in this area for at least twenty years, I think it is safe to assume that if these syntax-semantics configurations existed, they would have been found.

Configuration (13d) does exist. In this monograph, I discuss an example extensively: Spanish objects. In Spanish, objects that stay in situ cannot be specific. Objects that undergo scrambling, even if it is short, can be specific; but they do not have to be. How could this be accounted for within the Mapping Hypothesis? As mentioned, Diesing (1992) considers the possibility of “LF lowering” for English subjects. We could apply “LF lowering” to (13d) and simply claim that nonspecific indefinite objects can raise overtly and lower

covertly. It is fair to say that this is a technical solution that does not get to the heart of the problem. Moreover, as I will show, “LF lowering” would make the wrong empirical prediction because it is possible to show that scrambled non-specific objects remain in a relatively high position at LF.

Thus, it is tempting to take (13d) as a counterexample to the “specific is higher” approach and adopt the position that there really is no connection between syntax and specificity. But the fact that (13a) is found in many languages and (13b) and (13c) are unattested should give us pause. Thus, I take (13d) to show that the direct Mapping Hypothesis cannot be true as stated but that there is a correlation between the syntactic position of the indefinite and the possibility of specific readings. I distance myself from Diesing’s approach by acknowledging that the mapping between configuration and semantic interpretation is not direct; rather, it is mediated by the types of operations that can be applied to build the compositional meaning of a verb and its complement. Understanding the syntax-semantics interface in this manner turns out to yield a wide range of empirical consequences.

Regarding (13e), Diesing (1992) admits that there are object indefinites in German that do not appear to scramble yet have a specific reading. De Hoop (1996) uses these data to mount a critique of Diesing’s approach. But more recently, Frey (2001) provides a fine-grained analysis of the positions of indefinites in German, using a wider variety of adverbs than Diesing or de Hoop. Frey shows that strong objects indeed scramble in German, even though this scrambling might be very short. I discuss Frey’s findings, and my own take on them, in chapter 4.

Next, let us look at the modes of semantic composition that may affect indefinites.

1.1.2 Indefinites, Choice Functions, and Restrict

A central concern regarding indefinites is their ability to take scope over islands, as exemplified in (14). In (14a), it is possible to interpret *a philosopher* as referring to one particular philosopher such that if Lud invites him, Bert will be offended. In order to obtain this reading, the indefinite *a philosopher* must take scope outside the conditional phrase, which is a strong island for movement. In (14b), the indefinite *a friend of mine* can have the widest scope (there is a friend of mine such that every woman is convinced . . .), or the sentence can have an intermediate reading in which the existential quantifier takes scope within the universal quantifier but still outside the conditional (for ample discussion of—and controversy about—intermediate readings, see, e.g., Abusch 1994; Kratzer 1998; Reinhart 1997). The intermediate reading is the one I choose to represent.

- (14) a. If Lud invites a philosopher, Bert will be offended.
 $\exists x$ [Lud invites philosopher(x) \rightarrow Bert will be offended]
 ‘There exists a philosopher x such that if Lud invites x, Bert will be offended.’
- b. Every woman is convinced that if John invites a friend of his to the party, it will be a disaster.
 $\forall x \exists y$ [woman(x) \wedge friend (John,y) \rightarrow convinced (x, [invite (John,y,party) \rightarrow disaster (party)])]
 ‘For every woman x there exists a friend of John’s y such that if John invites y to the party, x is convinced it will be a disaster.’

This sort of example has been taken to provide evidence that QR should not be part of the theory of grammar. Reinhart (1997) instead proposes to maintain QR, at least for strong quantifiers, which do not have this scopal freedom. But for weak quantifiers, she does agree that a purely semantic mechanism is called for in order to handle examples like (14a,b). This semantic mechanism is the *choice function*.

Take indefinite nominal phrases to be properties of type $\langle e,t \rangle$ (McNally 1997 et seq.). A choice function variable lifts an indefinite from type $\langle e,t \rangle$ to type $\langle e \rangle$, which can then be composed by regular Function Application. In Reinhart’s view, the choice function variable is bound by an existential quantifier. This existential quantifier can be merged at different points in the tree structure, giving rise to different scopes for the indefinite DP. For instance, the wide scope for indefinites contained in a conditional clause is represented as follows:

- (15) a. If Lud invites a philosopher, Bert will be offended.
 $\exists f$ [CH(f) \wedge [Lud invites f(philosopher) \rightarrow Bert will be offended]]
 ‘There exists a (choice function that picks out a) philosopher such that if Lud invites the philosopher picked out by the choice function, Bert will be offended.’
- b. Every woman is convinced that if John invites a friend of his to the party, it will be a disaster.
 $\forall x \exists f$ CH(f) [woman(x) \rightarrow convinced (x, [invite(John,f(friend-of-mine),party) \rightarrow disaster(party)])]
 ‘For every woman x there exists a (choice function that picks out a) friend of John’s such that if John invites the friend picked out by the choice function to the party, x is convinced it will be a disaster.’

Choice functions have engendered intensive debate (e.g., Kratzer 1998; Matthewson 1999; Chierchia 2001; Winter 2007). In particular, Kratzer (1998)

and others have argued that intermediate readings are pragmatically triggered and that the semantic representation should not have an existential quantifier closing the choice function variable. I do not have anything to contribute to this debate. I adopt Reinhart's approach for perspicuity, but my results do not depend on it.

A related concern involves the fact that certain types of indefinites obligatorily take the narrowest possible scope. Van Geenhoven (1998), for instance, studies three such nominal phrase types: incorporated nouns in Kalaallisut/West Greenlandic, split topics in German, and bare plural objects in English. Chung and Ladusaw (2004) add to this list indefinite nominals in Maori bearing the determiner *he* (as opposed to indefinite nominals headed by *tētahi*, which allow for wide or narrow scope readings and are interpreted by means of choice functions). Consideration of these data has led these authors to argue for novel views of semantic composition. The Montagovian tradition only allowed for one mode of composing arguments with a predicate, Function Application, which has the form $\lambda x[P(x)](a) \rightarrow P(a)$. Van Geenhoven argues that a weak indefinite can combine with a predicate by Function Application only if the verb is type-shifted so it can combine with properties, while Chung and Ladusaw argue for a new mode of semantic composition called *Restrict*. Restrict combines the indefinite object with its selecting predicate by means of conjunction, with the result that the predicate is not saturated. The outcome of Restrict is then closed by existential closure. An indefinite nominal interpreted by this mechanism is necessarily interpreted with narrow scope.

(16) (Mary has) seen a man.

$\lambda e \lambda x. [\text{seen}(e)(x)] (\text{man})$

Restrict $\lambda e \lambda x. [\text{seen}(e)(x)] \wedge \text{man}(x)$

\exists -closure $\lambda e \exists x [\text{seen}(e)(x) \wedge \text{man}(x)]$

I adopt as my theory of semantics roughly that of Chung and Ladusaw (2004, 2006), without trying to argue either in favor of it or against its competitors. Readers who are convinced that Chung and Ladusaw's approach to indefinites is promising, as I am, can read this monograph as a theory of how a syntactic structure is mapped onto the type of semantics that these authors propose. Otherwise, readers are free to take what I say about semantics as an *exemplum*, since many of the proposals offered in these pages can be easily translated into other semantic frameworks. I would like to emphasize that I will not attempt to contribute to the semantic debates concerning specificity, choice functions, or the modes of semantic composition. These debates now involve a complex database, and there are enough developed alternatives that even a critical summary would involve a full monograph.

Instead, my goal here is to show that these new semantic possibilities open the door to new ways of regarding the syntax-semantics interface, beyond the traditional direct mapping between a syntactic position and a semantic interpretation. In particular, I propose to pair syntactic positions with modes of semantic composition. This way of looking at the interface yields empirical dividends and, I believe, helps us understand some of the problems that concern semanticists and syntacticians alike.

To connect the ideas from the previous section and this one: According to Diesing and other linguists, the semantic interpretation of an indefinite depends on its syntactic position. However, the semanticists who discuss the wide scope of indefinites seem to leave their syntax aside. In Chung and Ladusaw's (2004, 2006) approach, an indefinite can be interpreted by means of a choice function or Restrict regardless of its position in the syntactic tree. In Van Geenhoven's (1998) approach, type-shifting of the verb resolves any mismatches and there is no need for a syntactic operation like scrambling. Finally, in Reinhart's (1997) analyses, application of choice functions is not restricted by syntax in any way. How can we reconcile the findings of syntax with these semantic proposals?

In this monograph, I argue that syntax is crucial: I show evidence that indefinite objects that stay in situ can only be composed by Restrict, while indefinite objects that scramble can only be interpreted by choice functions. Moreover, the sort of scrambling that I discuss cannot be confused with QR. The QR approach to scope assumes that the scope of an operator equals its c-command domain (May 1985). However, the scrambling movement that I discuss here can be very short, moving the object to a position where it does not c-command the external argument (EA) or any scope-taking operators in the clause. However, the scrambled indefinite DO is able to take scope over anything in the clause and even outside the clause, thus revealing the intervention of a choice function.²

Before closing, I should remark that the existence in the grammar of $\langle e, t \rangle$ and type-shifted $\langle e \rangle$ indefinites does not preclude the possibility of quantificational indefinites. These would be indefinites that would undergo QR and take scope over other sentential operators but not outside an island. Although I have very little to say about strong indefinites in this monograph, they will reappear briefly in my discussion of Romanian in chapter 4.

1.1.3 Differential Object Marking

It has been observed that the grammars of many languages include a piece of morphology, attached to a DO or to the lexical verb, that plays a role in the interpretation of the DO. Following the seminal work of Bossong (1985), it has

become customary to refer to this phenomenon as *differential object marking* (DOM). DOM is often related to specificity: in many languages, indefinite objects with such a marker are (or can be) specific, while unmarked objects are not. Spanish is one such language.

- (17) María busca **a/Ø** un traductor de alemán.
 María seeks a translator of German
 ‘María is looking for a German translator.’

The object in this sentence can be prefixed by accusative A. With accusative A, it can have a specific reading. Without accusative A, it can only be nonspecific.

The mainstream analyses of DOM, revitalized by Aissen (2003), have two properties in common: (i) they make a direct connection between a piece of morphology and an interpretation; and (ii) the distribution of DOM can be accounted for by means of scales, such as the definiteness scale in (18).

- (18) *Definiteness scale*
 Personal pronoun > Proper name > Definite NP > Indefinite specific
 NP > Nonspecific NP

As for (i), the specific interpretation is only optional in some languages, like Spanish. Since a DO prefixed by *a* in Spanish is not necessarily specific, one could wonder whether this relationship between morphology and semantics is really so direct.

Concerning (ii), I will argue that the analyses of DOM in terms of scales are missing crucial ingredients for understanding the phenomenon. Consider small clause complements. In all the languages that I have looked at, the argument of a small clause complement is obligatorily marked.

- (19) Considero **a/*Ø** un estudiante inteligente.
 consider.1SG a student intelligent
 ‘I consider a student intelligent.’

This is not the only type of argument that bears obligatory DOM: the same holds for affectees in clause union (CU) and objects that control PRO. Since none of these constructions involves obligatory specificity, it is clear that something is going on beyond the definiteness scale. I will argue, in fact, that conditions for DOM are created in syntax by means of scrambling. The actual phonological realization of marked morphology depends on environmental conditions surrounding the object, hence giving the appearance of scales.

Preempting likely criticism, I should clarify that the purpose of this monograph is not to provide a comprehensive description of the contexts in which

DOM may appear universally or in any given language. Rather, it is to contribute to our understanding of the morphology-syntax-semantics interface, using indefinite objects and the DOM phenomenon as a database that allows falsifiable predictions to be formulated.

1.1.4 Is It Possible to Unify?

To summarize: The possibility of strong readings—in particular, specific readings—has been treated in the Diesing tradition from a syntactic point of view: a certain syntactic configuration maps into a certain semantic configuration. In the DOM tradition, a connection has been made between a piece of morphology and an interpretation. Both traditions see the connection between syntax and semantics or between morphology and semantics as direct. Reinhart and other linguists have focused on the wide scope readings of indefinites and have supplied a purely semantic operation, the choice function, to account for them. The question is whether it is possible to present an analysis of the grammatical properties of indefinites that synthesizes the findings of all three traditions.

Generative grammar drafts a path for this synthesis:

- A particular functional category/feature (FC/F) may be included in the structure of a nominal phrase.
- FC/F triggers a syntactic operation that yields a new configuration.
- Type-shifting of the nominal phrase takes place within the frame of the new syntactic configuration.
- FC/F may take phonetic shape in a postsyntactic morphology module if it appears in a certain context (animate noun, telic predicate, object-affecting verb, etc.). A nominal phrase with a spelled-out FC/F is a marked object.

The main goal of this monograph is to connect these three strands of research on the morphology, syntax, and semantics of indefinites. First, I argue that there is a connection between morphology and syntax: marked objects undergo short scrambling out of VP to a vP-internal position (they may scramble further, but I am interested only in showing that a minimal scrambling is associated with DOM). Second, I maintain Diesing's insight that there is a connection between configuration and interpretation; but unlike Diesing, I argue that this connection is indirect. The syntactic position of an indefinite object affects the mode of semantic composition, which in turn may affect the final interpretation of the sentence. I will argue that only DOs that stay in situ are interpreted by means of Restrict, while scrambled indefinite objects are interpreted by means of choice functions (CH).

$$(20) \left[{}_{VP} EA v \left[{}_{\alpha P} DO \alpha \left[{}_{VP} V DO \right] \right] \right]$$

$$\begin{array}{ccc} & \uparrow & \uparrow \\ & CH & Restrict \end{array}$$

Third, I will argue that the connection between syntactic position and mode of semantic interpretation can be derived from the nature of the system.

1.2 Spanish Marked Objects

In this section, I discuss the contexts in which marked objects may appear, must appear, or cannot appear in Spanish. It is often asserted that accusative A can only be associated with animate nouns. This is true for most cases, but there are some systematic exceptions (see García 2007 and López 2011 for analyses of accusative A with inanimates in Spanish, as well as section 2.3). In the examples that I use in this monograph, the objects are always animate in order to control for this factor. Whenever I say, “Accusative A is obligatory/optional/prohibited in this example,” it should be understood that I am abstracting away from animacy, as well as other factors such as telicity and perfectivity. For an overview of factors involved in accusative A, see Torrego 1999. The claims made here have been tested with Peninsular Spanish speakers.³

1.2.1 Obligatory Contexts: Strong Quantifiers, Definite DPs, Proper Names, and Pronouns

Accusative A is obligatory with strong quantifiers, definite (referential) DPs, proper names, and pronouns (see, e.g., Pensado 1995; Torrego 1999). This is shown in the following examples:

(21) *Strong quantifiers*

- a. Juan vio **a/*Ø** todas las chicas.
'Juan saw all the girls.'
- b. Juan vio **a/*Ø** la mayoría de las chicas.
'Juan saw most of the girls.'

(22) *Definite (referential) DPs*⁴

- a. Juan vio **a/*Ø** la chica.
'Juan saw the girl.'
- b. Juan vio **a/*Ø** su hija.
'Juan saw his daughter.'

(23) *Proper names*

- María visitó **a/*Ø** Pedro.
'María visited Pedro.'

(24) *Pronouns*

María me vio **a**/***Ø** mí.
 María CL.1SG saw me
 ‘María saw me.’

1.2.2 Indefinite Objects and Scope

Accusative A is optional with indefinite nominal phrases, including all of the weak quantifiers. The presence of accusative A leads, unsurprisingly, to changes in interpretation. To begin with, marked objects can have wide scope over other quantifiers and sentence operators, while unmarked objects cannot. Marked indefinite objects can have wide scope with respect to conditionals, quantifiers, or negation.⁵

- (25) a. Todo hombre amó **a** una mujer.
 every man loved a woman
 = For every man, there was a woman that he loved.
 = There was a woman that every man loved.
 $\exists > \forall$
 $\forall > \exists$
- b. La mayoría de los hombres amó **a** una mujer.
 the most of the men loved a woman
 ‘Most men loved a woman.’
 $\exists > \text{Most}$
 $\text{Most} > \exists$
- c. Juan no amó **a** una mujer.
 Juan NEG loved a woman
 \neq Juan did not love any woman.
 = There was a woman Juan did not love.
 $\exists > \neg$
 $*\neg > \exists$
- d. Juan no amó **a** ninguna mujer.
 Juan NEG loved no woman
 ‘Juan loved no woman.’
 $*\exists > \neg$
 $\neg > \exists$
- e. Si Lud invita **a** un filósofo, Bert se ofenderá.
 if Lud invites a philosopher Bert SE offend.FUT
 = If Lud invites a philosopher, Bert will be offended (Bert wants to be the only philosopher at the party).

= There is a philosopher such that if Lud invites him, Bert will be offended.

$\exists > \rightarrow$

$\rightarrow > \exists$

- f. Todo el mundo está convencido de que si invito a un amigo a la fiesta, será un desastre.
 all the world is convinced of that if invite.1SG a friend mine to the party be.FUT a disaster
 ‘Everybody is convinced that if I invite a friend of mine to the party, it will be a disaster.’

$\forall > \rightarrow > \exists$

$\forall > \exists > \rightarrow$

$\exists > \forall > \rightarrow$

Examples (25a) and (25b) show that accusative A can have broad or narrow scope with respect to a subject quantifier. (25c) shows that accusative A must have wide scope with respect to negation if the indefinite is the regular indefinite *una* ‘a_[fem]’. However, accusative A is perfectly compatible with narrow scope: all we have to do is replace *una* with *ninguna*, a negative concord item, as shown in (25d).⁶ (25e) shows that accusative A can take scope over a conditional. (25f) shows that this scope over the conditional does not need to be the widest possible. A reading in which every person is paired with a friend of mine is also possible.

In the following examples, the object is unmarked. In no case is wide scope possible.

- (26) a. Todo hombre amó una mujer.

every man loved a woman

= For every man, there was a woman that he loved.

≠ There was a woman that every man loved.

* $\exists > \forall$

$\forall > \exists$

- b. La mayoría de los hombres amó una mujer.
 the most of the men loved a woman
 ‘Most men loved a woman.’

* $\exists > \text{Most}$

$\text{Most} > \exists$

- c. Juan no amó una mujer.

Juan NEG loved a woman

= Juan did not love any woman.

≠ There was a woman Juan did not love.

* $\exists > \neg$

$\neg > \exists$

d. Juan no amó ninguna mujer.

Juan NEG loved no woman

‘Juan loved no woman.’

* $\exists > \neg$

$\neg > \exists$

e. Si Lud invita un filósofo, Bert se ofenderá.

if Lud invites a philosopher Bert SE offend.FUT

= If Lud invites a philosopher, Bert will be offended (Bert wants to be the only philosopher at the party).

≠ There is a philosopher such that if Lud invites him, Bert will be offended.

* $\exists > \rightarrow$

$\rightarrow > \exists$

f. Todo el mundo está convencido de que si invito un amigo mío
all the world is convinced of that if invite.1SG a friend mine
a la fiesta, sera un desastre.

to the party be.FUT a disaster

‘Everybody is convinced that if I invite a friend of mine to the party, it will be a disaster.’

$\forall > \rightarrow > \exists$

* $\forall > \exists > \rightarrow$

* $\exists > \forall > \rightarrow$

The wide range of possible scopes for marked indefinite objects in Spanish contrasts with the scope rigidity of strong quantifiers. In Spanish, strong quantifiers in object position cannot take scope over weak quantifiers in subject position. This is the case even though strong quantifiers in object position must be marked with accusative A. In (27) and (28), the subject is in postverbal position and still the universal quantifier cannot take scope over it (i.e., the sentences have no reading in which female prisoners are paired with different men).

(27) Ayer visitó un hombre a toda mujer prisionera.

yesterday visited a man every female prisoner

‘Yesterday a man visited every female prisoner.’

$\exists > \forall$

* $\forall > \exists$

- (28) Ayer visitó un hombre **a** la mayoría de las mujeres prisioneras.
 yesterday visited a man the most of the female prisoners
 ‘Yesterday a man visited most of the female prisoners.’
 $\exists > \text{Most}$
 * $\text{Most} > \exists$

Strong quantifiers cannot take scope over negation, either.

- (29) No visité **a** todo hombre.
 NEG visited.1SG every man
 ‘I didn’t visit every man.’
 $\neg > \forall$
 * $\forall > \neg$

Moreover, a strong quantifier in object position cannot bind a variable contained within the subject.

- (30) Ayer visitó su_{*i} hijo **a** toda_i mujer prisionera.
 yesterday visited her son every female prisoner
 ‘Yesterday her son visited every female prisoner.’
- (31) Ayer visitó su_{*i} hijo **a** la mayoría_i de las mujeres prisioneras.
 yesterday visited her son the most of the female prisoners
 ‘Yesterday her son visited most of the female prisoners.’

The possibility of wide scope readings for Spanish weak quantifiers in object position, in contrast with the scope rigidity of strong quantifiers in the same position, strongly suggests that choice functions are available in the grammar of this language. This conclusion is reinforced by the lack of sensitivity to islands that indefinite wide scope exhibits. Since only *marked* objects take wide scopes, we are led to the conclusion that there must be some connection between choice functions and DOM.

1.2.3 Indefinite Objects and Specificity

A marked object can be specific; an unmarked object cannot be. Thus, in (32a) *a una gestora* can be read as specific or nonspecific, while in (32b) *una gestora* can only be read as nonspecific.

- (32) a. María busca **a** una gestora.
 María seeks a manager
 ‘María is looking for a manager.’
 b. María busca una gestora.

There are several approaches to the notion of specificity in the theoretical literature, and even a concise summary here couldn't possibly do justice to all of them (for that purpose, see von Heusinger 2011). Moreover, as far as I can tell, there is no one set of properties that are agreed by all researchers to constitute specificity. Thus, I adopt an approach that I hope the reader will find reasonable: I take two popular concepts of specificity as canonical, *epistemic specificity* and *partitive specificity*, and then show that marked objects in Spanish qualify as potentially specific according to either definition. Unmarked objects, on the other hand, are shown to be unambiguously nonspecific. Thus, the purpose of this section is (i) to highlight the difference between marked and unmarked objects with regard to this aspect of the interpretation of indefinites and (ii) to develop tests that allow us to tease them apart.

Let me start with *epistemic specificity* (following Farkas's (1994) and von Heusinger's (2002) terminology). It involves the state of knowledge of the speaker or the referent of the subject. The following example shows the contrast:

- (33) a. Ayer vi **a/Ø** un estudiante en la biblioteca.
 yesterday saw.1SG a student in the library
 'Yesterday I saw a student in the library.'
- b. Ayer vi **a/*Ø** un hijo mío en la biblioteca.
 yesterday saw.1SG a son mine in the library
 'Yesterday I saw a son of mine in the library.'

In (33a), the presence of accusative A is optional, since the student we are talking about could be known to the speaker or not. In (33b), accusative A is obligatory because 'a son of mine' is (most likely) known to the speaker.

The modifier *certain*, as in *a certain man*, highlights epistemic specificity by forcing the referent of the DP to be salient in the speaker's mind (Hintikka 1986). The Spanish equivalent of *certain* is *ciert-*. In (34), inserting *ciert-* within the DP forces accusative A.

- (34) Juan buscó **a/*Ø** un cierto futbolista.
 Juan sought a certain soccer.player
 'Juan looked for a certain soccer player.'

The nominal modifier *cualquiera* has the opposite effect: it forces a non-specific reading. I gloss *cualquiera* as 'no matter who'.⁷

- (35) Juan buscó **a/Ø** un futbolista cualquiera.
 Juan sought a soccer.player no.matter.who
 'Juan looked for a soccer player, no matter who.'

Thus, with *ciert-* and *cualquiera* we have two tests for specificity in Spanish.

Enç (1991) develops a theory of specificity based on *partitivity*. Her leading idea is that determiners may select implicit or explicit partitive complements, which are anaphoric with respect to a discourse antecedent. In (36), the partitive object also requires accusative A.

(36) [Context: Some gentlemen came into the room.]

- a. Me presentaron a uno de ellos.
 1SG.DAT introduced.3PL one of them
 ‘I was introduced to one of them.’
- b. *Me presentaron uno de ellos.
 1SG.DAT introduced.3PL one of them

The partitive construction does not entail discourse connectedness. It can be used to classify the DP into a (possibly stereotypical) class. If that is the case, accusative A is not obligatory.

(37) No sé si te acuerdas. Ahí vimos a/Ø uno de esos
 NEG know.1SG if 2SG.DAT remember.2SG there saw.1PL one of those
 tipos que andan siempre . . .
 guys that walk.3PL always
 ‘I don’t know if you’ll remember. In that place we saw one of those
 guys who are always . . .’

Thus, accusative A is obligatory with partitives only in cases of real discourse connectedness.

We have seen that *ciert-* and *cualquiera* force a specific or nonspecific reading on the nominal phrase that includes them. In other words, they can be used as tests of specificity. Another test involves mood, as mentioned in the introduction to this chapter. If a nominal phrase includes a relative clause, the mood of the relative clause depends on specificity (Rivero 1979). If the mood is subjunctive, the nominal phrase is nonspecific. If the mood is indicative, the nominal phrase is specific. Accusative A is compatible with both indicative and subjunctive, while unmarked objects are compatible only with subjunctive.

(38) a. María buscó a una gestora que habla/hable alemán.
 ‘María looked for a manager that speaks.IND/SUBJ German.’

b. María buscó una gestora que *habla/hable alemán.

The subjunctive test can be combined with the lexical items *ciert-* and *cualquiera*, with the expected results. *Ciert-* requires indicative mood and accusative A.

- (39) María buscó **a/*Ø** una cierta gestora que habla/*hable alemán.
 ‘María looked for a certain manager that speaks.IND/SUBJ German.’

Cualquier- requires subjunctive mood and can be a constituent of marked or unmarked objects.

- (40) María buscó **a/Ø** una gestora cualquiera que *habla/hable alemán.
 ‘María looked for a manager (no matter who) that speaks.IND/SUBJ German.’

A marked object can introduce a new discourse referent and be used as antecedent for a discourse anaphor. This is not surprising if marked objects are not obligatorily specific. In this respect, marked and unmarked objects behave alike.

- (41) a. Vi un niño_i cruzando la calle.
 saw.1SG a boy crossing the street
*pro*_i no parecía tener ningún miedo.
 NEG seemed have.INF no fear
 ‘I saw a boy crossing the street. He did not seem to be afraid at all.’
 b. Vi **a** un niño_i cruzando la calle. *pro*_i no parecía tener ningún miedo.

The final question I would like to address in this section is the connection between specificity and wide scope. The two notions are often casually equated. However, some linguists (see in particular Hintikka 1986; Farkas 1994, 1997; von Stechow 2002) have made a point of differentiating specificity from wide scope. Their evidence comes from examples in which it is possible for an indefinite to be specific and to take narrow scope with respect to another quantifier. Consider (42a): the modifier *certain* forces the object to be specific. At the same time, it is possible for it to have a narrow scope reading. In (42b), the negative polarity item is necessarily within the scope of negation, but it is also specific according to any definition. In (42c), the Spanish *n*-word *ninguno* must also be within the scope of negation even though it is specific, as confirmed by the obligatory indicative mood in the relative clause.

- (42) a. According to Freud, every man unconsciously wants to marry a certain woman—his mother.
 Possible reading: $\forall > \exists$, [+specific]
 (Hintikka 1986, 332)
 b. I didn’t buy any of these books.

- c. Yo no compré ninguno de los libros que le gustan/*gusten a
 I NEG bought any of the books that CL.3SG please.IND/SUBJ DAT
 Juan.
 Juan
 ‘I did not buy any of the books that Juan likes.IND/SUBJ.’

Although I have not seen it discussed anywhere, the opposite sort of case is also found: a wide scope indefinite that is nonetheless nonspecific. Consider the following example:

- (43) Sherlock concluded that every man loved a woman.
 Possible reading: $\exists > \forall$, [–specific]

Sherlock has gathered evidence at the crime scene—recent opera tickets, wilted roses, a perfumed handkerchief—that leads him to conclude that all the men in the story are in love with the same woman—although the speaker or even Sherlock himself has no idea who this woman is.

Thus, specificity and wide scope are conceptually and empirically distinguishable. However, there is a connection: unmarked objects in Spanish cannot be specific or take wide scope; marked objects can be specific and take wide scope. This issue is taken up in chapter 3.

1.2.4 Prohibited Contexts: *Haber*, *Tener*, and Bare Plurals

A marked object is ungrammatical as the complement of *haber* ‘have’ (existential) and *tener* ‘have’ (possessor or relator).⁸

- (44) En el patio hay *a/Ø un niño.
 in the yard HABER a boy
 ‘There is a boy in the yard.’
- (45) María tiene *a/Ø tres hijos.
 ‘María has three children.’

Marked objects cannot be bare plurals.⁹

- (46) Yo contrato *a/Ø traductores.
 ‘I hire translators.’

The data surrounding *tener* are extremely intricate. *Tener* can mean something close to ‘hold’ or ‘get’, in which case a marked object is possible. The VP headed by *tener* can include a secondary predicate, in which case a marked object is again possible.

- (47) ¡Ya tengo a/Ø uno!
 already have.1SG one
 ‘I got one!’
- (48) María tiene a/Ø un hijo en el ejército.
 ‘María has a son in the army.’

Bleam (2005) has aptly teased apart the two types of *tener* into an individual-level version, exemplified in (45), and a stage-level version, exemplified in (47) and (48).

The existential verb datum has occasionally been used as evidence that marked objects are specific. Indeed, existential and possessor predicates have been shown to exhibit definiteness (or specificity) effects in many languages, including Spanish. Likewise, bare plurals can only be interpreted as nonspecific (and nongeneric) indefinites in Spanish. However, the conclusion that the ungrammaticality of the examples with accusative A follows from a specificity requirement is incorrect. As we have seen, marked objects are compatible with nonspecific readings. Therefore, as far as I know, the contrasts in (44)–(48) remain unaccounted for.

1.2.5 Spanish and Maori Indefinite Nominals

As described by Chung and Ladusaw (2004), there are two types of indefinite determiners in Maori, *he* and *tētahi*. The properties of *he* parallel very precisely those of Spanish unmarked objects, while the properties of *tētahi* parallel those of marked objects. Like the Spanish unmarked object, *he* can only take narrow scope with respect to other operators and is compatible with the existential predicate. *Tētahi* can take either narrow or wide scope and is incompatible with the existential predicate. (Chung and Ladusaw do not discuss specificity.) Both *he* and *tētahi* can introduce new discourse referents and become antecedents for discourse anaphora. Here are some of the examples that Chung and Ladusaw provide:

- (49) Tērā [he tangata], ko Rua-rangi te ingoa, ko Tawhaitū te
 over.there a person IDENT Rua-rangi the name IDENT Tawhaitū the
 ingoa o tana hoa.
 name of his friend
 ‘Once there was a man called Rua-rangi. Tawhaitū was the name of his
 wife.’
 (Chung and Ladusaw 2004, 32)

- (50) Na tērā [tētehi wahine puhī], ko Pare te ingoa, he tino
 now over.there a woman virgin IDENT Pare the name a very
 rangatira taua wahine.
 chiefly the.mentioned woman
 ‘Now, once there was a woman, called Pare, who was a virgin. This
 woman was of high birth.’
 (Orbell 1992, cited in Chung and Ladusaw 2004, 32)

Chung and Ladusaw (2004, 34–41) argue that both determiners in Maori can take narrow scope with respect to conditionals, universal quantifiers, and negation, but only *tētahi* can take wide scope. This is shown in the following examples with negation. In (51) and (52), the most natural reading is for the determiner to take narrow scope. As for (53), Chung and Ladusaw argue that the context makes clear that *tētahi* takes wide scope.

- (51) Kaore a au e pīrangi kia kite he tangata.
 T.not PERS I T want T see a person
 ‘I don’t want to see anyone.’
 (Chung and Ladusaw 2004, 36)
- (52) Kaore anō te nuinga o ngā tamariki nei kia kite i tētahi tereina.
 T.not yet the majority of.the.PL children this T see DO a train
 ‘Most of the children hadn’t seen a train before.’
 (Chung and Ladusaw 2004, 37)
- (53) Kaore ia i kite i tētahi hō e takoto ana i roto i ngā karaehe.
 T.not he T see DO a hoe T lie at inside at.the.PL grass
 ‘There was a hoe he didn’t see lying in the grass.’
 (Chung and Ladusaw 2004, 41)

Interestingly, *he* is compatible with existential sentences while *tētahi* is not, making the parallel with the Spanish phenomena almost perfect.¹⁰

- (54) Kit e ai he toxi.
 if exist an axe
 ‘If there should be an axe.’
 (Chung and Ladusaw 2004, 43)

Chung and Ladusaw use the Maori data to argue that some indefinites can be composed by means of Restrict, while others are composed using the choice function mechanisms sketched above. In particular, *he* indefinites are composed by Restrict, which accounts for their narrow scope properties, while *tētahi* indefinites are composed by means of choice functions. The parallelism

with the Spanish objects invites a parallel analysis, which I undertake in chapters 2 and 3.

One final property of Maori indefinite nominal phrases that I would like to mention is this: although internal arguments can be headed by *he* or *tētahi*, external arguments can only be headed by *tētahi* (Chung and Ladusaw 2004, 56).

- (55) I whiu tētahi/*he wahine i tāna mōkai ki te moana.
 PAST throw a woman DO her pet into the ocean
 ‘A woman threw her youngest child into the ocean.’

This requires an account—and, as far as I can tell, nothing in Chung and Ladusaw’s (2004) system provides one. It will turn out that the account requires taking syntax into consideration (see section 2.3.5).

1.2.6 Obligatory Contexts: Small Clauses, Clause Union, and Object Control

As far as I know, the literature on Spanish DOM has not discussed the interaction of this phenomenon with small clauses, clause union, and object control. Nonetheless, the judgments are clear. The nominal phrase in the small clause must be introduced by accusative A.

- (56) El profesor consideró a/*Ø un estudiante inteligente.
 the professor considered a student intelligent
 ‘The professor considered a student intelligent.’

Bare plurals are not possible as small clause arguments (for the equivalent Italian phenomenon, see Belletti 1988; de Hoop 1996, 89).

- (57) *El profesor consideró a/Ø estudiantes inteligentes.
 the professor considered students intelligent
 ‘The professor considered students intelligent.’

Notice that the data in (56) and (57) are consistent. If small clause arguments require accusative A and bare plurals reject accusative A, it follows directly that bare plurals cannot be found as small clause arguments. (Instead, (57) becomes fully grammatical with a plural indefinite determiner and accusative A.)

Likewise, accusative affected arguments (the *affectee*) in clause union also need accusative A and reject bare plurals. I start with the *causee* of a causative construction. The *causee* of an intransitive predicate is accusative. This accusative is obligatorily introduced by accusative A and cannot be a bare plural.

- (58) a. María hizo llegar tarde **a/*Ø** un niño.
 María made arrive late a boy
 ‘María made a boy be late.’
- b. *María hizo llegar tarde **a/Ø** niños.
 María made arrive late boys
 ‘María made boys be late.’
- (59) a. María hizo trabajar los domingos **a/*Ø** un empleado.
 María made work the Sundays an employee
 ‘María made an employee work on Sundays.’
- b. *María hizo trabajar los domingos **a/Ø** empleados.
 María made work the Sundays employees
 ‘María made employees work on Sundays.’

In (60), the complement of the causative predicate is a transitive predicate. The causee of the transitive predicate is also prefixed by *a*, but in this case it is the dative case marker.¹¹ The internal argument is not required to be introduced by accusative *A*. For perspicuity, the causee in (60) is plural, in agreement with a dative plural clitic.

- (60) María les hizo visitar **a/Ø** un enfermo **a/*Ø** unas empleadas.
 María CL.PL.DAT made visit a sick DAT some employees
 ‘María made some employees visit a sick person.’

The same holds for the affectee of a permissive construction.

- (61) María dejó llegar tarde **a/*Ø** un niño.
 María let arrive late a boy
 ‘María allowed a boy to be late.’
- (62) María dejó trabajar los domingos **a/*Ø** un empleado.
 María let work the Sundays an employee
 ‘María allowed an employee to work on Sundays.’
- (63) María dejó a una empleada visitar **a/Ø** un enfermo.
 María let DAT an employee visit a sick
 ‘María allowed an employee to visit a sick person.’

Again, the same facts hold of perception verbs.

- (64) María vio caer **a/*Ø** un niño.
 María saw fall a boy
 ‘María saw a boy fall.’

- (65) María vio trabajar **a/*Ø** un niño.
 María saw work a boy
 ‘María saw a boy work.’
- (66) María vio a una empleada visitar **a/Ø** un enfermo.
 María saw DAT an employee visit a sick
 ‘María saw an employee visit a sick person.’

Finally, the object of an object control predicate also needs to be introduced by accusative A.

- (67) Juan forzó **a/*Ø** un niño a hacer los deberes.
 Juan forced a boy to do.INF the homework
 ‘Juan forced a boy to do his homework.’

The obligatoriness of accusative A in any of these contexts does not follow from any specificity requirement. In the following examples, the affectees are nonspecific, as indicated by the subjunctive in the relative clause. Although the affectees can only be interpreted as nonspecific, they cannot be unmarked objects.

- (68) Juan no considera honrado **a/*Ø** un hombre que acepte sobornos.
 Juan NEG considers honest a man that accepts.SUBJ bribes
 ‘Juan does not consider honest a man that accepts bribes.’
- (69) María hace quedarse en clase **a/*Ø** un niño que no haya terminado los deberes.
 María does stay.INF in class a boy that no has.SUBJ finished the duties
 ‘María makes a boy that has not finished the assignment stay in class.’
- (70) María no dejaría salir **a/*Ø** ningún niño que no haya terminado los deberes.
 María NEG let.COND leave.INF no boy that NEG has.SUBJ finished the duties
 ‘María would not let any boy who has not finished the assignment go out.’

The same holds of a controlling object.

- (71) María forzaría **a/*Ø** una empleada que tuviera depresión a venir al trabajo.
 María force.COND an employee that had.SUBJ depression to come.INF to.the work
 ‘María would force an employee who was depressed to come to work.’

1.2.7 Obligatory Contexts: *Wh*-Phrases

Object *wh*-phrases also require accusative A.

- (72) ¿*a*/**Ø* quién has llamado?
 who have.2SG called
 ‘Who did you call?’

This is the case whether they front to Spec,C or stay in situ in a multiple-*wh* sentence.

- (73) ¿Quién dijiste que llamó *a*/**Ø* quién?
 who said.1SG that called.3SG who
 ‘Who did you say called who?’

Non-D-linked *wh*-phrases are commonly regarded as indefinite nominal phrases and therefore one would expect optional accusative A. It is puzzling that non-D-linked *wh*-phrases are not allowed with unmarked objects.

1.2.8 The Definiteness Scale

Some of the facts presented in this section are well-known, and every student of Spanish linguistics or DOM is familiar with them. Others have never, to my knowledge, been described before (such as the phenomena in sections 1.2.6 and 1.2.7). Even those facts that have previously been described have not, in my opinion, received the attention they deserve: for instance, the optionality of the specific readings for marked objects or the impossibility of marked objects with existential and possessor predicates. It is worth pausing to consider the significance of these data with regard to received wisdom about DOM.

The current mainstream approach to the distribution of DOM phenomena involves scales. Consider the following definiteness scale (copied from Aissen 2003, 437, which draws on work that goes back to Silverstein 1976):

- (74) *Definiteness scale*
 Personal pronoun > Proper name > Definite NP > Indefinite specific
 NP > Nonspecific NP

This scale expresses an implication: if a language has DOM on an item in the scale, it will also have DOM on all the items to the left (Silverstein 1976). The Spanish data presented in sections 1.2.1 and 1.2.3 suggest that this language draws the line at “indefinite specific NP,” since everything to the left of, and including, indefinite specific NPs is marked. Other languages draw the line at different points on the scale.

The scale makes very direct predictions. If a language marked, say, personal pronouns and indefinite specific NPs while leaving proper names unmarked, the scale would be falsified. I am not aware of any such language. Thus, it would seem, at least at first sight, that the scale does embody a real generalization that should be incorporated into any analysis.

Aissen (2003, 447–448) formalizes the scale by means of two conflicting constraints.

(75) $*\emptyset_c$ ‘STARZERO’: Penalizes the absence of a value for the feature CASE.

(76) $*\text{STRUC}_c$: Penalizes the presence of a value for the feature CASE.

$*\emptyset_c$ is associated with the different types of DPs, which are themselves placed in a hierarchy tied to the definiteness scale. For instance, a language in which only personal pronouns are marked would correspond to the hierarchy in (77a), while a language in which personal pronouns and proper names are marked would correspond to the hierarchy in (77b).

(77) a. $*\text{PRON} \ \& \ *\emptyset_c \gg \ *\text{STRUC}_c \gg \ *\text{PROPERNAME} \ \& \ *\emptyset_c \gg \dots$
 b. $*\text{PRON} \ \& \ *\emptyset_c \gg \ *\text{PROPERNAME} \ \& \ *\emptyset_c \gg \ *\text{STRUC}_c \gg \dots$

That is, in language (77a), leaving a pronoun unmarked is a worse violation than marking it. However, marking a proper name, a definite DP, and so on, is worse than avoiding the mark. In language (77b), leaving a pronoun or a proper name unmarked is worse than marking it.

In Spanish, $*\text{STRUC}_c$ would be situated quite low in the hierarchy, since several different types of objects are marked and only nonspecific objects are unmarked.

(78) *Definiteness scale for Spanish (1)*

$*\text{PRON} \ \& \ *\emptyset_c \gg \ *\text{NAME} \ \& \ *\emptyset_c \gg \ *\text{DEFDP} \ \& \ *\emptyset_c \gg \ *\text{SPECIFICDP} \ \& \ *\emptyset_c \gg \ *\text{STRUC}_c \gg \ *\text{NONSPECIFICDP} \ \& \ *\emptyset_c$

Now let us see whether this approach offers insight into the phenomena of concern in this monograph.

One of the surprising findings of this chapter is the scope facts that revolve around marked objects. Indefinite marked objects can take wide scope while indefinite unmarked objects *and* marked strong quantifiers cannot. I surmise that the definiteness scale has nothing to say about this.

Next, consider optionality. As we have seen, marked indefinite objects in Spanish do not have to be specific; they are only optionally so. The only way to account for this fact within Aissen’s framework is to allow the constraint

*STRUC_c to fluctuate, so that both (78) and (79) exist as part of the mental grammar of Spanish speakers.

(79) *Definiteness scale for Spanish (2)*

*PRON & *Ø_c >> *NAME & *Ø_c >> *DEFDP & *Ø_c >> *SPECIFICDP & *Ø_c >> *NONSPECIFICDP & *Ø_c >> *STRUC_c

This is reasonable, since diachronic linguistics shows that DOM expands over time along the definiteness scale (see von Stechow and Kaiser 2005) and it is plausible to suppose there would be periods in which two different positions for *STRUC_c could coexist in a language community and in the mental grammars of individual speakers.

But fluctuation does not help us with the problems described above. Fluctuation predicts that *any* indefinite nonspecific object can be marked, but this is not the case: as I showed in section 1.2.4, the pivot of the existential verb *haber* and the complement of *tener* ‘have’ *cannot* be marked, other types of nonspecific indefinites *can* be marked, and *wh*-phrases *must* be marked. Thus, for *haber* we would need to create a new constraint *PIVOTDP & *Ø_c and place it at the bottom of the constraint hierarchy, while allowing the constraint *STRUC_c to be unordered with respect to *NONSPECIFICDP & *Ø_c. Possible, but arguably nothing but a technical solution.

More problematic still are the data discussed in sections 1.2.6 and 1.2.7. How do we integrate the obligatoriness of accusative A in small clauses, clause union, and object control? The constraint ranking in (78) would have to be complicated with further subdivisions such as *SMALLCLAUDEP & *Ø_c, and these constraints would be ordered high in the hierarchy. However, it is clear that the hierarchy is now mixing definiteness with a completely different type of constraint.

Thus, in Spanish—and in other languages, as I show in chapter 4—certain types of morphosyntactic objects require DOM, regardless of their position on the scale, as I showed in sections 1.2.6 and 1.2.7. The data presented in those sections cannot be easily brushed aside: they are systematic, and they do not concern boundaries between items in the scale. What is missing from the scales approach is syntax.

In chapter 2, I argue that an understanding of DOM must pass through syntax. In the view that I will advocate, DOM is the morphological expression of a syntactic configuration. A syntactic configuration for *x* is defined as the position that *x* finds itself in together with the feature structure of the immediately surrounding environment, as defined in chapter 2. That is, a subset of the objects that find themselves in a certain syntactic position π are subject to a rule of Vocabulary insertion (see Halle and Marantz 1993 and chapter 2) that

results in DOM. Moreover, processes of semantic composition that can apply to a DP in position π but not to a DP in situ lead to the optional specific interpretations for the DPs in π .¹² Those predicates with obligatory DOM are the predicates whose argument needs to raise to position π .

1.3 Conclusions

In this chapter, I have outlined some of the theoretical and empirical challenges that indefinite objects present as well as the three traditions that have approached (at least some of) these challenges in one way or another. I have presented a hypothesis according to which one subset of indefinite objects scrambles while another subset does not. The indefinite objects that scramble are interpreted by means of choice functions; those that do not are interpreted by Restrict. A subset of scrambled objects may bear a special type of morphology, referred to as DOM. I have not yet presented empirical evidence for scrambling of marked objects or for the correlation among scrambling, DOM, and choice functions.

In the second half of this section, I have discussed Spanish indefinite objects and shown that they present several empirical puzzles. Marked objects can be specific and take wide scope over other sentential operators. Unmarked objects cannot. Noting the parallelism with Maori indefinites, I hinted that a parallel solution might be available. The existential verb and the possessor verb in Spanish do not allow a marked complement, while *wh*-phrases and the arguments of small clauses, clause union, and control objects must be marked. These empirical facts have yet to receive an analysis. The scales approach to DOM, best represented in Aissen 2003, was shown to be inadequate to account for any of the phenomena of interest here.

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