

## Towards a Typology of Copular Sentences.

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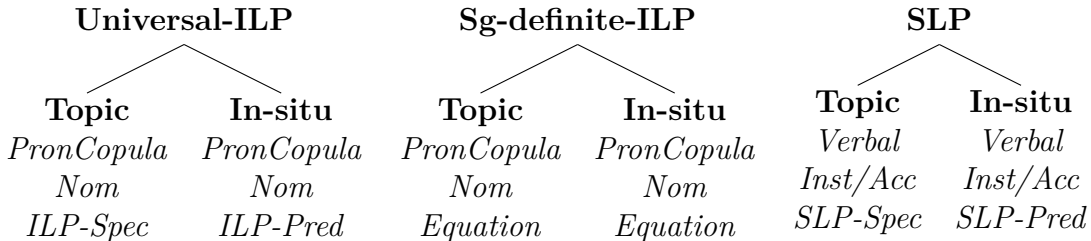
This paper contributes to the typology of copular constructions [CCs]. We discuss three areas in which these vary systematically: interpretation, Case, and type of copular element.

**Background:** In Polish, the contrast between Instrumental (Inst) and Nominative (Nom) Case on predicate NPs corresponds to that between Verbal and Pronominal CCs respectively (1a), (1b) (Citko 2008). This contrast has been argued to track the predication/equation distinction (cf. Rohstein 1995, Geist 2007). Relatedly, Sigurðsson (2006) shows that in Swedish, Equatives allow only Nom Case (2a), whereas *assumed identity* CCs allow both Nom and Accusative (Acc) Case (2b). We argue for a unified analysis of Polish and Swedish CCs.

**Proposal:** We argue that the basic semantic contrast between the two types of CCs, is not Predication versus Equation, but rather that between Stage (eventive) and Individual-level (non-eventive) Predication (SLP/ILP), (3). We further argue that the SLP/ILP contrast effects the thematic properties of PredP, which in turn—given Burzio’s Generalization (Burzio 1986), affects the ability of Pred<sup>o</sup> to assign Case: in eventive (SLP) CCs, NP1 is thematically an Agent, and Pred<sup>o</sup> thus assigns (Inst/Acc) Case to NP2. In non-eventive (ILP) CCs on the other hand, the subject in Spec,PredP is not an Agent, and Pred<sup>o</sup> can thus not assign Case. Since DPs require Case, as a *last resort*, NP2 in the latter CCs gets Case inside of a lower clause—by hypothesis, a silent Free Relative, where it receives Nom from T<sup>o</sup> (cf. Heycock & Kroch 1999, Pancheva 2009).

**Predictions:** We predict that Acc/Inst NP2 in SLPs should behave syntactically like a direct object, and Nom NP2 in ILPs like a Relative Clause subject. These predictions are borne out: in both languages, i. the former, but not the latter allow extraction of NP2 (4). ii. only the former allow reflexives as NP2 (5). Further, Polish has two possessive pronouns: ‘swoja’, for local antecedents, and ‘jej’, for elsewhere. For ILP (Nom) CCs, only the *non-local* form ‘jej’ is grammatical (6). Semantically, we expect that both NP2-types can be topicalized, giving rise to both ILP and SLP *specificational* CCs, contra Citko (2008) (8). We also expect to find an interpretive contrast between ‘universal’ and ‘singular definite’ Free Relatives (Jacobson 1995). This, we argue, gives rise to the difference between ‘true’ Equatives and ‘inherent property’ predicates.

**Conclusion:** We propose the following typology of copular sentences:



- (1a) Jan jest lekarzem/\*lekarz.  
Jan is doctor.INST/NOM  
'Jan is a doctor.'
- (1b) Jan to (jest) lekarz/\*lekarzem.  
Jan PRON is doctor.NOM/INST.  
'Jan is a doctor.'
- (2a) Han är inte han/\*honom.  
He is not he.Nom/him.Acc  
'He isn't him'
- (2b) I mitt nästa liv vill jag vara dig/du.  
I my next life want I be you.Acc/Nom.  
'I my next life I want to be you.'
- (3a) Jan (#to) jest widz.  
Jan PRON is spectator.NOM.  
'Jan is a spectator.' (Citko 2008)
- (3b) Jan to nasz najwierniejszy widz.  
Jan PRON our most.faithful spectator.NOM.  
'Jan is our most faithful spectator.' (Citko 2008)
- (3c) På semestern var jag dig.  
On vacation was I you.ACC.  
'On my holiday was I you.'
- (3d) I mitt förra liv var jag du.  
In my last life was I you.NOM  
'In my last life, I was you.'
- (4a) [Najlepszym kandydatem]<sub>i</sub> chciałabym, żeby był Jan t<sub>i</sub>.  
Best candidate.INST want.1SG that was Jan.NOM t.  
'I would like John to be the best candidate.' (Citko 2008)
- (4b) \*[Nauka o naturze]<sub>i</sub> myślę, że fizyka.NOM to t<sub>i</sub>.  
[Study about nature].NOM think.1SG that physics.NOM PRON t.  
'I think that physics is the study of nature.' (Citko 2008)
- (4c) [Dig/\*du]<sub>i</sub> vill jag inte vara t<sub>i</sub>.  
you.ACC/NOM want I not be.INF t  
'I don't want to be you.' (Sigurdsson 2013)
- (5a) Jag vill bara vara mig-själ.  
I want only be me-self.ACC.  
'I only want to be myself.'
- (5b) Tylko próbuję być sobą  
Only trying.1SG be myself.INST  
'I'm only trying to be myself.'
- (6a) Jan<sub>i</sub> jest swoim<sub>i/\*k</sub> lekarzem.  
Jan is his doctor.INST.  
'Jan<sub>i</sub> is his<sub>j/\*k</sub> doctor.'
- (6b) Ona<sub>i</sub> to (jest) jej<sub>i/\*k</sub> siostra.  
She PRON is her sister.NOM.  
'She<sub>i</sub> is her<sub>i</sub> sister.'
- (8a) Mężczyzna w rogu to był-a Anna!  
Man in corner.3SG.M.NOM to was.3SG-F Anna.3SG.F.NOM  
'The man in the corner was Anna!'
- (8b) Przyczyną wypadku byli Kamil i Michał.  
cause.3SG.F.INST accident.GEN was.3PL.PERS-M Kamil.NOM and Michał.NOM.  
'The cause of the accident was Kamil and Michał.'

**Selected References:** Adger, D. & G. Ramchand. 2003. Predication & Equation. *Linguistic Inquiry* 34(3), 325–359. Citko, B. 2008. Small clauses reconsidered: Not so small and not all alike. *Lingua* 118(3), 261–295. Sigurdsson, H. A. 2006. The Nom/Acc alternation in Germanic. In *Comparative studies in Germanic syntax*, ed. J. M. Hartmann and L. Molnárfi, pp. 13-50. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.