Icelandic Coordinated Bare Singulars

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Abstract

Icelandic is a North Germanic language with two forms of definite marking but no form on indefinite marking. Instead, bare nouns are taken to be indefinites. Additionally, bare nouns in Icelandic are allowed in a variety of argument positions. Looking at the Icelandic bare singular, this thesis focuses on the following paradigm in Icelandic:[1]

(1)   *Maður kom inn í   herbergið.*
      man   came in   to room.the

      'A man came into the room.'

(2)   *??Það kom inn í   herbergið maður.*
      EXPL came in   to the.room man

      'There came into the room a man.'

(3)   *Það komu   inn í   herbergið maður og   kona.*
      EXPL came.PL in   to the.room man   and woman

      'There came into the room a man and a woman.'

This paradigm is surprising for two reasons: 1) that the bare singular is degraded in sentence-final position despite the fact that bare arguments are generally acceptable across argument positions in Icelandic, and 2) that coordination seems to provide an ameliorative effect in (3), since we usually expect coordinate phrases to have the same distributions as their conjuncts.

This thesis aims to provide explanations for both surprising observations about the paradigm presented above. Working within a neo-Carlsonian framework, I propose that Icelandic bare nouns are NPs which covertly typeshift to have a $\exists$ reading, which is why we find that Icelandic bare nouns are like English indefinites with 'a'. Furthermore, I argue that this covert type shift is unavailable in sentence-final position as in (2). This is because Icelandic requires DPs in this position. I next explain that coordination provides an ameliorative effect because it projects a DP with a null D that carries the $\exists$. Additionally, I posit that the null D in Icelandic needs to agree with features not present in NPs, which explains the unavailability of a DP projection with a null D as a repair method for sentences like (2).

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[1]need to make it so that example numbers reset at beginning of actual essay

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List of abbreviations

EXPL	expletive
PL	plural
REL	relative

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Chapter 1

Introduction

This essay is concerned with Icelandic, a North Germanic language spoken primarily in Iceland. Unlike other North Germanic languages, Icelandic allows bare singulars as arguments, as we see in (4).[1] We see that the bare noun *maður* ('man') is possible as a subject in (4a) and that the bare noun *bók* ('book') is possible as the direct object in (4b).

(4)   a.   *Maður kom inn í   herbergið.*
           man   came in   to room.the
           'A man came into the room.'

        b.   *Ég keypti skemmtilega bók í   morgun.*
           I   bought interesting   book this morning
           'I bought an interesting book this morning.'   (=3b in Sigurðsson 2006)

While I have given examples of bare nouns in different positions, from here on I focus on bare singulars in subject position.

There are, however, some restrictions on where bare singulars are allowed, despite the fact that bare arguments are generally allowed in argument position. In contrast to (4a), we

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[1]Unless otherwise stated, the Icelandic data comes from Jim Wood, Einar Freyr Sigurðsson, and Oddur Snorrason, who helped immensely with developing and constructing test sentences. Thank you very much to Einar Freyr Sigurðsson and Oddur Snorrason for providing thoughtful and thorough judgments as well as new sentences. Thank you, also, to Jim Wood both for constructing test sentences and for facilitating communication with Einar Freyr Sigurðsson and Oddur Snorrason.

find that the bare noun *maður* ('man') is very degraded when it occurs at the end of the sentence in (5) (see section 1.2 for more on this sentence-final position).

(5) *??Það kom inn í herbergið maður.*
     EXPL came in to the.room man
     'There came into the room a man.'

There are two ways in which bare singulars can become acceptable in expletive postposed positions: either via coordination or via modification. Looking first at coordination, we see in (6) that the coordinate phrase *maður og kona* ('man and woman') is acceptable as a postposed subject, in contrast to *maður* ('man') which was degraded in the same position in (5).

(6) *Þáð komu inn í herbergið maður og kona.*
     EXPL came.PL in to the.room man   and woman
     'There came into the room a man and a woman.'

We also find that adjectival, PP, and relative clause modification of the subject have a similar ameliorative effect, as we see in (7a), (7b), and (7c), respectively.

(7) a. *Það kom inn í herbergið hávaxinn maður.*
         EXPL came in to the.room tall   man
         'There came into the room a tall man.'

     b. *Það kom inn í herbergið maður á fimmtugsaldri.*
         EXPL came in to the.room man   on age.in.40s
         'There came into the room a man in his 40s.'

     c. *Það kom inn í herbergið maður sem ég hef aldrei séð áður.*
         EXPL came in to the.room man   EXPL I have never seen before
         'There came into the room a man I have never seen before.'

While (7) shows that modification has a similar ameliorative effect as coordination on postposed bare singulars in expletive constructions, I leave the discussion of modification aside and focus on the coordination facts for the remainder of this essay.

The contrast between (4a) and (5) and the contrast between (5) and (6) are the main

puzzles of this essay. The contrast between (4a) and (5) raises questions as to why the bare singular is degraded in a specific position (i.e., sentence-finally) but not others. The contrast between (2) and (3) raises questions as to why coordination provides an ameliorative effect, an effect which is surprising since coordinated constituents usually distribute in the same positions their conjuncts do. This essay aims to address the questions raised by both contrasts. The remainder of this essay is organized as follows: the rest of chapter 1 provides more background on the determiner system in Icelandic and the sentence-final position for subjects in Icelandic. Chapter 2 contends that all bare arguments in Icelandic are NPs with definite-marked and coordinated nouns projecting DPs; in this chapter, I will argue that the sentence-final position of the subject as in (5) and (6) requires a DP, whereas the SpecTP subject position in sentences like (4a) allows NPs. In chapter 3, I look more in depth at coordination, specifically thinking about the structure of coordination and why it may project a silent DP layer. Chapter 4 briefly takes a closer look at bare plurals and other remaining questions. Chapter 5 concludes.

1.1 (In)definiteness Marking in Icelandic

Most of the attention in the literature on (in)definiteness marking has been on languages like English (or other North Germanic languages) with both overt definite and indefinite determiners/markers and on languages like Hindi and Mandarin with no overt (in)definite marking. Icelandic is different from languages like these because it has two forms of definite marking, but no overt indefinite markers. The two forms of definite marking in Icelandic are 1) a suffix as seen in (8), and 2) a preposed free article as seen in (9). The preposed free article is subject to some semantic restrictions, such as certain kinds of non-restrictive modification.

(8)   a.   *Maður**inn** kom gangandi.*
          man.the   came walking
          'The man came walking.'

b. *Ég keypti skemmtilegu bók**ina** í morgun.*
   I   bought interesting   book.the in morning

   'I bought the interesting book this morning.'   (=4 in Sigurðsson 2006)

(9)   a. ***Hinn** aldraði þingmaður   var uppgefinn.*
      the   aged   congressman was exhausted
      'The aged Congressman was exhausted.'[2]

   b. *Ég aðhyllist **hina** athyglisverðu hugmynd um   fæslur.*
      I   adhere-to the   interesting   idea   about movements
      'I adhere to the interesting idea about movements.'   (=5 in Sigurðsson 2006)

Interestingly, while Icelandic has two forms of definite marking like Swedish (another North Germanic language), unlike Swedish, it does not allow both forms of definite marking simultaneously, which we see by the ungrammaticality of (10c).

(10)   a. *rauða bók**in***
       red   book.the
       'the red book'

   b. ***hin** rauða bók*
      the red   book
      (*Archaic*) 'the red book'

   c. ***hin** rauða bók**in***
      the   red   book.the
      Intended: 'the red book'   (Sigurðsson 2006:6)

Bare arguments in Icelandic are taken to be indefinites. While there are two definite markers, it is broadly assumed that Icelandic has no indefinite article. Instead, a bare noun acts as an indefinite. Thus, to get an indefinite in (8a), Icelandic uses the bare form of *man* ('maður'), as in (11).[3]

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[2]Sigurodsson notes that while this sentence is technically grammatical, it is "marked or dispreferred in most situations" (Sigurðsson 2006:3). While the preposed free article can be used here, it is generally most acceptable with specifically abstract nouns in formal contexts.

[3]While the Icelandic numeral 'one' (*einn*) may sometimes seem to exhibit properties of an indefinite determiner (for example in scope interactions with negation), I do not take it to be a true indefinite determiner. See Chapter 2 and Appendix A for the status of *einn* as a possible indefinite determiner.

(11) *Maður kom gangandi.*
man   came walking

'A man came walking.'   (=3 in Sigurðsson 2006)

Because bare arguments are taken to be indefinites and are allowed in argument position, it is surprising both that there seems to be a restriction on their distribution in postposing constructions and also that coordination seems to provide an ameliorative effect.

1.2   NP-postposing in Icelandic

Examples (5) and (6), repeated below for convenience as (12) and (13), have the indefinite subject at the end of the sentence even though Icelandic subjects usually occur at the beginning of a sentence. This phenomenon of the indefinite NP subject appearing later in the sentence is called *NP-postposing.*

(12) *??Það kom inn í herbergið maður.*
EXPL came in   to the.room man

'There came into the room a man.'

(13) *Þáð komu   inn í herbergið maður og   kona.*
EXPL came.PL in   to the.room man   and woman

'There came into the room a man and a woman.'

For a clearer picture of NP-postposing, see (14) and (15) (taken from from Thráinsson 1986), where the only difference between the two sentences is that (14) does not have a postposed NP while (15) does have a postposed NP. Note that the expletive *það* is inserted in (15) to satisfy the surface V2 filter, which requires that the verb be second – because the subject has been postposed, the expletive is inserted in order to keep the verb second.

(14) **Margir stúdentar** munu kaupa þessa bók.
'Many   students   will   buy   this   book.'   (=2 in Thráinsson 1986)

(15) Það   munu kaupa þessa bók **margir stúdentar**.
EXPL will   buy   this   book many   students.   (=3c in Thráinsson 1986)

NP-postposing is an important part of the puzzle of this thesis because we don't see same ameliorative effect of coordination – i.e., the contrast in acceptability between (5) and (6) – in sentences without NP-postposing. While it might seem that the expletive could be responsible for the ameliorative effect, we find that the (a) and (b) sentences in (16) and (17) are equally acceptable. In (16) and (17), the (a) sentences are comparable to (4a) and have neither expletives nor NP-postposing. The (b) sentences involve expletives but not NP-postposing. The sentences in (16) have uncoordinated bare singular subjects and the sentences in (17) have coordinated bare singular subjects.

(16) a. *Mávur flaug inn í   herbergið.*
         seagull flew in   to room.the
         'A seagull flew into the room.'

      b. *Það   flaug mávur inn í   herbergið.*
         EXPL flew   seagull in   to room.the
         'There flew a seagull into the room.'

(17) a. *Mávur og   hrafn flugu inn í   herbergið.*
         seagull and raven flew in   to room.the
         'A seagull and a raven flew into the room.'

      b. *Það   flugu mávur og   hrafn inn í   herbergið.*
         EXPL flew   seagull and raven in   to room.the
         'There flew a seagull and a raven into the room.'

Because the (a) and (b) sentences are equally acceptable for both the uncoordinated bare singular subjects in (16) and the coordinated bare singular subjects in (17), we see that the presence of the expletive is not tied to the ameliorative effect of coordination. We instead know that NP-postposing is a key part of an analysis which can account for the data presented in (4a)-(6).

Chapter 2

Icelandic bare nouns have a ∃ reading

The presence of bare nouns in Icelandic gives rise to two options: either Icelandic bare nouns are DPs with a null determiner (Abney 1987 among others) or they are bare NPs which can covertly type shift (as proposed by Partee, 1986).[1] In this chapter, I argue that bare arguments in Icelandic are NPs which covertly type shift to have a ∃ reading. I also argue that the unacceptability of sentences like (5), repeated below as (18) stems from the fact that covert type shifting cannot occur when the subject is postposed.

(18) *??Það kom   inn í   herbergið maður.*
      EXPL came in   to the.room man

      'There came into the room a man.'

This chapter is structured as follows: section 2.1 provides evidence for interpreting bare nouns as having a ∃ reading, showing specifically that bare nouns both have properties of English indefinites with 'a' and do *not* have properties associated with definites. Section 2.3 proposes that the covert type shift which Icelandic bare nouns usually undergo is not available in subject-final position.

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[1] A third option involves N-to-D raising as discussed in Longobardi 1994, but I limit my discussion to null D vs. covert type shifting.

2.1 Icelandic bare nouns and (in)definiteness

It has been widely accepted that Icelandic bare nouns are indefinites with a $\exists$ reading (Sigurðsson 1993, Sigurðsson 2006, Thráinsson 2007). In this section, I affirm this view and provide evidence from systematic tests developed by Dayal (to appear) to test the characteristics of bare arguments across languages. The data discussed in this section were collected from a native speaker of Icelandic (whose identity will remain anonymous, per IRB guidelines) and based on test sentences from the (In)definiteness Questionnaire developed by Dayal.

The (In)definiteness questionnaire was developed as a way to probe the nature of bare arguments across languages, using a set of common tests to determine in which ways bare arguments behave like definites or indefinites and how they participate in kind and generic statements. The questionnaire additionally provides tests for diagnosing whether lexical items are demonstratives or definite determiners and whether they are numerals or indefinite determiners. The questionnaire is divided into four parts: the first probes the determiner system in Icelandic, the second looks at bare arguments and kind reference and generics, the third probes bare arguments for properties of definiteness, and the fourth probes bare aruguments for properties of indefiniteness. In this section, I provide the findings from the questionnaire which shows that Icelandic bare nouns act like indefinites, which supports the view that they have the $\exists$ reading. I focus primarily on sections three and four of the questionnaire. For further discussion of the data, see Chapter 3, and for the full results of the questionnaire, see Appendix A.

2.1.1 Icelandic bare nouns have properties of indefinites

Dayal's questionnaire identifies the following characteristics of English indefinites with 'a': storytelling, negation, partitive specificity, referential specificity, and scopal specificity.[2] The results from Dayal's questionnaire, summarized in the table below, clearly show that Icelandic bare nouns behave like English indefinites with 'a'.

Test	Result	English indefinites with 'a'	Match?
Storytelling	bare nouns are felicitous in storytelling contexts	indefinites should be able to introduce new entity	✓
Partitive specificity	can refer back to a subset of individuals introduced in the previous sentence	should be able to refer back to a subset of individuals previously introduced	✓
Referential specificity	felicitious with both wide scope and narrow scope indefinite reading	should be felicitous with wide and narrow scope readings	✓
Scopal specificity	good with intermediate and wide scope; ok with narrow scope	good with intermediate, wide, and narrow scope	✓
(Negation)	good with narrow scope; maybe ok with wide scope	indefinites should be able to take both wide and narrow scope with negation	(✓)

Table 1: Icelandic results from Part 4 of Dayal's questionnaire

Note that while the facts are clear that bare nouns with negation have a $\neg > \exists$ reading, it is less clear whether they are also felicitous with a $\exists > \neg$ reading, as the consultant only allowed the $\exists > \neg$ with one test sentence. Additionally, it seems that the numeral *einn* plays an interesting role in the picture of scope and negation since the consultant had a clear preference for an overt numeral with the $\exists > \neg$ reading. Further investigation into scope wrt negation with bare nouns and numerals in Icelandic is a topic of future research.

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[2]Section 4 of the questionnaire also looks at differentiated scope, but since this is a property of bare nouns and not indefinites, I exclude the results from the discussion here.

2.1.2 Icelandic bare nouns do not have properties of definites

Dayal's questionnaire identifies the following properties of definites: uniqueness, maximality,[3] deixis/deictic readings, and anaphoricity. The results, summarized in the table below, show that Icelandic bare nouns do not have the properties of definites.

Test	Result	Definites	Match?
Uniqueness	bare singulars do *not* have the ability to be used with N-sets that are singletons	definites should have the ability to be used with N-sets that are singletons	X
Maximality	bare plurals do *not* apply to the (unique) maximal entity in the set	definites should be able to apply to the (unique) maximal entity in the set	X
Deixis	bare noun cannot be used deictically	we expect definites to be able to be used deictically but not contrastively deictically	X
Anaphoricity	bare nouns cannot be used anaphorically	we expect definites to be able to be used anaphorically	X

Table 2: Icelandic results from Part 3 of Dayal's questionnaire

Thus, we find that bare nouns in Icelandic do not behave like definites.

2.2 Bare NPs become ∃ via typeshifting

As introduced in the beginning of this chapter, it has been proposed (and accepted by many) that licensing of a bare NP can occur with a null determiner or via covert type shifting. In the null determiner hypothesis, bare arguments project a DP layer with a null D that is

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[3]There was one instance in which the consultant seemed to accept a maximal reading, but this seemed to be due to the nature of the predicate rather than a property of bare plurals. Follow-up test sentences confirmed this.

responsible for "getting" the correct type. On the other hand, in a framework in which bare NPs are allowed, covert type shifting must occur in order for bare NPs to both become eligible arguments and also to be able to compose.

In this section, I present an account of type-shifting presented by Chierchia (1998) and Dayal (2004, 2011), who build on Partee's proposal of flexible types. In this theory, common nouns have predicative meaning and are type <e,t>. There are three operators which exist that can turn noun phrases into arguments (which are either type <e> or <<e,t>,t>): ι (*iota*), $\cap$ (*nom*), and $\exists$.
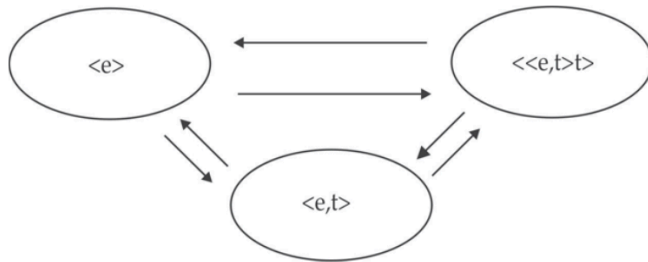
(19)   (Dayal 2004:230)

ι corresponds to *the* in English (and Icelandic, although is not always overt crosslinguistically) and picks out the unique maximal entity of a predicate. $\cap$ is covert in both English and Icelandic (and is often taken to be universally covert) and turns a given noun phrase into a kind-denoting entity. Both ι and $\cap$ do *not* have quantificational force. This brings us to $\exists$, which corresponds to English indefinites with 'a' and *does* introduce quantificational force, which allows for scopal interactions with other scope-taking items.

There are two important constraints on type shifting: *blocking* and *ranking*, given below.

(20)   a.   ***Blocking principle:*** for any type shifting operation π and any X: *πX if there is a determiner D such that for any set X in its domain, D(X) = π(X)
                                                      (Chierchia 1998:360)
   b.   ***Ranking:*** $\{\cap, \iota\} > \exists$ (Dayal 2004)[4]

Blocking tells us that a covert type shift will not occur if there exists an overt lexical item

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[4]Revised from Chierchia's (1998) ranking $\cap > \{\iota, \exists\}$. I adopt Dayal's ranking but not that adopting Chierchia's would not affect the facts of my analysis.

which facilitates that type shift. Ranking provides an order in which our operators apply: in Dayal's system $\cap$ and ι will always apply before $\exists$. This means that if a bare noun can become a kind term, it will before it becomes an indefinite with existential force.

Let us now focus on Icelandic. I show here that the observation from section 2.1 that bare nouns in Icelandic have the $\exists$ reading fits in nicely with neo-Carlsonian theory given blocking and ranking. Thinking first about blocking, we know that we cannot apply $\cap$ to the singular bare noun because $*^{\cap}N_{SING}$ (Dayal 2004). Next, we know that ι is blocked by the overt definite marking in Icelandic (whether it is the definite suffix or free article). This means that the only operator left is $\exists$, which is why Icelandic bare singulars receive the $\exists$ reading.

2.3   No type shifting with postposed NP

In this section, I address two core issues: 1) why we find that (22) is degraded even though (21) is acceptable, and 2) why the bare noun becomes acceptable in (23) with coordination. In section 2.2, I proposed that Icelandic bare NPs covertly typeshift from type <e,t> to type <<e,t>, t> as a default, which is why bare NPs are taken as indefinites, that is, they are bona fide indefinites. In this section, I argue that NPs are not able to typeshift in postposed position, which is why we find that sentences like (22) are ungrammatical.

(21)   *Maður kom inn í   herbergið.*
       man   came in   to room.the
       'A man came into the room.'

(22)   *??Það kom inn í   herbergið maður.*
       EXPL came in   to the.room man
       'There came into the room a man.'

(23)   *Það   komu   inn í   herbergið maður og   kona.*
       EXPL came.PL in   to the.room man   and woman
       'There came into the room a man and a woman.'

Instead, the postposed position requires a full DP. Because bare nouns in Icelandic are NPs, sentences with bare nouns (NPs) in sentence-final postposed position are malformed. Additionally, I argue that there exists a null D head in Icelandic that specifically needs to agree with a certain feature (or set of features), which we find on the & head. See Chapter 3 for further discussion of this. This explains why coordination can license a null D as well as why the covert type shift we find with bare nouns in subject or object position cannot act as a repair for the postposed position – that is, because NPs are not acceptable arguments for postposed position. Additionally, one might ask whether it is possible for the bare noun to somehow project a DP with a null D. While this is in theory possible, because I have posited that the Icelandic null D must form an agreement relation with something in its complement and because it is unable to agree with anything in a bare NP, this is not possible.

The Definiteness Effect

Because I have argued that the postposed position in Icelandic requires a DP and cannot license typeshifting, We might wonder if definites are allowed in this position. This is not the case, as we see in (24).

(24) *Það kom inn í   herbergið maðurinn.*
EXPL came in   to room.the man.the
'There came into the room the man.'

While it might seem that the badness of (24) means that we must additionally rule out definite DPs in postposed position, we can also look to the definiteness effect for an explanation. First observed by Milsark (1977) and Perlmutter (1978), the definiteness effect refers to the unacceptability of definites – in contrast to the acceptability of indefinites – in certain constructions/positions. In other words, certain constructions require non-definiteness in their arguments. In English, we find definiteness effects in existential (25) and unaccusative (26) constructions with expletives.

(25)   a. There is a cat in my garden.

b. *There is the cat in my garden.　　　　(=1 in Fischer, Kupisch, and Rinke 2016)

(26)　a. There arrives a train.
　　　b. *There arrives the train.　　　　(=2 in Fischer, Kupisch, and Rinke 2016)

These effects have been observed crosslinguistically, including in Icelandic (Vangsnes 2002, Norris 2011) as below.

(27)　*Það hefur **kötturinn** verið í eldhúsinu.
　　　EXPL has　cat.the　　been in kitchen.the　　　　(=7a in Vangsnes 2002)

Compare this with the grammaticality of a sentence like (28).

(28)　Það hefur einhver köttur verið í eldhúsinu.
　　　There has been some cat in kitchen.the　　　　(=1 in Vangsnes 2002)

Comparing (27) and (28), we see that Icelandic does indeed show definiteness effects. The exact cause of definiteness effects is outside the scope of this essay. While some have proposed that the effects are linked directly to the expletive (Milsark 1977, Safir 1985), others have argued that the effects are not due solely to the presence of an expletive (see Vangsnes 2002 for a nuanced view of this in Icelandic). Regardless of whether we take the definiteness effect to be directly caused by/linked to the expletive, it is clear that Icelandic displays the definiteness effect and that that effect can explain the ungrammaticality of sentences like (27). This in turn shows that the ungrammaticality of definites does not pose a challenge for the assertion that only DPs are allowed in postposed position – it simply shows that the ungrammaticality of definites in postposed position is due to another factor.

2.4　Chapter summary

In this chapter, I have provided an account for the semantics of bare nouns in Icelandic. I first established that Icelandic bare nouns are like English indefinites with 'a' and have the ∃ reading, using data collected from test sentences based on Dayal's (in)definiteness

questionnaire. I next showed why this finding was unsurprising given a neo-Carlsonian framework: bare NPs covertly type shift to become arguments but the operators $\cap$ and ι cannot apply because $*^{\cap}N_{SING}$ and ι is blocked by the overt definite markers in Icelandic. Thus, the bare noun must have a $\exists$ reading. Finally, I have established that type shifting cannot occur in postposed position, which is why we find that bare nouns are ungrammatical in that position.

Chapter 3

The ameliorative effect of coordination

In this chapter, I address why coordination provides an ameliorative effect on bare NPs in postposed position. The previous chapter established why uncoordinated bare NPs are disallowed, however, a satisfactory account of the data introduced in Chapter 1 must also explain why coordinated bare NPs are acceptable where uncoordinated bare NPs are not. I propose that the ameliorative effect is due to the fact that coordinated bare NPs are of the structure $[_{DP}$ D $[_{\&P}$ NP $\&$ NP$]]$ (i.e., that the maximal projection of a coordinated bare NP phrase is a DP and not an NP or an &P). Thus, the fact that covert type shifting cannot occur in postposed position is not an issue for coordinated nouns because we have a DP projection with a null D with existential force which can save the derivation. While I have thus far not discussed null Ds in Icelandic, I propose that there are null Ds in certain constructions like coordination. This section is concerned with illustrating the structural contrasts between sentences (5) and (6). For further discussion on the assumptions I have made about the structure of coordination, see Chapter 4.

Let us first consider sentences like (5), where we have a bare NP subject in postposed

position. I take the derived structure of sentences like these to be the following:[1]

(29)

TP
- Það (EXPL)
- T'
  - T
  - vP
    - v'
      - v'
        - v
        - VP
          - V (kom / came)
          - PP (inn í herbergið / in to room.the)
      - NP (maður / man)
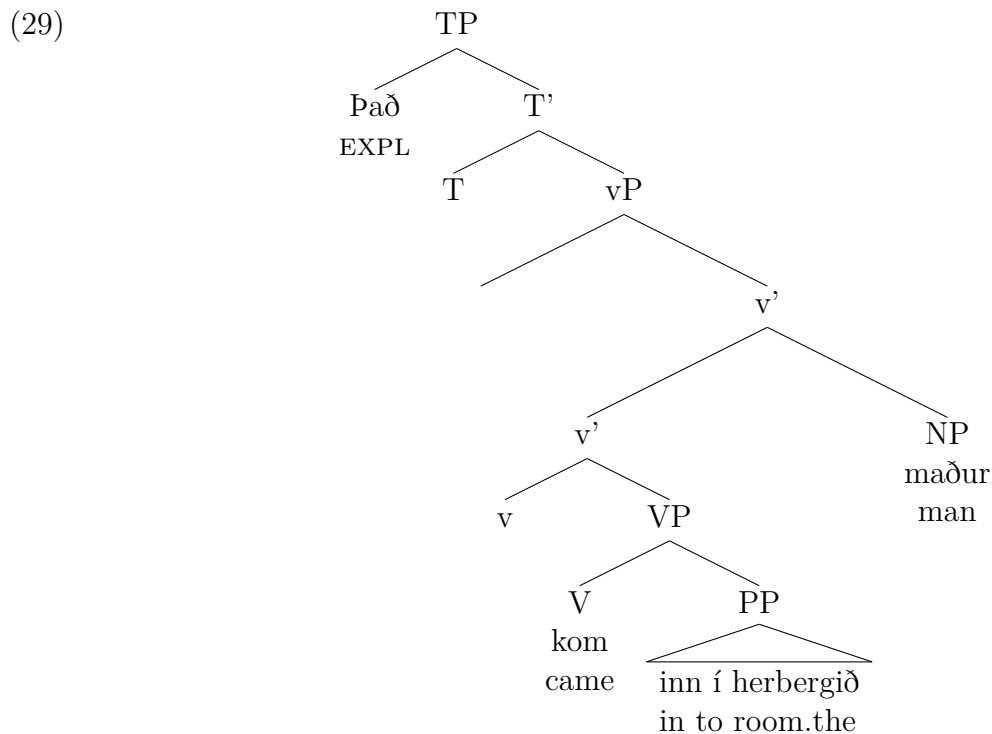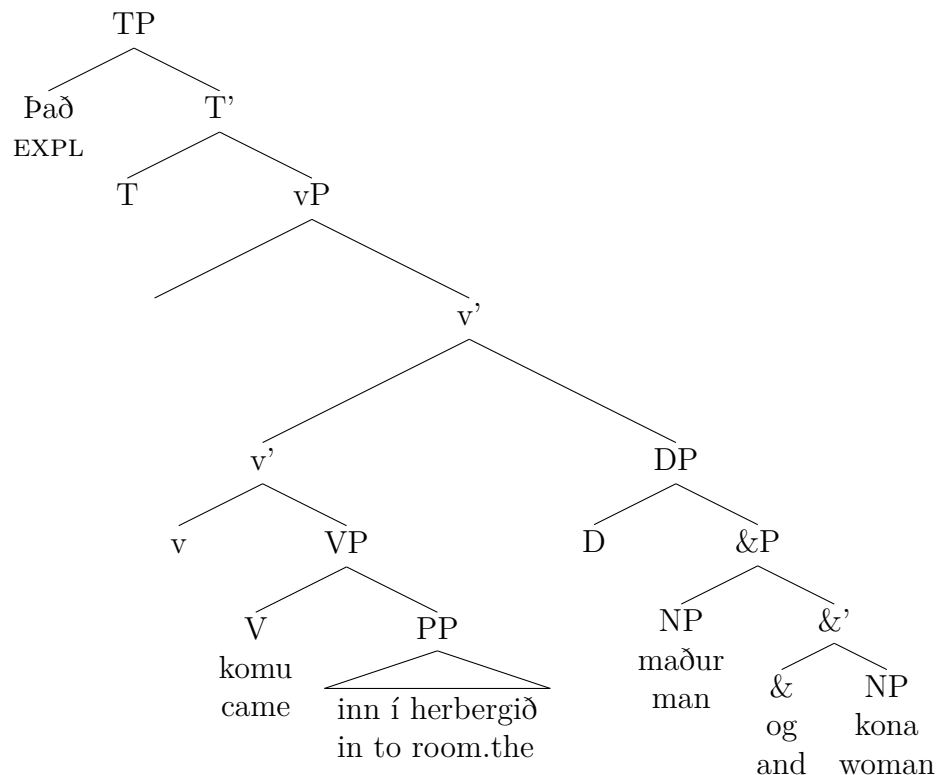
Importantly, as discussed before, the subject in postpose subject is an adjunct and therefore is not able to covertly type shift, causing the derivation to fail. However, when we see sentences like 3, we have the following underlying structure:

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[1]For now, I will not make assumptions about a base site for the subject but simply show the final structure after NP-postposing occurs.

(30)

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                              TP
                         ╱         ╲
                      Það            T'
                      EXPL       ╱       ╲
                                T          vP
                                        ╱      ╲
                                              v'
                                         ╱          ╲
                                      v'              DP
                                   ╱      ╲         ╱     ╲
                                  v        VP      D       &P
                                        ╱     ╲          ╱    ╲
                                       V       PP       NP     &'
                                     komu              maður  ╱   ╲
                                     came   inn í herbergið  man  &    NP
                                            in to room.the       og   kona
                                                                 and  woman
```
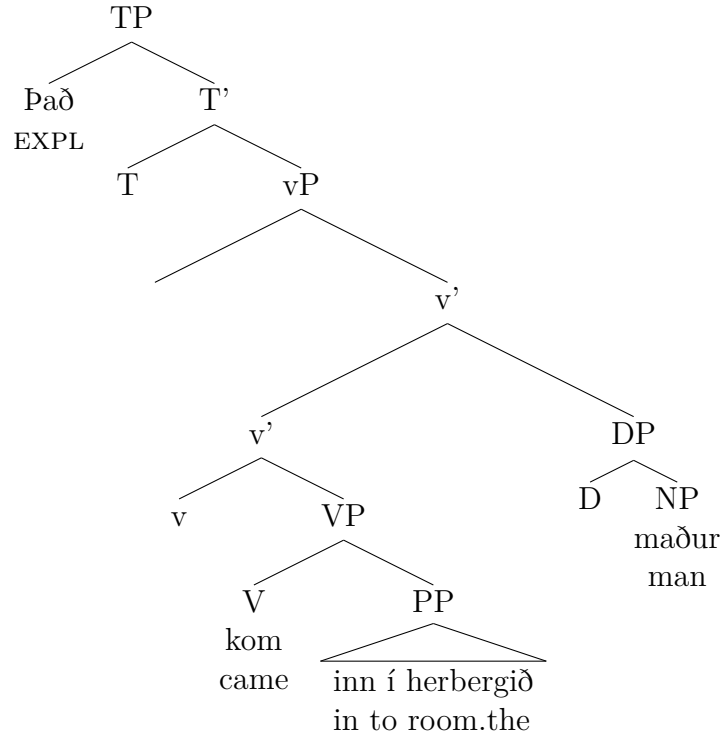
Importantly, we now have a DP adjunct rather than an NP adjunct with a null determiner. Here, the null determiner has an indefinite meaning, which is compatible with the requirements of the expletive construction. Because there is a null D, there is no need for the bare nouns to typshift and the derivation is no longer problematic.

I posit that a null determiner in Icelandic is restricted and must have elements with some sort of either quantificational, or more narrowly +Co, feature to agree with. Thus, we **cannot** posit that sentences like (5) are able to project some sort of DP with a null determiner because the null determiner would have nothing to agree with and that derivation would fail, as below.[2]
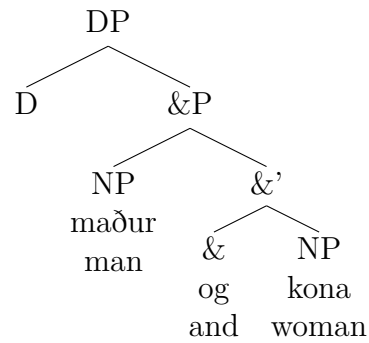
---

[2]Please pretend that there is a dotted agree line connecting null D probe and presumed NP goal. There will also be a little x in the line to show that agree fails. I am still having the issue I was with the first draft. This will be fixed (either in Latex or by hand) for the final paper copy to the department.

(31)

```
                        TP
                       /  \
                    Það    T'
                    EXPL  /  \
                         T    vP
                              /  \
                             /    \
                                   v'
                                  /  \
                                 /    \
                              v'       DP
                             /  \     /  \
                            v    VP  D    NP
                                /  \     maður
                               V    PP    man
                              kom  /  \
                              came inn í herbergið
                                   in to room.the
```

This means that in the DP in sentences like (6), the null D head agrees with the & head, as in (32):[3]

(32)

```
              DP
             /  \
            D    &P
                /  \
              NP    &'
             maður / \
              man &   NP
                  og  kona
                  and woman
```

Thus, I have demonstrated why coordination seems to repair the malformedness of bare nouns in postposed position in Icelandic.

---

[3]see previous footnote. Imagine a dashed line between D head and & head representing agree relation.

3.1 Crosslinguistic data: Italian and English

It is also important to note that a proposal like this is not necessarily limited to Icelandic. A similar ameliorative effect of coordination on bare nouns has been noted in both Italian and English by Heycock and Zamparelli (2002). Italian bare singular[4] count nouns are acceptable in subject position[5] when coordinated but are not acceptable when they occur alone, which we see in (33).

(33) *Context*: a cat and a dog were fighting in the street.

    a. *Cane e   gatto erano ugualmente luridi.*
       dog and cat   were equally   filthy
       'Dog and cat were equally filthy.'

    b. *Gatto era lurido.

       cat was filthy   (Heycock & Zamparelli 2003:2)

In (33), we see in (b) that an uncoordinated bare singular is unacceptable in subject position, while in the (a) sentence, coordinated bare singulars are acceptable. The fact that coordinated bare singulars are acceptable in Italian is especially striking because Italian does not allow bare singulars otherwise.

---

[4]This observation also holds for the plural, but I limit my discussion to the singular as Icelandic bare singulars are the main focus of this essay.

[5]Note that I focus on (coordinated) bare nouns in subject position because there is a subject-object asymmetry in Italian, illustrated in the contrast between the ungrammaticality of (1) versus the grammaticality of (2) in the examples below from Chierchia (1998:356):

(1)   *Bambini* sono venuti da noi.
     'Kids came by.'

(2)   Ho preso *biscotti* con il mio latte.
     'I had cookies with my milk.'

Heycock and Zamparelli also point out that this observation holds in English:

(34)   Context: he gave me a key, a letter for the landlord, and some instructions.
    a. I have to give [key and letter] to the tenant, and read the instructions myself.
    b. *I have to give key to the tenant, and keep the others myself.

(H&Z 2003:2)

Looking at data from Italian and English, H&Z propose that bare noun coordination involves the movement of two coordinated NPs to Spec,DP, as schematized in (35):[6]

(35)   a. $[_{DP} [_{CoordP} [_{NP}]$ and $[_{NP}]]_i [_{D'} D^e … t_i]]$ (=55 in H&Z 2002)

   b.
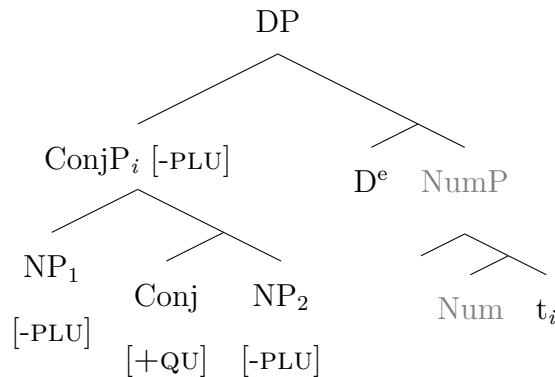
In their analysis, the movement of the coordinate structure to Spec,DP licenses the empty D^e via spec-head agreement with a quantificational operator (in these cases, the conjunction head *and*). It is important to note here that while a NumP layer isn't included in their schema, it is still present but unactivated (represented by greying out NumP in the tree). The NumP layer becomes important in the derivations for coordinated bare plurals, which is why it is left in here.

Looking at (in)definiteness, H&Z claim that coordinated bare singulars must have a (quasi-)definite meaning. They use the term quasi-definite to denote that coordinated bare singulars do not necessarily have all the uses that regular definites do. Starting with Italian, H&Z point to the fact that they can be used anaphorically as in (33) as evidence in favor of them being definites. Heycock and Zamparelli bring in additional evidence from English to

---

[6]Still need to fix arrows.

strengthen their claim that coordinated bare singulars have definite reading, showing that they have a uniqueness requirement, as shown in the contrast in acceptability between (36a) and (36b). Note that (36b) can be acceptable when there are a contextually salient employee and inspector, meaning employee and inspector can be used anaphorically.

(36)   a. At the company meeting, president and vice-president gave an optimistic speech.

       b. ??At the company meeting, employee and inspector talked about their colleagues' motivation.

Evidence against an indefinite reading for coordinated bare singulars comes from the fact that they cannot appear in existentials with there, as we see in (5a), unlike bare plurals and coordinated bare plurals:

(37)   a. *There were goblet and spoon on the table.

       b. There were forks on the table.   (=12 in H&Z 2002)

       c. There were forks and knives on the table.   (=21a in H&Z 2002)

Finally, looking back to Italian, H&Z point to the fact that abstract nouns in Italian must usually occur with a definite determiner, as in (38a) and (39a), but can optionally be bare when coordinated as in (39b):

(38)   a. *La storia è importante.*
           the history is important
           'History is important.'

       b. *Storia è importante.*
           history is important
           Intended: 'History is important.'   (=13 in H&Z 2002)

(39)   a. *La storia e   la storiografia   sono importanti.*
           the history and the historiography are   important
           'History and historiography are important.'

b. *Storia e storiografia sono importanti.*
history and historiography are important

'History and historiography are important.' (=14 in H&Z 2002)

This evidence seems less compelling in favor of a definite interpretation because it only shows that coordinated bare arguments may have the same distribution as nouns marked with a definite determiner. H&Z's discussion of the anaphoric use of coordinated bare singulars, the uniqueness requirement of bare singulars, and the fact that coordinated bare singulars cannot occur in existential there constructions is more compelling and stronger evidence in favor of their claim that bare singulars have a definite meaning.

Considering coordinated bare plurals, Heycock and Zamparelli claim that they *can* have a definite meaning. They argue that the crucial difference between coordinated bare singulars and coordinated bare plurals is that coordinated bare plurals may occur in existential sentences. This is shown both in (37c) where the coordinated bare plurals *forks and knives* occur in an existential sentence with *there* and in (8) below, where we see that only coordinated bare plurals can have existential distribution, as the uncoordinated version of the sentence would be ungrammatical.
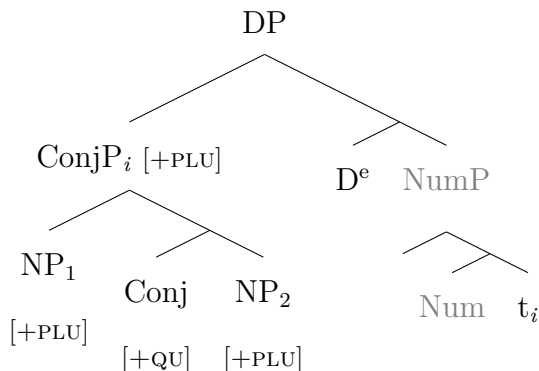
(40) a. *Giornata di mercato in città. Clienti ??(e curiosi) gironzolavano per*
day   of market in city   customers and onlookers walked   about
i banchi.
the stands

'Market day in town. Customers and onlookers walked about the stands.'

b. *Ogni giorno in Afganistan muoiono di fame uomini *(,donne e*
every day   in Afghanistan die   of starvation men   women   and
bambini)
children

'Every day in Afghanistan, men, women and children die of starvation.'

H&Z claim that when coordinated bare plurals receive definite readings, this is a result of the same movement we see with coordinated bare singulars (see (41))[7].
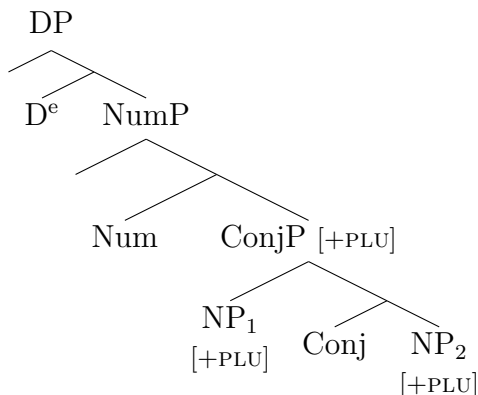
---

[7]Note that there should also be an arrow here, but I couldn't compile unless I didn't use tikz-qtree.

(41)

```
                        DP
              ┌──────────┴──────────┐
        ConjP_i [+PLU]          ┌───┴───┐
         ┌──────┴──────┐       D^e    NumP
        NP_1      ┌────┴────┐        ┌──┴──┐
       [+PLU]   Conj     NP_2      Num    t_i
                [+QU]   [+PLU]
```

Heycock and Zamparelli's analysis resolves the fact that coordinated bare singulars and coordinated bare plurals have different semantics by positing that the [+PL] feature in the NumP layer of coordinated bare plurals allows the NumP to be activated and function as a predicate. This allows the [+QU] feature to be transmitted from *and* to the Num head, where it can optionally license D^e via predication. In these instances, the coordinate structure can stay in the NP layer and doesn't move to Spec,DP, shown in (42). Note that the NumP layer is activated and therefore not greyed out.

(42)

```
              DP
          ┌────┴────┐
        D^e        NumP
                ┌────┴────┐
              Num      ConjP [+PLU]
                      ┌────┴────┐
                    NP_1      ┌──┴──┐
                   [+PLU]   Conj   NP_2
                                  [+PLU]
```

Because Heycock and Zamparelli argue that definiteness is encoded in the DP layer, this explains why coordinated bare plurals can optionally have indefinite readings – when coordinated bare plurals move to Spec,DP, which coordinated bare singulars *must* do, they have definite reading, and when they stay in the NP layer, they have indefinite reading.

While Icelandic coordinated bare singulars have indefinite interpretation, it is important to note that an analysis in which a null D head needs to agree with a feature – for Italian and English in Heycock and Zamparelli's system, this would be a [+QU] or [+PL] feature –

in its complement could very easily and seamlessly apply here. Focusing on coordinated bare singulars, we see that instead of a D^e head being licensed by movement of the coordinate phrase, the &P could instead stay low, with a D head probing into it to look for a [+QU] feature to agree with. Thus, not only does our proposal account for the Icelandic data nicely, but it can also be extended to crosslinguistic data.

3.2   Chapter summary

In this chapter, I have explained why coordination provides an ameliorative effect on bare singulars in postposed position. I have proposed that the postposed position in Icelandic selects for a DP and have asserted that coordination projects a DP which allows coordinated bare singulars to be arguments in this position. I have proposed that a null D with a $\exists$ reading in Icelandic must agree with a feature found on the & head but not in NPs. This is also why the same null D is not available to save the structure when there is no &P. Thus, I have shown that the ameliorative effect of coordination stems from the fact that coordination is able to project a DP with a null D head.

Chapter 4

Additional theoretical considerations

In this section I further discuss theoretical considerations for my proposal. I specifically elaborate on the syntactic structure of coordination and briefly discuss possible base positions for postposed NPs in Icelandic.

4.1   On the structure of coordination

There are a variety of proposals for the structure of coordination in the literature. In this section, I survey three prominent asymmetric proposals.[1]

In a ConjP structure as proposed by ? and Zoerner (1995), the entire coordinate structure is contained within a ConjP (or CoordP or CoP or &P) structure, with the first conjunct in Spec,ConjP and the second conjunct in a complement position to the Conj head, schematized as $[_{ConjP}$ XP1 $[_{Conj'}$ Conj XP2$]]$ and shown in (43).

---

[1]Note that all of the structures I am considering involve structural asymmetry between conjuncts. For the purposes of this thesis, I do not consider symmetric analyses of coordination, but this is a feature which all of the analyses discussed share. For a brief but helpful overview of symmetric analyses, see Altshuler and Truswell (2022), chapter 2.

(43)

```
              ConjP
             /     \
          XP1      Conj'
                  /    \
               Conj    XP2
```
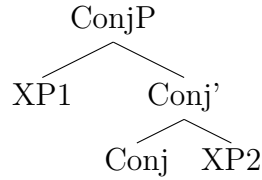
Munn (1993) argues for a structure in which a coordinate projection (for my purposes ConjP) containing the second conjunct acts as an adjunct to the first conjunct, schematized as [$_{XP1}$ XP1 [$_{ConjP}$ Conj XP2]] and shown in (44).

(44)

```
              XP1
             /    \
          XP1     ConjP
                  /    \
               Conj    XP2
```
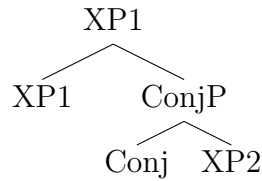
Munn uses the label BP or *Boolean Phrase* instead of ConjP (Munn 1993:12), but I will use ConjP for uniformity. An important strength of Munn's analysis comes from the fact that there do not seem to be specific predicates that select for coordinate structures. Munn points out that while predicates like *gather* or *be similar* select for plurals, for example, there are no specific predicates which might also select for coordinate structure to the exclusion of other elements.

Zhang (2010) argues for a structure similar to Johannessen/Zoerner's ConjP structure in which the first and second conjunct stand in what she calls a "Spec-Complement relationship" (Zhang 2010:20) but which crucially differs from a ConjP structure in that the maximal projection of the coordinate structure is determined by the category of the first conjunct. Her structure is schematized below in (45), where α is the external conjunct and β is the internal conjunct.

(45)

```
              XP
             /   \
          α      X'
                /   \
               X     β
```
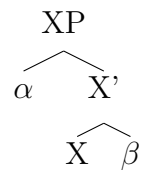
These three proposals differ in two important ways: 1) the interpretation of the second conjunct as an adjunct or complement to the first, and 2) whether the maximal projection

27

of the coordinate structure matches at least one of the conjuncts or whether it is its own ConjP. Johannessen and Zoerner take the second conjunct to be a complement to a Conj head and take the maximal projection to be ConjP. Munn takes the second conjunct to be an adjunct to the first – more accurately the phrase containing the second conjunct adjoins to the first one – and takes the maximal projection to be some XP which matches the category of the first conjunct. Finally, Zhang interprets the second conjunct to be a complement of the first and assumes that the maximal projection of the coordinate structure is some XP. This is organized into the table below:

	Adjunct or Complement?	ConjP or XP?
Johannessen (1998)/Zoerner (1995)	complement	ConjP
Munn (1993)	adjunct	XP
Zhang (2010)	complement	XP

Table 3: Comparing different proposals for the structure of coordination

I have thus far assumed a ConjP structure in my proposal. In the next section, I discuss why this structure is preferred.

4.1.1 Why ConjP makes sense

Let us first discuss why a Munn-style analysis of coordination would be insufficient to account for the data. If we adopt Munn's analysis of coordination, we would either need to posit a [DP DP [ConjP Conj DP]] structure or a [NP NP [ConjP Conj NP]] structure for coordinated bare singulars in postposed position. Both of these are problematic. First addressed a maximal-DP structure: while this may seem tempting, there is no clear reason why each individual bare noun would project a DP when coordinated, resulting in a maximal DP projection. Recall that bare nouns in Icelandic are NPs, so it is unclear why these NPs would first individually project DPs specifically when coordinated which could lead to a maximal DP projection. Next looking at the [NP NP [ConjP Conj NP]] structure, this is also

problematic because it would not be able to account for the ameliorative effect of coordination in postposed position: it is unclear why the bare singular NPs cannot be selected for in postposed position but an NP containing two coordinated NPs can. Thus, we find that Munn's structure of coordination is not compatible with our proposal.

We should instead take coordination to have a ConjP structure: unlike Munn, a ConjP allows us to posit a maximal DP projection which contains coordinated NPs. This allows us to have a null determiner which can agree with the Conj head but also doesn't force us to also posit that each coordinated noun is contained within its own DP. This allows us to stay consistent with our assumption that bare nouns in Icelandic are NPs.

4.2 Base position of the postposed subject

While I the derivations provided in Chapter 2 only show the derived structure of sentences with postposed subjects, this section serves to briefly consider different possible base generated positions for the postposed NP. If we take sentences with postposed NPs and expletives to *not* be underlyingly expletive constructions, there is only one clearly plausible option for the base position of the NP: raised from a vP internal position to SpecTP. However, one might also posit that the sentences in question are in fact underlyingly expletive constructions, in which case further possibilities for the base position open up. In this section, I consider Vangsnes (2002), who provides two possible positions for the subject in expletive constructions.

4.2.1 Vangsnes (2002)

Vangsnes (2002) points out that one particularly interesting characteristic of Icelandic expletive constructions is that they allow for two positions for the associate (or 'logical subject'): a postverbal position as seen in (46a), and an intermediate position between the auxiliary and verb as seen in (46b).

(46) a. *það   hefur verið einhver köttur í eldhúsinu.*
      EXPL has   been some cat   in kitchen.the

      'There has been some cat in the kitchen.'

   b. *það   hefur einhver köttur verið í eldhúsinu.*
      EXPL has   some   cat   been in kitchen.the

      'There has been some cat in the kitchen.'   (Vangsnes 2002:44)

Vangsnes points out that this is different from Mainland Scandinavian languages which only allow for the postverbal position, as we see for Norwegian in (47).

(47) **Intermediate position for Mainland Scandinavian (ex. Norwegian)*

   a. *Det   har vore ein katt på kjøkenet.*
      EXPL has been a   cat on kitchen.the

      'There has been a cat in the kitchen.'

   b. **Det har ein katt vore på kjøkenet.*

      EXPL has a cat been on kitchen.the   (Vangsnes 2002:44)

These two positions also take different subject types. According to Vangsnes (2002), the intermediate position only allows universals, partitives, and overtly-marked indefinites (Vangsnes provides examples with *einhver* 'some'). The intermediate position disallows unembedded definites, generics, and non-question bare indefinites. On the other hand, the postverbal position allows overt and bare indefinites, but disallows unembedded definites, generics, and universals and partitives. While the exact base generated position of the postposed NP is not crucial to the heart of the analysis presented in this thesis, it is useful to think about the different syntactic possibilities for the structure of this construction and understand that NP-postposing can be somewhat structurally mysterious. Overall, it is clear that NP-postposing is an important part of the picture, as it is only in sentences with postposed NPs where we find bare singular subjects degraded and where we see coordination providing an ameliorative effect.

4.3 Chapter summary

In this section, I have discussed some further syntactic considerations for my proposal. I have specifically provided a brief overview of different proposals for the structure of coordination and have shown why we must take a ConjP structure of coordination for Icelandic and this proposal. I have additionally further discussed NP-postposing in Icelandic, thinking specifically about how, if we take data from sentences like (5) and (6) to be underlyingly expletive constructions, the postposed subject could orginate in different base generated positions proposed by Vangsnes.

Chapter 5

Conclusion

This thesis has attempted to solve the puzzle of why bare singulars are degraded in postposed position and why coordination provides an ameliorative effect in this position. In attempting to provide an account for these puzzles, I have addressed the semantics of bare singulars in Icelandic and touched on the structure of coordination.

I have argued based on data collected based on Dayal's questionnaire that bare singulars in Icelandic have a ∃ reading, and I have shown that this is in fact consistent with neo-Carlsonian theory. I have argued that because bare singulars are not allowed in kind readings and because ι is blocked by overt definite marking in Icelandic, it follows that bare singulars should get ∃ reading via covert type shifting. I have also argued that bare singulars are NPs, but that null determiners are available in Icelandic but must agree with a feature not present in NPs in order to be licensed. The null D must instead agree with a feature found in the & head (importantly this proposal does not suggest that the null D can *only* agree with & heads but that & heads are *one* of the things which carry features with which the null D in Icelandic can agree).

I have argued that coordination projects a DP with a null D with existential force and that the structure of this coordinate structure is [$_\text{ConjP}$ XP1 [$_\text{Conj'}$ Conj XP2]]. I have shown that it is the projection of this DP that is responsible for the ameliorative effect of coordination

on coordinated bare singulars in Icelandic.

Overall, this thesis has attempted to provide insight into Icelandic nominal semantics, specifically (in)definiteness into Icelandic, from a neo-Carlsonian perspective. The thesis has additionally provided insight into interesting functions of coordination and how we might use those functions to better understand the structure of coordination.

Appendix A

Icelandic and the (In)definiteness Questionnaire

This appendix provides all the data collected from interviews with a native Icelandic speaker testing Icelandic sentences developed from Dayal's (In)definiteness questionnaire (which can be found in *The Open Handbook of (In)definiteness: A Hitchhiker's Guide to Interpreting Bare Arguments*, to appear).

Recall that the Icelandic nominal system is interesting because it has overt definite marking but bare indefinites. While Icelandic has the English equivalent of *some* ('einhver'), it does not have an equivalent of 'a/an'. Because there are semantic properties that appear crosslinguistically unique to bare arguments (like differentiated scope), we must probe the nature of bare arguments in Icelandic to test whether they truly are equivalent to English indefinites with 'a'. A deeper discussion of the results relevant to this thesis are discussed in Chapters 2.

A.1 The Questionnaire

Dayal's questionnaire is split into four parts and is designed to be applied to any language in question. Each part of the questionnaire includes test sentences designed to diagnose different properties related to (in)definiteness.

The first part of the questionnaire sets the baseline: it identifies and probes possible demonstratives vs. definites and numerals vs. indefinites, and also looks at morphological number. I only tested sentences from section 1.2 of the questionnaire (Indefinite or Numeral?) because my primary focus was on bare arguments and indefiniteness in Icelandic. The second part of the questionnaire looks at the ability of bare nouns to participate kind and generic readings. The third part of the questionnaire tests whether bare nouns can have certain properties associated with definites, specifically looking at uniqueness, maximality, deixis, and anaphoricity. And the fourth section tests whether they can have certain properties associated with indefinites, looking at storytelling, negation, partitive specificity, referential specificity, scopal specificity, and differentiated scope.

A.2 Data Collection

The judgments presented here are from elicitation sessions conducted by the author. Test sentences were constructed based on Dayal's questionnaire with input on the Icelandic from Jim Wood. Sentences were tested over four 20-45 minute sessions with a native Icelandic speaker. In accordance with IRB guidelines, the consultant's identity will be kept anonymous. Sentences were presented on a screen for the participant to read. For some sentences, context was provided either on the screen or orally by the researcher. The consultant was compensated for their time.

A.3 Results

Section 1.2: *Indefinite or Numeral?*

Because the numeral cannot participate in storytelling or generic sentences, and can only get a ¬ > ∃ reading with an emphatic tone (otherwise it has to be ∃ > ¬),[1] it seems that the numeral does not behave like an indefinite determiner.

(48) *Storytelling*

    a. *#Einu sinni bjó [ein gömul kona] í þessu húsi.*
       one   time lived [one old   woman] in this   house

       Literally: 'Once upon a time [one old woman] lived in this house.'

(49) *Numeral in generic sentences*

    a. *#[Ein kýr] er spendýr.*
       [one   cow] is mammal

       Literally: '[One cow] is a mammal.'

    b. *#[Ein kýr] étur gras.*
       [one   cow] eats grass

       Literally: '[One cow] eats grass.'

    c. *#[Einn hundur] er sjaldan grimmur*
       [one   dog]   is rarely vicious

       Literally: '[One dog] is rarely vicious.'

    d. *#[Einn hundur] hefur yfirleitt gaman af kjöti.*
       [one   dog]   has usually fun/good/nice of meat

       Literally: '[One dog] usually likes meat.'

(50) *Numeral and negation*

    a. *Ég keypti ekki eitt epli.*
       I   bought not one apple

       Either 'I didn't buy a single apple.' (emphatic) or 'There is a specific apple that I didn't buy.'

---

[1] The consultant also noted that they may accept this because the English equivalent is acceptable and English might be influencing their Icelandic judgments.

Section 2: Bare Nominals as Kind Terms

The results from this section of the questionnaire tell us that bare singulars in Icelandic cannot participate in kinds or generics, but bare plurals can. Importantly, the fact that (51a) was not acceptable to the consultant is surprising: if we take Icelandic bare arguments to be like English 'a' indefinites, we should predict that singular bare arguments are acceptable in generic readings (think of 'A dog barks when it is hungry').

(51)   *Reference to kinds*

    a.   #Hundur hefur þróast úr úlfi.
        dog has evolved from wolf

    b.   Hundar hafa þróast úr úlfum.
        dogs have evolved from wolves

(52)   *Generic statements*

    a.   #Hundur geltir þegar hann er svangur.
        dog bark when he is hungry

    b.   Hundar gelta þegar þeir eru svangir.
        dogs bark when they are hungry

Section 3: Bare Arguments as Definites

Given that bare arguments are not compatible with unique referents, (generally) cannot have maximal readings, and are not acceptible in deictic or anaphoric contexts, it seems that they do not behave as definites. This is in line with previous literature on Icelandic and widely-accepted assumptions about the semantics of Icelandic bare nouns.

(53)   *Uniqueness*

    a.   #Sól skín í dag.
        sun shines today

(54) *Maximality*

    a. *#Helen keypti bíl. Það   þurfti   að gera við rúður.*
        Helen   bought car EXPL needed to fix   windows

        Literally: Helen bought a car. Windows needed to be fixed.

    b. #Helen keypti bíl. Rúður eyðilögðust.
        Helen bought car windows were.destroyed

    c. *Helen keypti bíl Það   þurfti   að skipta um   rúður.*
        Helen bought car EXPL needed to change about windows

        'Helen bought a car. The windows needed to be replaced.'[2]

(55) *Deixis*

    a. Ég tek [rós].
        I take [rose].
        i. #Context A: Mary is at a flower shop. She looks at an assortment of flowers
           with daisies, daffodils, and one rose. She points to the rose and says (55a)
        ii. #Context B: Mary is at a flower shop. She looks at a bouquet of roses. She
           points to one of the roses and says (55a)

(56) *Anaphoricity*

    a. *#Strákur og   stúlka gengu inn í   herbergið. Stúlka var í   rauðri skyrtu,*
        boy   and girl   walked in to room.the   girl   was in red   shirt,
        strákur var í   hvítri skyrtu.
        boy   was in white shirt

        Literally: 'Boy and girl walked into the room. Girl was in a red shirt, boy was

        in a white shirt.'

    b. *#Það voru margir strákar og   stúlkur í   herberginu. Stelpur voru að tala við*
        EXPL were many boys   and girls   in room.the   girls   were to talk to
        stráka.
        boys

        Literally: 'There were many boys and girls in the room. Girls were talking to

        boys.

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[2]While the consultant found this sentence to be acceptable and compatible with a maximal reading, given the unacceptability of the previous two examples, it seems that the acceptability here was due to the use of this specific predicate.

Section 4: Bare Arguments as Indefinites

Because bare nouns can participate in storytelling, are able to have partitive and referential specificity, and demonstrate the ability to take wide and intermediate (and perhaps narrow) scope, we can say that they do in fact behave like bona fide indefinites. Looking at differentiated scope, which is something we expect to be possible for bare arguments but not indefintes, we find that bare plurals are felicitous while the bare singular is not. This result is not incompatible with the claim that Icelandic bare nouns are indefinites – it instead highlights the fact that bare plurals in Icelandic seem to also have the properties of bare plurals in other languages.

Additionally, negation yielded interesting results. In the first pass of the survey, looking at negation with bare nouns and negation with *einn* + noun, it seemed that bare nouns could only have a $\neg > \exists$ reading while nouns with *einn* could only have a $\exists > \neg$ reading. In a second pass with a different lexical item (*appelsínu* 'orange' instead of book), the consultant found it possible to have a $\exists > \neg$ with the bare noun. While the consultant's judgments seemed somewhat different in the first versus second sessions and with the different lexical items, it is clear that there is some distinction with at least a preference for a paradigm in which bare nouns have a $\neg > \exists$ reading while nouns with *einn* have a $\exists > \neg$ reading. This suggests that *einn* can in some ways at least take on and perhaps share some indefinite characteristics with the bare noun in Icelandic.

(57) *Storytelling*

    a. *Fyrir mörgum árum bjó kona í þessu húsi. Hún átti dóttur.*
       for   many   years lived old woman in   this house she had   daughter

      'Many years ago a woman lived in this house. She had a daughter.'

(58) *Mary tók ekki [bók sem ég hafði skilið eftir á borðinu].*
     Mary took not book which I   had   left   after on table

     'Mary didn't take book that I had left on the table.'

(59)   *Partitive specificity*

    a.   *Mary keypti tíu bækur og þrjú tímarit.   Hún gaf vinkonu sinni   bók*
       Mary bought ten books and three magazines she gave girlfriend of.hers book
       og systur sinni   tímarit.   Afganginn geymdi hún fyrir sjálfa sig.
       and sister of.hers magazine rest.the   kept   her for   self   self

       'Mary bought ten books and three magazines. She gave a book to her friend

       and a magazine to her sister. The rest she kept for herself.'

(60)   *Referential specificity*

    a.   *Peter vill   hitta kvikmyndastjörnu. Honum er alveg sama hver það   er.*
       Peter wants meet movie.star   to.him is all   same each EXPL is
       'Peter wants to meet a movie star. He doesn't care which one.'

    b.   *Peter vill   hitta kvikmyndastjörnu. Ég veit   ekki hver það   er.*
       Peter wants meet movie.star   I   know not each EXPL is
       'Peter wants to meet a movie star. I don't know which one.'

(61)   *Scopal specificity*

    a.   *Sérhver nemandi las   hverja grein um   umdeilt   efni.*
       every   student read every article about controversial topic
       'Every student read every article on a controversial topic.'

      i.   ?Narrow scope ($\forall > \forall > \exists$)
     ii.   Wide scope ($\exists > \forall > \forall$) ok
    iii.   Intermediate scope ($\forall > \exists > \forall$) ok

(62)   *Differentiated scope*

    a.   #Miles drap kanínu ítrekað.
       Miles killed rabbit repeatedly
    b.   Miles drap kanínur ítrekað.
       Miles killed rabbits repeatedly

A.4   Commentary

Overall, the results of the questionnaire broadly affirmed the previously widespread assertion

that Icelandic bare nouns are like English indefinites with 'a'. While this takeaway might

not seem particularly surprising, it is important, as it shows via systematic investigation of characteristic properties of (in)definites that bare nouns in Icelandic do often behave like indefinites.

As discussed in previous sections, there were also a few surprising results: the fact that the bare singular is not allowed in generics and the fact that there seem to be some strange and limited ways in which bare nouns interact scopally with negation shows us that the picture is not black and white. However, I leave further investigation of these observations to future research, and for now claim that the data presented provide sufficient evidence for bare nouns in Icelandic acting like English indefinites with 'a'.

Appendix B

Icelandic data

While I have discussed the most relevant Icelandic data in the thesis itself, this appendix provides most of the data relevant to postposed bare NPs. The function of the appendix is twofold: 1) to provide a fuller picture of Icelandic NP-postposing, and 2) to provide a condensed discussion of the relevant data. For all of the data in this appendix, thank you very much to Einar Freyr Sigurðsson and Oddur Snorrason for providing thoughtful and thorough judgments as well as new sentences. Thank you, also, to Jim Wood both for constructing test sentences and for communicating with Einar Freyr Sigurðsson and Oddur Snorrason. The first few sentences below are repeated from previous chapters, but have been included in order to allow this appendix to provide a stand-alone fuller picture of the Icelandic data.

Let us first consider (63) and (64), where we see that a bare noun cannot occur in this position:

(63)   *??Það kom inn í herbergið maður.*
       EXPL came in   to the.room   man
       'There came into the room a man.'

(64)   *??Þá kom inn í herbergið maður.*
       then came in   to the.room   man
       'Then there came into the room a man.'

These sentences become acceptable with an overt *some* ('einhver'), as in (65), which suggests that it is the lack of a determiner or quantifier that causes the unacceptability of (63) and (64):

(65)   *Það   kom inn í herbergið einhver maður.*
         EXPL came in   to the.room some   man
         'There came into the room some man.'

Looking at coordinated bare nouns, we see that coordinated singulars are acceptable in (66).

(66)   *Þá   komu   inn í herbergið maður og   kona.*
         then came.PL in   to the.room man   and woman
         'There came into the room a man and a woman.'[1]

We also see in (67a), (67b), and (67c) that, like Italian, the bare argument becomes acceptable when modified by an adjective, a PP, and a relative clause, respectively.

(67)   a. *Það   kom inn í herbergið hávaxinn maður.*
             EXPL came in   to the.room tall   man
             'There came into the room a tall man.'

       b. *Það   kom inn í herbergið maður á   fimmtugsaldri.*
             EXPL came in   to the.room man   on age.in.40s
             'There came into the room a man in his 40s.'

       c. *Það   kom inn í herbergið maður sem ég hef aldrei séð áður.*
             EXPL came in   to the.room man   REL I   have never seen before
             'There came into the room a man I have never seen before.'

An interesting data point is presented in (68), where we see that a compound bare noun ('alþingismaður', *member of parliament*) is very degraded. This is an important observation because it helps rule out a hypothesis where it is simply the length of the DP that matters. Oddur Snorrason pointed out that even a longer compound like 'menntamálaráðherra' (*minister of education*), which is composed of 4 roots and 7 syllables, would not provide an improvement.

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[1]Both consultants preferred plural agreement on the verb ('komu') but agreed that the singular ('kom') as a result of closest conjunct agreement was not ruled out.

(68)   *??Það kom inn í herbergið alþingismaður.*
       EXPL came in   to the.room parliament.man

       'There came into the room a member of Parliament.'

As of now, I have only seen this pattern in postposed NPs. There is no contrast in judgments when the subject NPs are not postposed, as we see in (69)-(70), where the subjects (69a) and (70a) are not introduced by expletives while the subjects in (69b) and (70b) are, but do not involve NP-postposing. As we see below, this is true for both bare nouns (69) and coordinated bare nouns (70).

(69)   a. *Mávur flaug inn í herbergið.*
          Seagull flew in   to the.room

          'A seagull flew into the room.'

      b. *Það   flaug mávur inn í herbergið.*
          EXPL flew seagull in   to the.room
          'There flew into the room a seagull.'

(70)   a. *Mávur og hrafn flugu inn í herbergið.*
          seagull and raven flew in   to the.room

          'A seagull and a raven flew into the room.'

      b. *Það   flugu mávur og hrafn inn í herbergið.*
          EXPL flew seagull and raven in   to the.room
          'There flew into the room a seagull and a raven.'

What is particularly striking about this data is that the plain bare argument is degraded in NP-postposing at all since Icelandic allows bare arguments.

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