

Predication and Equation

David Adger
Gillian Ramchand

In this article, we argue that a structural distinction between predicational and equative copular clauses is illusory. All semantic predicational relationships are constructed asymmetrically via a syntactic predicational head; differences reduce to whether this head bears an event variable or not. This allows us to maintain a restrictive view of the syntax-semantics interface in the face of apparently recalcitrant data from Scottish Gaelic.

Keywords: copular clauses, equatives, predication, pronouns, Scottish Gaelic

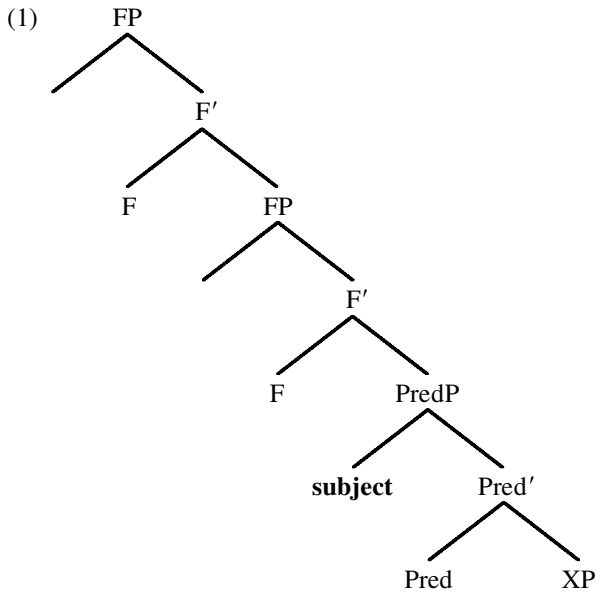
1 Introduction: Predication and the Syntax-Semantics Interface

Natural language propositions are often considered to contain a thematic core expressing predicate argument relationships (often termed a *small clause*). Work exploring this idea has been foundational to our understanding of both clause structure (Williams 1980, 1983a, Stowell 1981, Manzini 1983, Hoekstra 1984, Bowers 1993, and many others) and the semantic construction of predicational relationships (e.g., Doron 1988, Higginbotham 1985, Rapoport 1987, Rothstein 1995). In this article, we defend the view that there is an extremely tight relationship between the syntax and semantics of predication and that semantic predication always feeds off a syntactic structure containing a predicational head (following Bowers (1993), Svenonius (1994)). We do this on the basis of data from Scottish Gaelic, which appear to challenge such a tightly constrained relationship between syntax and semantics. We show that these data, when understood properly, actually provide extra motivation for the approach. This means that it is not necessary to postulate different types of underlying structure to account for apparent differences in the interpretation of predication (contra Rapoport 1987, Rothstein 1995, Pereltsvaig 2001).

More specifically, we defend the view that a clause consists of a predicational core where thematic relations are licensed, which is delimited by a head, Pred. Pred acts as the syntactic edge

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of the predicational core (Chomsky 2000, 2001), and its projection is surmounted by an articulated functional domain containing heads that check formal features, trigger displacement, and mediate other important grammatical and information-structural properties of the clause. The predicational core itself is asymmetrically constituted such that the ‘‘argument’’ of the predicate constructed by the head and its complement sits in the specifier position of the predicate phrase.



This kind of view of the lower domain of clause structure developed from early work by Stowell (1981), which took lexical categories themselves to be predicational. Once it is assumed that predication is mediated through an (essentially) functional head (see, e.g., Hornstein and Lightfoot 1987, Moro 1988, Raposo and Uriagereka 1990), the question arises, what may the complement of this head be? More specifically, are there constraints on the category, or the semantic type, of XP? A natural translation of Stowell’s original insight into the current framework answers this question with a yes: the syntactic category of XP is restricted to the set of lexical categories (N, V, A, P), and semantically these categories may all be unsaturated, in the Fregean sense (see Higginbotham 1985).

The most pressing empirical challenge then becomes equative sentences. Equatives consist of two DPs and a copular verb.

(2) Mairead’s songs are Micheal’s joy.

Since DPs are not lexical categories, and since at least some DPs are usually assumed to be saturated (Higginbotham 1985, 1987), there appears to exist a type of sentence that cannot be reduced to the predicational structure outlined above.

One way of dealing with this problem is to locate the source of the two kinds of predication in the copular verb *be*. This entails that the copula is ambiguous, appearing both as a semantically empty auxiliary and as a true verb signifying identity between its arguments (Higgins 1973, Rapoport 1987, Higginbotham 1987, Zaring 1996). From this perspective, (2) has a reading familiar from classical logic, where the identity predicate is introduced by the copula.

(3) **Mairead's-songs = Micheal's-joy**

Closely related to this idea are analyses that posit two different types of small clause, one underlying equative sentences and the other underlying predicative sentences (Heycock 1994, Carnie 1997, Heycock and Kroch 1999), each with an associated logical representation. This idea divorces the type of predication from the copula itself, thus avoiding having to specify an ambiguous copula. However, it weakens the tight one-to-one mapping between the syntax and semantics of predication represented by (1).

An alternative is to reject the assumption that proper names and other DPs such as possessives and definites are obligatorily saturated. This approach has been taken by Heggie (1988), Moro (1997), and, for pseudoclefts, Williams (1994). These authors argue that in cases where two DPs appear in copular sentences, one of them is semantically and syntactically the predicate, while the other is referential.

- (4) a. Jenny is the doctor.
 b. The doctor is Jenny.

Under this view, *the doctor* is the predicate in both these examples. Syntactically, (4b) involves raising this DP predicate to some higher position (Spec,CP for Heggie (1988), Spec,IP for Moro (1997)). Heggie and Moro provide syntactic evidence (from extraction, cliticization, pronominalization, focus effects, etc.) that there is a syntactic asymmetry in these cases. This kind of analysis entails either that we give up the PredP framework or that somehow DPs may be the complement of Pred.

Assuming that we maintain the PredP framework and that Pred always takes an unsaturated complement, we are forced to assume a more complicated picture of the relationship between the syntax and semantics of nominal projections. We have to allow DPs to have more than one interpretation, since they can be referential but also apparently predicative (Partee 1987). If DPs can be both predicative and referential, then we do not have an obvious way of maintaining a strict one-to-one mapping between the syntactic category and the semantic type.

Summarizing, then, there are two broad approaches to sentences that contain two DPs: (a) adopt the idea that there are two kinds of predicational structure available, correlating roughly with predicational and equative interpretations; (b) take the perspective that there is only one kind of predicational structure, but that the complement of Pred is not restricted to lexical categories.

English is one language where equative and nonequative sentences have a similar surface syntax (but see Heggie 1988 and Moro 1997 for discussion of more subtle differences). In this article, we address the fact that many other languages (e.g., languages in the Celtic, Semitic, and

Slavic families) appear to use radically different morphological means that seem to map intuitively to differences in the type of predication expressed. Examining one such language, Scottish Gaelic, we show that the real difference does not depend on whether the sentence is equative or nonequative, but on whether the predicational head in the structure proposed above is eventive or not.

We show that the apparently odd syntax of “equatives” in this language derives in part from the fact that they are constructed via a Pred head lacking an eventuality variable. Additionally, since Pred heads cannot combine with nonpredicative categories, such as saturated DPs, “equatives” are built up indirectly from a simple predicational structure with a semantically bleached predicate. This approach allows us to maintain a strict one-to-one syntax-semantics mapping not only for predicational syntax, but also for the syntax of DPs. The argument we develop here, then, suggests that the interface between the syntactic and semantic components is maximally economical—one could say perfect.

2 Scottish Gaelic Predicational Structures

One of the major arguments we present here is that DPs cannot be the complement of Pred, a fact that, if true, receives an explanation based on the function of the D layer in a DP and the syntactic requirements of Pred. We begin by outlining the syntax of clauses, and specifically predicative clauses, in Scottish Gaelic with a view to establishing this claim.

2.1 Basic Clause Structure

Scottish Gaelic is a language closely related to Modern Irish. It has a basic VSO structure, with the finite verb preceding the subject and object. The arguments adduced by McCloskey (1983) to show that Modern Irish VSO structure is derived from an underlying SVO order can be replicated for Scottish Gaelic (Adger 1996, Ramchand 1997). We assume, therefore, that an example like (5) has the structure indicated, with the verb raising from its base position to some head within the functional domain of the clause.

- (5) Chunnaic_i Calum [t_i Mairi].
 see-PAST Calum Mairi
 ‘Calum saw Mairi.’

The difference between Scottish Gaelic and more familiar SVO languages is just that in Scottish Gaelic, the main verb raises to T while the subject phrase remains in situ. Chung and McCloskey (1987) provide a compelling range of arguments showing that in Irish, when the verb does not raise (because T is absent or filled with an auxiliary), the string containing the in-situ subject and predicate behaves like a constituent. Once again, the same arguments can be made for Scottish Gaelic (Ramchand 1997).

This general picture of Irish and Scottish Gaelic clause structure is uncontroversial. For concreteness, however, we will translate these basic ideas and intuitions into a broadly minimalist framework, following the notation and some of the ideas in Pesetsky and Torrego 2001 and Chomsky 2000, 2001.

The approach to Scottish Gaelic clausal structure we will follow is roughly that taken by Adger (2001). We adopt the idea that the VP domain is split into more than one head position (Larson 1988, Chomsky 1995b) and that the subject is merged in the specifier of a “little *v*,” which we assume is equivalent to our Pred in the specific case where it selects a VP (see Bowers 2002 for recent discussion).

We assume that heads and phrases consist of syntactic features, some of which are specified as *uninterpretable*. Uninterpretable features must be marked for deletion during the derivation, since they are not tolerated by the interface systems of Spell-Out or LF interpretation. Following Pesetsky and Torrego (2001), we notate a feature [F] as uninterpretable by prefixing it with *u*: [*u*F].

In addition to interpretability, features may have an EPP (Extended Projection Principle) property. The EPP property of a feature [F_{EPP}] is satisfied by filling the specifier of the head that [F] sits on (H(F)) with some XP with which F has entered into an Agree relation, where the XP contains phonological material. This means that we adopt a view of the EPP that sees it as a structural licensing requirement for particular heads that feeds into well-formedness requirements of the Spell-Out component. In some ways, the EPP feature on a head is like an affixal feature.

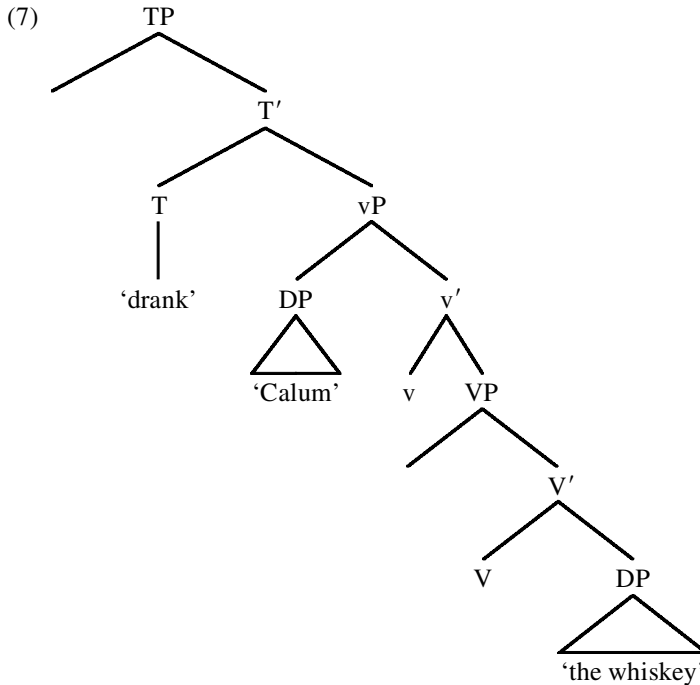
As far as head movement is concerned, we assume that if XP is the complement of H(F_{EPP}), then the head of XP (H(XP) = X) moves and adjoins to H(F). Once again, we assume that the satisfaction of the EPP feature is sensitive to phonology, making the EPP feature that attracts heads even more like a stray-affix requirement.

To implement the generalization that some overt material always appears in T, we assume that T bears an EPP feature as a subfeature of its category feature [T_{EPP}] (following Pesetsky and Torrego (2001)). Following Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou (1998), who propose that languages differ in whether the EPP feature of T is satisfied by movement to T^0 or to Spec,TP, we assume that the parameter is set for T^0 in Scottish Gaelic.

In Scottish Gaelic, the EPP feature of T can actually be satisfied in one of two ways. The first way involves movement of the main verb from V through *v* and up to T (as in (6) and (7)).¹

- (6) Dh’òl Calum an t-uisge beatha.
 drink-PAST Calum the whiskey
 ‘Calum drank the whiskey.’

¹ This movement is mediated by the relation of Agree and is driven by the existence of uninterpretable *v*- and T-features on V and *v*, respectively. See Adger 2001 for the details of the implementation in the Scottish Gaelic case.



The second way to satisfy the EPP feature of T involves merger of an independent lexical item carrying pure tense features; compare (6) with (8).

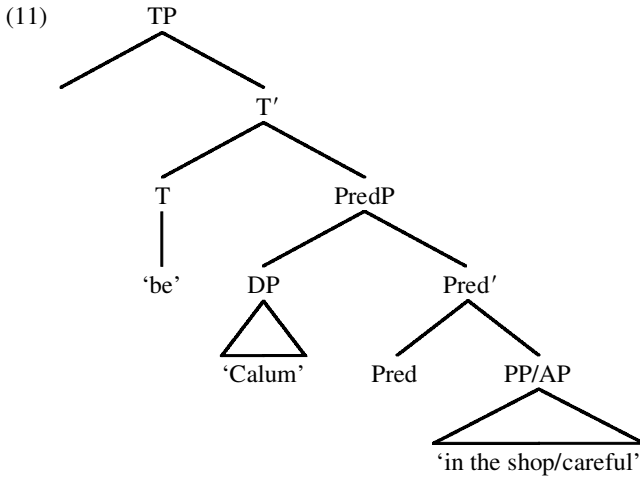
- (8) Bha Calum ag òl uisge beatha.
 be-PAST Calum ASP drinking whiskey
 'Calum was drinking whiskey.'

In this example, T is filled by the finite auxiliary, which is usually a form of the verb *bith* 'be'. In the traditional grammatical literature, *bith* is termed the *substantive auxiliary*, and we will accordingly refer to these constructions as *substantive auxiliary constructions* (SACs). The SAC reveals more clearly the range of constituents that can appear in the PredP position of the sentence. We demonstrate two of these possibilities in (9) and (10).²

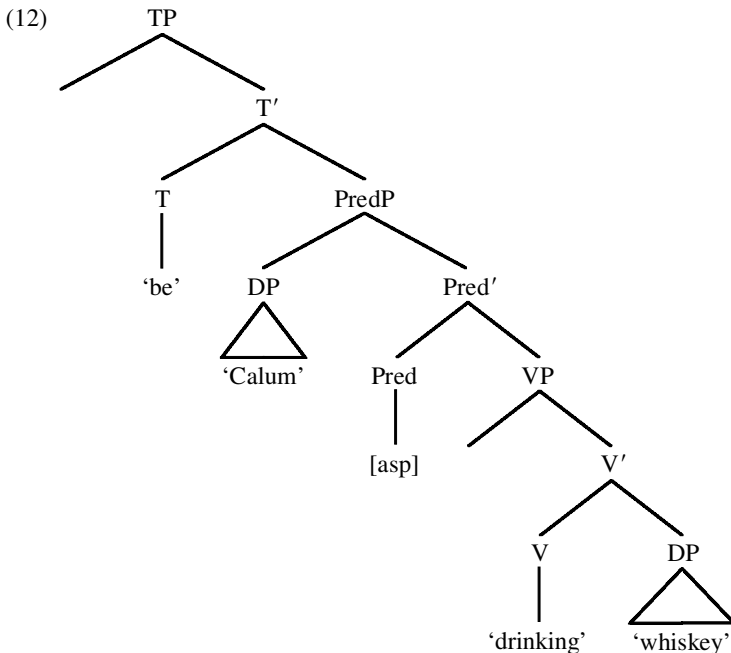
- (9) Tha Calum faiceallach.
 be-PRES Calum careful
 'Calum is (being) careful.'
- (10) Tha Calum anns a'bhùth.
 be-PRES Calum in the shop
 'Calum is in the shop.'

²The forms *bha* and *tha* are respectively suppletive past and present versions of the substantive auxiliary.

Here, an AP and a PP occupy the predicate position. We will assume that the subjects of these predicates are introduced by Pred (as in section 1; see Bowers 1993, Svenonius 1994, Adger 2001). The EPP property of T is satisfied by merging in a version of the substantive auxiliary *bith*, as in (11).



We adopt the same kind of analysis in the case of constructions where the *v* head encodes some aspectual property, such as (8); this is shown in (12).



This approach predicts that the string *Calum ag òl uisge beatha* in (8) is a constituent independent of the appearance of the substantive auxiliary, a prediction backed up by the appearance of [_{PreDP} Subj . . . VP/AP/PP] strings in small clause structures such as the tenseless absolutive construction in (13)–(15).

- (13) *Chunnaic mi Calum agus [e ag òl uisge beatha].*
 see-PAST I Calum and [him ASP drinking whiskey]
 ‘I saw Calum while he was drinking whiskey.’
- (14) *Chunnaic mi Calum agus [e air a mhisg].*
 see-PAST I Calum and [him on his drunkenness]
 ‘I saw Calum while he was drunk.’
- (15) *Chunnaic mi Calum agus [e uamhasach toilichte].*
 see-PAST I Calum and [him terribly happy]
 ‘I saw Calum while he was really happy.’

2.2 Nominal Predication and the Substantive Auxiliary

We now turn to cases where the predicative core of the clause consists of two nominals. In such cases, a simple NP predicate is barred.

- (16) **Tha Calum tidsear.*
 be-PRES Calum teacher
 ‘Calum is a teacher.’
- (17) **Chunnaic mi Calum agus [e tidsear].*
 see-PAST I Calum and [him teacher]
 ‘I saw Calum while he was a teacher.’

Similar facts are noted for Irish by Chung and McCloskey (1987). In place of a simple NP predication, we find a richer structure.

- (18) *Tha Calum 'na thidsear.*
 be-PRES Calum in-3MS teacher
 ‘Calum is a teacher.’
- (19) *Chunnaic mi Calum agus [e 'na thidsear].*
 see-PAST I Calum and [him in-3MS teacher]
 ‘I saw Calum while he was a teacher.’

The particle *'na* preceding the NP in these sentences consists, morphologically at least, of the preposition *ann* ‘in’, incorporating a possessive pronoun that agrees in ϕ -feature specification with the subject. As well as (18), then, we find (20).

- (20) *Tha mi 'nam thidsear.*
 be-PRES I in-1SG teacher
 ‘I am a teacher.’

Why should there be this extra material? Under the system of assumptions we have built up so far, we might expect to be able to simply use the Pred head that cooccurred with APs and PPs with NPs too, an expectation that is clearly not met.

We put this difference down to the different denotational properties of NPs as opposed to PPs, APs, and verbal constructions: NPs denote properties of individual entities, whereas APs, PPs, and verbal constructions denote properties of individuals with respect to an eventuality. The idea that nominals lack an eventuality variable in their logical representation has been argued for by Higginbotham (1985) and Parsons (1990), among others. We take this to be a property of the functional structure under which the lexical root is embedded: the semantics of the functional structure selecting adjectival, prepositional, and verbal roots introduces eventuality variables, in contrast to the D-related functional projections selecting nominals.

We follow Ramchand (1996) in taking the SAC in Scottish Gaelic to obligatorily involve binding of an eventuality variable; it will therefore reject the use of NP predicates as the complement of the null Pred head.³ Instead, the language employs an expletive prepositional head *ann* ‘in’, which by virtue of being a P possesses an eventuality variable, and which also selects an NP complement. This PP projection is now possible as the complement of the null Pred head, which needs to bind an eventuality variable in its complement domain. In essence, all that the overt prepositional head does is semantically convert the NP into a predicate with an appropriate variable position to bind.⁴

The data we have presented so far do not constitute a challenge for the PredP approach to predication; in fact, they provide some support for the existence of a separate predicative head. NP predication uses the same mechanisms as AP and PP predication and is unified with finite verbal structures at the right level of abstraction. All of these structures involve a predicative head that introduces an external argument and that enters into various feature-checking relationships with other heads and XPs in the structure.

However, it is worth noting at this point that although NPs may be predicates within an SAC, DPs cannot be.

- (21) *Tha Calum an tidsear.
 be-PRES Calum the teacher
 ‘Calum is the teacher.’

This is equally true in other constructions that take a PredP, such as the absolutive construction illustrated earlier.

³ The interpretation of an SAC is thus akin to the notion of a ‘‘stage-level’’ interpretation. We do not, however, use the terminology of ‘‘stage’’ and ‘‘individual,’’ as we assume the relevant interpretive properties to be borne by the sentence, rather than by the predicate, and to arise from the particular functional heads projected. Evidence for this is that SACs may also have generic interpretations where the eventuality variable is bound by a default Generic operator. See Ramchand 1996 for further details.

⁴ Note here, too, that the aspectual heads found in Scottish Gaelic are also etymologically derived from a prepositional source, suggesting the naturalness of this kind of diachronic reanalysis of preposition to event-structural functional head from a language-internal point of view.

- (22) *Chunnaic mi Calum agus [e an tidsear].
 see-PAST I Calum and [him the teacher]
 ‘I saw Calum while he was the teacher.’
- (23) *Bhuail mi Calum agus [e mo bhràthair].
 hit-PAST I Calum and [him my brother]
 ‘I hit Calum while/though he was my brother.’
- (24) *Bhuail mi Calum agus e [an càraid as fheàrr agam].
 hit-PAST I Calum and him [the friend best at-me]
 ‘I hit Calum while he was my best friend.’

Unlike in the case of NP predication, there is no way of “saving” this structure by using extra morphological material, such as the *ann* particle.

- (25) *Tha Calum anns an tidsear.
 be-PRES Calum in the teacher
 ‘Calum is the teacher.’

Summarizing, then, whereas projections of lexical categories such as NP, PP, VP, and AP may occur as the complement of Pred, DPs cannot. We return to a more formal discussion of this restriction in section 4.2.

3 A Challenge: Inverted Copular Constructions

In addition to substantive auxiliary constructions (SACs), Scottish Gaelic has another, more unusual way of forming predicative structures. These constructions appear to involve the inversion of the predicate to a position in front of the subject, and we will therefore refer to them as *inverted copular constructions* (ICCs). In Scottish Gaelic, inverted copular constructions are less productive than they were only a century ago, and except for (an admittedly large number of) idiomatic locutions, they have an archaic flavor or are high-register expressions.

3.1 Copular Inversion

ICCs consist of the *defective* copula *is/bu* immediately followed by the predicate and then the subject. This verb has only the two forms *is/bu*, in contrast to the substantive auxiliary *bith*, which inflects for four tenses (present, past, conditional, future). The form *is* is used when the predication is present, while *bu* marks past, future, or conditional.⁵

- (26) Is mòr an duine sin.
 COP-PRES big that man
 ‘That man is big.’

⁵ It may be that the functional head that appears within clauses of this type is not T at all, but a modal category signaling realis versus irrealis features. We continue to assume the T functional projection for concreteness, and because nothing crucial hinges on the particular properties of the functional head here.

- (27) Is le Calum an cù.
 COP-PRES with Calum the dog
 ‘The dog belongs to Calum.’

The copular verb here is phonologically weak and cliticizes to the following predicate. There is evidence that the copula actually forms part of the onset of the syllable following it, suggesting that it is incorporated into the following phonological word. This evidence is of two types. First, the *is* form of the copula is pronounced with a palatalized *s* sound when a front vowel follows, a process that happens within but not between phonological words. Second, if the copula is followed by an aspirated voiceless stop, this stop loses its aspiration, following a general restriction on aspirated stops in word-initial *s*-clusters.

Example (26) shows an adjectival predicate, while (27) shows a PP predicate. There is no alternative order, with the subject preceding the predicate.

- (28) *Is an duine sin mòr.
 COP-PRES that man big
 ‘That man is big.’

- (29) *Is an cù leamsa.
 COP-PRES the dog with-me
 ‘The dog belongs to me.’

As the translations show, the predication in these examples is never tied to particular situations. The ICC always signifies that the predicate is conceived of as holding inherently of the subject, rather than accidentally. The interpretation here is akin to the individual-level interpretation of predicates discussed by Kratzer (1995) and many others. The interpretational effect can be seen most clearly through examples like the following, where the use of the past copula (as in (31)) is only felicitous if Calum is no longer alive. This is explained if the ICC, in contrast to the SAC, does not contain an eventuality variable. We return to the semantics of the ICC below.

- (30) Is tidsear Calum.
 COP-PRES teacher Calum
 ‘Calum is a teacher.’

- (31) Bu thidsear Calum.
 COP-PAST teacher Calum
 ‘Calum was a teacher.’

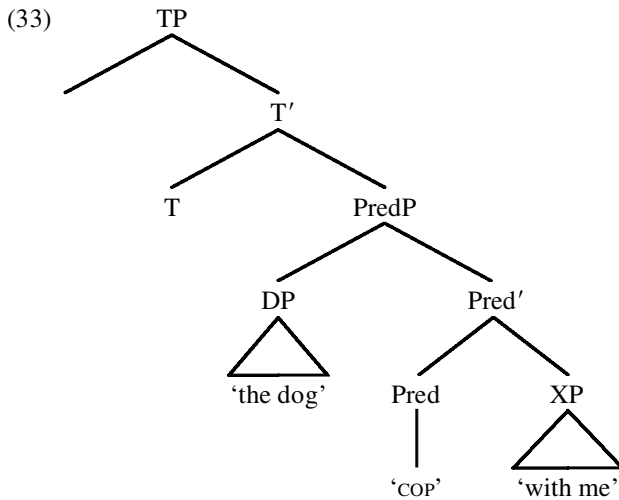
Notice that NP predication follows the same pattern as AP and PP predication: the copular verb is followed immediately by the predicate, which in turn is followed by the subject.

The ICC might be thought to pose an immediate challenge for the PredP approach to predication, since the predicate appears on the “wrong” side of the subject. There is a debate in the literature about the exact analysis of these structures, which we will only mention here (see Carnie 1995, 2000, Ramchand 1996, Doherty 1996, 1997, Cottell 1996 for fuller exposition, and see Rouveret 1996 for discussion of related questions in Welsh). The two broad lines of attack can

be characterized as follows: (a) ICCs are completely different in their structure from SACs and are built up from different syntactic atoms; (b) ICCs are derived from SACs via inversion of the predicate phrase.

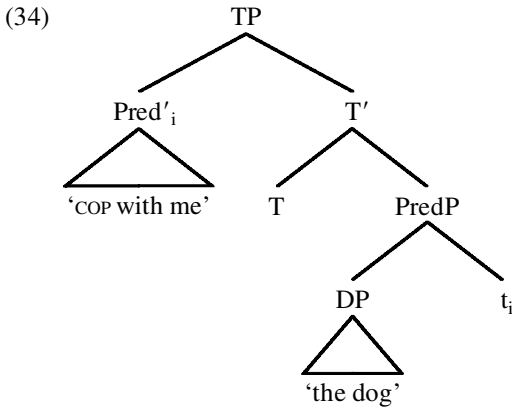
The empirical evidence that might allow us to choose between these two approaches is rather equivocal, and both seem to be compatible with the data. In the interests of reducing predication to a single structural configuration, we will pursue the second approach. We assume that the copula is a manifestation of the Pred head and that it encodes the peculiar semantics of this construction (see below for our explicit proposal). (33) shows the phrase structure we assume for (32).

- (32) Is leamsa an cù.
 COP-PRES with-me (EMPH) the dog
 'The dog belongs to me.'



As before, we adopt the idea that T has the EPP property, which must be satisfied by an element that the tense feature enters into an Agree relation with. The extreme phonological weakness of the copula means that it cannot, on its own, satisfy the EPP property of T. This means head movement of the copula to adjoin to T does not take place. However, the [μ T] features of the copula are present on its projection, and so Pred' raises into Spec,T. In essence, the copula pied-pipes its complement to ensure that enough phonological material is carried along to satisfy the EPP requirement of T.⁶

⁶ Note that within a bare phrase structure–type theory (Chomsky 1995a,b), Pred' is a syntactic object just like any other and so may move and target a position where it can satisfy the EPP requirements of T. Unlike Carnie (1995), we do not assume that this requirement is satisfied in a position adjoined to T⁰; rather, we assume it is satisfied in Spec,TP.



The ICC is reminiscent of inverted copular structures in other languages. As mentioned in section 1, Heggie (1988) and Moro (1997) argue that inversion of a predicate takes place in copular clauses in English examples like the following:

- (35) a. Jenny is the teacher.
 b. The teacher is Jenny.

In both of these examples, these authors claim that *the teacher* is the predicate and has raised to its surface position, inverting over the subject.

However, although the ICC construction in Gaelic is reminiscent of these other constructions, it cannot be reduced to them for a number of reasons. First, whereas this kind of predicate fronting is restricted in English, it applies to all lexical categories selected by the copula in Scottish Gaelic. This gives the following minimal contrast, where an indefinite or bare NP cannot generally be fronted in English (but see Declerck 1988), but must be inverted in a Gaelic ICC:

- (36) *A teacher is Jenny.
 (37) Is tidsear Calum.
 COP-PRES teacher Calum
 ‘Calum is a teacher.’
 (38) *Is Calum tidsear.
 COP-PRES Calum teacher
 ‘Calum is a teacher.’

Even more strikingly, the same generalization found with SACs also holds of ICCs: DPs are incompatible with the predicate position of an ICC.

- (39) *Is an tidsear Calum.
 COP-PRES the teacher Calum
 ‘Calum is the teacher.’
 (40) *Is Calum an tidsear.
 COP-PRES Calum the teacher
 ‘Calum is the teacher.’

Note that constructions with the defective copula in Pred accept NP as well as AP and PP as complements. This copula, unlike the substantive auxiliary, does not require an eventuality

variable to bind; rather, it predicates the property denoted by its complement directly of its subject.⁷ We assume that NPs denote simple atomic properties (see Chierchia 1984 and section 4.1 for fuller discussion) and propose that the semantics of the defective copula is as follows:

$$(41) \llbracket \text{is} \rrbracket = \lambda\pi \lambda x [\text{holds}(\pi, x)]$$

Here, π is the semantic type of simple properties. The copula's function is to state that the property denoted by its complement holds of its specifier. The lack of any eventuality variable signifying spatiotemporal location is what results in the distinction in interpretation between the defective copula and the substantive auxiliary.⁸

It follows from this approach that the ICC does not tolerate bare indefinite subjects (42). It is well known that "individual-level" predications do not allow existential interpretations of indefinites (Milsark 1977, Kratzer 1995).

$$(42) \text{*Is} \quad \text{mòr duine.}$$

COP-PRES big a man
'A man is big.'

A detailed analysis of the interaction between generic and existential interpretations of nominals is beyond the scope of this article.⁹ We merely note the restriction here and correlate it with the lack of an eventuality variable in these constructions: we surmise that the existential interpretation of indefinites found in SACs arises as a side effect of an operation of existential closure, triggered by the need to bind an eventuality variable in an SAC (see Heim 1982 and Diesing 1992 for applications of a similar default existential closure operation). This is absent in the ICC, as there is no eventuality variable.

We noted earlier that these constructions are not fully productive in Scottish Gaelic, and this is also true in Irish for APs and PPs (Stenson 1981). We assume that this is because the defective copula in the colloquial language is now highly selective of the lexical items it can combine with. However, the forms that do exist all conform systematically to the syntax and semantics we have outlined above, and our informants possess robust intuitions about them.

3.2 A Further Challenge: Augmented Copular Constructions

We have now outlined the two major ways of constructing predicational structures in Scottish Gaelic: the SAC, where the predicate stays in situ unless it is a tensed verb, and the ICC, where

⁷ Once again, this difference is similar to the stage- versus individual-level distinction made by Kratzer (1995). However, under our analysis, in SACs the proposition involves the assertion of the existence of an event of a particular type; in ICCs, on the other hand, an atomic property is predicated directly of an individual.

⁸ Note that this implies that APs and PPs also denote simple properties in these constructions (albeit properties that have an eventuality variable in their semantic representation). This means that they have to be nominalized at some level, so that their eventuality variable is bound off. This seems to be the right result: ICCs are fully productive in Irish for NPs but restricted in a fairly idiosyncratic way for APs and PPs. Where APs are productive in this environment is in comparative forms, which have been independently argued to be nominalizations by Stenson (1976) and Adger (1999). See section 4.2 for further details.

⁹ It is possible to have a generic reading of the bare nominal in an ICC. Ramchand (1996) shows that the bare nominal is not independently kind-referring (i.e., this is not a case of D-genericity in the sense of Krifka et al. 1995) but that the generic reading arises from the binding by a Generic operator of the individual variable provided by the nominal. Crucially, this operator can bind the subject only in ICCs, while existential closure is possible only in SACs.

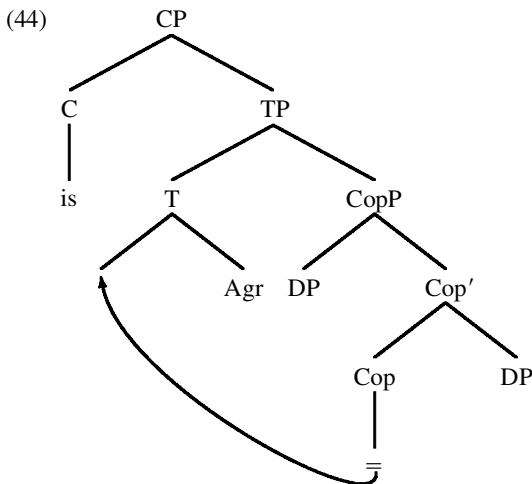
the movement of the copula pied-pipes the copula's complement, leading to an inverted structure. Both of these constructions can be profitably analyzed as involving the PredP structure discussed in section 1, and neither is compatible with a DP predicate.

However, it is possible to join two DPs with the defective copula as long as an extra element appears. This extra element is morphologically a third person masculine singular pronoun, traditionally termed the *pronominal augment*, which we gloss as *AUG*. We will therefore refer to these copular constructions as *augmented copular constructions* (ACCs). In an ACC, the augment immediately follows the copula, which is then followed by the two DPs.

- (43) 'S e Calum an tidsear.
 COP-PRES AUG Calum (DP₁) the teacher (DP₂)
 'Calum is the teacher.'

ACCs are not restricted to Scottish Gaelic and Irish. Pronominal elements appear in copular clauses in Hebrew (Doron 1988), Arabic (Eid 1983), Polish (Rothstein 1986), Zapotec (Lee 1999), and other languages. Our contention is that where such a pronominal appears, it is the true predicate of the construction, which means that one of the DPs is interpreted via a link with this pronominal. We will argue that this account allows us both to maintain a maximally simple relation between the syntax and semantics of predication and to explain a range of empirical properties of these constructions.

ACCs have been addressed previously in the literature on Irish copular constructions. Carnie (1997) argues that these constructions are true equatives and that there is a null copula that takes two arguments and equates them (see also Zaring 1996). Under this view, the pronominal element is simply an agreement head (following Doron's (1983) proposals for Hebrew). Schematically, this analysis takes the form shown in (44).



This proposal appears to receive support from considerations brought to bear by Heycock and Kroch (1999), who argue on the basis of sentences like (45a–b) that true equatives really do exist.

- (45) a. Your attitude toward Jones is my attitude toward Davies.
 b. My attitude toward Davies is your attitude toward Jones.

In these examples, it is difficult to treat one or the other of the two DPs as truly a predicate. Either one can be the syntactic subject, with little apparent difference in interpretation. If such sentences exist in English, then one might be tempted to argue that this is what is going on in the Irish and Scottish Gaelic ACCs. However, there are a number of arguments against going down this path. Perhaps most strikingly, there is always an interpretive asymmetry between the two DPs in Scottish Gaelic (and also in Irish; see Stenson 1981).¹⁰ In (46), the only interpretation is that DP_2 , *Hamlet*, names a role. If we switch the two DPs, it is impossible to interpret the sentence in the same way, even given world knowledge about actors and parts in plays.

- (46) 'S e Sean Hamlet a-nochd.
 COP-PRES AUG Sean Hamlet tonight
 'Sean is (playing) Hamlet tonight.'
 (47) *'S e Hamlet Sean a-nochd.
 COP-PRES AUG Hamlet Sean tonight
 'Sean is (playing) Hamlet tonight.'

This behavior contrasts with what happens in other languages. Williams (1983b) reports that the inverted sentences are fine in English, as does Pereltsvaig (2001) for Russian.

- (48) Sean is Hamlet tonight.
 (49) Hamlet is Sean tonight.
 (50) Vysotskij byl Gamlet.
 Vysotsky-NOM was Hamlet-NOM
 'Vysotsky is (playing) Hamlet.'
 (51) Gamlet byl Vysotskij.
 Hamlet-NOM was Vysotsky-NOM
 'Vysotsky is (playing) Hamlet.'

To further emphasize the point: an equality interpretation is simply not available in ACCs. This means that (53) is not an appropriate translation of (52). The paraphrase in (54) must be used instead.

- (52) Cicero is Tully.
 (53) *'S e Cicero Tully.
 COP-PRES AUG Cicero Tully
 'Cicero is identical to Tully.'

¹⁰ This particular objection does not apply to the implementation of this approach offered by Carnie (1997). Carnie proposes that the predicate in an equative assigns two different θ -roles and accounts for the interpretive difference by appeal to this. However, the other arguments given below do apply to Carnie's analysis.

- (54) 'S e Cicero agus Tully an aon duine.
 COP-PRES AUG Cicero and Tully the same man
 'Cicero and Tully are the same person.'

Aside from the semantic asymmetry, an equality predicate-based approach to ACCs faces several other difficulties. Note that such an analysis makes these ACCs structurally identical to a true transitive verb construction, with DP₂ in object position. Given this, one would expect that DP₁ would behave just like the subject of a transitive verb, and DP₂ just like an object. This expectation is not borne out in two ways.

First, certain temporal and speaker-oriented adverbs are barred from appearing between the subject and object in a transitive sentence.

- (55) *Chunnaic Mairi an uair sin Sean.
 see-PAST Mairi then Sean
 'Mary saw Sean then.'
- (56) *Chunnaic Mairi gu fortanach Sean.
 see-PAST Mairi fortunately Sean
 'Mary fortunately saw Sean.'

However, these adverbs may appear between DP₁ and DP₂ in an ACC.

- (57) B' e Mairi an uair sin an tidsear.
 COP-PAST AUG Mairi then the teacher
 'Mary was the teacher then.'
- (58) 'S e Calum gu fortanach Hamlet a-nochd.
 COP-PRES AUG Calum fortunately Hamlet tonight
 'Calum is fortunately (playing) Hamlet tonight.'

Second, either the subject or the object of a transitive verb may be questioned or relativized upon.

- (59) Cò_i a chunnaic thu t_i?
 who see-PAST you
 'Who did you see?'
- (60) Cò_i a chunnaic t_i Calum?
 who see-PAST Calum
 'Who saw Calum?'

However, speakers report that there are asymmetries in extraction from ACCs: DP₁ can be extracted, but DP₂ cannot.¹¹

¹¹ Stenson (1981) reports that such asymmetries are also marked in Irish, although she does not give the same judgment that we report here. All we wish to emphasize is that there is a contrast between the behavior of the ACC and that of simple transitive clauses. The marked nature of these constructions appears to depend on their informational status, which in section 4.4 we tie down to their syntax.

- (61) Cò an tidsear/Hamlet?
 who the teacher/Hamlet
 Answer: 'S e Calum (an tidsear)/(Hamlet).
- (62) ??Cò Calum?
 who Calum
 Seeking the answer: 'S e Calum an tidsear.

In addition, interpreting the augment as agreement raises problems of its own: in Scottish Gaelic, agreement is always in complementary distribution with overt DP arguments (see Hale and McCloskey 1984 for Irish and Adger 1996 for Gaelic); if the augment were an agreement marker, it would be the only agreement of its kind in the language.

The ACC then does look like a *prima facie* challenge for the strong claims made about the syntax and semantics of predicational structures in section 1. It cannot be reduced to a transitive construction, and we have shown already that the Pred head in predicative constructions does not accept a DP complement.

We mention two more facts about ACCs that we believe any analysis of these structures should be able to account for. First, no analysis assimilating ACCs to transitive clauses with agreement accounts for the generalization that in these structures, the first DP after the augment is in presentational focus and receives the main sentence stress. An extremely natural way of answering a *wh*-question like (61) is by using the appropriate ACC, with the new information occurring immediately after the augment. It is impossible to answer this question with the DPs the other way around.

- (63) Cò an tidsear?
 who the teacher
 Answer: 'S e Calum an tidsear.
 Answer: *'S e an tidsear Calum.

The focus properties of the ACC are especially striking considering that in all other cases, nuclear stress always falls on the *rightmost* stressable element of the final phrase in the clause, unless some dislocation operation has taken place.

- (64) Chunnaic Màiri SEAN.
 see-PAST Mairi Sean
 'Mary saw SEAN.'

The second fact to be accounted for is that ACCs involve the same morphological material as ICCs. An analysis that treats the ACC as involving an equality predicate misses this generalization.

In the next section, we will argue that despite appearances, we do not need to allow a different structure for the kind of predication that involves two DPs. We will analyze ACCs as a subtype of ICCs, involving the copula. We will argue that the augment is the predicate in these constructions and that it inverts with the subject in the same way other predicates in copular clauses do. The difference between ACCs and ICCs is not really the augment; rather, it is the presence of an extra DP that is semantically linked to the augment, in much the same way that DPs are linked

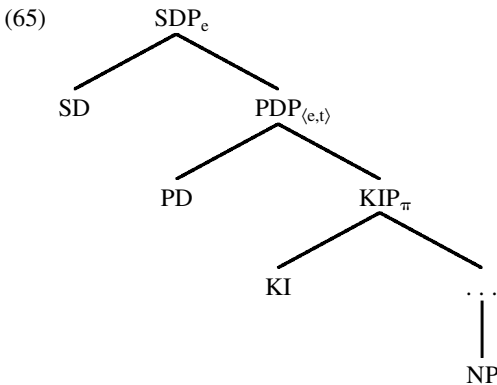
to argumental pronouns in pronominal argument languages (see Jelinek 1984) or in dislocation constructions.

4 Analysis of Augmented Copular Constructions

At this stage, it is clear that definite DPs give rise to serious deviations from the normal predicational structures found in Scottish Gaelic. We will argue that the special status of these DPs derives from their semantics, and moreover that the semantics of nominal projections is correlated with their syntactic status within an articulated DP projection (Longobardi 1994, Zamparelli 2000). First, we lay out our assumptions concerning the number and type of projections found within the DP, assumptions based on Zamparelli 2000. Next, we analyze the different types of nominal projection found in Scottish Gaelic and demonstrate the way in which pronouns, proper names, and common nouns pattern together to the exclusion of definite DPs. We use these results, together with the semantics of the copula given in section 3.1, to motivate the existence of a particular kind of predicate in copular constructions that is formally a pronoun.¹² Finally, we show how the analysis of ACCs as involving a pronominal predicate related to a right-adjoined nominal phrase accounts for all the syntactic, semantic, and discourse-related properties of the construction and allows us to maintain the idea that there is only one underlying predicational structure in the language.

4.1 The Semantics of DPs

We follow Zamparelli (2000) in decomposing the DP into different layers of functional projection. On the basis of a wide range of data from English and Italian, Zamparelli argues that (a) three distinct semantic types can be distinguished within nominal projections, and (b) these semantic types correlate with distributional and morphological facts to motivate a straightforward one-to-one mapping between syntactic projection and semantics. These levels of projection and their semantic correspondences are shown in (65).



¹² Note that by *pronominal predicate* here, we refer not to proforms for APs or VPs, but to items that are formally pronominals but occur in predicate positions.

According to Zamparelli, the only truly referential part of the nominal projection is the element heading the *Strong Determiner Phrase* (SDP) position. At this level, the DP is of semantic type e .¹³ The PD projection is the site of numerals and of certain types of adjectives; it is a *Predicative Determiner Phrase* of type $\langle e, t \rangle$. The KIP, the *Kind Determiner Phrase*, is the phrase that denotes an atomic property, or a kind (related to the nominalized properties of Chierchia 1984). We have already appealed to such a semantic type in our discussion of the semantics of the defective copula in Scottish Gaelic. There, we proposed that the defective copula *is/bu* takes an atomic property of type π as its argument and predicates this property of its subject.

Thus, Zamparelli argues for the following correspondences between projections in nominal phrases and their syntactic/semantic distribution:

- SDPs are referential, and only they can appear in argument positions.

The dog is barking.

- PDPs are predicative and can appear in certain contexts that host, for example, APs.

Fido is **a dog**.

- KIPs represent pure properties and can appear, for example, as the complement of the *kind of* construction in English.

This is a friendly kind of **dog**.

We adopt this basic proposal: that there are layers of projection within the nominal phrase, and that these layers correspond to distinct semantic types in a one-to-one fashion. This framework clearly fits in well with the general perspective on the syntax-semantics interface that we are defending. We will show that for Scottish Gaelic, at least two of these levels can be independently motivated: the referential SDP level, and the property-denoting or KIP level.¹⁴

The semantics associated with SDP and PDP are familiar enough. KIP denotes an atomic property, as follows:¹⁵

(66) $[[\text{KIP}]] = [\iota\pi: \text{where } \pi \text{ is the relevant distinguishing property associated with dog}]$

¹³ Zamparelli assumes, in addition, that all quantified phrases raise at LF, leaving behind a variable of type e . We will not be concerned with quantified NPs here.

¹⁴ We will not make use of Zamparelli's PDP projection in what follows. In our analysis, nominal phrases have only two distinct semantic types: property-denoting or individual-denoting. The PDP layer, if it exists in Scottish Gaelic, appears to be syntactically and semantically inactive; we have been unable to identify any empirical effects and do not wish to implicate PDP in the analysis of numerals and adjectives in this language at least. However, the analysis we will develop is, with minimal elaboration, broadly compatible with the existence of such a projection should it be necessary. If it truly turns out to be the case that PDP is always inactive in Scottish Gaelic, then this raises interesting questions about the limits of syntactic and semantic variation that natural language allows. In our system, the projection that is interpreted as being of type $\langle e, t \rangle$ is PredP, and it can select for any projection that is property denoting, regardless of its syntactic category. It is not, then, part of the extended projection of DP that Zamparelli argues for.

¹⁵ We assume that the relationship between the KI syntactic head and the nominal root is analogous to the structures proposed by Marantz (1997) and Borer (2002), who argue that lexical roots are mere encyclopedic concepts devoid of syntactic properties. Here, the KI head that constructs the syntactic and semantic properties of KIP is equivalent to their notion of a category-forming head.

Other approaches are compatible with what we will say below, as long as KIP denotes some kind of atomic type associated with spatiotemporally undifferentiated properties (see Carlson 1977, Chierchia 1984 for different approaches).

Within Zamparelli's system, there are several ways the referential level of projection (SDP) can be instantiated in natural languages. First, languages may come equipped with lexical determiners that are of category SD. It can also be argued that some pronouns, for example, clitic pronouns in Italian, are base-generated in SD (see Cardinaletti 1994 for a proposal along these lines). Second, some Ns can bear a feature that allows them to raise from the lowest position to fill the SD slot of the extended projection. This is plausibly the case with proper names and some pronouns (see Longobardi 1994). Third, an expletive determiner can be inserted in the SD position, if one exists in the lexical inventory of the language.¹⁶ In the case of common nouns, a null expletive head can be generated to create SDPs when found in argument position. In general within this framework, null expletive SD heads need to be bound by anaphoric reference or default existential closure to be semantically well formed (see Zamparelli 2000:sec. 4.4).

Within this overall framework, we will argue that Scottish Gaelic nominals come in two varieties: SDP and KIP. Crucially, we will show that pronominal elements may be bare KIPs in positions where they are not arguments. This will open up the way to an analysis of ACCs.

4.2 Nominal Projections in Scottish Gaelic

In comparing Scottish Gaelic nominal phrases with their English counterparts, the most obvious difference is that Scottish Gaelic possesses an overt definite determiner (67), but no indefinite one (68).

(67) an tidsear 'the teacher'

(68) tidsear 'a teacher'

The form in (67) is obligatorily definite, and as we have shown, it may never appear as the complement of Pred in an SAC (unlike nominal phrases headed by *the* in English in analogous contexts). Such DPs are also ill formed as the complement of the copular Pred head *is* in ICCs (70).

(69) *Tha Calum an tidsear.
be-PRES Calum the teacher

(70) *Is an tidsear Calum.
COP-PRES the teacher Calum

From this evidence, we infer that Scottish Gaelic definite determiners are base-generated in SD, and that DPs headed by such determiners are obligatorily SDPs and can only appear in

¹⁶ Zamparelli argues that some dialects of Italian possess such null expletive determiners for proper names, as opposed to others that raise proper names to SD.

nonpredicative positions. In particular, they can never denote properties and therefore never appear as the complement to Pred.

Bare determinerless nominals in SACs can have the meaning of either a nonspecific indefinite (71) or a specific indefinite (72).

(71) Tha mi a'logr tidsear.
 be-PRES I seeking a teacher
 'I am looking for a teacher.'

(72) Bha tidsear ann an seo a-raoir.
 be-PAST a teacher in here last night
 'There was a teacher in here last night.'

On the assumption that the SD layer is required to provide an individual variable to be bound by existential closure in SACs, this indicates that determinerless nouns in Scottish Gaelic can also project to full SDP level when in an argument position. In general, then, nominals may project the SDP layer in argument positions. Nominals with overt determiners are obligatorily SDs by virtue of the category of the determiner, while bare nominals project to SD by virtue of the fact they are in argument positions.

We implement this observation by adopting Zamparelli's idea that certain DPs may contain expletive determiners in SD. Bare NPs in argument position contain an SD layer with an expletive determiner. The projection of SD in argument positions can be forced by assuming that SD is the locus of Case features in the language. Since argument positions are Case-checking positions, DPs in such positions have to project to SD. Recall that the ability of the bare noun to get an existential interpretation (whether specific or not) depends on the existence of an eventuality variable in the representation. The binding of the individual variable introduced by the null expletive SD head in these cases is achieved via existential closure triggered by the existence of an eventuality variable. Recall also that in constructions lacking an eventuality variable (specifically, the ICC), bare nouns are impossible as existentially interpreted subjects of predication, owing to the lack of an appropriate binder that semantically identifies the variable supplied by the SD head.

In addition to its use as an argument, the bare noun can appear as the predicate in the SAC (73), and in these circumstances the particle *ann* inflected with ϕ -features appears. We showed in section 2.2 that whereas adjectives and prepositions can provide an event variable for the null Pred head to bind, an expletive prepositional head is required with nominals, since nominals lack an eventuality variable of their own. This expletive prepositional head appears as *na* in (73).

(73) Tha Calum 'na thidsear.
 be-PRES Calum in-3MS teacher
 'Calum is a teacher.'

We assume, then, that bare nouns are KIPs where the function of the KI head is to turn the lexical concept expressed by the root into a property. In (73), the expletive P is essentially an

aspectual head combining with a bare KIP and adding an eventuality variable to the representation. Since it is aspectual, this P does not check Case, and so no expletive SD is generated.

Bare KIPs may also appear as the complement of the defective copular Pred head in the ICC (74), where they are again Caseless. We argued in section 3.1 that the Pred head in an ICC does not contain an event variable but rather predicates the atomic property directly of its subject, leading to an interpretation analogous to Kratzer's (1995) individual-level predication.

- (74) Is tidsear Calum.
 COP-PRES teacher Calum
 'Calum is a teacher (by vocation).'

We will assume that APs and PPs also combine with the KI head in ICC constructions and that this combination is lexically restricted, accounting for the differential productivity of these categories. The KI head nominalizes the eventuality-bearing predicate expressed by the AP or PP, thereby binding off the eventuality variable. As mentioned in section 3.1, there is independent evidence for the idea that APs and PPs are nominalized in ICCs.

In summary, then, nominal projections in Scottish Gaelic are either SDPs, in which case they may appear in argumental positions, or they are KIPs, in which case they occur as the complement of a Pred head.

The next main categories of nominal we need to examine are proper names and pronouns. Once again there is crosslinguistic variation in how these elements are syntactically represented. There are at least three ways in which pronouns and/or proper names can give rise to SDPs in Zamparelli's sense: (a) they could be base-generated in SD (as in the case of Romance clitic pronouns), (b) they could possess a null expletive determiner (as in some varieties of Italian), or (c) they could raise from the base position to the SD functional head. If (a) were the case, we would expect pronouns and proper names to pattern with DPs headed by overt determiners in Scottish Gaelic in not appearing as the complement of a Pred head. However, if either (b) or (c) is the case in Scottish Gaelic, then we would expect that they would pattern with bare nouns in allowing the less articulated property-denoting projection, side by side with the full referential projection of SDP. SDP would be obligatorily projected in positions where the pronouns check Case, while KIP projections would be licensed elsewhere.

We will show that pronouns and proper names do not pattern with the full determiner nominals of the type shown in (67). In what follows, we will concentrate on the analysis of pronouns, since they will be crucial to our analysis of the augment in ACCs, but we will make passing reference to the facts concerning proper names as well.

4.3 *Pronominal Predicates*

There is interesting evidence that pronouns in Scottish Gaelic are not generated directly in SD. This evidence comes from a peculiar agreement marking on prepositions (see Adger 2000 for fuller discussion of the contexts for prepositional inflection).

Consider the following paradigm. In Scottish Gaelic, prepositions change form depending on whether the DP following them contains an overt determiner. Thus, in (75) the preposition *ri* ‘with’ occurs in its plain form, while in (76) it takes what we will call its *D-agreeing* form *ris* when it occurs with a determiner-headed nominal.

- (75) *ri* *tidsear*
 with-INDEF teacher
 ‘with a teacher’
- (76) *ris* *an tidsear*
 with-DEF the teacher
 ‘with the teacher’
- (77) *ris* *na tidsearan*
 with-DEF the-PL teachers
 ‘with the teachers’
- (78) **ri* *an tidsear*
 with-DEF the teacher
 ‘with the teacher’

The same agreement appears on prepositions with the determiner *gach* ‘each/every’.

- (79) *ris* *gach tidsear*
 with-DEF each teacher
 ‘with each teacher’
- (80) **ri* *gach tidsear*
 with-DEF each teacher
 ‘with each teacher’

D-agreement does not occur with bare nouns (75) or with nouns that have adjectival quantifiers or numerals.

- (81) *ri*/**ris* *mòran tidsearan*
 with-DEF many teachers
 ‘with many teachers’
- (82) *ri*/**ris* *trì tidsearan*
 with-DEF three teachers
 ‘with three teachers’

We will not develop an analysis of this construction here (see Adger 2000), but will simply appeal to the generalization that D-agreement appears on the preposition when there is an overt element in SD. Under the analysis developed in section 4.2, bare NPs contain a null expletive determiner in SD and so do not trigger D-agreement.

With pronouns, the parallel cannot be made in its most straightforward form, since pronominal objects of prepositions in PPs always appear as *pro*, with agreement appearing on the preposition.

(83) rium
with-1SG 'pro'
'with me'

(84) rithe
with-3FSG 'pro'
'with her'

The presence of ϕ -features on the preposition means that it is impossible to determine whether the following pro is triggering D-agreement. However, there is another context where D-agreement shows up and where the nominal is not the actual complement of the preposition. The context in question concerns sentences that contain what looks like the equivalent of exceptionally Case-marked subjects. Consider (85), where the preposition *ri* selects a whole clausal complement and appears in its *ris* form with the determiner-headed nominal in subject position of the nonfinite clause. See Adger 2000 for motivation for this structure.

(85) Dh'fheuch mi ris [an leabhar a leughadh].
try-PAST I with-DEF [the book to read]
'I tried to read the book.'

Crucially, when the subject of the nonfinite clause is a bare nominal, the preposition *ri* reverts to its bare form.

(86) Dh'fheuch mi ri [leabhar a leughadh].
try-PAST I with-INDEF [book to read]
'I tried to read a book.'

The interesting case here is what happens when the subject of the nonfinite clause is a pronoun: it turns out that the preposition retains its bare form.¹⁷

(87) Dh'fheuch mi ri [esan a bhualadh].
try-PAST I with-INDEF [he-EMPH to hit]
'I tried to hit HIM.'

All of these nominals are SDPs since they appear in argument positions. However, since pronouns in Scottish Gaelic do not trigger a change in prepositional form, they are not base-generated in SD nor do they obligatorily raise there, unlike clitic pronouns in Romance. This eliminates options (a) and (c) set out at the end of section 4.2 and suggests an analysis where pronouns occurring in argument positions are SDPs by virtue of a null expletive determiner.¹⁸ This predicts that in contexts where Case is not checked, it should be possible to find pronouns in KIP, with a property denotation. The relevant context is of course the complement position of

¹⁷ We use the emphatic form of the pronoun here, because the nonemphatic pronoun is obligatorily realized as pro in this position.

¹⁸ The data from proper names are exactly the same as for pronouns here: no D-agreement is triggered either in the simple PP cases or in the nonfinite clause cases.

Pred. This prediction is confirmed: pronouns are well formed in the complement position of the copular Pred head, as (88) and (89) attest.¹⁹

(88) Is mise Catriona.
 COP-PRES me Catriona
 ‘I am Catriona.’

(89) Is iadsan na h-oileanaich.
 COP-PRES they the students
 ‘They are the students.’

On the other hand, pronouns cannot appear as the complement of the null Pred head found in *bith* clauses.

(90) *Tha Calum mise.
 be-PRES Calum me
 ‘??Calum is me.’

However, this is straightforwardly accounted for by the fact that pronouns are implausible eventuality predicates; interpretations constructed by combining a pronoun with an eventuality variable are pragmatically ill formed. Interestingly, it is marginally possible to force proper names to appear in an SAC in special contexts, where a spatiotemporally bound interpretation is forced, such as the following:

(91) Tha e na Einstein an diugh.
 COP-PRES he in-his Einstein today
 ‘He’s being an Einstein today.’

This contrasts sharply with the ungrammatical cases with SDPs presented in section 2.2, where it is not even clear to native speakers how to do the appropriate morphology.

To summarize, the morphology and distribution of pronouns in Scottish Gaelic are consistent with their allowing both KIP and SDP syntax, showing that they are not generated in SD. Assuming that pronominals are really functional categories, it follows that they are simply KIPs in Scottish Gaelic. The particular interpretation we associated with KIPs in section 4.1 can be straightforwardly carried over to pronouns, with the caveat that there is no root category for the KIP to attach to. We suggest the following interpretation for pronouns, where the interpretation of *x* is filled in by the context and constrained by the grammatical features of the pronoun.

(92) [[KIP]] = [ιπ: where π is the relevant distinguishing property associated with *x*]

¹⁹ Proper names, on the other hand, are never good in this position in Scottish Gaelic. This is not surprising, given the highly restricted set of lexical items that can be selected by the copula in the modern language.

Given the interpretation of the defective copula that we motivated in section 3.1, an example like (89) has a paraphrase like (93).

(93) ‘The relevant distinguishing property associated with a plurality (of some contextually given individuals)’ *holds of* ‘the students’.

In this particular case, the relevant distinguishing property might be identified via deixis or anaphora, depending on the context of the utterance.

In the next section, we exploit this set of ideas about simple copular clauses to provide a natural (but to our knowledge novel) analysis of the ACC.

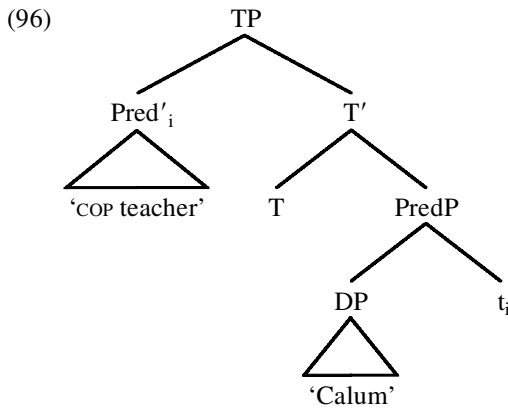
4.4 The Syntax and Semantics of Augmented Copular Constructions

Recall the analysis we developed for ICCs in section 3.1. The idea was that the defective copula heads PredP and combines with a property-denoting element. We ascribed the following basic semantics to the copula:

(94) $[[is]] = \lambda\pi \lambda x[\text{holds } \pi, x]$

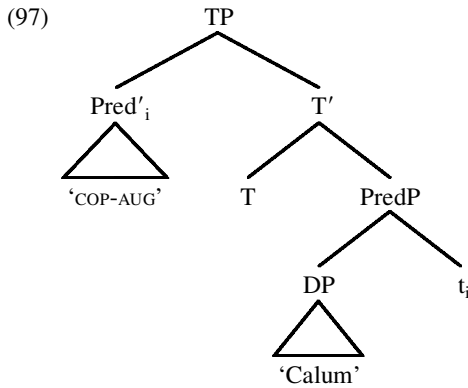
To satisfy the EPP property of T, the copula raises and pied-pipes its complement, ending up in Spec,TP. This means that an example like (95) has a structure like (96).

(95) Is tidsear Calum.
COP-PRES teacher Calum
 ‘Calum is a teacher (by nature or vocation).’



The bare nominal here is a KIP, is the complement of the copula, and raises with it to Spec,TP.

Now recall that we have shown that pronouns may be KIPs with a KIP interpretation. Our expectation is that pronominals may also occur as complements to the defective copula, and we showed cases of this in section 4.3. If we take an unmarked, third person masculine pronoun, we predict the well-formed structure in (97) (Moro (1997) gives arguments for a similar surface structure in comparable English constructions).



Under the assumptions we have defended so far, this derivation predicts the well-formedness of (98), with the interpretation in (99).

- (98) 'S e Calum.
 COP-PRES AUG Calum
 'It's Calum.'

- (99) 'The relevant distinguishing property associated with some contextually salient individual' *holds of* 'Calum'.

In fact, such sentences are perfectly well formed, and are used as answers to *wh*-questions or as exclamations to introduce someone after some event has taken place (such as someone knocking at the door). Clearly the interpretation given in (98) is exactly correct for these situations. In *wh*-questions, the relevant distinguishing property is that given by the stated content of the question, while in the exclamation case it is supplied directly by the context.

This result immediately offers us a way of understanding ACCs: the augment is no more than a pronominal generated in the complement of Pred, with exactly the interpretation of a KIP pronoun. The DP that appears immediately after the augment is simply the subject of the construction, while the second DP is right-adjoined. The right-adjoined DP's function is to explicitly identify the "contextually given individual" in the semantics of the pronominal augment with overt linguistic material.

The way this identification takes place is via a purely semantic operation, similar to that proposed in the E-type pronoun analysis of anaphora (Evans 1980). The semantic value of a pronoun is replaced by a definite description. In the case at hand, the adjoined SDP provides a definite description for the interpretation of the variable in the semantic representation of the pronominal predicate; it does so without reference to any syntactic agreement or coindexing information. See (100) in Spanish (and its English translation) for a situation where the subject pronoun and the coreferential left-adjoined phrase are mismatched in person features.²⁰

²⁰ In Scottish Gaelic as well, the agreement facts go in this direction. Although agreement has been lost in the colloquial language in these constructions, more conservative dialects still display residual number agreement between

- (100) Las mujeres estamos contentas.
 the women ‘pro’-1FPL be-1PL happy
 ‘We, the women are happy.’

The relationship between the “E-type” pronominal predicate and the right-adjoined DP is a case where semantic association mechanisms and syntactic category identity are decoupled. Although the mapping between the syntax and the semantics is tightly constrained, there are purely autonomous semantic operations that can establish effects of this kind.

Take an example like (101).

- (101) ‘S e Calum Hamlet.
 COP-PRES he Calum Hamlet
 ‘Calum is Hamlet.’

The interpretation predicted is given in (102).

- (102) ‘The relevant distinguishing property associated with x’ *holds of* ‘Calum’.
 where x is described/replaced by the definite description ‘Hamlet’

Clearly this interpretation, in conjunction with world knowledge about what names are parts in plays, gives the right meaning for the example. If the two DPs are switched, the sentence is perfectly grammatical but clashes with our world knowledge, and appropriate contextualization renders it perfectly acceptable (if, for example, Calum is a part in a play and Hamlet is an actor). In general, the meaning of the second DP forms part of a property description, which accounts for the role interpretation.

This approach also correctly explains the fact that ACCs can never have the meaning of pure identity statements, requiring the paraphrase discussed in section 3.2. There is no identity statement in the semantic representation that is built up on the basis of the syntactic atoms and the way they have been combined. Instead, there is always a predicational asymmetry stemming from the fact that an ICC ascribes a property to an individual.

In addition to correctly predicting the interpretational asymmetries observed in ACCs, the idea that the second DP is adjoined rather than being a true argument explains the fact that adverbs

the pronoun and the DP. It is possible to construct an ACC where DP₁ and DP₂ differ grammatically in number. In this case, the pronominal predicate “agrees” with DP₁, its “true” subject in our sense, and not with the adjunct, DP₂.

- (i) ‘S e dithis oileanach na gaisgeach.
 COP-PRES AUG TWO student-SG the heroes-PL
 ‘The pair of students are the heroes.’
- (ii) ‘S iad na gaisgeach dithis oileanach.
 COP-PRES AUG-3PL the heroes-PL two student-SG
 ‘The pair of students are the heroes.’

Jim McCloskey (personal communication) points out to us that in Irish, where the agreement facts are more robust, the same pattern can be seen quite clearly. Our approach would treat the agreement seen here as obtaining between predicate and subject, but not between predicate and adjunct. We leave the detailed mechanisms for further research.

may occur between the two DPs of an ACC, in contrast to their impossibility between the subject and object of a transitive sentence. We repeat the relevant data here:

- (103) *Chunnaic Mairi an uair sin Sean.
 see-PAST Mairi then Sean
 'Mary saw Sean then.'
- (104) B' e Mairi an uair sin an tidsear.
 COP-PAST AUG Mairi then the teacher
 'Mary was the teacher then.'

The adjoined nature of this second DP also explains why it does not take the primary sentence stress, in apparent violation of normal clausal stress patterns in the language. The semantic function of the DP is to provide information usually given by the context, since this is the interpretation of the augment. As such, this DP signifies backgrounded information and is destressed. The same fact accounts, of course, for the focus properties of this construction. Since there are essentially only two major constituents in the proposition and one is destressed, the other is obligatorily in focus. This is what also accounts for the strict constraints on the two DPs in an ACC that answers a *wh*-question.

- (105) Cò an tidsear?
 who the teacher
 Answer: 'S e Calum an tidsear.
 Answer: '*S e an tidsear Calum.

Since the DP immediately after the augment (the subject) is in focus, only it can felicitously serve as the element that introduces the new information required by the fact that the utterance is being used to answer a *wh*-question.

The analysis we present here also explains why only a definite DP can appear in the second position in an ACC.

- (106) 'S e Daibhidh *tinn/*tidsear/an tidsear.
 COP-PRES AUG David sick/teacher/the teacher
 'It's David who is *sick/*a teacher/the teacher.'
- (107) 'The relevant distinguishing property associated with x' *holds of* 'David'.
 where x is described/replaced by the definite description 'the teacher'

The right-adjoined element must be a definite description and therefore, given our framework, an SDP. Recall that bare NPs are KIPs and only project to SDP when they are arguments (a fact that is perhaps related to Case). This means that an SD determiner must be present in the adjoined DP; otherwise, the adjoined DP will not have the required semantic properties.

Finally, the restrictions on the subject of an ACC also follow directly on our account. The defective copula states that a property holds of some individual, as an inherent fact. Thus, the subject of such a clause must be individual denoting. We saw that in the simple ICC construction,

the subject position must be a name or a determiner-containing definite because bare NPs are restricted to eventive predication. That restriction carries over straightforwardly to the first nominal of the ACC, since under our analysis this position is identical to the subject position of a simple ICC.

The approach we have developed here is remarkably successful in explaining a range of semantic and syntactic facts about the ACC that appear, at first, to be unrelated. Furthermore, it does so on the basis of plausible and independently motivated syntactic and semantic specifications for the constituent parts of the ACC, so that its apparently peculiar properties are all reduced to well-motivated properties of other constructions. Perhaps most importantly, the ACC no longer constitutes a challenge, in this language at least, to the idea that predication is always constituted via the same basic syntactic structure.

5 Conclusion

The hypothesis we have been exploring here is that apparently different types of predicational structure all reduce to one underlying case. In Scottish Gaelic, the differences arise because of the particular semantic specification of the predicational head (whether it is eventive or not) and its syntactic and phonological properties (how and where it satisfies the EPP). This particular language has no identity predicate and has determiners that are obligatory SD heads, forcing full SDP projections for a crucial subset of nominals.

The use of a pronominal predicate to link two DPs is one of the strategies that can be followed given these constraints. We do not consider it to be an accident that pronouns are implicated in copular constructions/identity statements crosslinguistically (Hebrew (Doron 1988), Arabic (Eid 1983), Polish (Rothstein 1986), Zapotec (Lee 1999)). We leave it to further research to determine whether the particular parametric options exploited in Scottish Gaelic are also available in these languages. Most importantly, the possibility of pronouns not projecting to full SDP status predicts the availability of pronominal predicates as a strategy for circumventing the constraints imposed by the syntax-semantics interface in constructing identity statements.

More broadly, the hypothesis we have been defending here is that predicational constructions all reduce to the same syntactic/semantic type: there is a Pred head that takes a property as its complement. The Pred head may be either eventive or noneventive, but its basic function is the same in either case. The Pred head must always select a property-denoting complement. It follows from the strongest version of this hypothesis that no language should have a Pred head that takes a complement of type SDP. This means that Pred can never encode an identity predicate.

This naturally raises a question for English, where various researchers have argued either that the verb *be* itself is ambiguously an identity predicate (Higginbotham 1987) or that one of the small clause types in English involves an identity-predicational head (Heycock and Kroch 1999). Cases that have been argued to be true equatives include these:

- (108) a. These are the best pictures of Mary.
 b. The best pictures of Mary are these.

However, it is interesting to note that the possibility of such equatives seems to depend directly

on the explicit presence of the verb *be* in English. Consider the contrast in the small clause complements in (109) and (110).

- (109) a. I consider [these the best pictures of Mary].
 b. *I consider [the best pictures of Mary these].
- (110) a. I consider [these to be the best pictures of Mary].
 b. I consider [the best pictures of Mary to be these].

On the basis of the small clause asymmetries, we suggest that a successful analysis of English equatives will hinge on the particular properties of the lexical verb *be* in English and how it combines with the (asymmetrical) Pred head. This is the kind of approach taken by Moro (1997), who also argues for an irreducibly asymmetrical analysis of copular clauses in English. A detailed analysis is, however, beyond the scope of this article.

In this article, we have pursued a research agenda that seeks to reduce all varieties of predication to a single syntactic structure. Variation in syntactic form is only apparent and derives from the semantic and combinatorial properties of functional heads. Taking the example of Scottish Gaelic, which seemed to display several strikingly different types of predicational structure, we showed that they all conform to one simple asymmetrical syntactic form, correlated with an asymmetrical semantic relationship. Thus, despite the initial appearance of a particularly knotty counterexample to the claim that there is really only one kind of predicational syntax, Scottish Gaelic ends up confirming the most restrictive hypothesis concerning the nature of predication in natural language.

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(Adger)

Linguistics

School of Modern Languages

Queen Mary, University of London

Mile End Road

London E1 4NS

United Kingdom

d.j.adger@qmul.ac.uk

(Ramchand)

Centre for Linguistics and Philology

University of Oxford

Walton Street

Oxford OX1 2HG

United Kingdom

gillian.ramchand@lingphil.ox.ac.uk