

Bare Singulars and the Interpretation of Small Clause Subjects

Jyoti Iyer

1. Introduction

The English adverb *again* gives rise to two distinct readings, which are most standardly analysed as reflecting an attachment ambiguity. Typically, the “high” reading conveys repetition of an event, while the “low” reading conveys a state being restored.

- (1) Lisa opened a door again.
- a. REPETITIVE: Lisa once more opened a door. HIGH
 - b. RESTITUTIVE: Lisa restored a door to an open state. LOW

The height-based account hinges on decomposition of the verb *open* into CAUSE + OPEN_{ADJ} to create a distinct attachment site for the adverb, crucially lower than *vP* or *VP*. It has been observed that the restitutive reading imposes a semantic restriction on its objects, which the high repetitive reading does not impose. This restriction can be described as below:

- (2) BAN ON NARROW SCOPE (BNS)
Restitutive objects cannot have narrow scope.

The existing account of this ban derives it from A-movement of the direct object over the low attachment site of *again*. I argue that this account should be abandoned because it is based on problematic assumptions about case, and it additionally has some unwelcome consequences, revealed when we consider other languages.

One of the consequences of the decomposition of the verb is that *a door*, in addition to being the direct object of the sentence, is the *subject* of an adjectival small clause. I suggest a novel restatement of the ban on narrow scope, in terms of a requirement that small clause subjects can never be interpreted *in situ*. This restatement opens up a new line of inquiry, as the restriction imposed on restitutive objects is now recognisable as an example of a more general phenomenon:

- (3) WILLIAMS’ PROBLEM
Raised subjects of adjectival small clauses can never reconstruct.

The BNS should follow naturally from whatever account explains Williams’ problem. To this end, I propose a type-restriction account: The subject of a small clause can only be of type $\langle e \rangle$. In English, this restriction is satisfied by QR of higher type subjects, leaving an entity trace. Data from Hindi-Urdu further shows that the correct explanation must abstracts away from the scopal properties of indefinites. In this language, bare singulars also appear to observe the BNS even though they are not scope-taking elements. As such, bare singulars satisfy the type-restriction in a different way, namely with type-shifting. Apart from having a welcome word-order consequence for Hindi-Urdu, this proposal is more general, thus covering more empirical ground than both the restitutive adverb literature and the literature on small clauses.

* University of Massachusetts. Contact: jiyer@linguist.umass.edu. I thank Rajesh Bhatt, Jeremy Hartman, and Kyle Johnson, for their valuable inputs, the audience at GETEGRA III and anonymous WCCFL 36 reviewers for their comments. All errors are mine.

2. The height-based account of ‘again’ adverbs

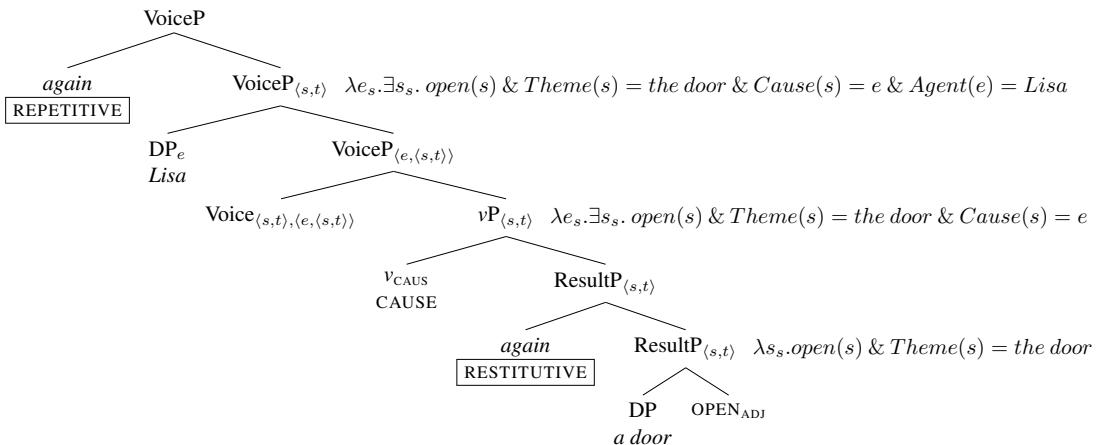
In the mainstream account, the two readings of *again* (and its counterparts in other languages) are understood as contributing distinct presuppositions (von Stechow 1995, 1996; following Dowty 1979; further developed by Beck & Johnson 2004; Beck 2005; Dobler 2008; Alexiadou & Schäfer 2011; Csirmaz 2015; Lechner et al. 2015).

- (4) *Presuppositions under the height-based view*
- REPETITIVE: *The same* event *happened before.*
 \Rightarrow Lisa opened a door before.
 - RESTITUTIVE: *The same* state *held before.*
 \Rightarrow A door was open before.

Syntactically, the repetitive reading modifies a large constituent that contains the event argument e . Such a constituent is taken to be VoiceP (following Kratzer 1996). By contrast, the restitutive reading modifies a smaller constituent, one that does not contain the event argument e , and is therefore a sub-constituent of the larger event. Since the meaning of this subconstituent can be identified as the result of the event e , it is named ResultP.

(5) *Two attachment sites*

Lechner et al. (2015), modifying von Stechow (1996)



There is a single, general, lexical entry for the adverb, as given in (6) below. Type s is for eventualities, which may be events or states. The notation $\tau(e') \prec \tau(e)$ denotes temporal precedence, where e' temporally precedes e .

- (6) $[[\text{AGAIN}]] = \lambda P_{\langle s,t \rangle} . \lambda e_s . \exists e'_s [\tau(e') \prec \tau(e) \& P(e')] : P(e)$

The adverb takes as arguments a property P of eventualities, and a current eventuality e_s . The property P holds of the current eventuality $P(e)$, and there exists a prior eventuality e'_s of which it held $P(e')$. Attaching to ResultP, and thus modifying only the small clause [*the door* OPEN_{ADJ}] gives the restitutive reading.

2.1. Word order

The appeal of such a structural account is twofold. First, several languages attest a common lexical item for these two readings, and second, the word order tends to reflect which constituent is modified. The word order pattern observed in various different languages shows that the restitutive reading has a more restricted distribution than the repetitive reading. This can be stated as (7), and is illustrated with examples below.

(7) REP-REST GENERALISATION

Restitutive is restricted to a structurally low position, while repetitive is freely available.

(8) *English* (SVO) (Beck 2005)

a. Lisa **again** opened the door.

✓ REP, *REST

b. Lisa opened the door **again**.

✓ REP, ✓ REST

(9) *Hungarian* (SVO) (Csirmaz 2015)

a. Feri **megint** vatosan ki nyitotta az ablakot

Feri again carefully out opened the window-ACC

‘Feri again opened the window carefully.’

✓ REP, *REST

b. Feri vatosan **megint** ki nyitotta az ablakot

Feri carefully again out opened the window-ACC

‘Feri opened the window carefully again.’

✓ REP, ✓ REST

(10) *German* (SOV) (von Stechow 1996)

a. Ali Baba **wieder** Sesam öffnet

Ali Baba again Sesam opened

‘Ali Baba again opened Sesam.’

✓ REP, *REST

b. Ali Baba Sesam **wieder** öffnet

Ali Baba Sesam again opened

‘Ali Baba opened Sesam again.’

✓ REP, ✓ REST

(11) *Hindi-Urdu* (SOV)

a. liiza-ne **phir-se** darwaazaa kholaa

Lisa-ERG again door open.PFV

‘Lisa again opened a/the door.’

✓ REP, *REST

b. liiza-ne darwaazaa **phir-se** kholaa

Lisa-ERG door again open.PFV

‘Lisa opened the door again.’

✓ REP, ✓ REST

Let’s take a closer look at the Hindi-Urdu pattern. Given the semantics of the adverb, it can only modify a constituent of type $\langle s, t \rangle$. ResultP is the smallest constituent of that type, which means that the low attachment position is base-generation of the adjunct to ResultP and no lower. However, the word order observed is not what would be expected for the low restitutive (12a), but (12b). We must thus conclude that the restitutive object has moved.

(12) a. [_{ResultP} **phir-se** [_{ResultP} darwaazaa khol]] *REST

b. darwaazaa_i [_{ResultP} **phir-se** [_{ResultP} t_i khol]] ✓ REST

Note that German (10) and Hindi-Urdu (11) both show the same word order pattern, with obligatory overt movement of the restitutive object. These languages thus differ from English which does not require this movement.

The following sections examine the interpretive properties of the restitutive object, showing that irrespective of the word order properties of the particular language, the object can never have narrow scope. This ban on narrow scope (BNS) as stated in (2) is illustrated first in English, in its application to canonical indefinites. This is followed by an examination of Hindi-Urdu, in particular the properties of bare singular objects like *darwaazaa* ‘door’ above. Bare singulars are inherently non scope-taking, but will be shown to be subject to an interpretive restriction which looks much the same as the BNS for indefinites. For completeness, it is also shown that the repetitive object is not restricted in interpretation in this manner.

3. Illustrating the BNS in English: *REST \gg \exists

Four possible readings can be imagined by crossing attachment height (high/low) with scope of the object (wide/narrow). However, only three of these are attested; the blocked one being *REST \gg \exists . The following subsections lay out the contexts which show that this is the case.

	<i>Wide scope object</i>	<i>Narrow scope object</i>
(13) REPETITIVE	$\checkmark \exists \gg$ REP	\checkmark REP \gg \exists
RESTITUTIVE	$\checkmark \exists \gg$ REST	*REST \gg \exists

3.1. Isolating REP

To isolate the repetitive reading (REP), we can use the unambiguously REP word order in (14). Within that word order, facilitating contexts are used below to force the scope of the object to be wide (14a) or narrow (14b).

It is worth mentioning here that if the identity of the particular door is known in the common ground, the wide scope (specific) indefinite in (14a) would lose out in competition with a definite. Here we need the facilitating context to make the object specific enough, without becoming definite. This can be controlled by making sure that the speaker and hearer of the sentence are two random people who don't have the same common ground.

(14) Lisa **again** opened a door. (only REP)

- a. $\checkmark \exists \gg$ REP *Repeating the event of opening a door (same door)*
Facilitating context: Lisa had opened some door this morning, but Sam closed it later. Later, Lisa opens it once more. The neighbour says to her friend, "Lisa again opened a door."
- b. \checkmark REP \gg \exists *Repeating the event of opening a door (different door)*
Facilitating context: Lisa had already opened some door this morning. She opens another in the evening. The neighbour says to her friend, "Lisa again opened a door".

3.2. Isolating REST

To isolate the restitutive reading (REST), word order alone is not enough; wherever REST is available, REP is also available, unless the context is set up to explicitly rule out REP. In the contexts below, there is *a door* which is *built open*, meaning that there was a prior state of a door being open, but no prior event of a door being opened. This rules out REP entirely.¹

(15) Lisa opened a door **again**. (REP/REST)

- a. $\checkmark \exists \gg$ REST *Restoring the state of a door being open (same door)*
Facilitating context: Lisa's house was built with one door permanently open for ventilation. Ali thought this was unsafe, and so he closed it. Lisa preferred how things were before, so she restores that door to its prior state. The neighbour says to her friend, "Lisa opened a door again!"
- b. * REST \gg \exists *Restoring the state of a door being open (different door)*
Facilitating context: Ali's house has one door built permanently open for ventilation. He thought this was unsafe, and so he closed it. Later, Lisa comes to the house for the first time, and opens some other door. Infelicitous for the neighbour to say to her friend, "Lisa opened a door again!"

¹ A possible "intermediate reading" Lechner et al. (2015) is also ruled out (there is a prior door-opening event, but the Agent is not specified, reflecting a syntactic attachment site high enough to include the event argument, but lower than Agent). Without such care, scopal nuances are obscured. Jäger & Blutner (2000), for example, report that all four readings are possible, which the data here show is not the case.

The only reading possible in (15b) is that Lisa had opened some door before, but that reading is not licensed here. The sentence is therefore simply infelicitous in the context that would have licensed a narrow scope interpretation for the restitutive object, thus showing that the narrow scope interpretation is not attested. This ban on narrow scope for restitutive objects has been observed before, see Dobler (2008); Csirmaz (2015) for examples which do not rule out as many confounds as the contexts above, but make the same point.

4. Illustrating the BNS in Hindi-Urdu: REST only with moved objects

Hindi-Urdu has no true indefinite article.² Bare singular objects can get an interpretation that is very similar to a narrow scope indefinite, due to pseudo-incorporation (Dayal 2017, 2015, and prior). In atelic contexts, bare singular objects adjacent to the verb can get a characteristic *number-neutral, non-referential* interpretation associated with pseudo-incorporation. They do not pick out any individual in the discourse, but rather modify the meaning of the predicate itself, giving the effect of narrow scope. Bare singulars can either pseudo-incorporate, or get a definite interpretation. They crucially lack a wide scope (specific indefinite) reading.

- (16) liiza puure din darwaazaa kholtii rahii
 Lisa all day door open-IPFV PROG
- a. PSEUDO-INCORP.: ‘Lisa kept door-opening all day.’ (*can be any number of different doors*)
 b. DEFINITE: ‘Lisa kept opening the door all day.’ (*must be only one same door*)

Bare singulars are inherently non scope-taking, but are still subject to the BNS in a sense: pseudo-incorporation (fake ‘narrow scope’) is bad in restitutive contexts.

Pseudo-incorporation is restricted to atelic contexts. In contexts completely specified as telic, there is only a given interpretation. Since bare singulars are inherently ambiguous between kind-terms and definites Dayal (2011), the given interpretation here is equivalent to definiteness.

- (17) liizaa-ne ek miniT-me darwaazaa khol diyaa
 Lisa-ERG one minute-in door open give-PFV
 DEFINITE: ‘Lisa opened the door in one minute.’ #NON-REFERENTIAL

Note that pseudo-incorporation is possible but not obligatory. Even in atelic contexts expected to facilitate it, if an object moves, it can no longer be pseudo-incorporated. The moved object only has the definite interpretation. In (18) below, movement is diagnosed by the surface position of the direct object relative to adverbs with a sufficiently low attachment height. While the positions of different adverbs is itself a contentious issue, the example below shows that minimally, movement of the object past the adverb’s attachment site has the same effect regardless of which particular adverb is considered.

- (18) liiza puure din darwaazaa_i {**phir-se / haRbaRii me / zor-se / jaldii-se**} t_i kholtii rahii
 Lisa all day door {again / in a tizzy / hard / quickly} open-IPFV PROG
- a. DEFINITE: ‘All day, Lisa kept opening the door again/in a tizzy/hard/quickly.’
 (*only one same door*)
- b. #PSEUDO-INCORP.: ‘All day, Lisa kept door-opening again/in a tizzy/hard/quickly.’
 (*any number of different doors*)
- c. Restitutive available here

² The numeral *ek* ‘one’ is used much like an indefinite article, and will be discussed along with other numerals.

When the object stays *in situ*, both pseudo-incorporated and definite readings are available (19).

- (19) liiza puure din {**phir-se** / **haRbaRii me** / **zor-se** / **jaldii-se**} darwaazaa kholtii rahii
 Lisa all day {again / in a tizzy / hard / quickly} door open-IPFV PROG
- PSEUDO-INCORP.: ‘All day, Lisa kept door-opening again/in a tizzy/hard/quickly.’
 (any number of different doors)
 - DEFINITE: ‘All day, Lisa kept opening the door again/in a tizzy/hard/quickly’
 (only one same door)
 - Restitutive unavailable here

The data from Hindi-Urdu can be summed up in the following two ways. One, the restitutive reading is only available with a moved direct object. Two, movement of the direct object over the adverb is generally available, but optional, in the case of other adverbs. However, unmoved/pseudo-incorporated objects are incompatible with restitutive *phir-se* ‘again’. Since ‘again’ will always have the additional repetitive interpretation, *phir-se* is grammatical in (19) but can be only repetitive, not restitutive. These data show that the ban on narrow scope for restitutive objects seems to apply even to bare singular objects that are not generally understood as scope-taking at all.

4.1. Implications

What was initially introduced as a ban on narrow scope for indefinite objects in restitutive contexts has now been complicated by the Hindi-Urdu data. The challenge at this point is to explain this phenomenon in a way that does not depend on scope.

5. Explaining the ban on narrow scope

The following subsections delineate three possible hypotheses that may explain the phenomenon that readings corresponding to narrow scope are not permitted for restitutive objects.

5.1. Hypothesis 1: A-movement (von Stechow, 1996; Lechner et al., 2015)

This is the dominant view in the literature, and its assumptions are twofold. One, that there is a low attachment site for restitutive ‘again’. Two, that direct objects must A-move for accusative case. Since the A-movement landing site for accusative case (i.e. Spec,AgroP) is above the low attachment position, they necessarily get wide scope.

From the point of view of modern theories of case, this account is conceptually unappealing, as it relies on obligatory movement for accusative. Under Agree, abstract Case is checked by *v* Probe in its c-command domain; there is no obligatory movement in this system. In a dependent Case framework, the requirement for movement is completely untenable.

In addition to these somewhat theory-internal objections, an A-movement account has a fundamental problem: A-movement is well-known to reconstruct at least in certain cases (see von Stechow & Iatridou 2003; Sportiche 2005 and references therein). In the examples below, the A-moved constituent is able to be interpreted in its base-generated position:

- (20) a. Someone from New York_i is guaranteed t_i to win the lottery. ✓ *guaranteed* $\gg \exists$
 b. Every student_i must have t_i left. ✓ *must* $\gg \forall$
 c. Someone_i seems to be t_i sick. ✓ *seems* $\gg \exists$

In Hindi-Urdu in particular, we saw that when adverbs other than restitutive ‘again’ are considered, there is optionality of moving the object over the adverb. The fact that specifically the restitutive adverb does not allow the object to stay below it is unexplained under obligatory A-movement.

5.2. Hypothesis 2: Different lexical entries

A radically alternative is to treat REST as fundamentally different from REP – that REST actually expresses a relation, one that holds between some presupposed individual(s) and a state.³ Positing a different lexical entry for REST seems to be a non-starter, as doing so would lose the starting observation that language after language, REP/REST are lexicalised by the same adverb.

There is an intuitive appeal to the idea that one cannot ‘restore’ a state unless there is an object to restore it to, but one can repeat a process/event even without an object. However, it was shown in §3.2 that there exist conceivable situations which involve ‘restoring a state’ in the sense of causing such a property/description of a state to hold of a *different* individual. Any account that posits an inherent difference between events and states must identify what in the *grammar* is responsible for the unacceptability of ‘again’ in such cases.

5.3. Hypothesis 3: Type-restriction

The proposal in this paper is as follows. The height-based account is accurate insofar as REST is fundamentally the same as REP, but attaching low, specifically to ResultP formed due to verbal decomposition. Recall that this ResultP is in fact (definitionally) a small clause. A property that has generally been observed to hold of small clauses is that their subjects are only allowed to be of type $\langle e \rangle$.

This approach will therefore retain the core idea of height-based account, but make the additional prediction that small clauses cannot involve predication over quantifiers, only over their traces. Has the consequence of only allowing wide scope for small clause subjects. REST is then merely one diagnostic which reveals this general property of small clauses.

6. Implementing a type-restriction approach

The proposal spelled out here exploits the following observation, made in Williams (1983) and below is repeated from (3):

(21) WILLIAMS’ PROBLEM

Raised subjects of adjectival small clauses can never reconstruct.

This observation was made on the basis of pairs like the following. In (22a), *someone* can be interpreted as if it has reconstructed, but in (22b), it cannot. The only difference between these two examples is that in the former is an infinitival clause and in the latter is a small clause.

- (22) a. Someone_i seems [to be t_i sick]. ✓seems >> ∃
 = It appears (on the basis of some evidence) that there is a sick person.
 b. *Someone_i seems [t_i sick]. *seems >> ∃
 ≠ It appears (on the basis of some evidence) that there is a sick person.

In this light, let us reconsider a simple restitutive sentence like (1), repeated below as (23a). The structure of this sentence is (23b), which now looks strikingly similar to (22b) above.

- (23) a. Lisa opened a door again.
 b. Lisa CAUSE [a door OPEN_{ADJ}] *CAUSE >> ∃

I propose that the ban on narrow scope of restitutive objects be treated as an instantiation of Williams’ Problem. We can re-state the BNS as follows:

³ An unrelated kind of lexical ambiguity approach, not discussed here—see Fabricius-Hansen (2001) for the view that the restitutive entry denotes the reversal of a prior process that caused an ‘opposite’ result state to hold.

(24) BAN ON NARROW SCOPE (*generalised*)

- a. Subjects of small clauses are only permitted to be of type $\langle e \rangle$.
- b. Therefore, any subject that is not of type $\langle e \rangle$ must undergo QR or type-shifting, as available.

In the Hindi-Urdu examples, the small clause subject is a bare singular, and those have property type $\langle e, t \rangle$ (Dayal, 2015). Since Hindi-Urdu has no relevant lexical determiner (definite or indefinite), bare singulars can access the covert type-shift operation *iota* which lowers the type to $\langle e \rangle$ and gives the NP a definite reading (Dayal 2017 following Partee 1987; Chierchia 1998).

(25) $\iota := \lambda P \iota P_s$

iff there exists a unique maximal entity in P, otherwise undefined.

The key Hindi-Urdu examples are repeated below:

- (26) a. liiza-ne **phir-se darwaazaa** kholaa
 Lisa-ERG again door open.PFV
 ‘Lisa again opened a/the door.’ ✓ REP, *REST
- b. liiza-ne darwaazaa **phir-se** kholaa
 Lisa-ERG door again open.PFV
 ‘Lisa opened the door again.’ ✓ REP, ✓ REST

In (26a), the relevant NP *darwaazaa* ‘door’ has not moved. It gets a pseudo-incorporated meaning ‘Lisa again door-opened’ using the rule below, which conveniently takes properties as arguments.

(27) $\text{open}_{\text{INC}} = \lambda P \lambda e [P\text{-open}(e)]$ (Dayal, 2011)

This meaning has nothing to do with the scope of the object(s) involved, so is *equivalent* to narrow scope without having an existential quantifier present. Note that application of *iota* is also possible here – since the repetitive reading is compatible with definite objects (it is fine if it is the same door). Thus, (26a) is shorthand for two interpretations, as is reflected in the translation.

By contrast, if we look at (26b), we see that the object has moved. As we saw earlier, pseudo-incorporation is not available when the object has moved. In the moved position, the only option is to type-shift via *iota*. Strikingly, this is exactly the reading that we get in Hindi-Urdu. The word order shown in (26b) has only the definite reading expected with *iota*, as evidenced by definiteness tests below.

(28) *Restitutive objects pattern with definites (tests for 26b)*

- a. ...(vo) kaafii bhaarii niklaa
 ...(it) rather heavy emerge.PFV
 ...it turned out to be rather heavy.’ *Supports discourse anaphora*
- b. us ek minaT-mein...
 that one moment-in...
 ‘In that one moment, ...’ *Good with telic adv*
- c. # ek ghanTe-tak...
 one hour-for...
 ‘For an hour...’ *Bad with durative adv*
- d. liiza-ko darwaazaa phir-se kholnaa hai/caahiye
 Lisa-DAT door again open.INF be.PRS/should
 ‘Lisa wants to/must open the door again.’ *Scope over modal (*modal ≫ door)*
- e. #...kai darwaaze kaafii bhaarii nikle
 ...many doors rather heavy emerge.PFV
 ‘...many doors turned out to be very heavy.’ *Does not license plural inference*

In English, any DP with higher type, including indefinites and quantifiers – type $\langle et, t \rangle$ – simply cannot survive *in situ* because, by hypothesis, small clause subjects can only be of type $\langle e \rangle$. Since English has lexical determiners, these block access to covert type-shift operation *iota*. In essence, the only option available is to QR and leave a trace, of type $\langle e \rangle$.

6.1. The BNS (generalised) applies to other quantifiers

An empirical observation that has escaped notice in the literature on restitutive adverbs is that the BNS is far-reaching. It is not restricted to (real/fake) indefinites. Contexts below rule out repetitive and intermediate readings, and we observe that narrow scope of the object is bad in both Hindi-Urdu (the i examples) and English (the ii examples).

(29) BNS with other quantifiers (two, most) in transitives

a. Restoring the state of two doors being open (different doors)

Facilitating context: Real-estate agent showing Lisa a home. Two doors are built open for ventilation. Lisa comes in, sees two closed doors, and opens them.

i. # *liiza-ne do darwaaze phir-se t_i khol diye*
 Lisa-ERG two door.PL again open give.PFV

ii. #Lisa opened two doors again.

b. *REST \gg most

Restoring the state of most doors being open (different doors)

Facilitating context: Real-estate agent showing Lisa a home with five doors. Doors A-B-C were built open for ventilation, but closed for the viewing. Lisa comes in, opens C-D-E.

i. # *liiza-ne zyaadaatar darwaaze phir-se t_i khol diye*
 Lisa-ERG most door.PL again open give.PFV

ii. #Lisa opened most (of the) doors again.

7. Previous approaches to derive the BNS fall short

The generalised BNS as stated in (24a) does the job of capturing the empirical space by unifying a phenomenon observed in restitutive contexts with one observed in small clauses in general, as in both cases the subject of the small clause is restricted to type $\langle e \rangle$. Conceptually, however, there is still work to be done to explain why the subjects of small clauses have to necessarily be of entity type and not any higher.

7.1. Williams (1983)

The position taken by Williams in the original work is radically different from what I have presented here. His is a “there are no small clauses” approach. The so-called “subject of the small clause” originates high, thereby totally circumventing the need for a BNS-type restriction. This kind of approach has an advantage in that it is applicable equally to all subjects (definite descriptions, indefinites, quantifiers). And, in fact, data shows that the very general phrasing of Williams’ Problem (repeated in 30 below) is in fact correct – it is ban on reconstruction (i.e. narrow scope) of not just property-type subjects, but *all* subjects (31).

(30) Williams’ Problem

Raised subjects of adjectival small clauses can never reconstruct.

(31) Context: The university cancels classes if {even some of the students/more than half the students/all the students} call in sick. We see a notice “Class cancelled today”, and conclude:

a. \checkmark {Some/most/all the} students seem to be sick.

b. # {Some/most/all the} students seem sick.

This account has a drawback, though: it is designed to deal with raising verbs, where the “small clause subject” is actually base-generated in matrix subject position. It is not obvious what analogous position exists to place the restitutive object, while maintaining its θ -role and also avoiding spurious projections under CAUSE.

7.2. Moulton (2013)

Another account on the market is on the lines of Moulton (2013), who assumes that small clauses are too small to host existential closure \exists . Indefinites are treated as uniformly property-denoting. In small clauses they can't be closed by \exists , and thus combine with the adjectival head of the small clause via Predicate Modification to yield another property of type $\langle et \rangle$. His account is unfortunately limited to the ban on narrow scope of only indefinites and says nothing about quantifier type, which as we saw above is also relevant to this paradigm. It is also limited to cases having a propositional matrix embedding predicate like *seems*, which can't take the $\langle et \rangle$ small clause as argument. These very same cases (31) pose a serious problem for Moulton (2013). If in (31b), the small clause subjects *some/most/all the students* have quantifier type $\langle et, t \rangle$, and they should be able to take the $\langle et \rangle$ type adjective *sick* as argument and be interpreted straightforwardly where they are, losing the entire point of the BNS.

Additionally, the ban on narrow scope shows up in some other places where it is possible to posit a small clause, and which do not *prima facie* involve an embedding intensional predicate. Case in point: ditransitives.

(32) BNS in ditransitives

- | | | |
|----|---|--|
| a. | Bilbo gave a wizard the One Ring again. | *RES $\gg \exists$ |
| | <i>Restoring a wizard to a state of having the One Ring</i> | \Rightarrow <i>Must be the same wizard</i> |
| b. | Bilbo gave a ring to Gandalf again. | *RES $\gg \exists$ |
| | <i>Restoring a ring to a state of being with Gandalf</i> | \Rightarrow <i>Must be the same ring</i> |

7.3. Johnson & Tomioka (1997)

A work which achieves basically what I am proposing here, Johnson & Tomioka (1997) argued that quantifiers cannot undergo Quantifier Lowering (QL) into θ -positions. This account uses a radically different idea of what quantification looks like (via Heim 1997), but essentially derives the BNS by saying that there is an $\langle e \rangle$ type *pro* in the relevant position (equivalent to small clause subject), and to lower into that position is banned. This approach seems to me the only that is most general, and can thus capture the facts the best.

However, that is only if one accepts a non-standard way of writing out quantifiers. The currently stipulative nature of my proposal for the BNS is rivalled in Johnson & Tomioka (1997) by an equally stipulative ban against lowering into a θ -position.

8. Conclusion

This paper observed that the BNS on restitutive direct objects, is exactly the same as the BNS on subjects of small clauses. This work is thus first a vindication of the decomposition + height-based account of restitutive adverbs. The paper has demonstrated advantages in abstracting away from considerations of scope, and rather making the minimal statement that subjects of small clauses must be of type $\langle e \rangle$ and no higher. This proposal not only captured what A-movement had before, but also gave us a picture that works for a QR case (English) and a type-shifting case (Hindi-Urdu). Strikingly, the proposal made here also worked for bare singulars which are not scope-taking, and was also consistent with the BNS applying to higher types. While the external motivation of this type-restriction is yet to be identified, the stipulations of this proposal do not appear to exceed those made before.

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