

## Notes on Two Types of Partitives: Individuals and Stages of Individuals\*

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### 1. Introduction

The distinction between *ser*-predicates and *estar*-predicates in Spanish has received much attention. Traditionally, it has been described in terms of oppositions such as permanent vs. temporary/transitory, essential/inherent vs. accidental, etc:

- (1) a . Maria es hermosa.  
      ‘Maria is (ser) beautiful.’
- b . Pedro está enojado.  
      ‘Pedro is (estar) angry.’

In (1a), *hermosa* ‘beautiful’ depicts an inherent characteristic of Maria, and the adjective goes with the copula *ser*. On the other hand, *enojado* ‘angry’ indicates a transitory characteristic of Pedro, and the adjective selects the copula *estar*.

However, there are well-known counterexamples to this traditional characterization. For example, *muerto* ‘dead’ requires *estar* and is ungrammatical with *ser* :

- (2) a . \*Pedro es muerto.  
      ‘Pedro is (ser) dead.’
- b . Pedro está muerto.  
      ‘Pedro is (estar) dead.’

It is inconceivable that *muerto* ‘dead’ is temporary/transitory. Thus the traditional characterization does not work here.

Recently, the distinction has been analyzed in several different ways, for example as a distinction in

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\* I would like to thank Dave Lebeaux and Juan Uriagereka for their comments on earlier versions of this paper. Thanks also to Tom Frost for help with English style.

predicates (Diesing 1992, Kratzer 1995), or as an aspectual difference in *be* (*ser/estar*) (Luján 1981, Schmitt 1992), to name a few. However, the distinction cannot be in the adjectives themselves, since the same adjective can be used both with *ser* and *estar* :

- (3) a . Jacinta es soltera.  
       ‘Jacinta is single.’  
       b . Jacinta est soltera.  
       ‘Jacinta is unmarried.’ (Clements 1988)

The fact that many adjectives can appear with either *ser* or *estar* suggests that the adjective itself is not the factor responsible for the selection of the copula.

Nor can the distinction be inherent to the copula itself, since other verbs also exhibit such ambiguity as in (4) :

- (4) Bill ran.  
       a . ‘happening’ : there was an occasion on which Bill engaged in running.  
       b . ‘characteristic’ : he was one who runs habitually. (Carlson 1977)

This paper provides a new perspective on *ser/estar*-predicates, considering them from the perspective of nominals. I claim that the difference lies in the nature of nominals (subjects) rather than the nature of predicates or that of copulas. I propose that the subject of *ser*-predicates and that of *estar*-predicates have different partitive structures. In particular, I propose a partitive structure that captures the subject of *estar*-predicates as a temporal part of an individual.

## 2. The Structure of an Individual

### 2. 1. Individuation by Classifiers

*Water, gold, meat, and a pencil, a mouse, a CD.* The difference between the first group and the second is whether or not a noun can be crowned with an indefinite article: The latter can, but the former cannot. This has been known as the count/mass distinction, and various attempts have been offered to account for it. Previous analyses differ with respect to the way the nouns are viewed: Some consider that all nouns are marked either count or mass, some consider that all nouns are count, some consider that all nouns are mass, and some consider that no nouns are marked either count or mass. No matter what approach one takes, the intuitive difference between the count and mass is the contrast between “individuality” and “homogeneity”. Bunt (1979: 253) says that “a mass noun refers to an object in a ‘homogeneous’ way, without focusing on a particular parts or elements”. Quine (1960) asserts that count nouns possess built-in modes that indicate how much counts as a single individual, while mass nouns do not.

Muromatsu (1995) proposes that such individuality is obtained by applying numeral classifiers to nouns in both classifier and non-classifier languages. According to the proposal, countability is not a property of a noun per se but is obtained through the application of an appropriate classifier to a noun. The expression *a pencil*

contains an invisible but appropriate classifier, whereas no such classifier is associated with *gold*. In classifier languages, such as Japanese, such a classifier is visible, while in non-classifier languages, such as English, classifiers are invisible but nonetheless present. Therefore, “a count noun” and “a mass noun” have different internal structures, only the former containing a classifier. For this reason, let us call them *count-expression* and *mass-expression*, respectively.

Once adopting this idea, we see that Quine’s (1960) “built-in modes of individuation” are not built into each English count noun but rather are provided by a classifier. The classifier appears “built-in” only because it is invisible. And yet my view is able to capture his intuition: only classified nouns combine with a classifier. So-called mass nouns have no classifiers associated with them.

Muromatsu (1995, 1998) proposes that classifiers, which perform the function of individuation, are related to mass terms in the predication relation of part/whole, and that such a relation is seen in every language, not being limited to classifier languages.

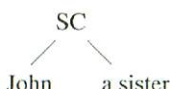
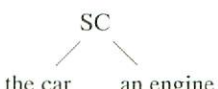

## 2. 2. Integrals

For count expressions, such as *a pencil*, *two CDs*, *three dogs*, which are the expressions of individuals, Muromatsu (1995) assigns a partitive structure. It is partitive in the sense that it contains the Integral Small Clause, which involves inalienable possession and the part/whole relation.

The Integral Relation, so named by Hornstein, Rosen, and Uriagereka (1994) (henceforth Hornstein et al.), can be observed in the following examples:

- (5) a . John’s sister  
b . a sister of John’s
- (6) a . the car’s engine  
b . an engine in the car
- (7) a . the poor neighborhoods of the city  
b . a city of poor neighborhoods

In (5), *John* and *a sister* are in a relationship of inalienable possession. In (6) *the car* and *an engine*, and in (7) *the neighborhoods* and *the city*, are in a part/whole relation. Hornstein et al. propose to express such relations in an Integral Small Clause as in (8), demonstrating how making such assumptions enables us to explain the distinct properties of the constructions (5)–(7):

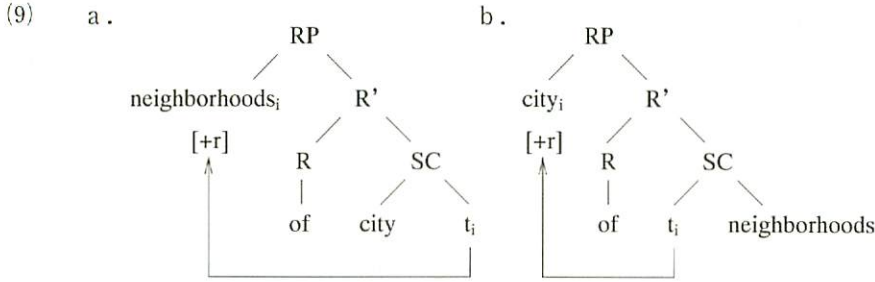
- (8) a . 
- b . 
- c . 

Besides having an Integral Relation between the subject and the predicate of the small clause, another property common to the examples (5)–(7) is variation in word order. Kayne (1993), proposing a possessive



structure for English that is essentially parallel to that proposed for Hungarian by Szabolcsi (1983), derives *a sister of John's* from *John's sister* by the movement of a *sister* to the left of *John's*.

Using recent developments of the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1995), Uriagereka (1995) proposes a formal feature, *Reference*, which drives movement of the subject and the predicate of the small clause. Consider the case of (7) as an illustration. The reference of the expression is different in (7a) and (7b): *the poor neighborhoods* in (7a), but *a city* in (7b). What is interesting in regard to Uriagereka's (1995) analysis is that reference is determined as the consequence of a syntactic process: R attracting the feature [+r]:



In (9a) *neighborhoods* moves to the Spec of R(ference), while in (9b) *city* moves to the Spec of R as a consequence of syntactic checking of the Reference feature [+r]. Whatever has moved to the checking domain of R determines the reference of the whole expression, while maintaining the basic relation between *the neighborhoods* and *the city* as expressed in the small clause in both (9a) and (9b).

### 2. 3. Nouns, Classifiers, and Reference

Let us return here to the issue of nouns and classifiers, which Muromatsu (1995) claims to exhibit the Integral Relation. Some nouns and classifiers are in the Integral Relation in the following sense. Classifiers are so named because they provide “a semantic classification of the head noun” (Greenberg 1977:277). The classification “is based primarily on the parameters of animateness, shape or function which are attributed to the head noun” (Adams and Conklin 1973:1). With regard to animateness, for example, human beings, animals, and birds are categorized separately in Japanese:

- (10) a . kodomo go nin  
child five CL [for humans]  
‘five children’
- b . uma go too  
horse five CL [for large animals]  
‘five horses’
- c . inu go hiki  
dog five CL [for small animals]  
‘five dogs’

- d . kanaria go wa  
canary five CL [for birds]  
'five canaries'

In (10b) *too*, meaning 'head', classifies large animals. It is also used for counting cows, tigers, bears, etc. And these nouns form a class by sharing the same classifier for enumeration.

Classification by shape includes long and flat. For example, long objects such as pencils, sticks, and trees are classified by the use of the classifier *hon* in Japanese:

- (11) a . enpitu go hon  
pencil five CL [for long objects]  
'five pencils'
- b . kasa ni hon  
umbrella two CL [for long objects]  
'two umbrellas'
- c . banana yon hon  
banana four CL [for long objects]  
'four bananas'

A group of nouns that share an associated classifier are categorized as belonging to the same group. The classifier in each case can be regarded as a label for the group in question. Clearly, one function of a classifier is the classification of nouns. The choice of a classifier is semantically constrained, the primary parameters being animateness, shape or function.<sup>1</sup>

Based on the tight relationship observed between some nouns and classifiers, Muromatsu (1995, 1998) proposes the Integral Small Clause structure of (12):<sup>2</sup>

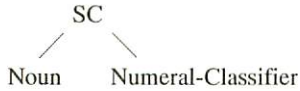
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<sup>1</sup> Such a tight classificational relationship between a noun and a classifier does not preclude a given noun being associated with more than one classifier. If a noun has several features enabling it to fit into several different classes, then it can belong simultaneously to each of those classes. For example, in Japanese:

- i) a . denwa ni dai  
telephone two CL [for machines]  
'two telephones'
- b . denwa ni hon  
telephone two CL [for long, thin objects]  
'two telephone calls'

In (ia), classifier *dai* tells us that *denwa* 'telephone' belongs to the category of machines. In contrast, in (ib), the same noun *denwa* 'telephone' belongs to the category of long, thin objects, which is expressed by the classifier *hon*. The associability of a given noun with more than one classifier does not mean that the relationship between classifiers and nouns is loose; it still involves classification.

(12)



In addition to the kind of relation observed in examples (5) to (7), another point in common is variations in word order among nouns and classifiers. For example, ‘Mari bought two pencils’ can be expressed in Japanese in at least two ways depending on the position of the classifier phrase:<sup>3</sup>

(13) ‘Mari bought two pencils.’

- a. Mari wa ni-hon no enpitu o katta.  
 TOP 2-CL GEN pencil ACC bought
- b. Mari wa enpitu o ni-hon katta.  
 TOP pencil ACC 2-CL bought

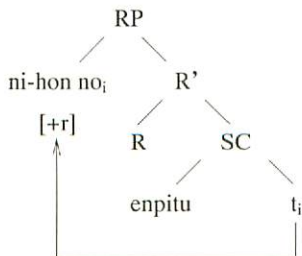
Such variations in the word order between the noun and the numeral classifier are in fact not limited to the Japanese language. According to Greenberg’s (1975, 1977) observation, the following two variations exist among numeral classifier languages in regard to word order:

- (14) a. Q-CL ↔ N  
 b. CL-Q ↔ N

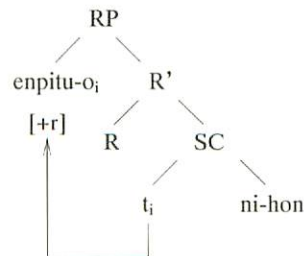
The Japanese language is an instance of (14a). While a numeral is always to the left of the classifier, one finds variation in the order of the noun and the numeral classifier phrase.

Now, considering that certain nominal expressions require reference, and given the syntactic implementation of reference proposed by Uriagereka (1995), it should be possible to represent the structures of the two variations of the noun phrase in (13) in a similar fashion, as shown in (15):

(15) a.



b.



<sup>3</sup> Muromatsu (1998) proposes a dimensional analysis, by which (12) is more complex. I will not go into detail here since the structure (12) is adequate for the present discussion.

Even though both (13a) and (13b) depict that Mari bought pencils and that the number of pencils is two, there is a difference in interpretation. *Ni-hon no enpitu* ‘two pencils’ in (13a) is talking about two individual pencils, being paraphrasable as ‘two sticks that are pencils’. Here, the reference of the noun phrase is *ni-hon* ‘two sticks’. On the other hand, in (13b), *enpitu o ni-hon* is about pencils, the entire noun phrase is paraphrasable as ‘pencils, of which the number is two’. Here, the reference is *pencil* ‘enpitu’. Thus the structure of an individual is (15a). It is partitive in the sense that it includes an Integral Small Clause.

What is important here is that when talking about the individuals, the classifier is in the position of receiving reference. While the classifier only helps to specify the number in the predicate position of the small clause—the noun in the Reference position referring to the type, not tokens—when the classifier is the Reference position, it acts as a reified instance of the noun.

### 3. The Structure of Overt Partitives

#### 3. 1. The Context Feature and Specificity

For Enç (1991), the specific/non-specific distinction codes a difference in the domain of discourse. Specific noun phrases are linked to the previous discourse, while non-specific ones are not. In Turkish, specificity of indefinites is marked overtly through accusative case marking. For example, consider the two kinds of discourse (16) and (17):

- (16) a. Odam-a birkaç çocuk girdi.  
 my-room-DAT several child entered  
 ‘Several children entered my room.’
- b. İki kız tanıyordum.  
 two girl I-knew  
 ‘I knew two girls.’ (Enç 1991: 6)

- (17) a. Odam-a birkaç çocuk girdi.  
 my-room-DAT several child entered  
 ‘Several children entered my room.’
- b. İki kız-i tanıyordum.  
 two girl-ACC I-knew.  
 ‘I knew two girls.’ (Enç 1991: 6)

<sup>3</sup>There are more variations in word order in Japanese. In this paper, however, I consider only variations within a noun phrase, in particular the two variations shown in (13). For a comprehensive discussion of the variations that occur at the sentence level, see Miyagawa (1989).



Both (16b) and (17b) follow (a) in discourse, and the (a) sentences are identical. The only difference is in the (b) sentences, in particular whether the object noun phrase is overtly accusative-marked or not. According to Enç (1991), the interpretation of the (b)-sentences differs. In (16), the two girls in (16b) are not included in the set of children in (16a), this sample of discourse being rather incoherent. On the other hand, in (17), the two girls in (17b) are included in the set of children mentioned in (17a). Thus, Enç (1991) equates the indefinite object in (17b) with the overt partitive noun phrase in (18):

- (18) Kiz-lar-dan iki-sin-i taniyordum.  
 girl-PL-ABL two-AGR-ACC I-knew  
 ‘I knew two of the girls.’ (Enç 1991: 6)

Overt partitives are necessarily specific. In *two of the women*, *two* is linked to *the women*, who are already known, and *two* in Turkish necessarily bears the overt accusative case:

- (19) a . Ali kadin-lar-in iki-sin-i taniyordu.  
 woman-PL-GEN two-AGR-ACC knew  
 ‘Ali knew two of the women.’  
 b . \*Ali kadin-lar-in iki-si taniyordu. (Enç 1991: 10)

However, I claim there is a difference between the first case, (17b), and overt partitives such as (19a), though they are both specific. In the overt partitive, the context is lexically given within the noun phrase, here *kadin-lar-in* ‘women’. However, in the case of the specific indefinite noun phrase, the sentence requires the previous discourse. And the two instances are syntactically different as well, which further shows that overt partitives and specific indefinites are not fully equivalent.

Let us first consider specific indefinites. Muromatsu (1997, 1998) claims that the specific/non-specific difference resides in the architecture of the noun phrase. According to Enç, “the sentence [here 20a] can only be interpreted as saying something about some children previously introduced into the domain of discourse. In contrast, [20b] is interpreted as involving first mention of the children, a consequence of the fact that the objects in [20b] bear no case” (Enç 1991: 6):

- (20) ‘I sent two children to the seventh grade, and one child to the eighth grade.’  
 a . İki çocuk-u yedinci sınıf-a, bir çocuk-u  
 two child-ACC seventh grade-DAT one child-ACC  
 da sekizinci sınıf-a gönderdim.  
 and eighth grade-DAT I-sent.



- b. Yedinci sınıf-a iki çocuk, sekizinci sınıf-a  
 seventh grade-DAT two child eighth grade-DAT  
 da bir çocuk gönderdim.  
 and one child I-sent. (Enç 1991: 6)

Muromatsu (1997) observes that Japanese has a parallel to Enç's (1991) example; however, the distinction is coded not as a difference in case marking but rather through the differing position of numeral classifiers. Compare (21a) and (21b):

(21) 'I sent two children to the seventh grade, and one child to the eighth grade.'

- a. Futa-ri no kodomo o sitinen-sei ni,  
 2-CL GEN child ACC seventh-grade DAT  
 hito-ri no kodomo o hatinen-sei ni ireta.  
 1-CL GEN child ACC eighth-grade DAT sent
- b. Sitinen-sei ni kodomo o futa-ri, hatinen-sei ni  
 seventh-grade DAT child ACC 2-CL eighth-grade DAT  
 kodomo o hito-ri ireta.  
 child ACC 1-CL sent

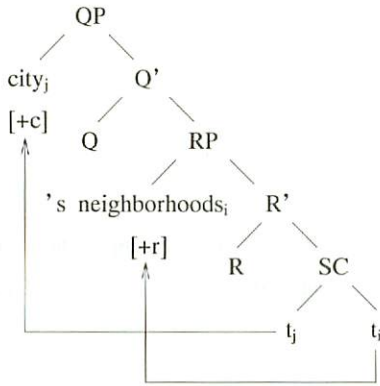
(21a) exactly parallels Turkish (20a) in that the children in the sentence are linked to the previous discourse. On the other hand, in (21b) the children are mentioned for the first time, which corresponds to Turkish (20b).

In order to make a connection between the difference in the domain of discourse, on the one hand, and the positions of the classifier phrase, on the other, Muromatsu (1997) used Context as a formal feature, following Uriagereka (1995). Let us first consider some examples of this here:

- (22) [sc city [poor neighborhoods]]
- (23) a. the poor neighborhoods of the city  
 b. a city of poor neighborhoods  
 c. the city's poor neighborhoods

We have seen that (23a) and (23b) are derived from the same Integral Small Clause of (22), each conveying different reference. As for (23c), Uriagereka (1995) derives the word order as in (24):

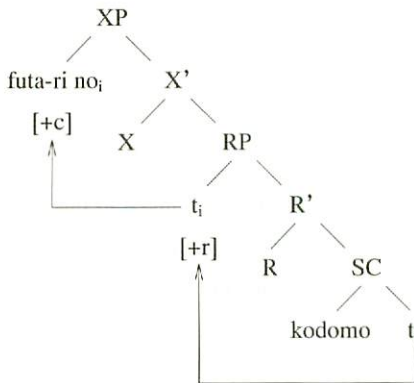
(24)



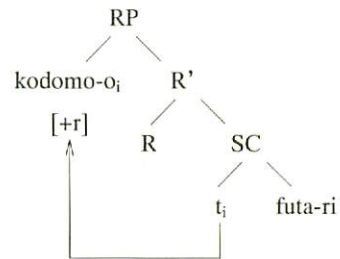
Following Higginbotham (1988), Uriagereka (1995) assumes that the Q introduces a context variable C and incorporates the mechanism into syntax: “Whatever moves to Spec of Q has a contextual character. In particular, we may take speakers to confine the range of whatever quantification Q invokes in terms of the element C that moves to this Spec” (Uriagereka 1995:273-274).

Following Enç’s (1991:11) convention that “contextually relevant means ‘already in the domain of discourse’”, and Uriagereka’s (1995) syntactic implementation of the semantic notion of Context discussed in Higginbotham (1988), Muromatsu (1998) proposes the structure in (25a) for specific noun phrases:

(25) a .



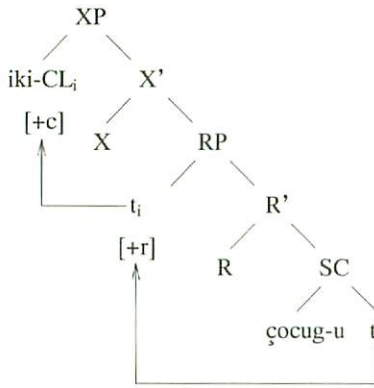
b .



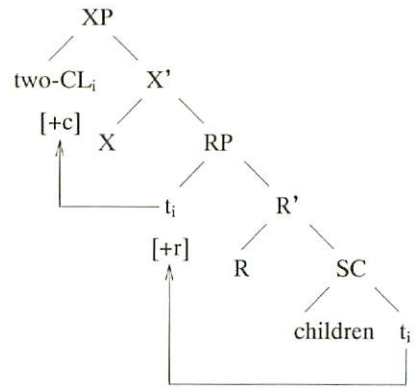
In (25a), the classifier carrying [+c] moves to the Spec of X. By this mechanism Muromatsu (1998) proposes to link the two individuals expressed by *futa-ri* ‘two-CL’ to the previous discourse. The two individuals who are referred to are linked to the context, which is provided outside of the sentence they are mentioned in. In contrast, (25b) expresses ‘children, of which the number is two’, this expression being clearly non-specific. The reference feature [+r] is carried by *kodomo* ‘children’, and the classifier phrase acts as a predicate specifying the number of children. There is no context feature involved here.

Turkish and English specific indefinites, in parallel to their Japanese counterpart, can be considered to have the structures:

26 a. Turkish



b. English



### 3. 2. Overt Partitives

Having examined the structure of specific indefinites, let us now consider overt partitives, which are also specific. An overt partitive such as *two of the women* refers to a group that is a subgroup of the referent of the NP contained in the partitive, *the women*. As seen above, in Turkish, specificity of noun phrases in the object position is marked overtly through accusative case marking. And the Turkish equivalent of *two of the women* necessarily bears overt accusative case in the object position. According to Enç (1991), the accusative case is obligatory in (27):

(27) a. Ali kadin-lar-in iki-sin-i taniyordu.  
 woman-PL-GEN two-AGR-ACC knew  
 'Ali knew two of the women.'

b. \*Ali kadin-lar-in iki-si taniyordu. (Enç 1991: 10)

In (27) both the superset *kadin-lar-in* 'the women' and the subset *iki-sin-i* 'two' are given within the noun phrases. In considering the structure of overt partitives, it is useful to consider the Japanese equivalent:

(28) Jiro wa ookii hon no san-satu o katta.  
 TOP big book GEN 3-CL ACC bought  
 'Jiro bought three books out of the big books.'

The noun phrase *ookii hon no san-satu* 'three books out of the big books' is overtly partitive. Interestingly, here, *san-satu* '3-CL' is independent of *ookii hon* 'big book' in the sense that that classifier phrase is not the one to individuate the noun phrase *ookii hon* 'big book'. *Ookii hon* 'big book' includes an invisible classifier that performs the function of individuation. The existence of such a covert classifier can be demonstrated by making the number of the superset overt, for instance *five*:

- (29) Jiro wa ookii go-satu no hon no san-satu o katta.  
 TOP big 5-CL GEN book GEN 3-CL ACC bought  
 ‘Jiro bought three books out of the five big books.’

*Go-satu* ‘5-CL’ in the phrase *ookii go-satu no hon* ‘five big books’ is the one that has the function of individuation. The extra classifier *san-satu* ‘3-CL’ in (29) is ‘vacuously’ applying to the already individuated noun phrases.<sup>4</sup>

Unlike Enç (1991), I will distinguish the two specific noun phrases clearly; one derives from the operation of individuation by a classifier, and the other from the non-individuating operation. However, I claim, following Uriagereka (1993), that overt partitives are also a kind of Integral, the superset and the subset being clearly in part/whole relation. Thus, the examples we have seen are derived from the following Integral Small Clauses:

- (30) a. Japanese                      b. Turkish                      c. English
- |   |   |  |
|---|---|--|
| $\begin{array}{c} \text{SC} \\ \diagdown \quad \diagup \\ 5\text{-satu no hon} \quad 3\text{-satu} \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{c} \text{SC} \\ \diagdown \quad \diagup \\ \text{kadin-lar-in} \quad \text{iki-sin-i} \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{c} \text{SC} \\ \diagdown \quad \diagup \\ \text{the women} \quad \text{two} \end{array}$ |
|---|---|--|

From the perspective of classifiers, the Integral Relation holds in (30a) as well. Consider (31):

- (31) a. Mari wa go-satu no hon no ni-satu o yonda.  
 TOP 5-CL GEN book GEN 2-CL ACC read  
 ‘Mari read two of the five books.’
- b. \*Mari wa go-satu no hon no ni-dai o yonda.  
 TOP 5-CL GEN book GEN 2-CL ACC read

When the wrong classifier is chosen for *hon* ‘book’, as in (31b), where *dai* is for vehicles, the sentence is rendered ungrammatical.

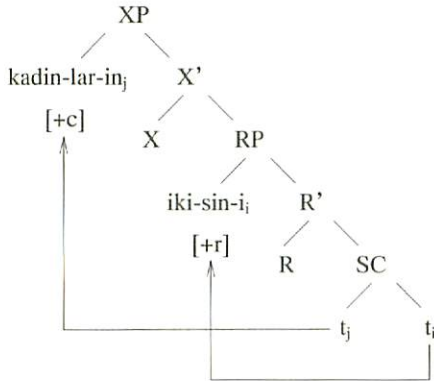
What is interesting is that in Turkish and English, morphological distinctions reveal the difference between the two types of operation: individuating and partitioning. The supersets in (30b) and (30c) show plural markers. I take the plural marker in these cases to be a manifestation of individuation. Thus the item in the predicate position in (30b) and (30c) are naturally not for the purpose of individuation. In Japanese, however, it is hard to distinguish on the surface the two types of operation, since a classifier can be invisible, as in (28), or visible, as in (29).

<sup>4</sup> I call the lexical process that the ‘vacuous’ classifier invokes an Identity Operation, following a similar analysis discussed in Uriagereka (1996). Basically, the Identity operation does not change the dimensionality of the element it applies to. See Uriagereka (1996) for the details.

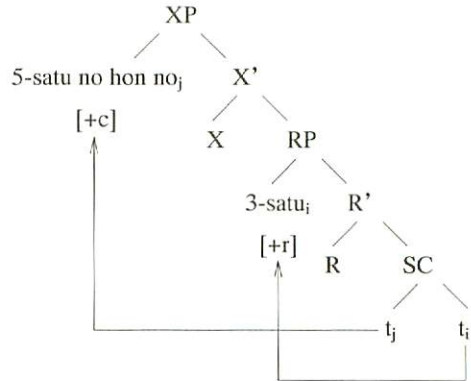


What is more, what the English example reveals is that the superset where the partitioning takes place is definite. This cannot be seen in Turkish or Japanese, which do not have overt definite articles. It is natural that the superset be definite if its denotation is somehow established in the previous discourse. Therefore, this definite noun phrase is the one that carries the [+c] feature. I propose overt partitive structures as in (32):

(32) a. Turkish



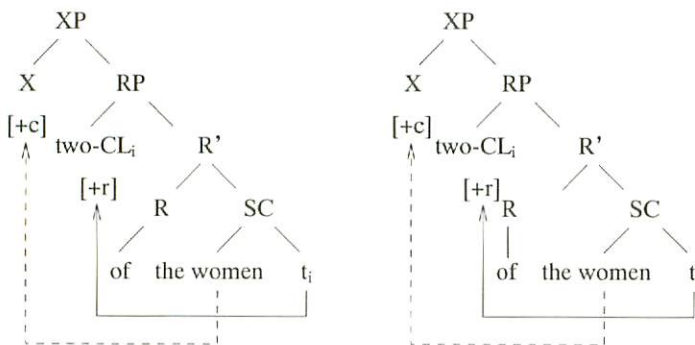
b. Japanese



The structure in (32b) shows that in the base small clause, the subject is individuated. By the movement of the subject into the Spec of X driven by [+c], the context is lexically given within the noun phrase XP. The subset establishes the reference by way of its [+r] feature moving to R.

English overt partitive has the structure of (33), which is essentially Uriagereka's (1993) structure (although for him *two* did not start as a modifier):

(33) English



As discussed above, the distinction between the two operations is morphologically visible in Turkish and English, unlike in Japanese. Japanese counterparts of the relevant structures are ambiguous between the two sorts of operations, due to the lack of plural markers and overt definite determiners in this language.

Interestingly, Japanese shows the above-mentioned ambiguity between the two operations in the "floating" version also. To my knowledge, such structural ambiguity has not been noticed until now. As mentioned earlier, the variation in the position of numeral classifier phrases has sparked several lines of

research. Recall the two versions:

- (34) a. G-version: NU-CL GEN NOUN (ACC/ NOM) (NU: Numeral)  
 b. F-version: NOUN ACC/ NOM NU-CL

I will call the form of (34a) “G”, or the “G-version”, since it includes the genitive case *no*. Also I will call the form of (34b) “F”, or the “F-version”, since it has been connected to floating quantifiers (though I use the term in theory-neutral fashion).

An important theoretical matter in the previous investigations is whether the F-version is derived from the G-version by a transformational rule of “Q-float”, or whether they are independent structures. The two constructions are taken by some (Okutsu 1969, Kamio 1973, Kuno 1978, among others) as transformationally related, while others (Inoue 1978, Ueda 1986, Miyagawa 1989, among others) reject a transformational analysis. The former claim that since the noun phrases have basically the same meaning and the elements constituting the sentences are almost the same, the almost complete synonymy must be attributable to a common underlying structure. The F-version is derived from the G-version by the rule of Q-float.

The opponents of this view adduce several arguments against it. One of these that is relevant in the present discussion is the observation that the G-version and the F-version do in fact induce some meaning difference; thus they should not be related transformationally. Within the framework of the Standard Theory (ST), opposition to the transformational view is reasonable, since meaning is determined at the level of Deep Structure and is never changed by transformation.

Within the Minimalist Program we can reasonably claim that the same core structures are involved in both instances (i.e. G and F), the difference in meaning correlating with certain features that may also affect syntax. Therefore, even if there exists a meaning difference between G and F, this is not in itself a problem for the framework we are assuming in this paper.

Nevertheless, I maintain that the meaning difference that previous authors have noticed between G and F should not be regarded as having a transformational basis. This meaning difference occurs in the examples below, which were used by Inoue (1978) to argue against a transformational analysis. She notes that an exhaustive/partitive meaning difference obtains when the noun phrases are definite, though when the noun phrases are indefinite, this is not the case.

Consider the definite case first:

- (35) a. Watasi wa kinoo atta suu-nin no gakusei o syootai-sita.  
 I TOP yesterday met several-CL GEN student ACC invited  
 ‘I invited the several students who I met yesterday.’
- b. Watasi wa kinoo atta gakusei o suu-nin syootai-sita.  
 I TOP yesterday met student ACC several-CL invited.  
 ‘I invited several of the students who I met yesterday.’ (Inoue 1978: 175)

In (35a), the G-version induces the exhaustive reading: the students that I met are several, and they were all invited. Whereas in (35b), the F-version induces the partitive meaning: the several students who were invited were a subgroup of the students I met. In short, the G-version has an exhaustive use, while the F-version has a partitive use.

In contrast, there is no exhaustive/partitive difference observed in the indefinite case in (36):

- (36) 'I ordered 200 New Year's cards.'
- a. Watasi wa nihyaku-mai no nengahagaki o tanonda.  
 I TOP 200-CL GEN New Year's card ACC ordered
- b. Watasi wa nengahagaki o nihyaku-mai tanonda.  
 I TOP New Year's card ACC 200-CL ordered (Inoue 1978: 172)

In my view, however, (35a) and (35b) are not to be compared from the perspective of Q-float at all. The meaning difference is not derived from a transformational difference between F and G: They do not share the same core structure from the beginning, (35b) not being a simple noun phrase, but rather an overt partitive construction.

#### 4. Individuals and Stages of Individuals

##### 4. 1. A Stage as a Temporal Part of an Individual

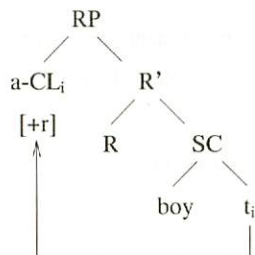
Now I propose the overt partitive structure that expresses the temporal part of individuals, i.e. stages of an individual. As Carlson (1977) originally used the terminology *individual-level* and *stage-level* predicates, the former are so called because they apply to individuals, whereas the latter are so called because they apply to stages (a temporal part) of individuals/things. However, attention has shifted to predicates, and the subject noun phrases have not been discussed.

I extend the above partitive structure to express a temporal part of an individual, that is, a stage of an individual. An individual and a stage form an Integral small clause, exhibiting part/whole relation:



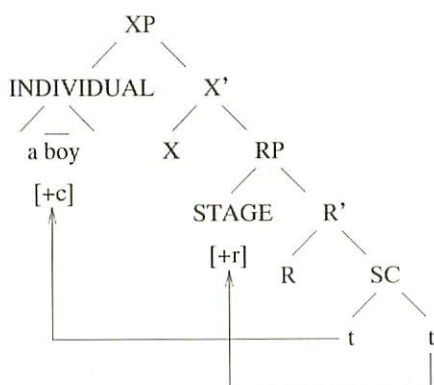
Here, recall the structure of individuals we discussed in Section 2.3. The structure of an Individual itself is derived from the Integral Small Clause, and importantly, the reference must be received by the classifier, which individuates the noun. The classifier is a reified instance in the reference position. The structure of the individual 'a boy' is as in (38):

(38)



Let us next examine the structure of a stage of an individual, which has the form of overt partitive, derived from the small clause of (37):

(39)



Recall that here the subject of the small clause in (39) is the individual (38). The reference head of this noun phrase is STAGE.

#### 4. 2. *Ser and Estar*

The distinction between *ser* and *estar* can now be analyzed as consisting in their selection of different types of subject. *Ser* selects individuals, while *estar* selects stages.

The analysis provides nice explanation for (2) - (4) (repeated here as (40) - (42)), where the adjectives are used predicatively:

- (40) a. \*Pedro es muerto. 'Pedro is dead.' (= 2)  
 b. Pedro está muerto. 'Pedro is dead.'

- (41) a. Jacinta es soltera. 'Jacinta is single.' (= 3)  
 b. Jacinta está soltera. 'Jacinta is unmarried.'

- (42) Bill ran. (= 4)  
 a. 'happening': there was an occasion on which Bill engaged in running.  
 b. 'characteristic': he was one who runs habitually.



(40) is not problematic any longer: The subject of *muerto* 'dead' modifies a stage of Pedro. It has nothing to do with a transitory character of Pedro. Likewise, the subject of *soltera* in (41a) is *Jacinta* as an individual. On the other hand, the subject of *soltera* in (41b) is a temporal part or a stage of *Jacinta*, implying that *Jacinta* may get married some day. The ambiguity in (42) lies not in the verb, but in the noun phrase.

The present proposal also explains, nicely, the differences between *ser* and *estar* previously described in terms of (i) comparison, (ii) change, (iii) speaker's point of view, and (iv) implication. I will consider each of these in turn.

#### 4. 2. 1. Comparison (Franco & Steinmetz 1986)

The present analysis offers a systematic account for Franco and Steinmetz' (1986) interpretation of the difference between *ser* and *estar*, namely as expressing different types of implied comparisons: *ser* expresses an implied comparison of the type X/Y, while *estar* expresses an implied comparison of the type X/X.

For example, compare (43a) and (43b):

- (43) a . Este acero es duro.  
           this steel is (ser) hard  
           'This steel is hard (compared with other steels).'
- b . Este acero está duro.  
           this steel is (ester) hard  
           'This steel is hard (compared with its usual state).'         (Franco and Steinmetz 1986: 380)

(43a) asserts that this steel (X) is hard compared with other steels (Y), while (43b) asserts that this steel (X) is hard compared with its (X's) usual state.

In the present view, (43a) is analyzed as signifying that a part of the nominal is being modified, implying a contrast with steels that are not hard. On the other hand, (43b) is analyzed as signifying that the stage is being modified, implying a contrast with the steel in other stages.

#### 4. 2. 2. Change (De Mello 1979)

In discussing the distinction between *ser* and *estar*, the notion of change is often mentioned. The use of *estar*, but not the use of *ser*, suggests that the notion of change is present in the mind of the speaker, either in the past or in the future:

- (44) a . Juan es alto.  
           'Juan is tall.'
- b . Juan está alto.  
           'Juan is tall.'                     (De Mello 1979: 339)

While (44a) simply talks about Juan having the attribute of tallness, in (44b) it is implied that Juan was not so

tall previously. De Mello (1979:340) mentions that “[t]he notion of change, however, is the manifestation of something more basic in the mind of the native Spanish speaker in distinguishing between *ser* and *estar* as attributive verbs, namely, the concept of temporal duration or the passage of time”. This is what the present analysis is capturing by the difference in nominals, but not by the copulas themselves, nor by the adjectives themselves. Individual-*Juan* in (44a) does not imply change, while Stage-*Juan* in (44b) does imply change. The *ser/estar* distinction is a manifestation of the “the concept of temporal duration”.

#### 4. 2. 3. Speaker's Point of View (Clements 1988)

Clements (1988) considers the difference between *ser* and *estar*—characterized as comparison by Franco and Steinmetz (1986), and as change by De Mello (1979)—to arise from the different viewpoints of speakers. According to Clements (1988), a speaker has the option of two perspectives on a given situation: a *ser*-perspective and an *estar*-perspective. A speaker decides the choice of the copula, depending on “a class norm, based on commonly understood beliefs, or to an individual norm, based on prior knowledge and/or assumed beliefs about” the referent (Clements 1988: 789):

- (45) a . El gerente es bueno para tratar al público.  
 ‘The manager is good at dealing with the public  
 (as a classifying characteristic of the manager within the class of managers).’
- b . El gerente está bueno para tratar al público.  
 ‘The manager is good at dealing with the public  
 (with the implication that he is better than before and that he may not be adept in other areas).’  
 (Clements 1988:788-89)

For example, (45a) asserts that the manager is good in comparison with other managers, while in (45b) the manager’s present level of ability is compared with his previous level. Particularly, (45b) is claimed to reflect the speaker’s point of view, that the manager’s ability is not a matter of his individual attribute.

I claim that what enables a speaker to choose between the two perspectives is the different kinds of nominals available to represent the subject in question. The choice of a perspective is the choice of a particular nominal to represent the subject.

#### 4. 2. 4. Implication (Luján 1981, Querido 1976)

Luján (1981), following Querido (1976), discusses the implication relation between *ser*-adjectives and *estar*-adjectives. Namely, an adjective used with *ser* implies that the same adjective can be used with *estar*, but not vice versa:

- (46) a . Ana está hermosa porque es hermosa. (True)  
 ‘Ann is beautiful because she is beautiful.’
- b . Ana es hermosa porque está hermosa. (False) (Luján 1981:173)

- (47) a . Juan está muy alegre, pero no es alegre.  
 'John's being very merry, but he's not merry.'
- b . \*Juan es muy alegre, pero nunca está alegre.  
 'John's very merry, but he's never merry.' (Luján 1981:174)

Luján (1981) says that an adequate analysis must capture the synonymy indicated by the implication, as well as the meaning difference, and she criticizes the characterization in terms of the opposition between *ser* and *estar*.

My analysis is not only capable of accounting for the implication but also does not characterize *ser*-adjectives and *estar*-adjectives as being in opposition. In fact, they are the same adjectives but are modifying nominals of a different sort. The implication holds not between *ser*-predicates and *estar*-predicates; rather it holds between an individual and a stage of the individual.<sup>5</sup>

#### 4. 3. *Visible Stars vs. Stars Visible*

It is interesting to note that in English there are some adjectives that appear either prenominally or postnominally:

- (48) a . visible stars  
 b . stars visible

(48a) refers to stars which are inherently visible, while (48b) means stars that are visible on some occasion (e.g. a cloudy night). Note that the difference reflects the individual/stage-level predication, as pointed out by Bolinger (1973), as the paraphrases in Spanish vary with respect to *ser* and *estar*:

- (49) a . The only visible stars (estrellas que son visibles) are Aldebaran and Sirius.  
 b . The only stars visible (estrellas que están visibles) are Aldebaran and Sirius.

(Bolinger 1973: 59)

This suggests that the difference between (49a) and (49b) is the star as an individual and a stage of the star.

Speaking of the different positions of adjectives, the Spanish language distinguishes restrictive and non-restrictive modification in terms of the positions of adjectives:

- (50) Spanish: a . las mansas ovejas  
 the gentle sheep  
 'the gentle sheep'

<sup>5</sup> It is not clear at this point how to explain an apparent counterexample such as (i):

i) Ana es hermosa, aunque hoy no está hermosa.  
 'Ann is beautiful, even though today she's not beautiful.' (Luján 1981:179)

Even though Ann is not beautiful for some duration of time, i.e. today, it is not denied that she is a beautiful individual.



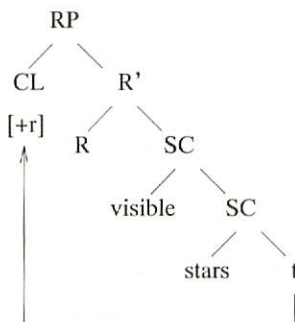
- b . los problemas geométricos  
 the problems geometric  
 ‘the geometric problems’

(50a) is an instance of non-restrictive modification, the adjective being prenominal. Here, all the sheep are considered gentle. On the other hand (50b) is an instance of restrictive modification, the adjective being postnominal. It suggests the existence of problems that are not geometric.

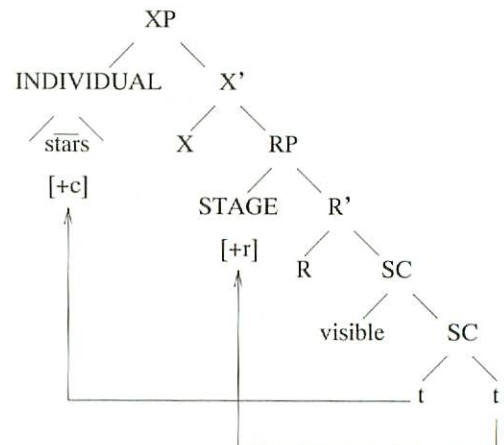
Rejecting an analysis in terms of the position of adjectives, Muromatsu (1996, 1998) proposes to analyze the two types of interpretation from the perspective of nominals. Her analysis is motivated by the observation that the same two interpretations are available in English, which does not differentiate the position of adjectives. In essence, her analysis is that when the adjective modifies “the whole” of the nominal, non-restrictive interpretation obtains, while when “the part” of the nominal is modified, restrictive interpretation obtains.

I claim to capture the contrast between the pair in (48) analogously. As indicated in (49a), *stars* here pertains to individuals. The adjective *visible* modifies it restrictively, and thus has the structure of (51a). As for (48b), as indicated in (49b), *stars* here is a stage of the individuals. The adjective *visible* modifies the STAGE, and thus has the structure of (51b):

- (51) a . visible stars



- b . stars visible



## 5. Concluding Remarks

This paper has provided a new perspective on the selection of the copula *ser/estar* in Spanish. I proposed the partitive structure to capture a stage of an individual, in the terminology of Carlson (1977). By analyzing a stage of an individual as a temporal part of the individual in the nominal analysis, a single, clear, unified perspective is given to the various phenomena previously interpreted variously as (i) comparison, (ii) change, (iii) speaker’s point of view, and (iv) implication.

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