

# Small Clauses Reconsidered:

## Not That Small and Not All Alike

Barbara Citko

### 0. Introduction



- b. I consider [<sub>SC</sub> John smart]  
 c. John<sub>i</sub> is [<sub>SC</sub> t<sub>i</sub> smart]

- I.** Small clauses are bigger than traditionally thought (Bowers 1993, Contreras 1995, Chomsky 1995, Gueron and Hoekstra 1995, among many others).  
**II.** There are two kinds of small clauses (Carnie 1995, Heycock and Kroch 1999, Rothstein 2001, Rapoport 1987, among many others).  
**III.** The distinction between the two kinds does not (universally) correlate with a semantic distinction between *identity* and *predicational* interpretation.

### 1. Types of Copulas

- Verbal copulas (existence, location, position verbs):

- 2) a. John *is* a doctor.  
 b. John *is* smart.  
 c. John *is* at home.

- Pronominal copulas (personal or demonstrative pronouns):

- 3) a. Bouki *se* yon doktè/Aristide     *Haitian Creole* (DeGraff 1992)  
 Bouki PRON a doctor/Aristide.  
 'Bouki is a doctor/Aristide.'  
 b. Philip *de* wan takru suma     *Sranan Creole* (Hengeveld 1992)  
 Philip PRON a bad person.  
 'Philip is a bad person.'

- b. Jan *de* huom.     *Jamaican Creole* (Hengeveld 1992)  
 Jan PRON home  
 'Jan is home'

- 4) Chensan (shi) wo-de     *Mandarin Chinese* (Li and Thompson 1981)  
 shirt (COP) 1.sg  
 'The shirt is my one.'

- Other sources for copulas: focus/topic markers (Hausa (Green 1997), Turkish (Kornfilt 1997), adpositions (Franzgyier 1986)).

- 5) Audù mahàucī nē     *Hausa*  
 Audu butcher fm  
 'Audu is a butcher'

- Languages with verbal *and* pronominal copulas:

- 6) a. Il-mudarris (*huwwa*) il-latiif.     *Arabic* (Eid 1983)  
 the-teacher PRON the-nice  
 'The teacher is nice/ the nice one.'

- b. Il-mudarris *kaan* latiif.  
 the-teacher was nice  
 'The teacher was nice.'

- c. Il-mudarris *haykuun* latiif.  
 the-teacher will.be nice  
 'The teacher will be nice.'

- Hebrew (Doron 1983, Rapoport 1987, Greenberg 2002, Rothstein 2001, among others):

- 7) a. Dani (*hu*) more.     *predicational*  
 Danny PRON teacher  
 'Danny is the teacher.'

- b. Hana *haita* yafa.  
 Hana was pretty  
 'Hanna was pretty.'

- c. Hana *tihye* yafa.  
 Hana will.be pretty  
 'Hanna will be pretty.'

- d. Dani \*(*hu*) mar yosef.     *equative*  
 Dani PRON mr yosef  
 'Dani is Mr Yosef.'

Polish (R. Rothstein 1986):

8) Jan *jest* moim najlepszym przyjacielem. verbal copula  
 Jan is my best friend  
 ‘Jan is my best friend.’

9) Jan *to* mój najlepszy przyjaciel. pronominal copula  
 Jan PRON my best friend.  
 ‘Jan is my best friend.’

10) \* Jan mój najlepszy przyjaciel.  
 Jan my best friend.  
 ‘Jan is my best friend.’

• Both copulas can co-occur in *dual copula sentences*:

11) a. Jan *to jest* mój najlepszy przyjaciel.  
 Jan PRON is my best friend  
 ‘Jan is my best friend.’

b. Jan *to będzie* mój najlepszy przyjaciel.  
 Jan PRON will-be my best friend  
 ‘Jan will be my best friend.’

c. Jan *to był* mój najlepszy przyjaciel.  
 Jan PRON was my best friend  
 ‘Jan was my best friend.’

12) a. Jan *to* mój najlepszy przyjaciel.  
 Jan PRON my best friend-MASC.SG  
 ‘Jan is my best friend.’

b. Maria *to* moja najlepsza przyjaciółka.  
 Maria PRON my best friend-FEM.SG  
 ‘Maria is my best friend.’

c. Jan i Tomek *to* moi najlepsi przyjaciele.  
 Jan and Tom PRON my best friend-MASC.PL  
 ‘Jan and Tom are my best friends.’

13) Każdy student *to (jest)* potencjalny profesor.  
 every student PRON is potential professor  
 ‘Every student is a potential professor.’

• Overt copula/null copula (Hebrew, Arabic, Russian, AAVE (Labov 1995, 2000, Bender 2000))

• Two types of (verbal) copulas (Spanish *ser/estar* (Schmitt 1992, Zagona 1988), Irish (Carnie 1995), Welsh (Zaring 1996), Scottish Gaelic (Adger and Ramchand 2003))

## 2. Copula Puzzles: Lexical and Structural Puzzles

### Lexical Puzzle:

• Does the lexicon contain two lexical items: ‘*be* of identity’ and ‘*be* of predication, or do copular sentences expressing identity and predication involve the same *be*?’

#### Two *Be* Approaches

(Higgins 1973, Rapoport 1987, Rothstein 1987, Zaring 1996, Russell 1919)

- *be* of predication & *be* of identity
- distinct argument structure

#### One *BE* Approaches

(Heggie 1988, Jackendoff 1983, Moro 1997, Partee 1986, Williams 1983)

- type shifting
- inversion around the copula

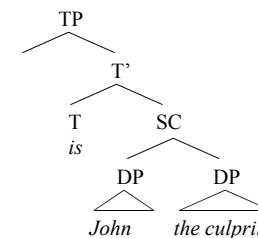
### Structural Puzzle(s):

- How many types of copular structures are there?
- Is there a structural distinction between equative and predicational copular sentences?
- *Is there a structural distinction between verbal and pronominal copular sentences?*
- *Where do the dual copula sentences fit?*

## 3. Unified Approaches to Copular Sentences

• All copular sentences derive from the same underlying structure (Heggie 1988, Moro 1997, Mikkelsen 2004, DenDikken (to appear)).

14) (Moro 1997)



15) a. John is the culprit. *canonical copular sentences*  
 b. The culprit is John. *inverse copular sentences*

• Crosslinguistic considerations:

Differences between true equatives and clearly inverted predications in Slavic (Partee 1998).

- 16) a. Jan jest moim najlepszym przyjacielem.  
 Jan-NOM is my best friend-INSTR  
 'Jan is my best friend.'
- b. Moim najlepszym przyjacielem jest Jan.  
 my best friend-INSTR is Jan-NOM  
 'Jan is my best friend.'
- c. Dr Jekyll to Mr Hyde.  
 dr Jekyll-NOM PRON Mr Hyde-NOM  
 'Dr Jekyll is Mr Hyde.'

Word order in Celtic languages (Carnie 1995, Adger and Ramchand 2003):

- 17) a. C predicate (AGR) subject *predicatives*  
 b. C AGR DP<sub>1</sub> DP<sub>2</sub> *equatives*
- 18) a. Is ríomhaire é leifteanantcheannasaí Data *Irish*  
 COP computer AGR Lieutenant-Commander Data  
 'Lieutenant Commander Data is a computer.'
- b. Is é Ceannasaí Radhcár an tamadán  
 COP AGR Commander Riker the fool  
 'Commander Riker is the fool.'
- 19) a. Is tidsear Calum. *Scottish Gaelic*  
 COP teacher Calum  
 'Calum is a teacher.'
- b. 'S e Calum an tidsear.  
 COP AGR Calum the teacher  
 'Calum is the teacher.'

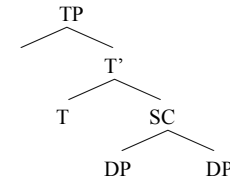
• A single structure cannot account for all the properties of all copular sentences.

#### 4. Multi-Structure Approaches

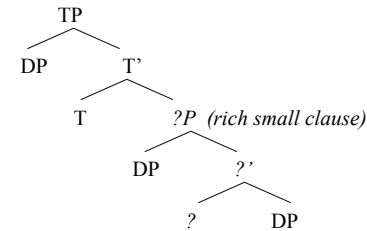
##### 4.1 Overview

- There are two types of small clauses.
- The two types can correlate with the use of a different copula element.
- The two types correlate with a difference in interpretation.

- 20) a. bare small clause



- b. rich small clause



- Which is which?

#### Multi-Structure Approach A

(Heycock and Kroch 1999, Rothstein 2001, Carnie 1995, Rapoport 1987)

- verbal copula sentences ~ bare small clause
- pronominal copula sentences ~ rich small clause

#### Multi-Structure Approach B

(Matushansky 2000, Pereltsvaig 2001)

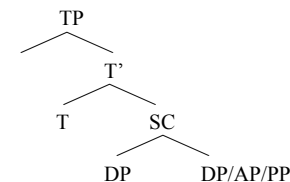
- pronominal copula sentences ~ bare small clause
- verbal copula sentences ~ rich small clause

#### Multi-Structure Approach C

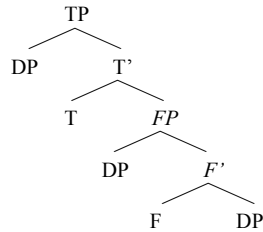
- verbal copula sentences ~ rich small clause
- pronominal copula sentences ~ another rich small clause

##### 4.2 Multi-Structure Approach A

- 21) a. *verbal copula sentences*



b. *pronominal copula sentences*



- Coordination of unlike categories

22) Pat is wealthy and a Republican. (Sag et al 1985)

- Particles inside small clauses:

23) Mae Rhys yn athro. *Welsh*  
 is Rhys part teacher  
 'Rhys is a teacher.'

24) a. I regard John *as* the best candidate.  
 b. I regard John *as* intelligent.  
 c. \* I spoke to intelligent

- Case on Predicate DPs (and APs)

- no case?

25) Arguments, bearers of thematic roles, must be made visible for the Theta Criterion through the assignment of a Case feature; *predicates, on the other hand, do not impose this requirement, hence do not need Case*. Economy considerations then dictate that predicates are not allowed to bear Case (den Dikken & Næss 1993).

26) a. John-wa sugureta suugakusha da *Japanese*  
 John-TOP fine mathematician COP  
 'John is a fine mathematician.'

b. John-eun hulryunghan suhakca-ta. *Korean*  
 John-NOM fine mathematician-COP  
 'John is a fine mathematician.'

- default case?

The default case forms of a language are those that are used to spell out nominal expressions that are not assigned case by any syntactic mechanisms (Schutze 2001).

27) a. *Me*, I like beans.  
 b. What? *Him* wear a tuxedo?! Never.

c. Who wants to try this game? *Me*/\**I*

Default case varies from language to language and does not always correlate with case on predicative noun phrases.

28) a. Strakarnir, vi\* þa hafD aldrei veriDtalaD.  
 the-boys-NOM with them-ACC had never been spoken  
 'The boys, they had never been spoken with.' (Sigur\*sson 1992)

b. Hun er kennari  
 he is teacher-NOM  
 'He is a teacher.'

c. Eg taldi hana vera kennara  
 I believed her-ACC to-be teacher-ACC  
 'I believe her to be a teacher.' (Maling and Sprouse 1995)

29) a. Ik, ik praat net botte goed Frysk *Frisian*  
 I-NOM, I-NOM speak not very well Frisian  
 'Me, I don't speak Frisian very well.'

b. At ik dy wie, soe ik  
 if I you-ACC were, would I...  
 'If I were you, I would...'

30) a. Vanja, ego ja ne ljublju. *Russian*  
 Vanja-NOM, him I not love  
 'Vanja, I don't love him.'

b. Vanja byl durakom  
 Vanja byl fool-INSTR  
 'Vanja was a fool.'

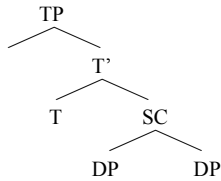
31) a. Jan, nikt go nie lubi. *Polish*  
 Jan-NOM nobody him not likes  
 'Jan, nobody likes him.'

b. Jan jest studentem.  
 Jan is student-INSTR  
 'Jan is a student.'

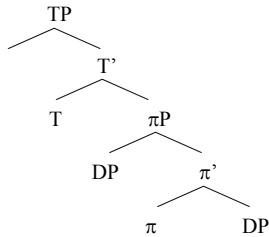
- *Verbal copula sentences cannot involve a bare small clause.*

4.3 Multi-Structure Approach B

32) a. *pronominal copula sentences*

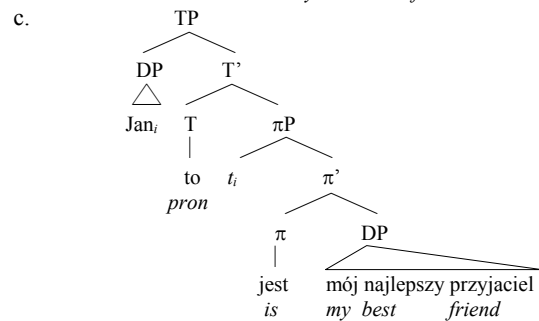
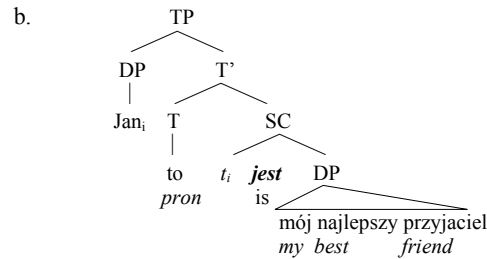


b. *verbal copula sentences*



• Where do dual copula sentences belong?

33) a. Jan *to* *jest* mój najlepszy przyjaciel.  
 Jan PRON is my best friend  
 'Jan is my best friend.'



- Dual copula sentences should pattern with verbal copula sentences.
- Dual copula sentences pattern with pronominal copula sentences instead.

5. Syntactic Differences

5.1 Selection

34) a. Maria *jest* [DP studentka].  
 Maria is student  
 'Maria is a student.'

b. Maria *jest* [AP mądra].  
 Maria is smart  
 'Maria is smart.'

c. Maria *jest* [PP w domu].  
 Maria is at home  
 'Maria is at home.'

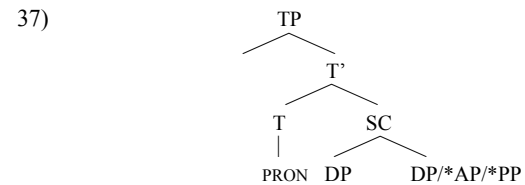
35) a. Jan *to* [DP mój najlepszy przyjaciel].  
 Jan PRON my best friend  
 'Jan is my best friend.'

b. \*Jan *to* [AP przyjacielski].  
 Jan PRON friendly  
 'John is friendly.'

c. \*Jan *to* [PP w przyjacielskim nastroju].  
 Jan PRON in friendly mood  
 'John is in a friendly mood.'

36) nominals > adjectivals > verbals

(Pustet 2003)



38) a. Warszawa *to* *jest* [DP stolica Polski].  
 Warsaw PRON is capital Poland  
 'Warsaw is the capital of Poland.'

b. \*Warszawa *to* *jest* [AP polska].  
 Warsaw PRON is Polish  
 'Warsaw is Polish.'

- c. \*Warszawa to jest [PP w Polsce].  
 Warsaw PRON is in Poland  
 'Warsaw is in Poland.'

**Why does the presence of the pronominal copula affect selection?**

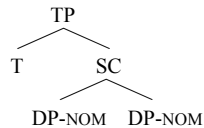
- 39) a. \*Bouki se malad/anba tab la Haitian Creole  
 Bouki PRON sick/under table det  
 'Bouki is sick/under the table.'
- b. Dani (hu) nexmad/al ha-gag. Hebrew  
 Dani PRON nice on the-roof  
 'Dani is nice/on the roof.'

5.2 Case

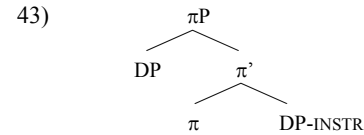
- 40) a. Jan jest lekarzem.  
 Jan is doctor-INSTR  
 'John is a doctor.'
- b. \*Jan jest lekarz.  
 Jan is doctor-NOM  
 'John is a doctor.'
- 41) a. Warszawa to stolica Polski.  
 Warsaw PRON capitol-NOM Poland-GEN  
 'Warsaw is the capitol of Poland.'
- b. \*Warszawa to stolicą Polski.  
 Warsaw PRON capitol-INSTR Poland-GEN  
 'Warsaw is the capitol of Poland.'

• Case 'concord'

- 42) Multiple Agree with T (Chomsky 1999, 2001, Hiraiwa 2001)



• Case 'assignment' by the  $\pi$  head (Bailyn 1995, Bailyn and Citko 1999):

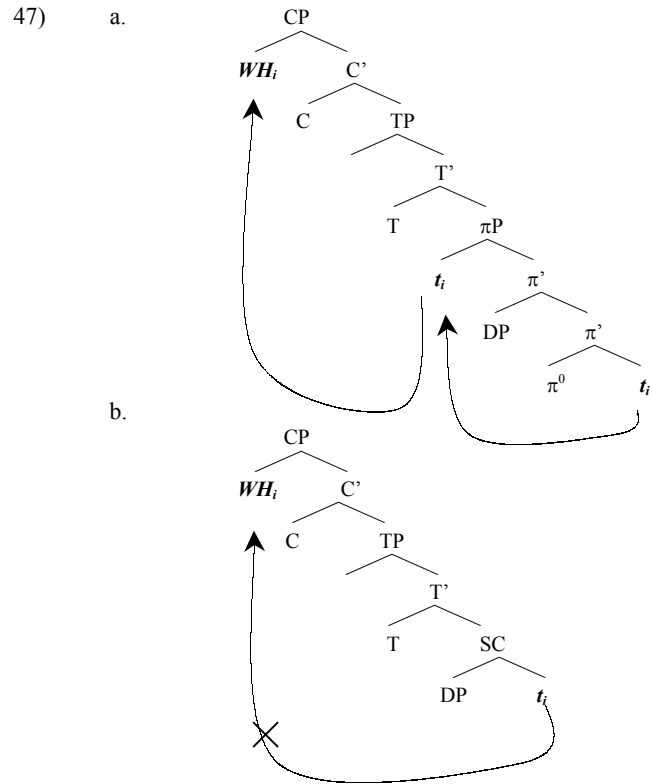


- 44) a. Warszawa to jest stolica Polski.  
 Warsaw PRON is capitol-NOM Poland-GEN  
 'Warsaw is the capitol of Poland.'
- b. \*Warszawa to jest stolicą Polski.  
 Warsaw PRON is capitol-INSTR Poland-GEN  
 'Warsaw is the capitol of Poland.'

**Why does the presence of the pronominal copula block Instrumental case assignment?**

5.3 Extraction Possibilities

- 45) a. ?*Kim<sub>i</sub>* myślisz, że Jan jest *t<sub>i</sub>*?  
 who-INSTR you-think that Jan is  
 'Who do you think that John is?'
- b. ?*Najlepszym kandydatem<sub>i</sub>* myślę, że Jan jest *t<sub>i</sub>*.  
 best candidate-INSTR T-think that Jan is  
 'I would like John to be the best candidate.'
- c. *Kim<sub>i</sub>* chcesz, żeby Jan był *t<sub>i</sub>*?  
 who-INSTR you-want that-SUBJ Jan was  
 'Who would you like Jan to be?'
- d. *Najlepszym kandydatem<sub>i</sub>* chciałabym, żeby Jan był *t<sub>i</sub>*.  
 best candidate-INSTR T-want that-SUBJ Jan was  
 'I would like John to be the best candidate.'
- 46) a. \**Co<sub>i</sub>* myślisz, że fizyka to *t<sub>i</sub>*?  
 what you-think that physics PRON  
 'What do you think physics is?'
- b. \**Nauka o naturze<sub>i</sub>* myślę, że fizyka to *t<sub>i</sub>*.  
 study about nature T-think that physics PRON  
 'I think that physics is the study of nature.'



- 48) a. \*  $Co_i$  myślisz że fizyka to jest  $t_i$ ?  
 what you-think that physics PRON is  
 'What do you think that physics is?'  
 b. \*  $Nauka\ o\ naturze_i$  myślę że fizyka to jest  $t_i$ ?  
 study of nature T-think that physics PRON is  
 'The study of nature, I think that physics is that.'

Why does the presence of the pronominal copula affect extraction?

#### 4. Semantic Differences

- 49) a. John is a bank robber. *predicational*  
 b. The morning star is the evening star. *identity/equative*  
 c. The bank robber is John. *specificational*  
 d. That place is Boston. *identificational*

- Can identificational sentences be assimilated to specificational ones?
- Are specificational sentences distinct from equative sentences?

Specificational sentences:

- 50) a. Mój najlepszy przyjaciel *to* Jan.  
 my best friend PRON Jan  
 'My best friend is Jan.'  
 b. # Mój najlepszy przyjaciel *jest* Janem.  
 My best friend is Jan  
 'My best friend is Jan.'  
 c. Mój najlepszy przyjaciel *to jest* Jan.  
 my best friend PRON is Jan  
 'My best friend is Jan.'

Identificational sentences:

- 51) a. To miasto *to* Boston.  
 this town PRON Boston  
 'This town is Boston.'  
 b. \* To miasto *jest* Bostonem.  
 this town is Boston  
 'This town is Boston.'  
 c. To miasto *to jest* Boston.  
 this town PRON is Boston  
 'This town is Boston.'

Identity/equative sentences:

- 52) a. Doctor Jekyll *to* Mr Hyde.  
 doctor Jekyll PRON Mr Hyde  
 'Doctor Jekyll is Mr Hyde.'  
 b. # Doktor Jekyll *jest* panem Hyde.  
 doctor Jekyll is Mr Hyde  
 'Dr Jekyll is Mr Hyde.'  
 c. Doktor Jekyll *to jest* Mr Hyde.  
 Doctor Jekyll PRON is Mr Hyde  
 'Doctor Jekyll is Mr Hyde.'

Predicational sentences:

- 53) a. Jan *jest* moim najlepszym przyjacielem.  
Jan is my best friend  
'Jan is my best friend.'
- b. Jan *to* mój najlepszy przyjaciel.  
Jan PRON my best friend
- c. Jan *to jest* mój najlepszy przyjaciel.  
Jan PRON is my best friend

From: <http://www.nochale.pl/pages/humor.html>:

- 54) Faraon *to był* król, który po śmierci stawał się mumią.  
pharaoh PRON was king who after death became self mummy.  
'A pharaoh was a king that became a mummy after death.'
- 55) Syzyf *to był* taki człowiek, który ciągle miał pecha.  
Sisyphus PRON was such man which always had bad luck  
'Sisyphus was a man that always had bad luck.'
- 56) a. Gwarancje zatrudnienia *to* nic nowego.  
guarantees employment-GEN PRON nothing new  
'Employment guarantees are nothing new.' (www.wnp.pl/news)
- b. Wszystko *to* nic.  
everything PRON nothing  
'Everything is nothing.' (www.republika.pl/mariuszparlicki)
- c. Unia *to* nic nowego.  
union PRON nothing new  
'The Union is nothing new.'  
(www.radio.bialystok.pl/rep/unia/index.php)
- d. Morderstwo *to* nic trudnego.  
murder PRON nothing difficult  
'Murder is nothing difficult.' ('Easy to Kill' by Agatha Christie)

- Equative marker (Doron 1983, Rapoport 1987, Rothstein 1995).
- Emphatic marker
- Essential/non-essential property
- Inherent/non-inherent property
- Individual/stage-level distinction

- 57) # Jan *to* zbieg / pasażer / przechodzień / widz.  
Jan PRON fugitive passenger pedestrian/ spectator  
'Jan is a fugitive/passenger/pedestrian/spectator.'
- 58) a. Jan *to* (jest) wieczny zbieg.  
Jan PRON is permanent fugitive  
'Jan is a permanent fugitive.'
- b. Jan *to* (jest) nasz najwierniejszy widz.  
Jan PRON is our most.faithful spectator  
'Jan is our most faithful spectator.'

*What is the semantic contribution of the pronominal copula?  
Why do verbal copula sentences allow only predicational interpretation?*

59) *Summary of the Facts So Far*

	VERBAL COPULAS	PRONOMINAL COPULAS	DUAL COPULAS
<b>CATEGORY</b>	<i>DPs, APs, PPs</i>	<i>DPs</i>	<i>DPs</i>
<b>CASE</b>	<i>Instrumental</i>	<i>Nominative</i>	<i>Nominative</i>
<b>EXTRACTION</b>	<i>Grammatical</i>	<i>Ungrammatical</i>	<i>Ungrammatical</i>
<b>INTERPRETATION</b>	<i>Predicational</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Specificational</i></li> <li>• <i>Identity</i></li> <li>• <i>Predicational (inherent property)</i></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Specificational</i></li> <li>• <i>Identity</i></li> <li>• <i>Predicational (inherent property)</i></li> </ul>

## 5. Towards a Multi-Structure Approach C

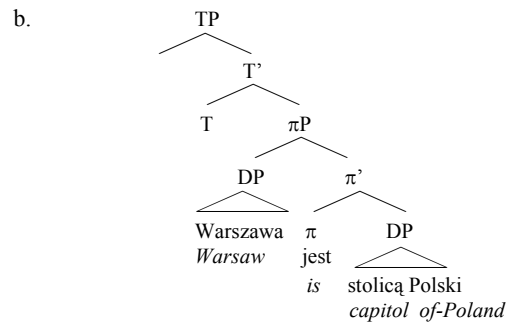
### 5.1 *Where Are We So Far?*

- Verbal copula sentences cannot involve a bare small clause.
- Dual copula sentences cannot involve a bare small clause.
- Since pronominal copula clauses pattern with dual copula clauses, they cannot involve a bare small clause either.
- Bare small clauses do not exist (see also DenDikken (to appear), Adger and Ramchand (2003)).
- All copula sentences involve a small clause headed by a functional projection.

5.2 Verbal Copula Sentences

- Verbal copula sentences involve a small clause headed by a  $\pi$  head:

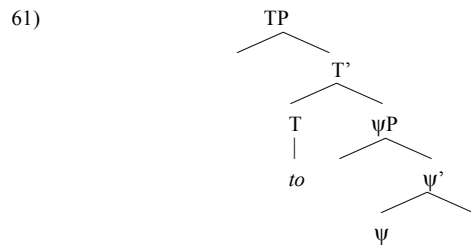
60) a. Warszawa jest stolicą Polski.  
 Warsaw is capital-INSTR Poland- GEN  
 'Warsaw is the capital of Poland.'



- The  $\pi$  head 'assigns' Instrumental case to its complement.
- The  $\pi$  head does not impose any subcategorization restrictions on its complement.
- The  $\pi$  head is compatible only with a predicational interpretation.
- The  $\pi$ P allows wh-movement.

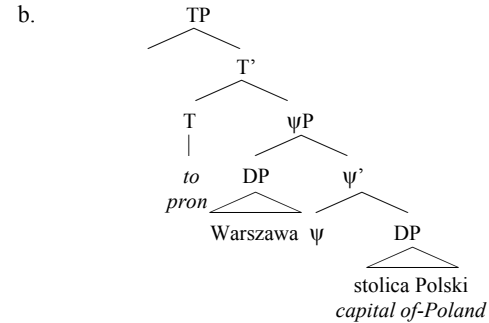
5.3 Pronominal and Dual Copula Sentences

- Pronominal and dual copula sentences involve a small clause headed by a distinct functional projection.

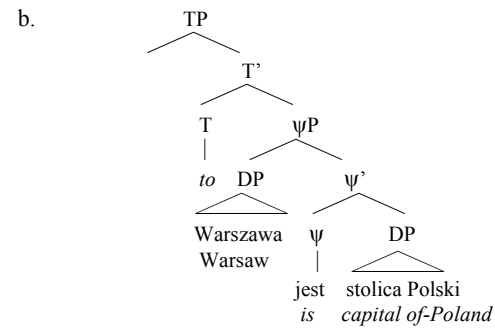


- A filled T selects a  $\psi$ P whereas an empty one a  $\pi$ P.

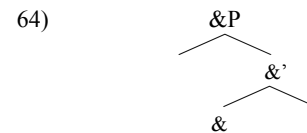
62) a. Warszawa to stolica Polski.  
 Warsaw PRON capitol-NOM Poland-GEN  
 'Warsaw is the capitol of Poland.'



63) a. Warszawa to jest stolica Polski.  
 Warsaw PRON is capitol Poland  
 'Warsaw is the capitol of Poland.'

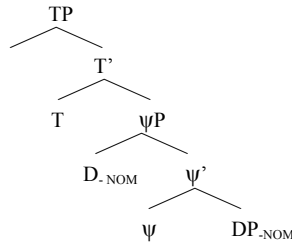


- The  $\psi$  is head requires *syntactic symmetry*, exhibiting a somewhat similar behavior to a conjunction head (& head of Citko 2003, Munn 1993, Zoerner 1995).



- The  $\psi$  head requires its complement to be of the same category as its specifier.
- The  $\psi$  head requires identity in case between its specifier and its complement.

65) *Multiple Agree*



- The  $\psi$ P disallows wh-movement.

## 6. General Conclusions and Implications

- What is the universal ‘inventory’ of small clause constructions?
- How universal is the distinction between two types of rich small clauses ( $\pi$  headed versus  $\psi$  headed)?
- Does the availability of any two copulas in a language warrant the distinction between two types of small clauses?

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*Volen Center for Complex Systems M013  
Program in Linguistics and Cognitive Science  
Brandeis University  
Waltham, MA 02454-9110*

*Phone: (781)-736-3279  
Email: [bcitko@brandeis.edu](mailto:bcitko@brandeis.edu)  
Website: <http://people.brandeis.edu/~bcitko>*