

Expressions of Presence in Ibero-Romance

by

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Dedication

This dissertation is wholeheartedly dedicated to both nuclear and extended members of my cherished family from Mexico, including living and deceased, who may have at some point in their lives experienced the insatiable urge to pursue knowledge at a higher level, yet, unfortunately, were deprived of the opportunity to fulfil their aspirations.

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Abstract

This dissertation is a historical examination of the distribution patterns of copulae, specifically *ser*, *estar*, and *haber/haver*, within the context of Ibero-Romance languages. Employing a multidimensional qualitative approach, the study conducts an in-depth analysis of their usage across various grammatical structures, encompassing sentences, phrases, and clauses. The theoretical framework primarily adopts a functional perspective centred around information structure and information status whilst also incorporating semantics, morphology, and syntax considerations. The investigation strategically focuses on the Castilian (Spanish), Portuguese, Catalan, and Aragonese languages.

Chapter one is an inductive exploration of influential syntax, semantics, and pragmatics studies, establishing the theoretical foundations underpinning subsequent data analysis. Chapter two initiates with a brief discussion on existential and locative constructions in Latin, followed by a qualitative analysis of early Castilian and early Portuguese samples. Chapter three parallels the structure of chapter two by presenting data from early Catalan and early Aragonese. Throughout chapters two and three, relevant theoretical notions, including those previously introduced in chapter one, are integrated into the discussion. Finally, chapter four expands upon previous observations and proposals, offering avenues for further investigation and consolidating the principal conclusions derived from the preceding chapters.

This research advances the field of Romance linguistics by conducting a re-evaluation of the taxonomy concerning locative and existential constructions within the framework of Ibero-Romance languages. Our argument asserts that, despite their apparent differences in informational status, these constructions inherently share a common underlying informational structure and historical foundation. Moreover, we propose that the disappearance of the proform

in Western Ibero-Romance catalysed a significant transformation in the usage of copulae for expressing existence and location in modern varieties. As a result, we identify three distinct categories: 1) General Presence, 2) Stage-level, and 3) Locative Presence, which present a novel model for the unification of presence expression.

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Hoc pronuntiatum: Ego sum, Ego existo, quoties a me profertur, vel mente concipitur, necessario
esse verum.

René Descartes

What is meant by *Being-in*? Our proximal reaction is to round out this expression to *Being-in in the world*, and we are inclined to understand this *Being-in* as *Being in something* ["Sein in ..."]. This latter term designates the kind of Being which an entity has when it is *in* another one, as the water is *in* the glass, or the garment is *in* the cupboard. By this *in* we mean the relationship of Being which two entities extended *in* space have to each other with regard to their location in that space. Both water and glass, garment and cupboard, are *in* space and *at* a location, and both in the same way. This relationship of Being can be expanded: for instance, the bench is in the lecture-room, the lecture-room is in the university, the university is in the city, and so on, until we can say that the bench is *in world-space*.

M. Heidegger

The little word *is* has its tragedies [...] Whenever I use the word *is*, except in sheer tautology, I deeply misuse it; and when I discover my error, the world seems to fall asunder and the members of my family no longer know one another.

G. Santayana

And [...] aware that I am *here*,
I still wonder *who* I am.

N.V—MW

Words don't mean. People mean.

A. Korzybski

$\forall y ((H(y) \wedge P(y)) \rightarrow (\exists x ((H(x) \wedge P(x)) \rightarrow (E(x) \wedge C(x))))))$

ChatGPT

0. Introduction

0.1 Premise

We ARE only because we can echo ourselves through icons, indices, and symbols. As an assessment of our conscious experience and its perennial presence, natural language is the ultimate arbitrator of self-awareness through space and time.

Through space and time, knowledge (experience) in ancient Greece, *espisteme* (ἐπιστήμη), was to be deducted ultimately from propositions¹. Propositions, or judgements, possessed their taxonomy, depending on the type of assertion (e.g., πρότασις, ἀπόφανσις, λόγος, etc.)², where almost all of them were composite and required at least two relational parts such as $A \rightarrow B$; the so-called categorical propositions. For example, ‘Plato’ and ‘wisdom’ may be combined so that one can assert that Plato possesses wisdom or that Plato is wise.

In his *Metaphysics*, Aristotle points out that there seems to be a type of judgement that differs from the rest, a type of incomposite judgement that does not denote the premise of two separate concepts or entities in the real world. The phrase ‘it snows’ would be one example as it appears to be a ‘subjectless fact’ upon which a judgement is made.

Remarkably, the assertion ‘it snows’ also seems to differ from a categorical judgement in the sense that one cannot assert its truth established on the relation basis of two different concepts or entities denoted across space and time, and it is therefore deemed a thetic judgement or proposition (from Greek *thetikos* – *tithenai*, to lay down). For this reason, the proposition ‘it snows’ would appear to be, for some philosophers, a judgement based on perception rather than inference, ultimately rendering a unified theory of judgement unfeasible.

¹ from Latin PROPONERE – to stretch forward or set forth judgements.

² For a discussion on the type of propositions and their distinctions see Kelikli, 2018.

The aforesaid conundrum in Western philosophy is revisited by German philosopher Franz Brentano who introduced the concept of perceptual judgement, also called presentational, existential, or thetic judgement. Brentano proposed that all judgements, including categorical judgements, are, in fact, existential or thetic judgements. For example, the judgement that A is B implies the proposition that an A that is B exists or, in other words, that no A is not B (PES 214, [II 56; SVS 1, 236]). This is similar to what would be analysed in symbolic logic as the premise $(\exists x)fx$. Namely, there is an f such that x is f . According to Brentano, all categorical propositions entail, at a different level, a thetic proposition of existence or being of the element upon which the judgement is being predicated.

Regarding existence, philosophers such as Kant, in his *Kritik der reinen Vernunft*, proposed that the concept of being or existing is not truly a predicate but simply the positing of the concept in question. The latter is similar to Thomas Aquinas' vision, who suggested that the predicate denoting existence or 'isness' is not a real copula or linking verb, but simply a sign of affirmation. Both Kant and St. Thomas were referring to a proposition of the type 'God is' or 'God exists'³.

Contrastively, the German philosopher Johann Herbert argued that existence, along with the copula, stands together in the position of a predicate in a subjectless proposition of which 'being' or existence is asserted (Sullivan, 1991, p.127). In other words, in a proposition such as 'Men exist,' the concept of man stands in relation to the proposition as a predicate rather than a subject; relatively similar, feasibly, to a proposition of the type 'There exist men' or 'There are men.'

Curiously, Herbert's proposal resembles some modern linguistic theories on the nature of the existence expressions; namely, that the presupposed presence, overt or covert, of a location,

³ <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/existence/>

along with its semantic, pragmatic, and syntactic implications, is vital in the understanding of the evolution and categorisation of existential and locative clauses in a vast number of modern languages, more particularly in some varieties of Ibero-Romance. Otherwise stated, such a location seems to stand as a separate entity from the concept whose existence is in question, fulfilling, in a way, the canonical structure subject-predicate. Under this light, the concept of space, place, or common ground, scarcely addressed in the literature for existential propositions, appears to be crucial.

0.2 The Language of Presence

The question of the expression of *being* in human language is a relic of philosophical treatises that date back to Aristotle. For Greek philosophers, the logical usage of the language of existence was crucial to formulate accurate propositions (e.g., εἶναι vs ἐστί) and has been a matter of debate among classical and modern philosophers (see Kahn, 1966 & Van Bennekom, 1984). In Philosophy, the dilemma seems to arise from the presumed problem of interpreting the copula in sentences that lack a nominal predicate, as discussed in the previous section. In other words, how can a verb be so multifaceted that it can take, in some cases, the role of predicate copula in attributive phrases such as ‘Plato is wise’; as a locative designator, in locative phrases, such as ‘Plato is there’; and at the same time act as an unaccusative verb in, less common but equally valid, sentences such as ‘Plato is’?

For logicians, which includes most philosophers of language, this seems to be a conundrum that necessitates, at least, formal semantic methods to form a consensus on how to appropriately interpret the presence of the copula in its different settings⁴. These philosophical discussions approach the notions of existence, reality, and truth value as an effort to sort out the challenges

⁴ For a philosophical and formal approach to existential propositions see Heidegger, 1973; Plantinga, 1982; Simons, 1992; Dekker, 1993; Raclavsky, 2011, and Moltmann, 2013.

that natural language occasionally poses to describe reality. In other words, how can we make propositions concerning deities such as god is, god exists, or there is a god without a specific entity denoting the concept in question? As captivating and remarkable as they may be, the exhaustive exploration of these discussions shall not be the focal point of this study. However, it remains imperative that we make some brief allusions to the most prominent deliberations that have transpired over the past decades.

Out of the philosophical and historical debate concerning this challenge, a novel approach to analysing existential propositions in philosophy is the use of quantifiers as specification forms. In the early 20th century, the philosophers Gottlob Frege and Bertrand Russell introduced the notion of second-level predicate for copular sentences containing specific individuals, and along with it, also the idea that existence needs to be grasped in quantificational terms. For example, a first-level predicate refers to the predication of a concept that does not necessarily need to sit as a denotatum in any spatiotemporal coordinates of the real world in terms of instantiation; namely, in referring to the concept of ‘dragon,’ denoting an animatronic character in a movie, one can make assertions about the dragon such as ‘the dragon is red and big’ without necessarily conveying a false statement. The truth is that there is a dragon in the movie, which is red and big. Therefore, it holds. However, the proposition ‘Dragons exist’ does not always hold true. How can the former proposition hold whilst the latter does not?

What Frege (1892, 1894) and Russell (1905b) proposed⁵, broadly speaking, was that the previous proposition translates as ‘There are some things that have the properties of Dragons,’

⁵ Even though Frege and Russell’s approaches were not exactly similar, they overlapped in some areas. Whereas Russell argued for a description without truth value in case there was no denotation, Frege argued for a differentiation between sense and denotation, where sense (Sinn, in German) is independent of psychological or physical instantiation or reference – This is how the name of a single object in two different languages holds for one same concept or thought. This conflated theory by both philosophers has been challenged by subsequent philosophers (see McDowell, 1977).

somewhat similar to what Brentano had formerly proposed. Equally, one can say, ‘Dragons do not exist,’ meaning that ‘Nothing has the property of being a dragon.’ This implies, as opposed to Aristotelian conventions, that existence is a second-order property, as it will be explained.

When one does not deal with generics (dragons, for example) but with specific individuals such as Pope Francis, one needs to invoke a second-order predicate to accurately assess the interpretation of such a proposition, e.g., ‘Pope Francis exists,’ which would translate into something like ‘There is someone that has the specific properties of Pope Francis.’ In this manner, the denotation of an individual, Russell would propose, is packed in the definite descriptions of such an individual and maybe more clearly discerned in first-level predicate expressions such as ‘The successor of St. Peter lives in Vatican City and is holy,’ which would translate as ‘There is someone who is a unique successor of St. Peter that lives in Vatican City and is holy.’

According to Russell, these definite descriptions are quantifications rather than referring expressions. Furthermore, in this second-order logic, one can assert or deny the proposition's truth without asserting or denying the individual's existence. This is particularly important if one thinks of individuals such as ‘Uncle Sam’ who do actually ‘exist’ but in reality, do not refer to a specific individual in the real world, which in turn would allow us to make statements such as ‘Uncle Sam is very popular,’ which holds despite it being a fictitious character. Consequently, just as in logic, the concept of quantification and specificity in existence will have, as we will see, an enormous impact on the consolidation of categorisation of existential and locative sentences.

Even though natural language does not necessarily follow logical principles, as a display of cognitive competency, natural language follows, in many instances, iconic principles related to

reality. Therefore, categorical andthetic sentences follow a pattern of discursive functionality in many languages, so they may significantly impact language parameters in their praxis. This is particularly important for many early and modern varieties of Romance, which may display a canonical Topic-Comment order in the presence of the so-called locative proform. Consequently, identifying those patterns throughout the history of the main Ibero-Romance varieties will be the primary focus of this study.

0.2.1 Expressing presence in Ibero-Romance

In Ibero-Romance, expressing presence (existence and location) generally requires utilising one of three copulae, virtually homographs amongst their distinct varieties — *ser*, *estar*, *haber/haver*. This study intends to offer a multidimensional qualitative analysis of some of the distribution patterns of these copulae from data available since their inception through their progressive integration into their respective modern grammars. Even though the theoretical framework will mainly offer a functional perspective from the vantage point of information structure, the multidimensional approach also considers the semantics, morphology, and syntax of all existential and locative expressions (i.e., sentences, phrases, clauses, constructions, etc.). Additionally, although Ibero-Romance encompasses a wide diversity of languages, this study will strategically focus on some of the main varieties by their geographical distribution and the number of sources available for analysis, namely, Castilian (Spanish), Portuguese, Catalan, and Aragonese.

As the premise of this study states, the complex task of expressing the circumstantial or theoretical ‘isness’ of an entity has been the basis of centuries of philosophical debate, which encompasses the relationship betweenthetic and categorical judgements. Analogously, the relationship, or contrast, between existence and location has been a long-lasting motive of

linguistic interest. For this reason, this study will simultaneously contribute to revising the taxonomy of so-called locative and existential constructions from a vantage point of Ibero-Romance and information structure, which, we will claim, internally possess the same structure, regardless of the copula, for a unified model of presence expression.

Chapter One inductively explores some of the last decades' most relevant studies and proposals in syntax, semantics, and pragmatics. These studies pose the general theoretical foundations for the subsequent data analysis in the following chapters. Given the position of Ibero-Romance within the greater Indo-European family of languages, chapter one will also present a brief overview of the status of some of the main varieties of the more prominent Romance family regarding the subject matter.

Chapter two will be introduced by a brief discussion regarding existential and locative constructions in Latin, as well as a qualitative analysis of early Castilian and early Portuguese (West) tokens. Adherent to the theoretical framework and purpose of this study, and to avoid a needless discussion regarding nomenclature, this chapter, as well as chapter three, organised the data based on the introduction of the locus (locative), or the entity (existential), as new information (focalisation).

Chapter three will present data from early Catalan and early Aragonese (East). Throughout chapters two and three, some theoretical notions, including previously introduced ones in chapter one, will be integrated into the discussion. All interlinear glossing follows the Leipzig glossing rules. Any examples in any language other than English will be otherwise translated across the text body. Chapter four will expand on previous observations and proposals to be considered for further investigation. This chapter will also serve as a repository of the previous chapters' main conclusions and noteworthy findings.

This project necessitates a thorough exploration, utilising historical data extracted and analysed within their discursive context, to reliably trace the usage and evolution of certain structures. The focus lies on particles and verbs found in mediaeval texts and source documents. Initially, our hypothesis suggests that the data will reveal a distinctive development in these structures during the High Middle Ages. Specifically, Castilian and Portuguese advanced by incorporating specialised locative copulae, specifically integrating the verb *estar* into their grammars. This adaptation compensated for the loss of the proform in existential and locative constructions.

Additionally, we postulate that certain Eastern varieties, such as standard Catalan and certain Aragonese varieties, presently occupy an intermediary stage between proform loss and integrating new copulae. This phenomenon potentially illustrates a complementary distribution of locative sentences across Romance languages. In other words, languages still using proforms do not employ a specialised verb for locative sentences akin to Latin *STŌ*. On the other hand, languages that no longer utilise these particles have fully assimilated a dedicated verb, such as *estar*, into their grammatical structures, particularly when the copula appears in the initial position, thus mirroring, in theory, and actuality, a valid existential construction within a set of events and locations.

It is essential to alert the reader that, albeit the subject of study is the Ibero-Romance family of languages, English is employed for the discussion. Therefore, some parallelisms need to be established regarding specific grammatical constructions. Additionally, most of the seminal work on the current topic was initially published in English to study similar phenomena in that language. Therefore, it will not surprise the reader that many questions regarding either language may find their answer in similar resolutions. It is also important to note that given the

multidimensional approach to this study, depending on the relevance of the linguistic level, sometimes expressions such asthetic proposition, thematic, presentational, existential, locative, non-presentational, categorical proposition, rhematic, et cetera, may be used equivalently.

Finally, cognisant of the formidable undertaking of delving into a profoundly intricate subject matter, which has already been enriched by decades of brilliant scholarly contributions, this study humbly acknowledges its limitations in attempting to fill gaps or present pivotal information in historical and theoretical Romance linguistics. Instead, the overarching academic intent of this investigation lies in crafting a fresh arrangement and synthesis of the existing knowledge, aspiring to provide an additional perspective from which novel insights may emerge, including the ones presented in chapter four. In this pursuit, the present author earnestly endeavours to contribute, albeit modestly, to the discourse surrounding how the speakers of the Iberian Peninsula, and all their historically intervened territories, articulate the awareness that everything, including their very self, is.

Chapter I

Theoretical Foundations

1. Existing and Being Somewhere

The correlation between ‘being’ and ‘existing’ reveals a nuanced yet significant interplay of semantic convergence. While these concepts may appear synonymous, a subtle distinction sets them apart. Take, for instance, the commonplace expression ‘I am in a place,’ which lacks the distinctive rarity, through grammatical validity, of the sentence ‘I exist in a place.’ Interestingly, despite their disparity, many languages employ a single verb to convey both meanings. This linguistic phenomenon often traces its roots to the ancestral utilisation of so-called existential and locative expressions⁶.

Evidence of structural patterns in Classical Latin has been found in recent studies on Existentials (e.g., *There is a man in the garden*) and Locatives (e.g., *A man is in the garden*) in Italo-Romance. This evidence shows that the type of interpretation (i.e., existential, attributive, or locative) of the Latin verb SUM will depend, to a degree, on the position of the verb in the sentence. In other words, whilst presentational structures such as Existentials (ECs) tend to favour a position of the verb at the beginning of the sentence (core V1 position) (e.g., EST HOMO IN HORTO – ‘There is a man in the garden’), Locative constructions, on the other hand, will tend to favour a position at the end of the sentence (V3 position) (e.g., HOMO IN HORTO EST – ‘The man is in the garden’). Predicate-focus attributive sentences (e.g., ‘The man is a farmer’) will

⁶ We will use the term locative/existential expression and construction (ECs, LCs) indistinctively, emphasising their semantics and the syntax respectively. However, we will make a distinction between the terms clause and sentence depending on the position of the copula, either as the verb of the main or the subordinate clause.

oscillate between the middle of the sentence (V2 position) and final sentence position (V3 position) (e.g., HOMO EST AGRICOLA or HOMO AGRICOLA EST)⁷ (Bentley et al., 2015).

However, as word order started to shift in late Latin and early Romance with the increasing use of determiners and prepositions, as well as the loss of case in nominals, locative and existential readings tended to rely ever more on the structural context of the sentences for distinction⁸ (see Cabrillana, 2007). Distinctions such as the type of noun, definite or indefinite (e.g., *Un hombre* vs *El hombre*), also played a role, as well as the addition of a particle that refers to the location in question, also called the proform (e.g., *hy*, *hi*, *i*, in early Castilian).

For example, how else would early Castilian distinguish between **El hombre es en el jardín* ('The man is in the garden') and **Es un hombre en el jardín* ('Is a man in the garden') if it were not for the interaction of the Romance innovation of quantifiers in the form of definite and indefinite articles to account for the common knowledge of the entity in question (cf. 'There is a man in the garden' vs '*There is the man in the garden')? Moreover, the addition of the proform to its grammar allowed the formation of complex predicates that would denote physical presence, such as 'being in a specific place,' rather than merely existing undefinedly somewhere (cf. *Hy era el hombre* 'There was the man').

⁷ The position of the verb here, as an intransitive verb, is determined by the position in the sentence in the relation with the nominal (pivot) and the location. Or in the case of attributive phrases, in relation with the Adjectival Phrase.

⁸ Cabrillana (2007) makes an analysis of three Latin texts, two mediaeval and one classical, in existential and locative sentences, which shows the ever-increasing movement of the verb to second position, as opposed to final position. The results of this study need to be understood within the context if the nomenclature and parameters set by the author, who utilises as the premise Latin canonical word order SOV, with S being, in the case of existentials and locatives, the location. More recent nomenclature calls the location in question, if mentioned, the Coda. That is, when the author mentions that V2 appears to be the most used word order one needs to consider that this could mean either Coda/Verb/Pivot or Pivot/Verb/Coda. No wonder why in the *Peregrinatio Aegeriae*, half of the results turned out to be V2 for existential constructions, which tends to be V1 in the Verb/Pivot correlation.

Cabrillana also warns about categorical correlation between the emergence of the determiner and the fixation of word-order in Late-Latin Early-Romance (p. 62). What is true is that, even though definiteness was not the only factor to determine word order, word order did become freer as topic subjects became easier to identify.

As the proform evolved in some Romance varieties, such as early Castilian and Portuguese, it lost its locative deictive value (*there, that place, in that place*, etc.), and, in some cases, it became grammaticalised (cf. the form *hay* from the verb *haber* in Castilian). In other occurrences, the proform disappeared altogether, as in the case of Portuguese (cf. the form *ha* from the verb *haver*). Therefore, under this guise, one could claim that other modern Romance varieties, such as standard French and Italian, where proforms are still to some extent active in the grammar (cf. It. *essere* vs *esserci*), find themselves at a previous stage. Given the relevance that the proform has in those modern standards, one of the main aims of this study is to track the diachronic and synchronic implications of the loss of the proform for ECs and LCs through a qualitative study in some of those Western varieties where it disappeared with or without a current trace.

The present chapter will establish the necessary theoretical groundwork to explore the mechanics and intricacies of existential clauses. We will examine seminal studies from English *There*-sentences and more recent research across various linguistic perspectives. This is crucial as it will provide a solid framework and foundation for the discussions in the subsequent chapters, aligning them with the models, theories, and classifications proposed in previous studies. As this study focuses on the historical aspects, we aim to leverage existing information to gain insights into the evolution of existential constructions from Latin to Ibero-Romance languages.

Section one will delve into the proposed syntactic structure underlying ECs and LCs and their transformations within the framework of generative grammar. We will explore the concept of copular sentences and their patterns to better understand the differences, similarities, and relationships between existential and locative readings. Moving to section two, we will explore

the interpretation of these patterns and structures based on pragmatic and semantic rules guided by specific constraints such as predicate restrictions and the definiteness effect. Finally, section three will provide a historical introduction and a comparative overview of existential and locative constructions in Latin and the major Romance languages.

1.1.The structure of being

The fascination with formulating and interpreting existential propositions has not been exclusive to philosophers. With the increased rise of Linguistics as a science since the late 19th century, experts in various fields and subfields of the discipline have taken an interest in deciphering the complexities of existential propositions across languages, finding in the process a variety of similarities and differences.

In modern times, one of the first linguists to observe and categorise the structure of existential propositions in language was Otto Jespersen (1924) in his *The Philosophy of Grammar*. Jespersen noticed that in English, there are sentences that start with “[a] weak *there*” in the place of the subject to present a sentence with an “indefinite subject.” Jespersen then proposes to call all these sentences cross-linguistically ‘Existential Sentences,’ “[...] in which the existence of something is asserted or denied,” offering a brief account of existential constructions in Germanic, Romance, Russian, Greek, and Finnish (pp. 154-56).

Jespersen’s first official account of existential constructions would be only the beginning of a series of studies that would attempt to sort out the complexities of these structures in the search for a unified account. It was evident from the beginning that these structures held many similarities and differences across languages and had contrastive features among comparable structures within the same language. It was also evident that the conundrum with ECs derived

from an apparent lack of a definite subject and their similar structural patterns with other copular sentences.

The concept of copular sentences is a broad term encompassing a lengthy list of syntactic structures, including the verb ‘to be’ and its equivalents in other languages. The verb TO BE is a copula that links two elements of a composite judgement, following philosophical jargon. However, linguistically the matter is more complex given that the verb ‘to be’, besides its syntactic position, behaves differently from other verbs as it is semantically reliant on the type of structure in which it finds itself, thus giving rise to a robust taxonomy of copular clauses.

As for the wide variety of copular constructions, some studies have proposed that strictly speaking, copular clauses could be classified mainly into four categories — Clauses that follow a pattern NP – AP or NP– Bare N, also known as Predicational; that is, patterns of the type ‘A.x ($x \rightarrow A$ or $x \rightarrow A.y$)’ as in ‘The man is big’ or *Ella es profesora* (‘She is a teacher’); clauses that follow an NP – NP pattern, also called Specificational, of the type ($x \rightarrow y$) ‘Mary is the producer’ or *Gloria es la directora* (‘Gloria is the director’); Identificational, which requires a deictic expression (this/that $x \rightarrow y$); for example, ‘That man is my father’ or *Este es mi hermano* (‘This is my brother’); and, finally, equative, of the type ($x = y$) ‘Tully is Cicero’ or *Pablo Neruda es Neftalí Reyes* (‘Pablo Neruda is Neftalí Reyes’) (Higgins, 1979; Mikkelsen, 2005).

Other copula structures do not necessarily follow the above patterns; for example, locative clauses, which tend to follow an NP – PP pattern, such as ‘The man is in the garden,’ or a, though not strictly copular, NP – VP pattern, such as progressive and passive readings as in ‘The man is reading’ and ‘The man was hit.’

As previously mentioned,thetic (also called presentational) sentences with the verb TO BE, either of the type ‘God is’ or ‘There is a god,’ bear a peculiar resemblance to copular sentences

despite the apparent lack of a predicative argument. However, the remarkable case of existential constructions seems to rest at many more levels — not only is the syntactic structure highly marked, but it appears that the lexical value of this light verb⁹ also differs markedly from canonical copular sentences, which at the same time prompts the usage of a variety of copular verbs in other languages¹⁰. For this reason, some contemporary linguists have hastily suggested a connection between copular and existential sentences.

Amongst some of the first proposals to offer a unified account of copular and existential sentences was the so-called There-insertion rule (TI) (Harris, 1957). This straightforward approach stated that existential clauses were, in a way, synonymous and derived from copular clauses of the type ‘A man is in the garden.’ The rule stated that the NP (A man) had to be moved to the immediate right of an occurrence of the verb TO BE, whilst the open position had to be filled by the insertion of a presentational and semantically empty *there* in the following fashion.

- (1) a. Stage one: A man is in the garden
- b. Stage two (movement): [____] is a man in the garden
- c. Stage three (Insertion): There is a man in the garden

As Milsark (1969) noticed in his seminal doctoral thesis, despite the simplicity and elegant straightforwardness of this approach, the TI rule fails to account for many different scenarios that go beyond the scope of semantics and an original explanation of the semantic source of the

⁹ “The term ‘light verb’ coined by Jespersen (1954) refers to the verbs in expressions such as: take a walk, give a groan, give the floor a sweep, give a demonstration of the technique, make an offer, have a bite, and do the ironing. The defining characteristic of these expressions is that the main semantic content of the predicate is provided not by the verb, but by the action nominal complement [...]” (Kearns, 2002, p.1).

¹⁰ In the case of Greek, Kahn (1966) argues that the ‘absolutive’ reading of athetic sentence of the type ‘x is’ (e.g., θεός εἶναι – God is) does not really mean ‘to exist’ but ‘to be so’, ‘to be the case’ or ‘to be true’ (p. 250) whilst athetic sentence of the type ‘There is a god’ (ἔστι θεός) would signify logically a sentence of the type ‘There is an x such that x is god’.

empty *there*, besides the fact that it resorts to many metatheoretical and ad hoc restrictions to account for exceptions to the rule.

Though not all problems with the *There*-Insertion theory will be accounted for here (see Milsark, pp. 20-60), amongst the most prominent challenges to this approach was the dilemma of definiteness of the NP. For example, the TI rule was not able to account for sentences of the type ‘There is powder on my shoes’ because the source of the transformation would be ‘#Powder is on my shoes,’ which is marginally grammatical or semantically odd for most speakers. Having an unacceptable source sentence that gives rise to an acceptable transformation is problematic. For this reason, besides the presence of evident restrictions in existential sentences¹¹, Milsark proposed, beyond definiteness or specificity, the notion of quantification and how determiners are semantically different depending on their type. Based on cardinality or quantification, the quantification restriction appeals to the apparent restriction of quantified elements in *there*-existential constructions.

Milsark divided determiners into three categories: 1) Ambiguous, of the type *some*, *many* or bare plurals only, when they do not have a quantificational reading. 2) Unambiguously cardinal (the measure of a number in a set) such as the indefinite article and number such as *two*, *three*, etc., and 3) universal quantifiers (*the*, *each*, *all*, *every*, *both*), which are not allowed in existential constructions.

What Milsark proposed then was, along with other restrictions, that the quantification restriction was applied in the process of derivation from copular sentences to existential sentences, not that different from the *There*-insertion rule, where the quantifying expression of the entity whose existence is in question is considered for there to be movement. In this fashion,

¹¹ Just to mention some of them, - the predicate restriction (People are intelligent - *There are people intelligent) and the ‘leftmost restriction’ (*There was being a house built).

Milsark's model appears to be an enhanced version of the *There*-insertion rule with the refinement and addition of the conditions.

Though Milsark's pioneering contribution to the understanding of ECs offered deep insight into the nature of the noun and an elegant unification of copular and existential sentences, his contribution was mostly limited to the English language and the Generative framework of grammar. Also, Milsark was still unable to account for the origin of existential semantically-empty *There* in existential clauses¹². Amongst other theories examined by Milsark are the Structural Preserving Hypothesis (Edmonds, 1970), the Locative Extraposition Hypothesis¹³ (Kuno, 1971), and – The phrase Structure¹⁴ and Cleft Reduction Hypothesis¹⁵ (Jenkins, 1972, 1973).

However, to comprehend the situation's conundrum beyond grammaticality, it is essential to understand that, unlike a structuralist view of language, generativists attempt to unify the wide variety of syntactic structures to a negligible deep structure from which all sentences are derived. The unified account of derivations, transformations, and specific places of phrase generation is the crux of the matter in all these linguistic analyses. On the other hand, the notions put forward by Kuno (1971) — which, besides the syntactic level, deal with diachronic, pragmatic, and cross-linguistic evidence of existential constructions — would later prove key for the consideration of other theories regarding their linguistic nature as we will see in the next section. Yet, during its

¹² After Milsark, there were many replies and rebuttals from Jenkins (1975) and Williams (1984) trying to refine the *There*-insertion rule. Jenkins proposed, *grosso modo*, in his Phrase Structure Analysis, that there were no transformations involved in the process, suggesting that *There* is found in the underlying structure of the sentence as an NP. At the same time, Williams defends Jenkins (1975) proposal and his claim that the postcopular material, e.g., [a man in the garden], is an NP and not a Small Clause as proposed by Stowell (1981), Burzio (1982) and Safir (1982).

¹³ All existential sentences are derived from a LOC (PP) – V – NP structure, which moves the locative at the beginning of the sentences to the coda position leaving *There* as a copy of the locative.

¹⁴ The instance of a coda is always an instance of NP.

¹⁵ Existential Sentences are in the Deep Structure like cleft sentences of the type 'It was John who was in the room', which are, technically speaking, also a type ofthetic sentences.

time, Milsark's theory offered a substantial contribution to the analysis of ECs and LCs by providing a semantic framework of evaluation for the central NPs, also called the 'pivot,' namely, the object of existence in question. Accordingly, for this study, from here on, we will follow the same nomenclature utilised by Bentley et al. (2015, p. 2) for the constituents and general structure of ECs.

(2) (Expletive) (Proform) (Copula) Pivot (Coda)

The pivot is the NP that expresses the existent or nonexistent element in question, such as a book, dust, elephants, etc. The proform is a particle in some languages, usually a clitic, with adverbial anaphoric value in some cases (e.g., *ci*, *hi*, *y*, etc.). An expletive is a "dummy pronoun" that generally holds the place of a subject, such as '*it*' in English or '*es*' in German.

The categorisation of existential *There* in English, either as an expletive, a proform, or something else, has been debated for many decades, and many theories have been proposed regarding its origin and syntactic function. Some of these theories will be discussed in the following section.

1.1.1 Being in a place

Parallel to the first unified models of copular-identificational sentences and existentials, there was a similar wave of derivational approaches started with Lyons (1967, 1968), proposing to treat *There*-type existential constructions as a particular type of locative sentences (cf. Thorne, 1973). Based on the premise that 'Everything that is, is somewhere,' the locative approach, from all its different angles, proposed, as opposed to previous theories, to start treating the predicate as an actual prepositional clause with locative deictic value.

For Kuno (1971), for example, *There*-sentences are the product of a transformation involving what he calls ‘Locative-postposing,’ which would move the prepositional phrases to sentence-final position, “leaving a trace in the form of *there* in their original position” (p. 350), which implies that these locative expressions in their underlying form are in sentence-initial position¹⁶. This process is exemplified in the following sequence.

- (3) a. [In the park] are some kids
 b. [] are some kids in the park
 c. [There] are some kids in the park
 d. There are some kids in the park

However, Kuno argues, sentences with strong quantifiers do not contain a locative preposed phrase in their underlying structure. In other words, sentences such as ‘There are two books on the table’ do not have locatives but subjects in the initial-sentence position. In other words, it seems that Kuno precludes locative sentences with strong quantifiers from the unified account of copular and existential constructions; that is, definite determiners such as ‘*the*’ block any underlying instance of locative adverbial preposing. From a pragmatic and historical point of view, this notion appears to hold if we consider the semantics of such a determiner in English and other languages, which entails specification of the pivot and is usually derived from demonstrative pronouns. This notion is particularly evident in languages that do not have

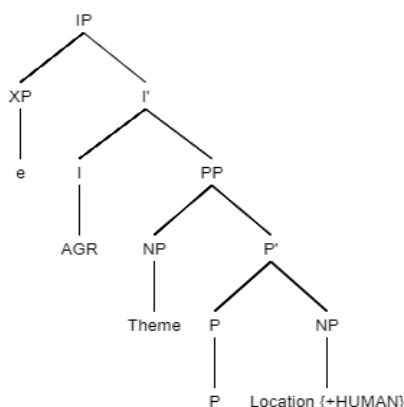
¹⁶ For Milsark, this approach obviously lacks consideration of the definiteness effect as it cannot account for sentences where universal quantifiers appear such as *There is the girl in the room. These anomalous examples, though existent in the language, says Milsark, have the “feeling” of coming out of a list in a cardinal fashion. We will see in later chapters that his assessment” was not completely unfitting; however, it lacked the consideration of information structure and information status factors, which convey adverbial reference.

determiners, such as Japanese and Russian, as it will be explained shortly from the perspective of another theory.

In the same vein, Lyons proposes in his brief study that existence, location, and possession share an underlying structure, treating 'have' as a copula, similar to 'be.' Lyons was also the first to propose a unified synchronic and diachronic view of the development of existential clauses. His theory, however, does not go beyond some speculative claims and does not contain a formal or functional analysis. Nevertheless, his approach would later take off through a more formal approach by similar theories that took into consideration the copula '*have*' in both possessive and ECs, which is attested in many Indo-European languages such as Ibero-Romance (cf. Sp. *Hay un lobo en la casa*. 'There is a wolf in the house.' From *hay* < Lat. HABEŌ + IBĪ).

The theory previously proposed by Lyons regarding the relationship between ECs, LCs, and possessive sentences is materialised in Freeze (1992), who proposed that possessive sentences are locatives with a [+HUMAN] location. The human location, generated in sentence-final position, may, in turn, raise to the subject position (in SVO languages) to form a possessive construction as illustrated in the following syntactic projection.

(4)



- a. a cat $\emptyset$ Charley
- b. Charley_j [I_i] a cat t_i
- c. 'Charley has a cat'

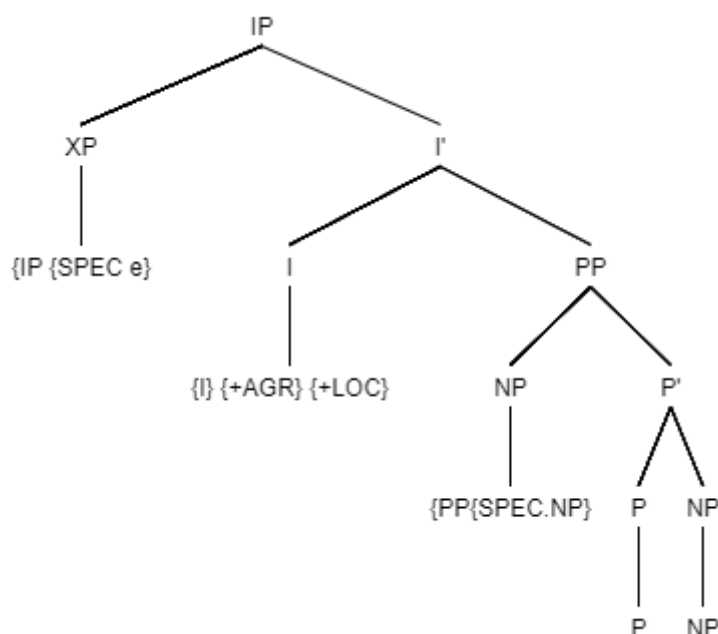
A unified account of locative and possessive constructions seems plausible due to evidence from many languages that show that the same copula used for locative sentences is used for possessive sentences where the possessors take the role of a locative human. For example, in Russian, the copula *была* (*byla*) is used for both types of constructions (Freeze, 1992, p. 577).

- (5) a. На столе была книга
 On table. LOC COP book. NOM
 'There was a book on the table'
- b. У меня была сестра
 at 1SG.GEN COP sister. NOM
 'I had a sister'

Freeze's theory proposes that a sentence such as 'Charley has a cat' has in its underlying structure a concept parallel to '(There) is a cat with Charley.' In languages that have two different copulae for possessives and locatives, such as most varieties of Romance (e.g., *haber* and *tener*

in Spanish), Freeze proposes that the copula *'have'* is a spell out at PF of the movement and incorporation of P, which generally hosts a preposition, to the Inflectional head (pp. 586-88). To better understand this process, let us first review Freeze's D-Structure.

(6)



D structure:		była. COP	książka. BOOK	na stole. ON THE TABLE
Locative reading:	[książka] _i	była	_i	na stole
Existential reading:	[na stole] _i	była	książka	_i

In Freeze's model, shown above, the subject position is empty, and clauses appear in complementary distribution; that is, the movement of the pivot or the location to the subject position, or initial position in SVO languages, is governed by the definiteness effect feature of the pivot. In this fashion, the locative will raise to the empty subject position for the existential reading at S-structure, and the pivot (NP), or theme, as Freeze calls it, will raise for the locative

reading. In Freeze's (1992) words: "[...] a definite theme may move to the subject position, yielding the predicate locative. Alternatively, an indefinite theme may stay in place while the location moves to the subject position, yielding the existential:

Given the arguments THEME and LOCATION within a predicate PP, either

- a. Predicate locative: the theme moves to [Spec,IP], or
- b. Existential: locative phrase moves to [Spec,IP]."

As for the origin of English *There*, Freeze invokes Williams (1980) and Hoekstra and Moulder (1990), deeming the pronoun a pleonastic anaphor or NP trace (p. 575). This trace is located on SPEC IP, where an existential reading is expected.

In sum, once more, this approach considers English *There* and existential phrases to have a locative origin at their root. Likewise, Freeze's approach resembles a Predicate Phrase in clause-final position, in which the copula is generated in the Inflectional head. As for the origin and location of the proform in other languages, namely, the particle with anaphoric and locative value in languages such as French or Italian, Freeze suggests it is just a spell out at PF from the Inflectional node, a [+LOC], like an adverbial. In other words, the proform is simply the surface expression of inflectional features, and "[...] it is not an argument and is not subject to the projection principle, the Case filter or binding theory" (p.569-70) (See also Espinal & McNally, 2011, p. 121). As we will see in the final chapter of this study, we believe this to be partially true depending on the function of the proform beyond a mere syntactic filler or inflectional expression.

Alternatively, Andrea Moro (1997), yet from another generativist perspective — despite praising Freeze for his approach and despite the resemblance of their theories at a structural level¹⁷ — does not find Freeze’s model plausible, especially the fact that an intermediate projection such as P’ can be raised to SPEC IP (p. 281). Instead, Moro has argued for a unified account of existentials with other copular sentences in their underlying structure from a different perspective.

Moro’s model indicates some of the flaws of contemporary approaches to copular sentences and refers to them as anomalous cases¹⁸. Moro’s perspective suggests abandoning the rigid notion of subject and predicate in terms of government, treating both nominal phrases as DP

¹⁷ Both Freeze and Moro argue for movement of a part of the predicate to SPEC IP. However, the underlying structure and the places of generation of the arguments, proform and copula differ.

¹⁸For example, in a sequence of NP –VP–NP, such as ‘a picture of the wall revealed the cause of the riot,’ the two noun phrases hold different syntactic properties. If we consider that in generative theory, the NP immediately dominated by the clausal node “necessarily corresponds with the subject” (1997, p. 9), then the following problem arises in the case of extraction.

- a. *Which wall did a picture of reveal the cause of the riot.
- b. Which riot did a picture of the wall reveal the cause of.

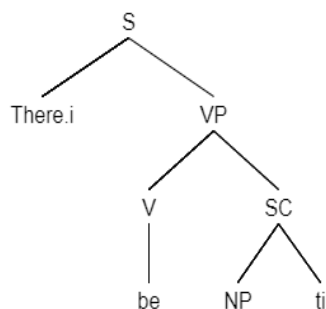
Due to arguments of asymmetry of the geometry of tree representations, it has been generalised as a rule that extraction from a phrase is not possible if the phrase is in a left branch position – the so-called ‘subject-object asymmetries’ (1997, p. 2) On the other hand, whilst a copular sentence such as ‘a picture of the wall was the cause of the riot’ follows the same asymmetry as the sentences above (*which wall was a picture of the cause of the riot), when the NPs are inverted, in both cases the results are ill-formed when extracted.

- a. *Which riot was the cause of a picture of the wall.
- b. *Which wall was the cause of the riot a picture of.

What is then the difference between ‘a picture of the wall was the cause of the riot’ and ‘the cause of the riot was a picture of the wall,’ and why does the order of the constituents seem to affect the extraction process? Moro suggests that the problem lies in the word order of the small clause where both DPs are generated. If we consider that extraction from pre-verbal left-branch position produces an ill-formed structure (*Which wall was a picture of the cause of the riot) but not vice versa; the alternative word order, i.e., ‘The cause of the riot was a picture of the wall,’ which generates ill-formed structures when both NPs are extracted, must follow a similar asymmetry principle. In other words, the small clause must allow any of the NPs to move from the predicate position (right-branch position, which would allow the DP ‘A picture of the wall’ to remain in situ. This would explain why this constituent cannot be extracted, given that it belongs to a rigid word order in the small clause, always remaining in the left-branch position either by origin or by the movement to SPEC IP.

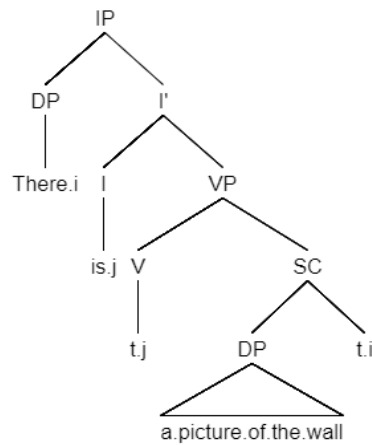
projections of a small clause (SC) , and raising any of them to Spec-IP¹⁹. From there, “both the subject and the predicative noun phrase are uniformly generated in the same position in the two sentences and then raised to spec-IP in complementary distribution” (p. 35). Moro calls the subject-raising phrase ‘canonical copular sentence’ and the predicate-raising phrase ‘inverse copular sentence.’ Based on this model, locative and existential sentences can also be accounted for as an ‘inverse copular sentence,’ where empty elements such as *There* are treated as “placeholders” for predicates rather than subjects, thus rising to a higher position from where they are generated as it is shown in example (7) and the expanded in (8).

(7)



¹⁹ This principle is restricted, according to Moro, to NPs only. In other words, it only applies to specificational and identificational copular sentences. This of course also includes existential sentences with *There* and other proforms in Romance, which Moro claims function as place holders of predicates (pp. 107-30).

(8)



This model, consequently, accounts for locatives and existentials by treating both the elements of these constructions, pivots (NPs), and proforms (*ci*, *y*, *hi*) as parts of the predication.

However, unlike Freeze’s model for locative sentences, Moro’s approach treats prepositional phrases, or codas, accompanying existential sentences as adjuncts. Also, in this model, proforms are not generated in the head of the inflexion but rather as placeholders of the predication which, according to Moro, when they do not denote an anaphoric element in the discourse, as in the case of English *There*, they simply denote “the whole world” (p. 278 ref.14).

As we will see in subsequent chapters, Moro’s account, which will later be used as the basis of some other’s proposal, such as Cruschina (2015), may not account for pseudo-locatives where an AP modifying a pivot is confused with a locative coda as in *La statua di Michelangelo in Piazza della Signoria* vs *La statua di Michelangelo nella Basilica di Santa Croce* (‘The statue of Michelangelo in Piazza della Signoria’ vs ‘The statue of Michelangelo in the Basilica of Santa Croce’). This becomes obvious when a locative coda is added in an eventive expression: *C’è la*

statua di Michelangelo in piazza della Signoria alla TV ('The statue of Michelangelo in Piazza della Signoria is on TV').

2. On the Interpretation of Being

2.1 The Predicate Restriction

There is yet another phenomenon that needs to be considered in the expression of ECs and LCs, already addressed in Milsark's thesis, which has to do with the types of codas allowed in existential constructions, also called 'the predicate restriction.' The predicate restriction refers to the fact that the NP XP structure of most existential clauses does not allow specific predicates, as in *'There are people wrong' or *'There was a teacher a friend.' The origin of this conundrum seems to stem from the type of adjective that modifies the pivot, namely, individual-level or stage-level.

In 1977, in addressing the phenomenon of bare subject plurals in English, Greg Carlson introduced the notion of property and realisation predicates, also known as individual-level and stage-level predicates. This came from the apparent challenge in interpreting some clauses containing NPs without determiners, such as 'Soldiers are available.' One can immediately observe the ambiguity of such a sentence, which could be interpreted as 'Soldiers, in general, are individuals readily available,' also called generic reading, or as 'There are soldiers available at this moment,' which could be described as an indefinite plural. Concerning this phenomenon, Carlson says that "[...] one might hypothesize roughly that the predicates selecting the 'indefinite plural' are predicating something of an individual for a short period, while the predicates selecting the generic leave the implication that what is predicated of the individual is of a more permanent nature" (p. 448).

In some languages, such as some varieties of Ibero-Romance, these two levels are reflected in the verb selection for each predicate type. There is a clear divergence of current state and individual property when considering a minimal pair of sentences containing the verb *ser* for an individual-level reading and *estar* for a stage-level reading. We can observe this, for example, in the sentence ‘Marcos is healthy,’ with *ser* vs. *estar*.

- (9) a. Marcos es sano
b. Marcos está sano

Carlson proposes that individual-level predicates are asserted in the property set of an individual, as it is exemplified in the logical relations of the copula in (10). In contrast, stage-level predicates refer to a set of realisations or stages of that individual (R), which do not refer to the properties of the individual per se but to the properties of the realisations of such individual as separate sets as exemplified in (11).²⁰

- (10) Marcos: $\lambda PP\{m\}$
Ser sano: S
‘Marcos es sano’: $\lambda PP\{m\}(S) > S(m)$
- (11) Estar sano: $\lambda x \exists y [R(y, x) \& sano'(y)]$
Marcos está sano: $\lambda PP\{m\} (\lambda x \exists y [R(y, x) \& sano'(y)] > \exists y [R(y, m) \& sano'(y)])$

²⁰ Example based on Carlson’s (1977, p. 449) example of the formal representation of individual-level and stage-level predicates.

Unlike (10), in (11), the state is in the property set of Marcos rather than in Marcos' property set. What this implies, says Carlson, is that an individual stage does not necessarily refer to a period within the properties of the individual but rather to an event in the individual's life. In other words, stages are not things that are but rather things that happen (p. 448). This phenomenon implies that according to the general claim, existential constructions select only stages and not individual-level predicates at the coda. Consider the following example.

- (12) a. *There are many actors good (in Hollywood)
 b. There are many actors tired (in Hollywood)

From this perspective, it was proposed that existential readings are equivalent to eventive readings and therefore differ semantically at a much deeper level from their copular counterparts; that is, 'Many good actors happen to be the case' is not the same as 'Many actors are good.' Adjectives that reflect an individual-level property are, by default, forbidden in the coda position of existential sentences. Also, even though rarely discussed as such, existential predicates may be stage-level predicates since they seem to assert the presence of an entity contingently, mainly when the coda contains a specific place, rather than asserting a property (cf. Ciconte, 2011, p. 285). This statement will prove crucial further in our discussion as we propose a unified taxonomy of eventive and existential expressions with *estar* in Western Ibero-Romance.

However, the predicate restriction does not seem an issue for wide Romance varieties, given the multiple copulae available for locative, existential, and attributive phrases such as Castilian (e.g., *ser*, *estar*, *haber*). For example, *Hay actores inteligentes* and *Están buenos actores (en un*

lugar)²¹, or *Hay actores enfermos (en un lugar)* ('There are good actors' and 'There are actors sick (in some place)').

As we observe, adjective placement is no issue in Spanish but rather a matter of copula choice and place of location. In other words, what differentiates some Romance varieties from English is the presence of specialised copulae for each reading and the incorporation of presuppositional particles (i.e., tied to deixis and anaphora) such as Catalan *hi*. This point will be further discussed in more detail in the following sections.

2.2 Pragmatic approaches

Up until the last half-century, linguists were mainly preoccupied with the underlying structure of existential sentences, whilst their interpretation and praxis by language users were not a topic of widespread interest. Though it is true that with the introduction of the quantification effect, Milsark (1969) touched on some notions of the semantics of ECs, the discourse environment was left untreated for some time in syntactic approaches. The importance of discourse reference and context lies in the empty elements, such as *There* in English or the various proforms in Romance, which possess deictic value. This means that the presence of these elements may alter the proposition's meaning depending on the utterance's discursive context.

Take, for example, the case of the sentence 'There are many good actors.' Without any discursive context, this sentence is somewhat ambiguous. Now consider the same sentence within these two different contexts.

- (13) a. Who is your favourite actor?
b. That is hard to tell. There are many good actors.

²¹ Speakers of modern Iberian Spanish might not be well too acquainted with this type of constructions, even though it is common in most Spanish American varieties.

- (14) a. What is so popular about that city?
b. There are many good actors.

The sentence in (13.b.) precludes any notion of *There* as a location with a physical denotatum and expresses an absolute spatiotemporal existence as in the so-called ‘absolute existentials’ (cf. Lumsden, 1988, pp. 225-29). On the other hand, given the surrounding contexts, there is arguably referring to the city as a location in a sentence such as (14.b.). This type of *there*, with purported deictic value, becomes more evident in sentences with clear deictic connotations, as in the following exchange.

- (15) a. I just spilt some coffee on the floor.
b. THERE is a mop.

In (15.b.), the proximity or immediacy of the location to the utterance is vital to the the correct interpretation of this pseudo-existential proposition, as it is sometimes called. The implication that this phenomenon has for existential sentences is that their interpretation will depend on the presence or absence of a specific location, or eventive antecedent, in the contextual discourse since *There* in English still retains its lexical value²², which has caused some authors, such as Breivik (1981), as well as Jespersen, to refer to these as two types of

²² The status of English ‘*There*’ in existential constructions as an expletive or as a proform lies in the fact that ‘*There*’ still functions within the language as an adverb with full lexical content but also as a place holder for the coda of a predicate, in the words of Andrea Moro; however, at the same time it appears to also fulfil the Extended Projected Principle proposed by Chomsky in existential sentences. According to Hopper and Traugott (1993, pp. 124-6, as cited in Bentley et al. 2015), there are cases where the “proform” still retains its “locative meaning”, which suggests that “layering has occurred in diachrony”, but it has also acquired new meanings and functions. What makes English ‘*There*’ so different from its Romance counterparts is the fact that it is not a clitic but an expletive fulfilling the EPP, therefore its syntactic distribution is limited around the VP (e.g., Did you go to church on Sunday? Yes. **There* I went in the morning).

There; one that has been phonetically deaccented and is semantically empty and another that still retains its anaphoric and lexical value. In fact, the sentence ‘There are many good actors’ may be interpreted as ‘It is the case that many actors are good somewhere’ or with a locative-existential reading such as ‘Many good actors are located in that place.’ This phenomenon may be more evident in languages such as Castilian (Spanish), which possess a specific verb for each reading. Therefore, it is the case that a locative-existential reading of ‘There are many good actors’ could be expressed not only as an existential construction, such as ‘*Hay muchos buenos actores en esa ciudad/allí/etc.*’ but could also arguably be expressed with *estar* in some varieties of Castilian (Spanish), yet still retaining its existential reading.

(16)

- a. ¿Qué hay de popular en esa ciudad?
- b. (En esa ciudad) Están muchos buenos actores
- c. Muchos buenos actores están allí
- d. Hay muchos buenos actores en esa ciudad

Though it could be argued that (16.c.) is highly marked and (16.b.) is unacceptable by Iberian varieties, they, in fact, exist.

A similar situation may be invoked to exemplify this same phenomenon. Consider, for example, the following sentence.

(17) There is the syntax professor.

As previously mentioned, according to Milsark's quantificational effect, strong determiners²³ or quantifiers of the type *the*, *every*, *all*, et cetera. may appear in existential constructions. This condition is based on the account that 'there be' is an existential quantifier in itself ($\exists$), which would create an NP with two quantifications, thus making it awkwardly redundant (Zucchi, 1995, p.37). In other words, it would be a tautological proposition of the type 'there exists a specific entity that is somewhere,' similar to what was proposed by Russell, that definite descriptions of the type 'The king of France' express quantifications in a first level rather than referential entities.²⁴ Thus, a sentence like (17) would be ungrammatical. However, consider the same sentence in a context where two speakers exchange information.

- (18) a. It is 11:00 pm, and the lights on the tenth floor are still on (I wonder why?).
 b. There is the syntax professor. Sometimes he stays late to work.

In this example, (18.b.) is felicitous if read from an eventive perspective, and the construction is still presentational. However, the strong determiner and the specificity of place, purportedly, would not leave room for any other reading that is not of the locative type. As we will see in the next chapter, that is not necessarily the case.

The context also presupposes evidential knowledge of the speaker in (18.b.) as someone verifying the presence of the syntax professor. The utterance of speaker (a.) also implicates a

²³ Lumsden (1988) refined the idea of the quantification or definiteness effect by Milsark into the notions of strong and weak quantifiers.

²⁴ The definiteness effect has been widely examined and refined from different perspectives ever since it was proposed by Milsark. For some of the most recent approaches to the definiteness effect see (Rando & Napoli 1978; Enç, 1991; Abbot, 1992, 2006; Birner & Ward, 1995; Herburger, 1997; Gutiérrez-Rexach, 2001; Bentley, 2013; Fischer et al., 2016).

question for speaker (b.), where speaker (a.) is aware that speaker b. can answer their inquiry. As we will see in the next chapter, this notion has information status implications that influence the syntax of such utterances.

Now, consider a situation where the contrary is true; that is, the hearer already knows the reason causing the lights on the tenth floor to be on at that time.

- (19) a. It is 11:00 pm, and the lights on the tenth floor are still on (I wonder why?).
 b. # There is the syntax professor.
 c. It's the syntax professor.

In (19.b.), the utterance is not felicitous because its implicated inquiry does not presuppose that the hearer holds that information evidentially (i.e., someone, the syntax professor in this case, is the cause of the lights being on at that time). This would be less opaque in a language such as Spanish, where every context requires a different verbal predicate.

- (20) a. Son las 11:00 pm y las luces del décimo piso están aún encendidas (¿Por qué?).
 b. Está el profesor de sintaxis.

- (21) a. Son las 11:00 pm y las luces del décimo piso están aún encendidas (¿Por qué?).
 b. Es el profesor de sintaxis.

As one can observe, the answer in (21.b.) entails an ellipsis of the type 'The person on the tenth floor at this time is the syntax professor,' and, for that reason, a presentational structure derived from a copular-identification clause would produce a more felicitous answer in English as in 'It is the syntax professor.' The example in (20), on the other hand, may, in fact, presuppose a first-hand account of the utterance.

The example above is just one of many instances where context defies the definiteness or quantification effect (DE); in cases where the familiarity of the discourse context allows for a reading that goes beyond a rigid classification of strong and weak quantifiers in Romance varieties and English (see Heim, 1982). In the case of (19), an apparent deictic value of *There* changes the semantic dynamics of the pivot in this type of structure.

In the last three decades, we have seen numerous attempts to propose a unifying principle of existential clauses that goes beyond their syntax. These attempts try to account mainly for the plethora of instances where the so-called definiteness effect is overridden and felicitous existential expressions such as ‘There is every reason to believe that it will be a very good year,’ ‘There is that woman waiting again’ or ‘There is you and me’; in other words, any definite determiner, demonstrative, quantificational noun phrase, including proper names, is not supposed to appear in this type of structures.

Amidst a semantic-pragmatic battle, some authors such as Zucchi (1995) and Keenan (2003) have widely debated refining the definiteness effect and its nuances. Several semantic approaches have been proposed to derive the well-formed instances of *There*-sentences. Zucchi suggests an account based on the function of the coda²⁵, as he calls it, to restrict the domain of quantification of the pivot; in other words, ‘what’ is under ‘which’ circumstances.

The presuppositional characterisation of the NPs or pivots, or common ground between speakers, plays a role in the circumstances that will or will not yield a felicitous utterance. However, the characterisation of DP’s by Zucchi is still limited as to why specific determiners are not allowed in existential sentences. Though with criticism for the complex and pragmatic

²⁵ When referring to the coda, Zucchi and Keenan refer to any of the elements following the pivot, not necessarily a prepositional phrase only. That is, any structure of the type NP XP in existential sentences is referred to as the coda.

approach by Zucchi, Keenan proposes a similar account based only on semantic grounds for the classification of determiners that “decide truth by limiting their universe to the coda set” without considering the coda (p. 199).

Even though it is true that determiners carry a solid semantic component, a classification of determiners either on pragmatic or semantic grounds is still not very fruitful if they cannot account for all the exceptions to the rule. That is the reason why some authors, such as McNally (2011), have pointed out that a non-unified account of pragmatic and semantic analyses, though less attractive, successfully predicts the patterns of variation found in the Definiteness Restriction cross-linguistically (pp. 1843-44). In cases where strong determiners are present in apparent ECs, such as in ‘There is that woman waiting again,’ a subtle intuition of ‘covert indefiniteness’ has caused several pragmatic proposals to arise.

Some authors have argued for a presuppositional status of the pivot (Abbott 1992, 1993; Prince 1992; Ward & Birner 1995). Amongst that group, Ward and Birner, based on Prince’s concept of ‘hearer-new information,’ proposed that there are several cases where strong determiners are allowed and are felicitous in existential constructions if one considers the whole contextual discourse surrounding the utterance, which allows understanding the information status of the referents (p. 730). The five contexts they propose are:

- I Hearer-old entities treated as hearer-new
- II Hearer-new tokens of hearer-old types
- III Hearer-old entities newly instantiating a variable
- IV Hearer-new entities with uniquely identifying descriptions
- V False definites

These contexts refer more specifically to the activation level of some referents in the present discourse. I will briefly explain the five contexts in the following paragraph. In the first category, Hearer-old treated as Hearer-new, pivots show themselves in There-structures when they require reactivation even though they already appeared previously in the discourse.

An example would be when paraphrasing the authors, the entity ‘a resentful mood’ has been previously activated in the discourse, as in ‘Montanans are in a resentful mood,’ then trying to bring back the same concept, possibly in a slightly modified way, to the discourse by saying something like ‘That is the reason why there is that resentment.’

The second category, Hearer-new tokens of hearer-old types, refers to a new instance of a known type for all participants. These instances may contain the adjectives same, usual, regular, et cetera. For example, when discussing a new city one visited, as in ‘There are the usual street vendors.’ In this case, the pivot was not previously activated in the discourse context, but it is understood that the other participants know the type.

The third category, Hearer-old entities newly instantiating a variable, is famously known as the list-reading. When the entity is instantiated as a member of a set, which constitutes presupposed information, then the entity is instantiated as a member of such set, which constitutes new information. For example, ‘In the support committee, there are two groups, the professors that defend the rights of the students ... and then there’s the professors who make sure that the privileges are not being abused.’

The fourth category, Hearer-new entities with uniquely identifying descriptions, is the most notable in that it does not require previous information to have been activated in the discourse or to be known by the participants. These entities’ uniquely identifying descriptions allow them to

be presented with definite determiners. This category includes Conceptual generics, such as ‘There was the wedding picture of a young black couple among his papers.’ According to Prince (1981), the sentences above reflect what she calls a ‘containing inferrable’ pivot.

Containing inferrables are entities that may be inferred from another constituent to make it more specific and therefore license the use of a definite article. For example, in the example above, the DP ‘the wedding picture’ has as its trigger the DP ‘a young black couple,’ which makes it much more accessible and identifiable since ‘a young black couple’ is contained within ‘the wedding picture’ since couples usually have the characteristic of a wedding picture associated with it (p. 737). This example may be contrasted with an infelicitous case of a sentence such as # ‘There was the picture of a young black couple among his papers.’ In this case, the DP ‘a young black couple’ cannot function as a trigger of the DP ‘the picture’ and therefore does not license the use of the definite article. A canonical *There*-sentence would be more appropriate in such a case: ‘There was a picture of a young black couple among his papers.’

The fifth category, false definite, refers to instances where a demonstrative is a substitute for a weak determiner in cases such as ‘I was waiting for the bus, and there was this creepy guy giving me strange looks.’ In this case, the demonstrative does not entail previous activation or knowledge of the pivot in the discourse but instead constitutes a pragmatic use of a demonstrative. This is the same case as the one mentioned previously, ‘There is every reason to believe that this will be a good year,’ in this other case, this sentence does not mean each one of a set of reasons but rather that ‘There are many good reasons.’

Despite the thorough empirical account of pragmatic environments that defy the definiteness effect by Ward and Birner, Abbot (1997), in a brief note, criticises this approach for distancing itself so much from the ‘Hearer-old’ principle proposed by Prince (1992). Abbot refers to the fact

that in the case of the first group, for example, the information has been previously activated in the discourse and is not ‘new’ for the hearer. However, in her brief note, Abbot cannot set a strong argument against Ward and Birner’s empirical evidence. If any, it might be a case where reevaluation of the nomenclature in use would be appropriate. In other words, Ward and Birner do not distinguish between new and old information in discourse and the consciousness of the hearer. Given that some information is brand-new in discourse whilst other information holds a gradual activation status (such as previously introduced pivots in the discourse vs generics), a more detailed classification of pragmatic environments might be necessary. This information will be relevant in chapter four, where we introduce the concepts of contrastive topics and reactivated foci.

McNally also mentions another group of studies that consider pragmatic constraints in the application of the Definiteness Effect (cf. Beaver et al., 2005; Borschev & Partee, 2002; Francez, 2007; Hannay, 1985; Hu & Pan, 2007; Mikkelsen, 2002; Partee & Borschev, 2007). The central tenet behind these proposals is that “[...] indefinite noun phrases often make poor subjects, particularly when there is a strong association between subject and topic in a language, while definite noun phrases make good ones” (2011, p. 1843). More specifically, the proposal by Beaver et al. suggests that NPs should not be treated as weak or strong but instead classified as how many subject properties they manifest. This seems to be a very attractive proposal, primarily due to all the empirical evidence regarding weak pivots and their deficiency as subjects due to their lack of specificity. Concerning this, Beaver et al. propose the following.

We speculate that their high existentiality relates to the fact that unlike upward monotone cardinal determiners, they lack generic or specific readings and do not ordinarily

introduce discourse referents. Regarding numerals, we suggest that the high degree of existentiality

we found may relate to their lacking generic readings and tending not to be given specific interpretations (p. 31).

The idea that weak pivots do not make strong subjects goes hand in hand with what was first proposed by Breivik (1981) and others, namely, that *There*-sentences are presentative sentences for new information. Even though Leonetti (2008) has pointed out that pivots may indeed be topics in left-dislocated sentences (cf. the case of sentences in Spanish such as *Colores, los hay a montones*), the attempt to present new information in subject position needs to show a high degree of specificity. Therefore, some authors such as Breivik have proposed other pragmatic restrictions such as ‘the visual impact constraint,’ which states that “[...] *there* insertion is obligatory in be-sentences [...] if they fail to convey visual impact” (p. 12). In other words, sentences such as ‘An account book is on the table’ are more acceptable if presented in a context where the area of the location may be more easily visualised, such as the following.

- (22) We are looking at an extraordinary picture painted by X. A middle-aged man, and three boys are seated on chairs or stools at a spindly, square table. AN ACCOUNT BOOK IS ON THE TABLE (Example taken from Breivik, p.12).

In broad discursive and communicative terms, in many cases, *There*-sentences function “as a signal to the addressee that he must be prepared to direct his attention toward an item of new information” (Breivik, 1981, pp. 15-16). This information, regardless of the grammatical tense it comes accompanied by, is always new only in the present moment in the current situation; that is, it is not a mere triviality that the way to signal the presentation of new information is to attract the attention of the hearer towards a place.

Nevertheless, Beaver et al. fail to address that subjects do not always appear with all the syntactic properties commonly ascribed to them, such as the nominative case, as in the case of quirky subjects²⁶. This matter will be relevant to our discussion of stage-level topics and their role in presentational constructions introduced in chapter two.

Furthermore, it is not a coincidence that many of the expletives and clitics used in various languages have at their root an adverbial of place such as early Spanish and French *y* > from Latin *IBI*, Italian *ci*, from Latin **Eccu hic* < *ECCE HIC*; Arabic *فيه* (*fii*, meaning ‘in it’ and used in existential clauses), etc. In languages such as Russian, which do not have either proforms or determiners, word order is the only way to convey new information, as exemplified in (5), where the locative is pre-posed in the sentence, and thus it conveys a space where the new information can be unpacked. But what exactly is the relationship between adverbs of place, deictics, and the verb TO BE with existential propositions? Exploring the historical underpinnings of these linguistic constructions becomes imperative to address the aforementioned query.

3. The Origins of Being

Most equivalents of the verb ‘to exist’ in Indo-European languages come from Latin *EXISTERE*, which is composed of the preposition ‘EX’ (from Proto-Indo-European **eghs*, meaning ‘outside of’ or ‘beyond’) and *SISTERE*, the causative form of the verb *STĀRE* — to stand or to remain in a place²⁷. In ancient Greek, ‘to exist’ was expressed by the word *ὑπάρχω* (*hupárkhō*),

²⁶ In linguistics, a non-nominative subject refers to a grammatical construction where the subject of a sentence does not appear in the nominative case. The nominative case typically represents the subject of a sentence, while other cases (such as accusative, dative, genitive, etc.) typically represent different grammatical functions. Non-nominative subjects can be found in languages that have morphological case systems, where the form of a noun or pronoun changes depending on its grammatical role in the sentence. In such languages, the subject of a sentence may appear in a different case when it is not in the nominative case. See Poole, 2015, for more information on quirky or non-nominative subjects.

²⁷ In Latin there was a verb *EXTĀRE*, meaning to exist, to stand out or to project, whilst from *STĀRE* we get *estar* and its equivalents in the Ibero-Romance languages. Just like Greek *éimi* (*εἶμι*), *SUM* (1p. sing. *ESSE*), comes from Indo-European **eǵHóm h₁ésmi*, meaning I am.

from ὑπο (under) and ἄρχω (to begin, to arise or come into being). In these languages, existence was expressed usually through some syntactic or morphological combination of a verb of ‘presence,’ as we will call them, and an adverb or preposition to denote a place. This is not surprising, given that ‘to exist,’ ‘to be something,’ and ‘to be in a place’ seem to spring from the same source and occasionally have similar interpretations. In many cases, these similarities originate in using one single verb for all types of ‘existential’ expressions, as tends to happen in wide Indo-European languages, especially Romance. In the case of Romance, existential constructions date back to Classical Latin.

As mentioned at the beginning of the chapter, evidence of structural patterns in Classical Latin has been found in recent studies on Existential and Locative constructions in Italo-Romance (Bentley et al., 2015). This evidence shows that the type of reading (i.e., existential, attributive, and locative) of the Latin copula SUM will depend, to a certain degree, on the position of the copula in the sentence. In other words, whilst presentational structures such as Existential sentences tend to favour a core V1 position, Locative constructions will tend to favour a V3 position, with the predicate-focus attributive oscillating between V2 and V3 core positions (pp. 222-27). This is similar to the case of Russian, where neither proforms nor determiners are present in this type of construction. The following example, taken from Bentley et al. (p. 226) and the *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius (IV, 28), will illustrate the information structure of Latin existential and locative sentences. The case for the subjects (Nominative) and the circumstantial complement of place (Ablative) remain the same; only the word order changes.

- (23) a. Erant in quaedam civitate rex et regina
 be-3 PL. IPFV in some city-ABL king-NOM and queen-NOM
- b. Rex et regina in quaedam civitate erant
 King- NOM and queen-NOM in some city-ABL be-3 PL. IPFV
- c. In quaedam civitate rex et regina erant
 in some city-ABL king- NOM and queen-NOM be-3 PL. IPFV

‘In a city, there were the king and the queen.’

The type of reading will depend on the position of the copula since all nouns retain their case regardless of the type of reading. Even though other constituent orders are attested due to pragmatic effects, it may be claimed in a broad sense that the position of the verb is relatively constant, favouring the final position for the locative and initial position for existential readings. The sentence in (23.c.) exemplifies a case of what the authors refer to as inverse locative, with the location in a focus-fronted position.

Late Latin (4th to 6th/7th centuries) followed a similar pattern as classical Latin in the distribution of the verb position. However, Late Latin also saw the introduction of new copulae such as STŌ and HABEŌ (pp. 228-30). This phenomenon may be observed in the following example from the 4th century.

- (24) Haec est autem vallis in qua factus est
 This be-3SG.PRS therefore valley-NOM in which make-PST.PTCP be-3SG.PRES
 vitulus qui locus usque in hodie ostenditur
 calf-nom which place-nom until in today display-3SG.PRS.PASS
 nam lapis grandis ibi fixus stat in ipso loco.
 since stone-NOM big-NOM there fix-PST.PTCP COP.3PL.PRS in DEM.SG.ABL place-ABL
 ‘For this is the valley in which the calf was forged, the place of which is displayed until today
 since big stone sits unwaveringly there in that place’.
 (*Peregrinatio Aegeriae* PARS PRIMA, II-2).

This sentence is exceptional in so many regards beyond the use of a copula different from ESSE. First, it would appear, *prima facie*, that this is a locative sentence — before the copula appears, the location is clearly stated and does not leave room for ambiguity; however, unlike the word order for locative sentences established in (23), the copula does not appear in final position as one would expect. The expected word order would be something comparable to *lapis grandis fixus in ipso loco stat*; nevertheless, the main obstacle in the interpretation of this sentence lies in the difficulty of assessing whether the verbal construction *fixus stat* should be taken as a form of the passive-perfect of the verb FĪGŌ as in *fixus est*; that is, ‘it (the stone) was fastened/placed there’ the way it is used in Classical Latin. The fact that the choice for the copula is not EST should give us a hint that these passive constructions were already starting to be reanalysed as presents with a resultative reading as in Spanish *está puesta* or *está erigida*; or as a simple locative *fija está*. The other interesting feature of this sentence is using a redundant adverb IBĪ as if it foreshadowed the derivation of a later proform.

The only other example of a similar case in the first part of the *Peregrinatio* seems to dissipate all doubts that the STĀRE copula is being used with a purely locative reading, as in the following example.

- (25) illa autem ecclesia [...] sic stat imperfecta usque in hodie
 that CNJ church-NOM. thus COP.3SG.PRS imperfect until in today
 ‘And that church stands in this manner imperfect until today’.
 (Peregrinatio Aegeriae XVI-6)

Thus, as word order shifts and new copulae are introduced in late Latin, novel constructions surface to take over different functions of the previous syntax. This is highly relevant for this

study since one of our primary motivations is the diachronic distribution of the copulae in Romance, mainly in Ibero-Romance, of existential and locative constructions. However, before that, examining the current state of some Romance varieties regarding the matter is essential.

3.1 Being in Romance

Before analysing the current syntactic compositions of existentials in some of the most prominent Romance varieties, let us remember the cross-linguistic structure proposed by Bentley et al. (2015) introduced in (2) and repeated here.

(Expletive) (Proform) (Copula) Pivot (Coda)

So far, we have analysed the role of the pivot and the coda in existential sentences; however, we have not analysed the role of the proform or the expletive in depth. An expletive is a word with no semantic content that plays a syntactic role only. It is common for languages with no Null-Subjects, such as French, to use expletives to fulfil the Extended Projection Principle proposed by Chomsky — all clauses must contain an NP or a DP in the subject position. This can be attested in the following comparison between French and Catalan.

- (26) a. Il y a beaucoup des enfants
 PRO.EXPL PFRM have-3SG.PRS many PRO.PRTV children
 ‘There are many children’.
- b. Hi ha molts nens a l’escola
 PFRM have-3SG.PRS many children at school
 ‘There are many children in the school.’

In French, we observe an expletive (*il*), a proform (*y*), a copula (*a*), and a pivot (*des enfants*). Conversely, in Catalan, we do not have an expletive; but there is a proform (*hi*), a copula (*ha*), a pivot (*molts nens*), and a coda (*a l’escola*). Many of these same elements are also present in

locative sentences. However, the structure, the type of copula, word order, and restrictions on definite pivots vary.

- (27)
- | | | | | | |
|----|-----|----------|------------|----|---------|
| a. | Les | enfants | sont | à | l'école |
| | The | children | be-3PL.PRS | at | school |
-
- | | | | | | |
|----|-----|----------|-------------|----|----------|
| b. | Els | nens | están | a | l'escola |
| | The | children | COP.3PL.PRS | at | school |

As one can see, the structure and quality of elements of both constructions will change depending on language, specificity of the pivot, and context. Variation across languages will show a difference in word order depending on the elements it contains, as shown above; it will also utilise different copulae. In Ibero-Romance, along with French, the modern copula for existential sentences derives from Latin HABEŌ, whereas wide varieties from the Eastern Romance follow a derivate of ESSE²⁸ or its equivalent. The following examples show the structure and elements for some of the major Romance languages for the sentence 'There were many people.'

- (28)
- | | | | | |
|----|-------|-------|--|----------------|
| a. | PORT: | Havia | | muitas pessoas |
| | | COP | | PIVOT |
-
- | | | | | |
|----|-------|-------|--|-----------------|
| b. | SPAN: | Había | | muchas personas |
| | | COP | | PIVOT |
-
- | | | | | | |
|----|------|------|-------|-----------------|---------------|
| c. | CAT: | Hi | havia | moltes persones | ²⁹ |
| | | PFRM | COP | PIVOT | |
-
- | | | | | | |
|----|-----|----------|------|-------|------------------------|
| d. | FR: | Il | y | avait | beaucoup des personnes |
| | | PRO.EXPL | PFRM | COP | PIVOT |

²⁸ The derivatives of SUM in Romance stem from different proto-forms such as *sedeo or *ezom meaning, respectively, to sit or to be.

²⁹ In Catalan, existential construction with *ser* are possible in some cases: *Era hi el president*.

e. IT: C'erano molte persone
 PRO.EXPL- PIVOT

f. RUM: Erau multi oameni
 COP PIVOT

All languages have, at their minimum, a copula, and a pivot, with French and Italian being the only two of the six that still retain the use of a proform. Also, as mentioned before, the type of copula sees a somewhat uniform distribution from West to East, considering that modern Occitan selects a derivate of HABEŌ, and most Italo-Romance languages select a derivate of ESSE, alternating with derivatives of HABEŌ in some varieties Sardinia, Salento, and Calabria, just to name a few (Bentley et al., p. 249 & Cruschina, 2015, pp. 46-49).

It is also vital to notice that out of the six varieties of Romance shown above, it is the case that the pivot controls for number agreement with the copula only in Italian and Romanian. According to Bentley's classification, European Portuguese, Spanish, and Catalan would be categorised under group (ii), that is, Romance varieties where the treatment of the postcopular NP in terms of agreement and unique use of a different copula depend on the definiteness of the pivot. This one is the most varied group. French would belong to group (i), where "the postcopular noun phrase of *There*-sentences consistently fails to control finite number agreement on the copula," and Romanian and Italian would be part of group (iii) where, as mentioned before, the postcopular NP behaves as a controller (2013, pp. 678-84).

The distribution and functions of these copulae across these languages are varied and not uniform, and their uses may range from copulative and possessive sentences to stage-level predicates in resultative clauses. The following chart proposed by Núñez-Méndez (2016) offers a

general overview of the current grammatical distribution of the copulae in the main Romance languages.

(29)

	Ser	Estar	Haber
Latin	ESSE/SEDERE "existence/sitting position" + existential constructions + copulative + locative constructions + progressive tenses + perfect passive	STARE "vertical position"	HABERE "possession"
Spanish	Ser + copulative (individual-level predicates) + locative (eventive readings) + possessive: <i>ser de</i> + auxiliary in passive voice	Estar + copulative (stage-level predicates) + resultative constructions + locative (non-eventive readings) + progressive tenses ? existential constructions (with definite complements)	Haber + existential constructions + auxiliary in perfect tenses
Italian	Essere + existential constructions + copulative (all predicates) + locative constructions + possessive (<i>essere di</i>) + auxiliary in passive voice + resultative constructions ? auxiliary in perfect tenses (of intransitive/deponent verbs)	Stare + auxiliary in progressive tenses	Avere + auxiliary in perfect tenses (of most verbs)
French	Être + copulative (all predicates) + locative constructions + possessive (<i>être à</i>) + auxiliary in passive voice + resultative constructions ? auxiliary in perfect tenses (of intransitive/deponent verbs) ? progressive construction in the form of <i>être en train de</i> + verb (among other options)		Avoir + existential constructions (with <i>y</i>) + auxiliary in perfect tenses (of most verbs)
Port.	Ser + copulative (individual-level predicates) + possessive (<i>ser de</i>) + auxiliary in passive voice + locative (eventive reading)	Estar + copulative (stage-level predicates) + resultative constructions + locative (non-eventive readings) + progressive tenses	Haver + existential constructions in European Portuguese, Brazilian Port. uses <i>ter</i> (auxiliary in perfect tenses built with <i>ter</i>)

Table 1.1. Comparison of the different copulae and their functions from Latin to Romance (Table taken from

Diachronic applications in Hispanic Linguistics by Núñez-Méndez (2016, p. 333)

Several things are salient regarding this distribution of copulae from Latin. First, the limited scope of the copulae in classical Latin compared to its Romance equivalents. Second, the robust set of functions for the copula *estar* in Castilian and Portuguese, which are part of this study's

primary purpose, will be discussed in chapter two. Finally, the broad scope of *être* in French compensates for lacking another copula derived from STĀRE.

Regarding compared structures, the locative equivalents of the sentences in (28) do not vary widely, except for the selection of copulae from ESSE (SUM) and STĀRE, which, interestingly, follow the same pattern of copula variation as in the previous example from East to West.

(30)

- a. PORT: As pessoas estavam lá
- b. SPAN: Las personas estaban allá
- c. CAT: Les persones estaven/eren allà
- d. FR: Les personnes étaient là
- e. IT: Le persone erano là
- f. RUM: Oamenii erau acolo

The definiteness level of the pivot changes, as well as the type of copula and word order, depending on the type of clause. The definiteness allowed in the pivot for each construction has been argued to reside on many differences, especially language rule-based and information structure (Fischer et al., 2016). Some languages, such as Italian and Catalan, will allow for a definite determiner in the pivot in pseudo-existential sentences in the case of presupposed spatial knowledge where the proform does refer to a specific place, as we can see in the following sentence ‘There was the president in the garden’.

(31)

- a. IT: C’era il presidente (nel giardino)
- b. CAT: Hi havia el president (al jardí)
- c. SP: *Había el presidente (en el jardín)

As is the case with other languages, particularly Romance varieties, and as was previously mentioned in the section on the interpretation of existential constructions, this type of presentational structure, often called pseudo-existential, with a strong pivot is licensed through the presence of the coda. It may also be presented with pragmatic purposes of focalisation (see Karssenbergh, 2007 for the case of *il y a* constructions in French with strong pivots such as proper names). However, modern Castilian (Spanish) does not allow these constructions that easily with *haber*. These pseudo-existential readings with a strong pivot are usually expressed in Spanish with *estar* as in *Estaban muchos niños* ('There were a lot of kids (somewhere)')³⁰.

On the other hand, Standard Catalan displays a curious intersection between East and West using the copula *haver* in pure existentials and the proform *hi* (32.a.). Yet, it selects a special copula for stage-level predicates (32.b.) even though it is not used for locative constructions as in Castilian and Portuguese (32.c.). As in modern Castilian and Portuguese, Standard Catalan passives select both *ser/estar*, whilst progressive constructions naturally select the stage-level verb *estar* (Batllori & Roca, 2001, pp.77-9)

(32)

- a. Hi ha molta gent a la festa
'There are many people at the party'
- b. La gent està cansada
'People are tired'
- c. El nuvi és a la festa
'The groom is at the party'

³⁰ This is in reference to a possible answer to the question: S1: ¿Cómo estuvo la fiesta? S2: Muy bien. Estaban muchos niños (en la fiesta), which is completely acceptable and used by millions of Castilian speakers in the Americas.

The case of Romanian is noteworthy as it largely resembles the distribution of copulae and their respective functions in classical Latin. Just as in the case of Latin, Romanian has one main verb for all copular sentences, '*a fi*' from Latin *FĪŌ* (to become). The other equivalent verbs are identical to Latin, with the use of '*a sta*' with non-eventive actions such as 'remain' or 'stay' and the verb '*a avea*' for possession.

- (33) a. Ea este frumoasa
 She COP.3SG beautiful
 'She is beautiful.'
- b. Stai aici
 stay-IPFV there
 'Stay there'
- c. Am mulți prieteni
 have-1SG many friends
 'I have many friends.'

In Romanian, the difference between locatives and existential constructions depends on the focalisation of the verb, just as in Latin, with the verb fronted to the initial position for existential readings.

- (34) a. Este un bărbat în grădină
 COP a man in garden
 'There is a man in the garden.'
- b. Un bărbat este în grădină
 a man COP in garden
 'A man is in the garden.'

As in most other varieties of Romance, in Romanian, it is possible to have other word orders for pragmatic functions such as topicalisation, as in the sentence *Mulți lingviști talentați sunt, dar nu-i angajează nimeni* ('There are many talented linguists, but nobody hires them.') (Cornilescu,

2009, p. 220). There is not a robust number of studies that explore the details and nuances of Romanian existentials; however, some of the few recent studies by Cornilescu (2009) have proposed that the syntax of Romanian existentials resemble that of dative constructions such as *Mi-e foame* ('I am hungry,' Lit. 'To me is hunger'), which interestingly appear to also resemble both possessive and locative sentences simultaneously in the underlying structure proposed by Freeze (1992).

Given that Romanian, just as Latin, does not denote syntactically any specific locations or display any type of proforms for generic existential readings (cf. '*Sunt urși albi și negri.*' – 'There are white and black bears'), it has been proposed that whilst in dative constructions of the type mentioned above the location is the subject (experiencer) itself, existential constructions in Romanian do not display an overt reference to a location but a silent one. This silent location plays the role of a subject generated in a DP under the main clause, getting dative case under the VP, and then raised to a clitic phrase (CIP) above the TP.

Since the null location is not overt and the verb is in focus position, prosody constitutes an essential factor in this type of construction in Romanian, with the fronted copula acquiring prosodic prominence for existential expressions when there is not a precise location (Cornilescu, pp. 226-27), which might have also been the case for spoken Latin as it used the same copula to express existential and attributive copular phrases as in (35). Prominence, as we have seen in the case of English *There*, plays a vital role in the interpretation and referentiality of the expletive/proform.

- (35) a. E(ste) secetă în România.
 COP.3.SG draught in Romania
 'There is a draught in Romania.'

b. E(ste) secetă (In România)

COP.3.SG draught

‘There is a draught’

3.2 On the Romance proform

An intriguing aspect emerged in certain Romance language varieties throughout linguistic evolution—a distinctive particle. This particle, whilst syntactically functioning as a clitic, retains its deictic value. As derivatives from deictic elements of historical adverbs, these anaphoric constituents indicate a specific place or location, which can possess definite or indefinite spatial characteristics. Crucially, they play an indispensable role in constructing existential expressions across numerous Romance languages.

In both wide Romance varieties of the West, this element has disappeared, as in the case of Portuguese, or has been grammaticalised as in the case of Castilian³¹. As discussed above, Romanian does not display the presence of this syntactic element either. It is mostly Italo-Romance and Galo-Romance varieties where the proform is still present. One of the most distinctive characteristics of the varieties of these two sub-groups is the proform for existential constructions in contexts where an existential reading should not license the use of a strong determiner in the pivot. This phenomenon has already been addressed briefly, as in the case of Italian and Catalan, where so-called pseudo-existential constructions allow for an existential reading with a definite pivot (e.g., *C’era il president, nel giardino*). This is particularly odd compared with other Romance varieties that will not allow this type of construction.

It has been proposed that the origin of these particles in Italo-Romance, and probably in other Romance varieties as well, presumably, was to serve as a locative anchor, with deictic value, to

³¹ The term Castilian will be used instead of Spanish to refer to the early Romance variety of the Spanish Peninsula as opposed to Catalan which is also a language spoken in Spain.

license definite pivots in presentational constructions, definiteness being a new overt grammatical marking in contrast to Latin. In this fashion, the proform + copula + pivot structure would later be reanalysed in other existential constructions with indefinite pivots and the proform as an obligatory element (Ciconte, 2011).

These so-called pseudo-existential/stage-level/ presentational/locatives still hold the same structural pattern for modern standard Catalan, where the proform may appear with both copulae as in *Hi havia el president* and *El president hi era* but may not appear in clauses of the type **Hi era el president*. As mentioned previously, the equivalent of these constructions in its Iberian counterparts, Portuguese and Castilian, require the use of copula *estar* as in *Estaba el presidente*, *Estaba (ahí) el presidente*. We propose that this is due to the multifaceted nature of the proform as an anaphoric element, as well as a verbal inflectional feature with potential information status effects, which had to be absorbed by the copula *estar* when the proform disappeared from Castilian and Portuguese. The historical evidence for this claim will be explored in the next two chapters.

4. Theoretical Proposal

In the case of *estar*, we will propose that constructions often deemed in the literature as inverse locatives are, in fact, similar to other existential constructions in which the stage topic is often recursive or reactivated, with the delimitation posed by the adverbial coda (i.e., in a specific place as new information). Despite the apparent similarities between structures comprised by the elements *estar* + pivot, they all represent different semantic readings (i.e., eventive, evidential, and enumerative). To provide a comprehensive overview of the proposed taxonomy of EPs and the semantic readings conveyed by *estar*, the following table

amalgamating the semantic, pragmatic, and morphosyntactic dimensions is proposed. Chapters two and three will explore and provide the historical background of this model.

Semantic Expression	Pragmatic Reading	Copulae	Examples	
Within a context y, an entity x is relevant	Absolute existence	Haber/Haver	CAST: Hay ángeles PORT: Há anjos	GENERAL PRESENCE
Within a context y, the entity x is relevant	Discourse-bounded existence	Estar	S1: ¿No hay nadie en la habitación? S2: Está Ana S1: Ninguém está na sala? S2: Está Ana (lá)	
Within a context y, an entity x in setting z is relevant	Discourse-bounded existence	Estar	CAST: Mira, está un pajarillo sobre un árbol PORT: Olha, está um pássaro em uma árvore	
Within a time frame y, an/the entity x in a state/setting z is relevant	Eventive Presence	Estar	Context: What is happening at this very moment (there)? CAST: Está el/un coche azul estacionado (sobre la calle) PORT: Está o/um carro azul estacionado (na rua)	STAGE-LEVEL PRESENCE
Within a set of possibilities y, an/the entity x is relevant	Enumerative Presence	Estar/Ter Haber/Haver	Context: What is the most reliable and affordable car brand? CAST: Hay el/uno que acaba de abrir en la calle principal or Está la Fiat PORT: Há um consesionario na rua principal or Tem a Fiat	
Within a time frame y, an/the entity x in a state/setting z is relevant	Evidential Presence	Estar	Context: What can you see/observe at this very moment inside that room? CAST: Hay una mesa y <u>está un libro sobre la mesa.</u> PORT: Há uma mesa e <u>está um livro sobre a mesa.</u>	
Within a relevant setting y, entity x is	Location	Estar	Context: Where is the plant? CAST: La planta está en el balcón PORT: A planta está na varanda	LOCAL PRESENCE

Table 1.2 Proposed Taxonomy for Expressions of Presence in Ibero-Romance

It is important to notice that some readings differ only on the pivot's definiteness and the spatiotemporal frame's durability whilst holding the same structure. It is, therefore, not surprising that various possibilities are accessible for pragmatic interpretation through similar morphosyntax. Within this model, all expressions reveal a degree of presence for the pivot as new or reintroduced information. Such expressions may be encompassed in two main categories: 1) General Presence, where a specific time frame is not relevant on semantic grounds, and 2) Stage-level presence, where a subset of possibilities, including contextual time, is. Though not in structure, locative presence holds a relationship between the other subcategories, which will be explored in the last chapter.

The advantages presented by this multilevel model serve as a foundational benchmark not limited to Romance languages alone. Take, for instance, English. This model has the potential to examine various cupulae linked with distinct modes of interpretation across natural languages. Moreover, it paves the way for an insightful exploration of their inherent lexical and semantic attributes when expressing each type of reading.

In chapter four, we will further elucidate an underlying syntactic structure based on the model proposed by Francez (2007) and Villalba (2013) to illustrate the dynamics of information structure represented by every pragmatic reading. The ensuing two chapters will provide the empirical background to support our model. Chapter three will further explore the notion of stage-level presence in this model, more specifically, the potential evidential nature of some semantic readings.

Chapter II

The West: Expressions of Presence in Portuguese and Castilian

The notions of existence and location may have similar interpretations, but there is a clear difference in how information is presented when expressing *thetic* and *categorical* propositions. For instance, the statement ‘There are two cats’ conveys a *thetic* proposition, which refers to the presence of something or someone within a specific discursive context. On the other hand, the *categorical* proposition is exemplified in the statement ‘Two cats are here,’ which refers to the temporary location of something or someone. Existential sentences typically utilise a *thetic* informational structure, whilst locative ones employ a *categorical* structure.³² The complexity of these types of sentences lies in the fact that they are governed by three encompassing linguistic dimensions, one of semantic expression (e.g., *thetic* and *categorical* expressions, time, physicality, telicity, etc.), one of information structure (e.g., contextual domain, discourse-boundedness, presupposition, etc.), and one of morphosyntactic structure (e.g., definiteness, coda domain, and copula).

This chapter will describe the situation of existential and locative propositions in the three domains mentioned above in Ibero-Romance from a diachronic perspective through examples of Classical and Late Latin, as well as Portuguese and Castilian, from the 12th to the 15th centuries. The diachronic overview of this chapter, alternated with some synchronic data, aims at providing support for some of the modern unified theories of *ser* and *estar* for a proper taxonomy of

³² *Thetic* from classical Greek *θετικός* (*thetikós*) meaning posited or laid down; it is related to the word *thesis*. We use the terms *thetic* and *categorical* in the introduction of this chapter to follow up on the presentation of these concepts in the Introduction and the first section of chapter one. These are concepts based on information structure and they were first used by Kuroda (1972) who took it from the philosopher Franz Brentano (1874).

expressions of presence (EPs)³³ (i.e., existential (ECs) and locative (LCs) clauses) taking into consideration the gradual disappearance of the proform (e.g., *hy*, *hi*, *bi*, *i*, *y*) in central and western Ibero-Romance varieties (see Maienborn, 2004; Zagona, 2015; Deo et al., 2016; Gallego & Uriagereka, 2016; Mangialavori Rasia, 2018; Sánchez Alonso, 2018). Unlike other western Romance varieties, some Ibero-Romance varieties, such as Portuguese and Castilian, lost the clitic particle that frequently accompanied expressions of presence (EPs) (Longa et al., 1998) (e.g., *hy*, *hi*, etc.). These languages implemented a tripartite system of copular verbs (*ser*, *estar*, *haber*) to represent their EPs' various contextual domains, definiteness, and pragmatic saliency. Section one will analyse and categorise the copular system of classical and late Latin for EPs. Sections two and three will analyse and categorise the cases of Castilian and Portuguese, respectively. Each section will be subdivided by the analysis of constructions that tend to focalise the pivot (i.e., existentials) and the locus (i.e., locative), with some cases lying between the two depending on the context. This systematic analysis aims to validate the veracity and coherence of EPs in diverse structures, considering the quality of the surrounding elements. The analysis seeks to identify similarities and dissimilarities in the behaviour of these elements before and after the proform disappears. This study intends to provide insights into the nature of EPs, their behaviour, and the mechanisms that govern them, which may contribute to a better understanding of their role in various linguistic contexts.

We will use the term EP (expression of presence) as an umbrella concept that encompasses all types of existential constructions (ECs) and locative constructions (LCs) when referring to either one of them indistinctively. We will define Existential Constructions (ECs), following Bentley et

³³ For theoretical and brevity purposes, we will refer to existential and locative clauses, sentences, constructions, phrases, etc. as expressions of presence (EPs) from here on when talking about both existential constructions (ECs) and locative constructions (LCs) conjunctly.

al. (2015, pp.1-2) syntactic-semantic definition, as “[...] constructions with non-canonical morphosyntax which express a proposition about the existence or the presence of someone or something in a context”. In most cases, these constructions will introduce a concrete or abstract referent accompanied by a weak quantifier (see Milsark, 1969; Lumsden, 1988) such as *some*, *no*, *at least two*, and so on; usually known as absolute existentials (e.g., ‘There are some problems,’ ‘There are aliens,’ or ‘There are some coins,’ etc.). Moreover, the presence of an abstract or concrete referent with a stage-level delimitation (i.e., eventive), if it refers to new information, will also be considered the case of an EC; the same applies to so-called eventive existentials or list readings (e.g., ‘There’s a pig roasted,’ ‘There’s Julie calling,’ ‘There’s the woman we hate,’ etc.)³⁴.

Unlike Bentley et al. (2015), Cruschina (2012), and Spevak (2004), we will refer to Locative Constructions (LCs) only as constructions where the location is the new or reactivated relevant information (e.g., ‘My parents are in Hawaii’ ‘Yes. The keys are there’) where the subject tends to be a topic and is usually accompanied by common nouns with strong quantifiers³⁵, proper names, or pronouns³⁶.

We will use the same nomenclature used by Bentley et al. (2015, p. 2) to refer to the elements of ECs and LCs; 1) We will refer to the primary entity whose existence is asserted as the pivot, 2) the clitic with locative reference that often accompanies the verb as the proform (e.g., Italian *ci*, *vi*; Catalan *hi*, etc.), and 3) the main verb as the copula (i.e., *haber*, *haver*, *ser*, *estar*). The

³⁴ As we will try to categorise all constructions semantically considering whether they convey stage-level or individual-level predicates, as well as the type of information they focalise, the taxonomy proposed will also apply to examples and translations from English.

³⁵ For example, the quantifiers *every* and *all*. For further expansion on the notion of weak and strong quantifiers see the previous chapter § 2.2. See also Milsark (1969), and Lumsden (1988).

³⁶ From here on, we will refer to any of these types of nouns as strong pivots. Contrastively, nominals accompanied by weak quantifiers (e.g., *some*, *few*, *two*, etc.) or with weak deictic reference will be referred to as weak pivots.

expletive is the empty element that often accompanies ECs in some languages (e.g., English ‘There,’ or French *il*). The coda is any material (XP) following the verb (Zucchi, 1995, p. 36). The term locus will also be utilised in the context of LCs to refer to the coda.

(Expletive) (proform) (copula) pivot (coda)

Most examples have been extracted from the *Corpus diacrónico del español* (CORDE), the *Digital Library of Old Spanish Texts* from the Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies (HSMS), and the *Corpus de la Biblia Medieval* (CBM). In the case of the CBM and CORDE, a friendly lemmatised system allows simultaneously searching a combination of elements in as many forms as possible (e.g., *ser/era/fue* + *hy*) across various texts and time frames. Then, subsequent analysis by hand had to be performed to identify the surrounding arguments (i.e., whether there is a coda or a relative clause) of the construction and the level of definiteness of the pivot. In the case of the HSMS, texts need to be consulted individually; therefore, an exhaustive search is not immediately available. Likewise, all examples from early Portuguese, from the *Corpus Informatizado do Português Medieval* (CIPM), need to be extracted individually, text by text, without the option to consult frequencies by a range of dates. Due to all the above, a quantitative analysis of tokens will not be the primary purpose of this study. The aim is to analyse the reality and consistency of EPs within varied structures marked by the quality of the elements surrounding them to note similarities and differences in their behaviour prior to and posterior to the disappearance of the proform.

1. Latin

In classical Latin, existential constructions (ECs) (e.g., *There is a man in the garden*) and Locative constructions (LCs) (e.g., *A man is in the garden*) would show variation in word order. The type of reading (i.e., existential, attributive, and locative) of Latin SUM would depend, to a degree, on the position of the verb and context. There is a tendency for presentational structures, such as ECs, to favour the position of the verb at the beginning of the sentence (V1 position) (e.g., *Est homo in horto*). LCs, on the other hand, tend to favour a position at the end of the sentence (V3 position) (e.g., *Homo in horto est*). Predicate-focus attributive, that is, regular attributive phrases, oscillate between the middle of the sentence (V2 position) and final sentence position (V3 position) (e.g., *Homo est agricola* or *Homo agricola est*) (see Bentley, 2015, pp. 222-228). Word order was relatively free in classical Latin. Albeit its inclination to introduce ECs with the verb in sentence-initial position, the variation between VS and SV position in Latin would also depend on the type of narration and information structure constraints (see Cabrillana, 2007; Spevak, 2004, 2005).

1.1 The verb SUM

In Ibero-Romance, the modern forms of *ser*³⁷ derive from ESSE ('to exist') and SEDERE (lit. 'to sit'). SEDERE was the suppletive verb for some forms of ESSE in defective tenses such as future, conditional, and imperative (cf. Lat. *erimus* vs. Cast. *seremos*, 'we will be') (Batllori & Roca, 2011, p. 82). The verb ESSE (SUM) in Latin, beyond passive and copular sentences (e.g., *Rex vetus Laurentiorum Latinus vocatus est*, 'The old king of the Laurentians was called Latinus'; *Iulia mater mea est*, 'Julia is my mother'), could also denote general existence (Pinkster, p. 133) and precise location.

³⁷ Also *ésser* in some varieties of Catalan.

1.1.1 Focalising the pivot

In classical Latin, SUM was the default verb for existential expressions in presentative constructions (i.e., in V1 position), which would usually introduce a new referent in the form of a weak pivot³⁸ (i.e., a nominal that is not accompanied by a strong quantifier such as ‘some’ or ‘few’; and that is not a strong pivot such as proper names, pronouns, etc.) (Spevak, 2004, pp. 387-388; Bentley et al., 2015, pp. 220-227).

- (1) a. Est liber noster qui inscribitur de Magistro
 COP.3SG.PRS book.NOM.SG our which write-3SG.PRS.PASS.IND of master.ABL.SG
 ‘There is a book of ours extant called of the Master’
 (Aug. *Conf.* 9.6. 2nd century A.D.) (see also Spevak, 2004, p. 389)
- b. Erat in Gallia ulteriore legio una
 COP.3SG.IMPV in Gaul. ABL further.ABL legion.NOM one
 ‘There was in further Gaul one legion.’
 (Caesar. *De Bello Gallico*. Liber I. 7. 2. 1st century B.C.)

In both (1.a.) and (1.b.), the main predicate and focus (i.e., new information) is the pivot (i.e., *liber noster*, *legio una*). Even though it is true that (1.b.) contains a locative phrase, and it is often classified spuriously as a locative in most contemporary literature (cf. Cruschina, 2012; Koch, 2012; Bentley et al., 2015), the locative phrase is merely functioning as a frame setter (Krifka, 2008a, 2008b) for the introduction of the most relevant element of the sentence. *Gallia ulteriore* is the contextual domain of the pivot’s presence (i.e., existence) and thus may function as a quirky, non-nominative subject (see Poole, 2015 for semantic treatment of non-nominative subjects). In other words, to exist, one needs a place. Sometimes, the coda may be overt (1.b.). In

³⁸ For a detailed description of weak and strong pivots see the previous chapter § 2.2. See also Milsark (1969), and Lumsden (1988).

other cases, the contextual setting, or locus, does not necessarily need to refer to a specific, well-defined place but to a state of affairs that is presupposed or pre-established deictically (i.e., that is context-dependent) as in (1.a.) (see van Bennekom, 1984 for an explanation of this phenomenon in Classical Greek).

1.1.2 Focalising the locus

To precisely denote location, SUM had to be accompanied by a locative complement either through a noun in the locative or ablative case³⁹ (2.a.) or an adverbial/circumstantial phrase (2.c.) (2.b.). As mentioned in the previous section, we propose that in a true locative, the locus functions as the principal predicate of the sentence and not as a frame setter of a focalised pivot. Consequently, in true locatives, the subject tends to be active in the discourse⁴⁰ either deictically (2.b.) (2.c.) or by common-ground knowledge (2.a.).

- (2) a. Herodotus Romae erat
 Herodotus.NOM Rome.LOC COP.3SG.IPFV
 ‘Herodotus was in Rome’
 (Cicero. *In Verrem*. 2.2.128. 1st century B.C.)

- b. [...] Mecum erat hic [...]

 With me.ABL COP.3SG.IPFV this.M.SG
 ‘He (Caelius) was with me [...]’
 (Cicero. *Pro Caelio*. Liber IV. 1st century B.C.)

³⁹ “Latin also had a Locative Case; however, few of the forms are still used in classical Latin. The locative case is used to indicate “place where” and is found primarily with the names of cities, towns, and small islands. (Actually, these three places are all the same since the island must be small enough to be named for the only city or town on it; if there are two towns, you much use in + Ablative. The forms for the Locative are the same as the genitive in the 1st and 2nd Declension Singular and the same as the Ablative in the 3rd Declension Singular. Towns (like Athens, Athenae) whose form is plural take their locative forms from the Ablative plural in all declensions. Other locative forms are: domi, humi, belli, militiae, and ruri.”

<https://classics.osu.edu/Undergraduate-Studies/Latin-Program/Grammar/Cases/latin-case#:~:text=The%20locative%20case%20is%20used,you%20much%20use%20in%20%2B%20Ablative>

⁴⁰ Spevak (2004, 2005) calls these subjects ‘future topics’.

- c. quibus in praesidiis fuerit quaere
 which. ABL in garrisons. ABL COP.3SG. PFV.ACT.SBJV ask-IMP
 ‘Ask me in what garrison he (Ligarius) was’
 (Cicero. *Pro Ligario*. Liber I. 1st century B.C.)

1.1.3 Other strategies to focalise the locus

Among other strategies Latin used to anchor location or transient presence was the affixation of spatial particles such *ad-* from the Latin preposition *ad* (to, towards) into the verb SUM. Classical Latin-derived verbs, such as the verb ADSUM (‘to be present’), were prevalent until the post-classical period (e.g., The Latin Vulgate) (3.b.). The same was true for those forms derived from ABSUM (‘to be absent’) (3.a.), equivalent to ‘not being in a place’ or ‘to be away from.’

- (3) a. Hamae⁴¹ inde tria milia passuum absunt
 Hamae.DAT from three.NOM miles.NOM steps.NOM from- COP.3PL.PRES
 ‘They were three miles away from Hamae’
 (Livy. *Ab Urbe Condita*. Liber Tertius.35. 1st century B.C.)

- b. Quando praeparabat caelos aderam
 when prepare-3SG.IPFV. heavens. ACC at-COP.1SG.IMP.
 ‘I was there when he established the heavens’
 (*Latin Vulgate*. Prov. 8:27.16th century)

⁴¹ “Dative with Compounds: Verbs, especially the verb “to be”, when compounded with a pre-verb (a preposition used adverbially and attached directly to the root verb) take a dative whose meaning goes very closely with the new sense imparted to the compound verb by the pre-verb. For example: desum = “to fail”, desum tibi = “to fail you”; praesum = “to protect, to stand over”, praesum vobis = “to protect you, to stand over you”. When the verb was a compound of a separative pre-verb (ad, de, ex) and the stem, the dative was used when the sense in English suggested an ablative. For this reason, a special category of the dative with compounds is the dative of separation: absum tibi = I am absent from you; extorta tibi = ripped from you.” (<https://classics.osu.edu/Undergraduate-Studies/Latin-Program/Grammar/Cases/dative-case>)

In both cases, the copula has either a complement or some type of previous spatio-temporal referent, as in the moment or circumstance when god prepared heaven in (3.b.). Given that Latin was a free word-order language in which the order of the constituents is established by information structure (see Spevak, 2004, 2005; Skopeteas, 2011), the compound forms of SUM were an alternative for cases where the copula was in V3 position and a reference to anchor the understood location was needed to complete the valency of the verb without the need to iterate the locative phrase or to add an adverbial phrase. In other words, as exemplified in (3.b.), *aderam*, as opposed to *eram*, is coindexed with some location, which may be in the previous discourse or implicit. As previously mentioned, the place correlated to the verb *aderam* is not necessarily concrete; it refers only to an imprecise moment in time and space, similar to the proform's function in later centuries.

Finally, another recurrent strategy to denote location in the late forms of written Latin was the presence of the adverb *IBI* ('there') in late Latin texts (Spevak, 2004, p. 390). *IBI* is the etymological ascendent of many proforms in early Romance (e.g., *hy*, *hi*, *y* in Early Castilian; *hi*, *i*, in early Portuguese; *vi*, in Tuscan; *y*, in French; and *bi* in Aragonese).

- (4) a. Non enim ego iam inferis, et tamen etiam ibi es,
 NEG because I already hell.ABL and however even there COP.2.SG.PRS
 nam descendero in infernum, ades
 for descend-1.SG.FUT.PRF in hell.ACC at-COP.2.SG.PRS
 'Because I am not yet in hell, though you are even there; for if I go down into hell, you are there'
 (St. Agustin. *Confessionum*. Liber Primus. 1.2.2. 4th century AD.)

- b. Monazontes [...] usque ad lucem ibi sunt et
 monks.NOM until to light. ACC there COP .3PL.pres and
 ymnos dicunt
 hymns.ACC. say-3PL.PRS
 ‘The monks stay there until the dawn and sing hymns’
 (*Peregrinatio Egeriae*. Pars Secunda. XXV-7. 4th century AD.)

(4.a.) illustrates three different strategies to specify location through (i) case, (ii) IBĪ + verb, and (iii) affix + verb. In the case of (4.b.), unless we knew the information status of the pivot (*monazontes*), the sentence could be interpreted, using some of the current taxonomy, either as an anaphoric LC (see Cruschina, 2012) or a generic EC with bounded location (see Koch, 2012): ‘There are monks there’/‘The monks are there,’ especially as word order in these types of constructions became freer (Bentley et al., 2015, p. 221).

In this case, *monazontes* is a topic previously introduced in the discourse⁴², which may only take an anaphoric locative reading. Thus, the topic's status is the main difference between an existential and a locative reading. Even late Latin did not always utilise elements to mark the definiteness of a noun (Cabrillana, 2007), so we do not know *prima facie* whether to treat *monazontes* as a reactivated topic or a common ground topic. One will need to rely solely on context to determine the focus.

⁴² In the complete passage, *monazontes* is a referent previously activated in the discourse, and therefore an active topic within the information status as illustrated in the first and second line of the passage (“And given that for the monks, who go there by foot, it is necessary to go more calmly [...]”):

Benedictus, qui uenit in nomine Domine et cetera, quae secuntur. Et quoniam pro monazontes, qui pedibus uadent, necesse est lenius iri: ac sic peruenitur in Ierusalem ea hora, qua incipit homo hominem posse cognoscere, id est prope luce, ante tamen quam lux fiat.

Ubi cum peruentum fuerit, statim sic in Anastase ingreditur episcopus et omnes cum eo, ubi luminaria iam supra modo lucent. Dicitur ergo ibi unus psalmus, fit oratio, benedicuntur ab episcopo pri mum cathecumini, item fideles. Recipit se episcopus et uadent se unusquisque ad ospitium suum, ut se resument. Monazontes autem usque ad lucem ibi sunt et ymnos dicunt.

Although it would not be prudent to treat the presence of *IBĪ* as a direct foreshadowing of the proform, its intercalation was one of the early and late Latin strategies to work economically through the freedom of word order (Spevak, 2004, pp. 390-93). One similarity, however, between the compound verbal forms (e.g., *adsum*) and subsequent adverbial proforms is their prepositional nature. The above examples show that the compound prepositional forms of *SUM* or *IBĪ* would only surface when an actual preposition was missing or when the preposition is discursively prescinded from the verb as in (4.b.) due to information structure constraints. This phenomenon coincides with the notion offered by Freeze (1992) in his unified account of possessives and locatives. He states that “these elements,” the proform, are simply the surface expression of inflectional features [+LOC] and not necessarily an argument (p.569-70). This phenomenon is exemplified in (4.a.), where *ad-* and *IBĪ* act as a resumptive form that accompanies the verb.

1.2 The verb *STŌ*

In Latin, *STŌ* (lit. to stand, remain standing, upright, or erect) was a full lexical verb. In the richness of its lexical features, *STŌ* implied permanence, consistency, stability, and durability. At the same time, semantically, *STŌ* conveyed a punctual aspect; that is, a transient completion of the process of being in which the subject found itself in a place within a specific, frequently temporary, time frame (Penny, 2005, p. 340; Batllori & Roca, 2011, p. 89). In the following passage, the adverb *nunc* and the preposition *ante* reflect the two features often associated with *STŌ* and its derivatives, that is, both spatial (*ante*) and temporal (*nunc*) (see Zagona, 2012).

- (5) [...] nonne ego nunc sto ante aedes nostras?
 not- INT. PART. I now stand-1SG. before shrine.ACC.PL our.ACC.F.PL
 ‘Aren’t I now standing before our shrine?’
 (Plautus, *Amphitruo*. Actus I. Ln. 406. 3rd century B.C.)

In the latter stages, late Latin/early Romance, *STŌ* allowed for a durative extension of temporality, especially when accompanied by adverbs that projected such extension; for example, *semper* or *iugiter* ('always,' 'continually'). *STŌ* could also appear with true locatives (i.e., brand new focalised loci) (5) or with resumptive adverbial phrases to reinstate discourse-bounded locations (6.a.).

It has often been claimed that a perfective aspect feature is not inherent to the semantics of the Iberian derivatives of *STŌ*; that is, *estar* selects a particular class of predicates and absorbs from them any durative features that distinguish it from *ser* (see Fernández Leborans, 1995; and Zagana, 2012). In other words, *estar* may appear with predicates that denote a short and specific moment in time, as well as a semi-permanent position, for which reason, it could also be fronted to focalise both weak (6.a.) (Bentley et al., p. 229) and strong (6.b.) pivots.

- (6) a. In ipsa uia non longe a ciuitate stat columna marmorea.
 in this road.ABL NEG far from city.ABL COP.3.SG.PRS column.NOM marmoreal.NOM
 'On this road not far from the city there is a marmoreal column.'
 (*Antonini Placentini Itinerarium recensio altera* 25. 3rd century A.D.) (Bentley et al. 2015, p.229)

- b. Anastase itaque ergo stat semper presbyter
 Resurrection.ABL thus therefore COP.3.SG.PRS always presbyter.NOM
 'Therefore, the presbyter is always there, in the Church of the Resurrection.'
 (*Peregrinatio Aegeriae PARS Secunda*. XLVII-3. 4th century A.D.)

Moreover, the aspectual punctuality of its lexical features would enable *STŌ* to later appear as a copula in verbal constructions to express resultative perfective actions in Castilian (see Díaz, 2016, p. 319, also Pountain, 1985), Portuguese, and Catalan. The expression of limited duration,

which is not present in *ser*, allowed the Romance derivatives of STŌ to later become grammaticalised in constructions requiring a stage-level reading⁴³ (see the theoretical proposal by Batllori & Roca, 2011). Some of these resultative constructions are foreshadowed in late Latin passages, as in (7) (cf. *está fija* in modern Castilian).

- (7) Haec est autem vallis in qua factus est
 this COP.3SG.PRS therefore valley.NOM in which make-PST.PTCP COP.3SG.PRS .
 vitulus qui locus usque in hodie ostenditur
 calf.NOM which place.NOM until in today display-3SG.PRS.PASS.
 nam lapis grandis ibi fixus stat in ipso loco
 since stone.NOM big.NOM there fix-PST.PTCP COP.3SG.PRS in same place.ABL
 ‘For this is the valley in which the calf was forged where it is displayed until today, for a big stone sits
 unwaveringly there, in that same place.’
 (*Peregrinatio Aegeriae* PARS PRIMA, II-2. 4th century)

The identifiability of the subject (i.e., its definiteness) in these sentences will often depend on several factors such as long-term pragmatic information (i.e., common general knowledge), current pragmatic information introduced in the preceding discourse, or deictic information perceptually available within the discourse context (Cabrillana, 2007, p. 52). This phenomenon exemplifies why the reading (i.e., locative or existential) may sometimes be ambiguous. One cannot infer the information status of the constituents without any context. Therefore, the fact that the information status of the EPs elements, and not necessarily word order (cf. Bentley et al., 2015, pp. 220-227), is the critical factor in determining the reading of a clause will be further elucidated through the remainder of this chapter.

⁴³ For a definition of stage-level and individual-level predicates, see Carlson (1977) or section §2.1 from the previous chapter.

1.3 Summary

This section established that besides its use in attributive phrases and as an auxiliary in compound passive forms, SUM was the de facto verb for ECs and LCs in Latin. It was shown that regardless of their nature, concrete or abstract, SUM would appear in ECs with weak pivots in pre-established discourse contexts that would function as the locus of reference. SUM would also co-occur with strong (topical) pivots (e.g., proper names, pronouns, etc.) located in a specific place in LCs. Lastly, some of Latin's methods to anchor transient presence and location in LCs were the integration of locative adverbials, nouns in the locative or ablative/dative case, the affixation of prepositions to the verb for locative anaphoric reference, and the use of the adverb *IBI*. Finally, this section showed that *STO*, as a full lexical verb, would often be used in ECs to introduce strong and weak pivots and in LCs to reintroduce a semiactive location or to introduce a brand-new location.

2. West and Central Iberia

2.1 Castilian

2.1.1 *Ser*

Unlike their modern standards, early attestations of Castilian and Portuguese showed extensive use of *ser* and their respective proform to formulate both LCs and ECs. Like the previous section, this section will follow the traditional terminology. It will categorise clauses containing pivots with weak quantifiers and predicates that assert existence contingently or transiently (the so-called stage-level predicates) as ECs. (see Ciconte, 2011, p. 285). We will categorise LCs as definite structures with a focalised permanent or semi-permanent locus of existence, either brand new or reactivated. All sections will also briefly discuss the role of the verb *haber* as a copula due to its high frequency and competition with *ser* in ECs as early as the 13th century.

2.1.1.1 Focalising the pivot

The formula Proform–Copula ((*h*)*y* + *ser*) comprises the thetic range of EC: absolute existentials and eventive (including enumerative) existentials; that is, clauses with broad, or rather eventive, focus (following Gussenhoven, 2008, p. 95). Some of these constructions appear sporadically in Castilian texts. Consider the contrast between the use of *hy* + COP. in the presentational discourse-bounded construction and the use of *estar* in a locative one within the same passage in the late 13th century.

- (8) Et hy son xij maioranos sennores de la honor
 and there COP.3.PL.PRS twelve elders lords of the honor
 & estan en medio del cielo que dizen Mahun.
 and COP.3.PL.PRS in between of the heaven that say-3.PL.PRS Mahun
 ‘And there are twelve elders, lords of honor. And they are amidst the heaven that is called Mahun’
 (*Picatrix*, Alfonso X. Fol. 28v, 1256?)

Except for the cases of classical Latin, Rumanian, and some varieties of early Romance, including early Italo-Romance (see Cinconte, 2011, p. 291), in Castilian, *ser* and its equivalents are usually proscribed in any expression of existence without an overt anaphoric antecedent that expresses location (e.g., #*Son personas que no les gusta el apio*⁴⁴ ‘Are people who do not like celery’) or some type of spatiotemporal reference frame (e.g., *Érase una vez* ‘Once upon a time’).

⁴⁴ Such an expression would only be felicitous if it comes preceded by an inferred topic. It cannot be uttered out of the blue. For example: *¿Qué hay de las personas que no vinieron a la cena?* (‘What about the people who didn’t come to the dinner?’). *Son personas que no les gusta el apio* (Those are people who don’t like celery). A case such as *Son muchas las personas a las que no les gusta el apio* (‘Many are the people who don’t like celery’) represents the case of a presentational structure (or focus fronting) of a classical copulative phrase with a definite subject: *Las personas a las que no les gusta el apio son muchas*.

Beyond the unaccusative quality of *se* over the copula in the case of *Érase una vez*, it is precisely the contextual domain (*una vez*) that “[...] denotes a set of some kind, e.g., a set of times, individuals, or events” (Francez, 2007, p. 71). These contextual domains may sometimes be expressed as in the case of *una vez* (‘once’), or they may function as a silent argument (also called a covert topic) when the conversational context pre-establishes the setting (see Bentley & Cruschina, 2018) for all ECs. These elements are often called implicit, silent arguments, or stage topics (Erteschik-Shir, 2006). According to Erteschik-Shir, all existentials take stage topics where relevant Time/Place arguments may function as frames of reference for the current stage of the discourse (2006, p. 29). In the case of (8), we propose that the proform, *hy*, at this stage in the language, still points to a contextual discourse domain, whilst the new or relevant information is the pivot — *xij maioranos*. That the pivot is part of the focus domain as part of the predicate is the central tenant of Francez (2007).

Even though stage topics are discourse-bound, they may be grammatically expressed, as in the case of the proform, or implicit due to speaker-oriented deixis (Bentley & Cruschina, 2018, p. 9) as in *llueve* (‘it is raining’). Given that the utterance in the present tense is speaker-oriented, the truth value of the proposition (i.e., whether it is true or not that it is raining) will be assessed on the examination of the stage that is active discourse-wise (see Erteschik-Shir, pp. 27-31) in the respective circumstances when the expression is uttered, or within the boundaries set by the “scene” or “situation.”

Thetic-absolute ECs with the formula *hy* + *ser*, or even *ser* by itself, are extremely rare in all the documentation of early Castilian. Out of almost eighty tokens of different combinations and permutations of (h)y + *ser* found in the Corpora, no more than three or four clear cases of thetic-absolute (i.e., sentence-initial + weak pivot) were found. This evidence points to an early

distribution of copula-function as Castilian seems to resort to a variety of strategies to present new information already since the 12th century — fronting the nominal, probably due to the Tobler-Mussafia law⁴⁵, in the sentence with *hy* + *haber* (e.g., 9.b. & 9.c.), or the use of the verb *haber* by itself as in (9.a.).

In Ibero-Romance, the verb *haber* plays an important role⁴⁶. As a copula, *haber*, or *haver*, in Portuguese and Catalan, already appears in some of the earliest documentation available. These verbs derive from HABEŌ⁴⁷, which, in written Latin during the Classical period documentation, denoted primarily possession⁴⁸.

- (9) a. Otros mandados ha en esta mi cort
 Other commandments COP.3SG.PRS in this my court
 ‘There are other commandments in this court of mine’
 (*Cantar de Mio Cid*, BNM VITR/7/17. Fol.39r. 1100-1210? HSMS)

⁴⁵ The constraint against placing clitics in sentence initial position known by the name of Tobler-Mussafia excludes clitics not only from the absolute sentential left-periphery but also from the immediate first position after a left dislocated constituent, a clausal adjunct (namely an adverbial clause), or a coordinate conjunction (Martins, 2003, p. 214).

⁴⁶ Derivates of HABĒRE as a copula to denote existence are distinctive, but not exclusive, of the Iberian Peninsula. They may be found in Aragonese, Asturian, Castilian, Catalan, Galician, and Portuguese. However, they are also present in some Italo-Romance varieties (see Cruschina, 2015).

⁴⁷ For an analysis of the development of *hay* from Latin to Castilian see Moreno (1978). For an analysis of the development and relationship between *ter* and *haver* in Portuguese see Mattos e Silva (1997, 2002).

⁴⁸ Vestiges of the origin of HABĒRE as an impersonal verb to express existence may be traced back to some late Latin/pre-Romance examples where the subject is a specific place, then it denotes an undefined space, as in the first passage of the first book of the *Peregrinatio Aegeriae*.

- 1) *Vallis autem ipsa ingens est valde [...] quae habet [...] in longo milia passos forsitan sedecim[...].*
 ‘The giant valley itself is vast, which has probably sixteen miles longwise.
- 2) *Habebat autem de eo loco ad montem Dei forsitan quattuor milia totum per valle illa.*
 ‘There were from that place to god’s mountain probably four miles total through that valley.’

- b. Carrera hy a que semeia derecha al ombre

Street there COP.3SG.PRS that appear-3.SG.PRS straight to man

‘There is a path that appears straight to men’

(*Biblia Prealfonsí*, Proverbios 14:12⁴⁹. 13th century. CBM)

- c. cuenta de la una sennal del equinoctio hata la otra quantos grados hy a

count of the one sign of the quinox until the other as many degrees there COP.3SG.PRS

‘there are as many degrees from the count of one of the signs of the equinox until the other’

(*Libro de la Alcora*, Cap. xvi. Párrafo dieciseis. Alfonso X. 1277. HSMS)

In the early versions of Castilian, the presence of the proform with *ser* seemed to, in a protethic manner (i.e., preceding the verb), provide the verb with a distinctive capacity to assign partitive/accusative case by supplying a frame of reference for the presence of the pivot; that is, a possessor (see Lyons, 1967, 1968; Freeze 1992; Koch, 2012). A possible reason for the scarcity of thetic (*h*)y + *ser* constructions may be because, in Castilian, that function was already supplied by the impersonal form of the copula *haber*. Whereas in classical Latin, the case was morphologically assigned to nominals, and word order was freer, in early Romance, case assignment fell solely on verbs, and word order turned more rigid. That is, a phrase such as *Dominus habet multum uinum* (‘The master has a lot of wine’) was just as grammatical as *Domi est multum uinum* (‘In the house, there is a lot of wine,’ or ‘A lot of wine is in the house’), which could have derived into *Domus habet multum uinum* or *Hic/Ibi habet multum uinum* (‘The house has a lot of wine’/‘There has a lot of wine’) (see Cifuentes Honrubia, 2015 for a thorough analysis of possessive constructions from Latin to Castilian). Consequently, we hypothesise in early Ibero-Romance, *ser* would not take non-subjects to the left anymore as all-new deictic

⁴⁹ The Prealfonsine Bible consists of two different Manuscripts: E6 & E8. This passage comes from the Manuscript E6, which, unlike Manuscript E8, does not appear to have any Eastern footprint in the translation from the Latin Vulgate.

relations were already being fulfilled by (*h*)*y* as a new subject (cf. *Loc + est > ibi + est > ibi + habet > habet*); in other words, as Reese (1992) proposes— *x have y = y be with x*.⁵⁰

Cases of *haber* in presentational constructions are prevalent during the late 12th century and early 13th century. However, the grammaticalisation of the proform into the verb as *ay*, *hay*, *ahy*, had already started to take place swiftly by then, as we can observe from ECs with pivots that are not fronted.

(10) a. Et ay otra ley que va contra esta

And COP.3.SG.PRS another law that go-3.SG.PRS against this

‘And there is another law that goes against this one’

(*Leyes Nuevas*, 187. Párrafo dos. 1250-1280. CORDE)

b. ay muchas grandes villas e castiellos muy fuertes

COP.3.SG.PRS many great towns and castles very strong

‘There are many great towns and very strong castles.’

(*Setenario*. Alfonso X, 19. Párrafo tres. 1250-1270. HSMS)

The token in (10.a.) shows a strict case of grammaticalisation (i.e., the proform has been agglutinated to the verb and does not hold deictic value). During this stage, various formulas existed to convey a presentational EC⁵¹; however, there seems to be a particular predilection for *haber*, with or without the proform, since the 12th century for these cases. It is even more

⁵⁰ See Koch (2012) for a relationship between existentials, locatives, and possessives.

⁵¹ According to the data, presentational sentences (sentence-focus) with *estar* where inexistent in the 13th century and rarely appear during the 14th century.

common to find these clauses introduced by *haber* only in the imperfect tense. The form *auia*, without the proform, is relatively common and productive⁵².

As mentioned, the sequence *ser* + *hy* at the beginning of a sentence is the least productive of all sequences in frequency, no more than four out of more than eighty tokens in early Castilian in the corpora available. Not only does it not appear in the *Cantar de Mio Cid*, but it is also scarcely used in documents of all other discourse traditions from the 13th and 14th centuries. This holds in conjunction with what has been proposed regarding stage topics; that stage topics “[...] in sentence-internal or sentence-final position modify the state of affairs expressed by the verb, whereas in sentence-initial position, they specify the frame in which the whole proposition takes place” (Lahousse, 2007, para. 5); or as Krifka (2008b) puts it: two different functions, one of ‘addressation,’ and one of ‘delimitation.’ Addressation refers to how the speaker addresses or directs the listener’s attention to the initial part of the sentence or discourse to establish the setting of the proposition (e.g., ‘In a hole, in the ground, there lived a Hobbit’). Delimitation, on the other hand, refers to how the speaker marks the boundaries or the scope of a piece of information (e.g., ‘A Hobbit lived happily in a hole, in the ground’). The former emphasises the presence, existential, or habitational nature of a creature called a Hobbit, whilst the latter highlights the habitational nature and demarcations of such existence or livelihood.

In the case of early Castilian, the above trend is not rare since, as we have seen, the formula *hy* + *ser* forthetic sentences was already in high competition with forms of *haber* and *haber* + *hy* since the 13th century, according to the data. It is common to interpret the postverbal clitic as a full adverb with prosodic prominence (i.e., it holds deictic value; therefore, it is unlikely to

⁵² There are more than fifty instances of this form only in the Prealfonsí Bible, which, compared to the present tense, is particularly high. For example, *Et duo ostia erant in templo et in sanctuario/ E auie dos puertas en el templo y en el santuario*. ‘And there were two doors in the temple and in the sanctuary’ (Ezequiel 41:23).

appear at the beginning of a sentence), as shown in the next section. However, the proform acting as a resumptive adverbial delimiting the verb's action did not fare well either. It is one of the reasons why it is thought that the proform did not survive in Castilian. There was not only a competition with other verbal structures to denote existence or location, but it also had plenty of competition from more phonetically robust adverbs such as *ahí*, *allí*, *allá*, and so forth (Wanner, 2001; Vázquez, 2019).

2.1.1.2 Focalising the locus

The sequences *hy* + *ser* and *ser* + *hy* with a locative circumstantial complement⁵³ instead of *hy*, in a non-sentence-initial position, are still the most common sequence found in early Castilian, where the proform tends to retain its deictic value. These constructions also contain a strong nominal topic/subject: proper names, relative pronouns, and accompanying definite determiners. In this manner, these constructions tend to focalise a new or anaphoric locus and sometimes compete with *estar*.

- (11) a. E Diego & Ferrando y son
 And Diego and Ferrando there COP.3.PL.PRS
 'And Diego and Ferrando are there'
 (*Cantar de Mío Cid*, BNM VITR/7/17. Fol.60v. 1100-1210?. HSMS))
- b. pusieron hy fitos que aun hy son
 place-3.PL.PRS there posts that still there COP.3.PL.PRS
 'And they placed boundary posts which are still there'
 (*Sentencia*. Documentos del Reino de Castilla. 1243. CORDE)

⁵³ For distinction, we will continue to call sentences with a locative or circumstantial complement LCs as they have traditionally been named, regardless of their information status.

The frequency of these sequences in the 13th century is robust (28 of more than 80 tokens, 35%) in translations, notarial and literary documents, and it began to clash with forms of *estar* and *haber* until the 14th century.

The notable part of these constructions is that, in some cases, the modern equivalent structure might be ambiguous unless we know the exact context of the sentence and the possibility of an anaphoric reference to the proform. When the pivot is strong, such as a proper name, or a strong quantifier accompanies it (e.g., ‘all,’ ‘every,’ ‘the,’ etc. see Milsark, 1969), the modern equivalent would undeniably need to be *estar* (i.e., *Diego y Ferrando están (ahí)*).

The latter structure is possible iff *Diego y Ferrando* are already active topics. If the proposition answers the question: ‘What is going on (there)(right now)?’ or ‘Who is there (in that precise moment)?’ Then, the appropriate response in modern Castilian would be (*Ahí, Ahora mismo*, etc.) *están Diego y Ferrando* (‘There’s Diego and Ferrando’). In other words, the contextual domain (*hy*) becomes the new delimitation that proceeds from the contextual background of the utterance. This phenomenon has led some scholars to inaccurately classify the phenomenon of the fronting of the delimitation as an inverse location (cf. Cruschina, 2012; Bentley & Cruschina, 2018).

Even though the nomenclature is not essentially significant to explain the phenomenon, from a pragmatic and semantic, even philosophical, perspective, the contextual frame is readily available, and, therefore, the concept is relevant on the grounds of information status. We know this because, in a similar phrase in modern Castilian, the verb *estar* would suffice in the right environment, as in *Diego y Ferrando están*. More so in the case of (11.b.), where the pivot is a bare nominal and where the proform, in the right periphery, recovers the spatial(*hy*) and temporal (*aún*) context in the copula *estar* (i.e., [...] *hitos que aún están (ahí)*).

Compare the last example with the form *haber* for 1) [...] *pusieron hitos que aún hay (ahí)* vs. 2) [...] *pusieron hitos que hay (ahí)*. Although both sentences are cumbersome, the former appears to be the most infelicitous. We believe this is due to the semantic capacity of *haber*, or *ser*, to encode spatiality but no temporality, unlike *estar* (see the proposal by Zagana, 2012). If modern Castilian were to function as modern standard Catalan does, it would require the proform or an adverb to state something like **Los hitos que pusieron aún son*. However, with *estar*, the proform or any adverbial material (provided that it is still active in working memory, as we will later see) is unnecessary: *Los hitos que pusieron aún están*.

A setting-bounded EP (expression of presence), such as in the case of the last two examples, will tend to focalise the entity's existence within a context either anaphorically or cataphorically.

- (12) a. (¿Quién está en la oficina?) Está Carlos (en la oficina)

‘Who is in the office?’ ‘There’s Carlos’ (Anaphoric setting-bounded existence)

- b. (En ese momento) (ahí) Estaba un pajarillo sobre un árbol

‘(In that moment) There was a bird over a tree’ (Cataphoric setting-bounded existence)

The case in (A.) represents an expression of the type: Within a context *y*, an entity *x* is relevant. The case of (B.) represents an expression of the type: Within a context *y*, an entity *x* in a setting *z* is relevant. The case modelled in (A.) is mirrored in passages (13.a.) and (13.b.) and (B.) for (13.c.).

- (13) a. E levantaron sobrellos grand monton de piedras que es hy troal
 And erect -3.PL.PFV over them great mound of stones which COP.3.PL.PRS there until
 dia de oy⁵⁴
 day of today
 ‘And they erected above them a great mound of rocks that is still there until today.’
 (Josué 7:26. *Fazienda de ultramar*, 13th century. CBM)
- b. Et ponemos que cantedes las eglesias que son hy
 And put-3.PL.PRS that sing-3.PL.PRS.SBJV the churches which COP.3.PL.PRS there
 ‘And we put forward that you celebrate mass for the congregations that are there.’
 (*Documentos notariales*. El Monasterio de Oña [...]. España, 1274. CORDE)
- c. a parte de las casas que me leyxo mia hermana que son hy en Maorga
 besides of the houses that me leave-3.SG.PFV my sister which COP.3.PL.PRS there in Mayorga
 ‘Besides the houses that my sister left me, which are there, in Maorga.’
 (*Testamento*. Documentos de la Catedral de León. España, 1259. CORDE)
- d. E de la partida del maestre de Calatraua & del conuento fue hy
 And of the agreement of the master of Calatrava and of the convent COP.3.SG. PFV there
 don Pedro Roiz⁵⁵
 Mr. Pedro. Roiz
 ‘And at the behest of the master of Calatrava and of the convent, (there) was Mr. Pedro Roiz.’
 (*Acta de amojonamiento*. Documentos del Reino de Castilla, 1258. CORDE)

⁵⁴ Compare with the version of the Biblia Prealfonsí, only a couple of decades younger, of Josué 8:29:

“& aplegaron sobrel gran monton de piedras que esta alli ata oy dia.”

⁵⁵ Most likely, it was in these types of environments where the syncretism of *ser* and *ir* in the preterite happened; where the concepts of going somewhere and being somewhere conjoined through the concept of being present somewhere. The rest of the passage reads as follows:

E a estos moiones poner fueron hy moros & cristianos de las fronteras de en derredor: don Pedro de Lucena, alcayt de Aguilar, que ouo nombre Poley; & don Per Yuannes, mayordomo de don Gonçaluiuanes de Quinnan; & Aly el gordo, alcayt de Rut; & Aben Carim, alcayt de Sancta Ella. E de la partida del maestre de Calatraua & del conuent fue hy don Pedro Roiz, comendador de Martos.

It is worth noting that the case of (13.d.) could be translated in modern Castilian as [...] *y del convento, estuvo Don Pedro Ruiz*. In modern Castilian, his sentence could be an example of the so-called ‘list,’ ‘reminder,’ or ‘enumerative’ readings of ECs rather than a locative. Purportedly, these constructions allow definites as pivots, clearly violating the Definiteness Restriction (Leonetti, 2008, pp. 255-58). However, like the previous example illustrated by (*Ahora mismo están Diego y Ferrando*, enumerative ECs may also be regarded as the case of a focalised strong pivot (i.e., *Don Pedro Roiz*) where the topic is an overt stage topic (i.e., *de la partida del maestro de Calatraua & del conuento*).

An enumerative reading follows the expression: Within a set of possibilities *y*, an entity *x* is relevant. In this case, the context is a set of options, out of which one is presented at the moment of the utterance.

(14) (Contexto: Mi perro está enfermo) Está el veterinario de la calle principal⁵⁶

‘(Context: My dog is ill) There’s the veterinarian on Main Street’ (Enumerative existence)⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Even though it is beyond the scope of this chapter, we do not interpret the phrase *de la calle principal* as part of the coda domain and as an adjunct to the VP. We argue it is part of an XP acting as a modifier of the pivot that differentiates the doctor in Main Street from the doctor somewhere else. More will be added on this topic in the final chapter.

For some readers, particularly from Spain, this might not be acceptable. It might even be ungrammatical in modern Castilian. However, based on personal experience having been raised as a Castilian speaker of the Americas and through an informal consensus from other Latin American varieties from countries such as Honduras, Venezuela, and Mexico, these types of expressions are highly common in colloquial speech and nonetheless require proper conversational and contextual information to be felicitous. As shown in (13.d.), early examples show that list or enumerative readings are commonly expressed with *estar* whether the contextual domain is discourse-bounded, or overt, as in (13.d.) or covert and part of a silent argument as in (14) (i.e., within the options to medically assist your dog is the veterinarian from Main Street).

⁵⁷ Cruschina (2012), who espouses the model proposed by Moro (1997) on the raising of predicates, classifies some of these sentences (e.g., *C’è Gianni in giardino*) as eventives (see footnote 8 in p. 85). However, we believe that true eventives do not locate the coda under a modifier the same way as enumerative readings do, but as a dislocated adjunct to the VP following the model proposed by Francez (2007), also examined in Villalba (2013). This claim will be further explored in the final chapter.

The reason why enumerative ECs are mostly (not always⁵⁸) presented with *estar* in Castilian is probably due to its previously mentioned semantic feature that may encompass a specific spatiotemporal contextual domain (e.g., (*del convento*) (*en ese momento*) *Estuvo Pedro Ruiz*).

2.1.1.3 Summary

This section discussed the concept of stage topic or frame setter to explain the interpretation of ECs, which focalise the pivot using the contextual domain as the topic. The data showed that from the 13th century, Castilian structures with *hy* + *ser* competed with presentational constructions with *haber* + proform, *haber* by itself, or grammaticalised *hay*, in the present. We proposed that in those cases where *hy* + *ser* was present for ECs, the proform maintained its deictic value, thus acting as an overt stage topic. The role of the anaphoric proform in LCs was also analysed in cases where the subject is the active topic of the sentence, and the locus is a reactivated element in the discourse. The disappearance of the proform from the language would render any instances of *ser* useless in the final position unless accompanied by an adverbial complement, unlike the case for *estar*. We also proposed that the so-called inverse locatives are the instantiation of an EC with an overt stage topic and, in some cases, a novel pivot. Similarly, the case of enumerative or list reading structures was established as a case of ECs focalising the pivot where the discursive contextual domain serves as the stage topic.

2.1.2 Estar

2.1.2.1 Focalising the pivot

As mentioned in the last section, *estar* may perform as the copula in Castilian in presentational constructions when the clause is treated as an eventive existential or an enumerative existential, which share a similar structure. It has proved challenging to find clear

⁵⁸ *Haber* accepts definite pivots in constructions of the type *Hay a los que no les gusta el ajo* ('There are those who don't like garlic').

examples of eventive existentials with *ser* in the corpora for early Castilian (i.e., *ser* + pivot + stage-level coda); however, one clear example with *estar* was found from the 13th century. Since these constructions suggest a high degree of first-person attestation (see Camacho, 2015), a search in the imperfect form, where an incomplete action is in process, yielded the probability of better results. As their name indicates, eventive constructions tend to reflect a stage background of here-and-now or there-and-then as a first-person account of the circumstances, which is an aspectual feature of the imperfect (e.g., ‘In that precise moment (before my eyes) there was a blue car parked on the wrong side of the street’) (cf. # *en ese momento estuvo un auto azul estacionado en la parte equivocada de la calle*) as the person reporting the event was witnessing first-hand its unfolding. Another single example from the 15th century was also found.

- (15) a. en la Ribera del estaua una cadena doro colgada
 on the shore of it COP.3.SG.IPFV one necklace of gold hung-SG.F
 (‘On the shore, there was a golden necklace hung’)
 (Alfonso X. General Estoria. Cuarta Parte. Fo. 227r. 1280. CORDE)
- b. esta un numero escripto en pergamino
 COP.3.SG.PRS one number written- SG.M. on parchment
 (‘There is a number written on parchment’)
 (Inventario de Documentos. Archivo Municipal de Mondragón. Par. 22. 1438. CORDE)

The use of *estar* as a copula in presentational sentences, not necessarily accompanied by stage-level codas, does not seem to be fully in vogue until the 15th century when the already grammaticalised *hay* form had entirely replaced *ser* in EC, and where the proform was already virtually non-existent from the language as an independent clitic (Herrero Ruiz de Loizaga, 2008, p. 352). In manuscripts from the 13th century, presentational sentences with *estar* are

scarce. Besides (15.a.), we could only locate one more occurrence of such a case from that century.

- (16) Tras el croçifixo esta un panno labrado con seda
 behind the crucifix COP.3.SG.PRS one cloth wrought SG.M. with silk
 Behind the crucifix, there is a silk-wrought cloth
 (Inventario de los bienes de la catedral [de Salamanca]. Par.1. 1275. CORDE)

In the 14th century, many more cases began to emerge, precisely the century where, as we will later see, there appears to be a transitional stage of a loss of the proform and an increase in the use of *estar* in contexts previously reserved only for *ser*. In an empirical study by Herrero-Ruiz de Loizaga (2008), the author analysed existential constructions with *haber*, *ser*, and *estar* in four texts from the 15th century: *Andanzas y Viajes*, *Cárcel de Amor*, *Celestina* and *Corbacho*. The author found that ECs were particularly fruitful in the *Andanzas y Viajes* by Tafur by the end of the 15th century (Herrero-Ruiz de Loizaga, 2008).

- (17) e luego alli están moros con sus asnos bien ataviados para los peregrinos
 and hen there COP.3.PL.PRS moros with their donkeys well arrayed-SG.M for the pilgrims
 ‘And then there are moors with their donkeys well prepared for the pilgrims’
 (*Andanças e Viajes. Pero Tafur*. 1454. M. Jiménez de la Espada (ed.), Barcelona: Albir. p 59)

At this point in the discussion, there are two essential issues that we need to clarify. First, we do not classify tokens such as (17) as inverse locatives because we deny their occurrence, but they are misnamed. These structures are a product of a process of focus fronting (e.g., *¿Dónde está tu padre? En la cárcel está mi padre*. ‘Where is your dad?’ ‘It is in prison where my dad is’) or a contrastive focus (e.g., *¿Tu padre está en Sevilla? En Málaga está mi padre*. ‘Is your dad in

Seville?’ ‘It is in Malaga where my dad is’). Observe that the subject is highly definite in both cases and is always the sentence’s topic, unlike the case of (17).

The second issue to clarify is the reading of these structures, which depends on the pivot’s definiteness. We will address this matter further in subsequent sections, but it is vital to underscore three points involved in significant semantic differences often overlooked in reading cases such as the following ⁵⁹.

(18) a. Está una banana aplastada (en el piso)

COP-3.SG.PRS one banana smashed.F.SG on the floor

‘There is a banana smashed (on the floor).’

b. Está un libro sobre la mesa

COP-3.SG.PRS one book over the table

‘There’s a book on the table.’

c. Está Gianni en el jardín

COP-3.SG.PRS Gianni in the garden

‘There’s Gianni in the garden.’

d. Está el doctor de la calle principal

COP-3.SG.PRS the doctor of the street main

‘There is the doctor on main street.’

Firstly, we argue that the example in (18.a.) and (18.c.) are cases of stage-level existentials bounded by the context of the utterance, as the answer to the question ‘What is happening right

⁵⁹ As addressed previously, some scholars, probably native to the Iberian Peninsula, might interpret some of these examples as ungrammatical or unacceptable in modern Castilian. Once more, some studies such as Villalba (2013) show that eventive existentials, as in the case of (18.a.) are felicitous within a specific contextual frame. Although there is no clear consensus among scholars on what type of coda counts as eventive, we argue that the cases of (18.b.) and (18.c.) give also an eventive reading based on their syntax and information status. The theoretical justification for this will be explored in chapter three and four.

now in that place (within a specific context)? Secondly, we also argue that examples such as (18.b.), with weak pivots, are also the case of a stage-level predicate similar to (18.a.) and (18.c.), but with an evidential or first-hand witnessing reading as the answer to the question ‘What is there?’ or ‘What is there that you can see?’ (see Breivik, 1981, p. 12). Consequently, an eventive/evidential⁶⁰ reading would represent an expression of the type: Within a spatiotemporal frame y , an entity x in a state/setting is relevant. This is exemplified in (18.a.) and repeated in (19).

(19) Está una banana aplastada en el piso⁶¹ (Eventive existence)

Finally, the example in (18.d.), similar to (13.d.), would be an enumerative existential reading bounded by a set of options (i.e., out of all of the options (for this issue), there is the doctor on Main Street), or list reading, as an utterance to the context ‘We need to find a medical professional’ where the complement, *de la calle principal*, is not an adjunct to the VP, but a modifier to the pivot. Chapter four will present the underlying syntactic structure that justifies this claim.

⁶⁰ The nature of evidentiality with *estar* will be further explored at the end of section three.

⁶¹ Compare with #*Una banana está aplastada en el piso* (‘A banana is smashed on the floor’) which offers a case where a weak pivot is presented as a topic. The reason why weak pivots do not make strong subjects is due, according to Breivik (1981), to the ‘the visual impact constraint’, which states that “[...] *there*-insertion is obligatory in *be*-sentences [...] if they fail to convey visual impact” (pp. 11-12). Breivik notes that in some cases, the choice of existential construction can be influenced by the visual impact of the entity being referred to. For example, if a speaker wants to draw attention to a visually salient object, they may use an existential construction with “there” to give it prominence.

Breivik also notes that the visual impact of an entity can influence the choice between the indefinite and definite article in existential constructions. For instance, if an object is visually salient and the speaker assumes the hearer can recognise it, the definite article may be used in the existential construction. On the other hand, if the object is less visually salient, the indefinite article may be used instead. Breivik suggests that the visual impact of an entity can play a role in the choice of existential construction, and can influence other aspects of the sentence such as the choice of article.

For these reasons, given that all structures presented so far focalise a different quality of the entity in existence, it would appear more logical and efficient to refer to all of them as expressions of presence (EPs) with various attributes of contextual domains, which is reflected in the use of the copula *estar*.

2.1.2.2. Focalising the locus

The data shows that by the 12th century, *estar* had already taken over some copula functions concurrently performed by *ser*, especially in locative structures, as shown in some examples from the *Cantar de Mio Cid* ⁶².

- (20) E a todas sus dueñas que con ellas ⁶³ estan
 and to all.F.PL their maids who with them.F.PL COP.3.PL.PRS
 ‘And to all of their maids who are with them’
 (*Cantar de Mio Cid*, BNM VITR/7/17. Fol.8v. 1100-1210? HSMS))

The structures with *ser* and the proform (*hy*) would have the same function as *estar*, with (non-thetic) *hy* + *ser* with anaphoric locus as the most prolific accompanied by strong quantifiers for the pivot in the 13th and 14th centuries, as shown in the following graph.

⁶² We take as a base the manuscript from the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid VITR/7/17 (1301-1350) and taking into account the original production date between 1100?-1210? as the relevant chronology for this example.

⁶³ The prepositional phrase that denotes company in this case is considered a locative complement.

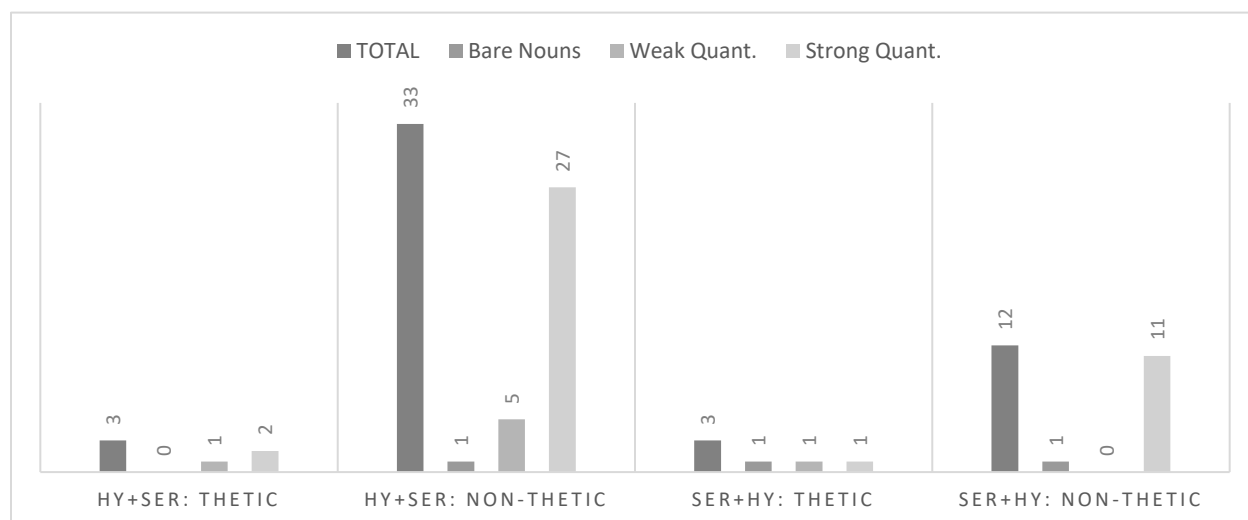


Table 2.1 Distribution of sequence patterns of the copula (*ser*) and the proform (*hy*)

We could also infer from the data above that the non-thetic sequence *hy* + *ser* was possibly the longest to survive in Castilian with *hy*, until its eventual disappearance from the language. Presentational (V1 position) sequences of *ser* and proform were also already highly substituted by a combination of *haber* with the proform (i.e., (*h*)*y* (*h*)*a*, (*h*)*a* (*h*)*y*, (*h*)*ay*, etc.). Perhaps it was in the non-sentence-initial position, probably without prosodic prominence, that the proform began to falter in the coordination of clauses introduced by *et*, *e*, & or *y* (see Wanner, 2001), thus yielding space for more phonetically robust adverbs to take over⁶⁴, especially when no referential function of the proform was needed due to lenient discourse constraints, exemplified by the following cases.

⁶⁴ If we consider the Tobler-Mousaffia law, which would not allow for instances of proclisis (non-tonic elements were not permitted in first order position), the sequence *y* (*h*)*y* is practically inexistent in early Castilian.

- (21) así cómmo a cada vno de los nuestros canóligos costunmamos a dar en nuestros
 thus as to each one of the our canons accustome-3.PL.PRS to give-INF in our
 monesterios ración derecha en comer & en beuer [...] mientras que hi
 monasterios portion straight in eat-INF and in drink whilst that there
 quesieren estar
 want- 3.PL.FUT.SBJV COP-INF
 ‘just as it is our custom in our monasteries to give a proper portion to eat and drink to each one of
 our canons, as long as they want to be there’
 (*Carta de Compañía. Colección Diplomática de León. Párrafo. 91. 1314. CORDE*)

In (21), *estar* is presented with a locative value, whilst the adverbial locative phrase (*en nuestros monesterios*) precedes the proform, and it is considerably separated from *estar* by a clause (*mientras que hi quisieren*) and a nominal phrase (*ración derecha*) with two prepositional phrases (*en comer y en beber*). Let us now consider the next token.

- (22) quando alguno se agrauiare de otro que pusiere colmenas
 when someone REF.3.SG wrong-3.SG.FUT. SBJV of another who put-3.SG.FUT. SBJV beehives
 cerca de su majada a menos de legua o en otro lugar onde non deué
 near of his fold to less than league or in another place where NEG should-3.SG.IPFV
 o posare lo que nuestro ordenamiento dize, que los nuestros
 or place-3.SG.FUT. SBJV PRO.N which ours law say-3.SG.PRS that the our
 alcaldes, por partir pleyto, vayan luego allá a vello a costa del rebelde.
 deputies to stop-INF quarrel go-3.SG.PRS.SBJV later there to see it at expense of the transgressor
 E sy fallaren que an de estar e que guardó el que
 and if find-3.PL.FUT. SBJV that have-3.PL.PRS of COP-INF and that keep-3.SG.PFV the who
 puso las colmenas lo que dize el nuestro ordenamiento [...] put-3.SG.PFV the beehives NOM.N which say-3.SG.PRS the our law

‘If someone were wronged by another who put beehives near his fold, less than one league away, or somewhere else where it is forbidden to lay them down according to what our laws dictate, let our deputies go there to stop and to witness the quarrel at the transgressor’s expense. And if they found that they (the beehives) are there and that the person who put the beehives kept what is dictated in our laws.’

(*Documentación Medieval de la Iglesia Catedral de León. P. 17. 1419-1426. CORDE*)

In (22), *estar* is present with locative value; however, the proform is missing. Nonetheless, this does not prevent the sense of the discourse from going astray despite the considerable lag in discourse activation between the adverbial phrase of location (*a menos de legua o en otro lugar onde ...*). In other words, the location now turns into a stage-topic type anchored in the information status through *estar*, as opposed to *ser* without the proform. Indeed, the insertion of the adverb of place *allá* ('over there') aids in the anchoring of the stage topic, yet the interval between this adverb and the locative verb is significantly longer if we take into account that it contains two prepositional phrases (*a vello, a costa del rebelde*), and a clause (*e sy fallaren*). Constructions of this type would not be possible in modern Castilian with *ser* (cf. **Y si encontraran que han de ser* 'And if they found that they are'). In this manner, with the same properties of a resumptive (*h*)y, *estar* offers a type of anchor that allows for the absence of the juxtaposition of any other adverbial (e.g., **Y si encontraran que allí/ahí/hy son*) (cf. Catalan, *E si trobassin que hi son*). Similar dynamics may be observed in the token from (23).

- (23) E si iran a alguna aldea o lugar de la Ciudad [...] el qui asi ira
 And if go-3.PL.FUT to any village or place of the city the who thus go-3.SG.FUT
 por cadahun dia[,] que en ir[,] estar e tornar por aquello vacara
 for every one day that in go-INF COP.INF and return-INF for that vacate-3.SG.IPFV.SBJV
 IIII sueldos⁶⁵.
 four salaries
 'And if they will go to any village or place of the city [...] and whoever goes, for each day they
 will miss, they will receive four salaries for going, being there, and returning.'
 (*Ordinación dada a la ciudad de Zaragoza por el rey don Fernando I. Pág. 430. 1414. CORDE*)

⁶⁵ Commas in brackets were added to the transcription for clarity purposes.

In these specific contexts, *estar* took over the functions of both locator and location (i.e., context setter and copula), which might have assisted in the debilitation of the use of the proform for this specific grammatical purpose. The proform did not necessarily always clash with *estar*. They coexisted at a transitional point —the way they still do in Valencian and some Aragonese varieties today, as we will explore in the next chapter—however, the proform was not indispensable anymore as *estar* could carry the presuppositional value of a spatiotemporal frame.

Furthermore, in modern Castilian, (21) would not require any type of adverbial clitic due to the presence of *estar*, which already comprises the stage topic lexically. One could equate the pragmatic feature of the stage topic with the semantic feature [+LOC]⁶⁶. This feature, called [+NEXUS] by Clements (1988, p. 779), a presupposed *locus* or situation, was fulfilled in the past by the proform in combination with *ser* to license definite pivots (see Ciconte, 2011). We argue that as the proform dwindled in Castilian, this feature was absorbed by *estar*, as observed in all stage-level EPs, whose lexical composition contains the feature of temporal or incidental existence (see Maienborn, 2004, p.167-68; Zagana, 2012).

Some theories that address the difference between individual-level and stage-level predicates (e.g., Camacho, 2012; Zagana, 2012; Gallego & Uriagereka, 2016; Sanchez-Alonso, 2018, just to mention a few) point to a similar phenomenon in the contrast of Ibero-Romance descendants of STĀRE (e.g., Castilian, Portuguese and Asturian) versus some of the more eastern Romance varieties that follow the structure ESSE IBĪ (e.g., Catalan, Occitan, Tuscan, etc.). The only difference between *ser* and *estar* in the locative and existential duality is a presuppositional context in the grammar element *x* that can be overt or covert.

⁶⁶ In modern Castilian, one may simply assert: *Y en el lugar donde se termine la cuenta, estará la reflexión* (cf. * *Y en el lugar donde se termine la cuenta, será la reflexión/habrà la reflexión*)

It is essential to clarify that we are not proposing that the verb *estar* absorbed the role of the proform into its lexical composition or that it is etymologically relevant at a syntactic level (as proposed by Moro, 1997). Given that *estar* lexically encodes a feature or presupposition that obviates the need for a locus, we suggest that *estar* displaced *ser* in this environment where reference to the location is relatively active. However, unlike *haber*, *estar* contains the presuppositional value that can anchor strong pivots into the discourse.

The point of inflexion for this phenomenon would be the 14th century, where frequency in the data shows that both EC and LC with the proform are in decline, as well as the proform itself, whilst the verb *estar* and the constructions with impersonal *hay* begin to rise⁶⁷.

Even though there is not enough data from the very early centuries (8th -11th centuries) to corroborate the actual transition of *estar* in EPs, according to the data gathered and discussed so far, it might not be at all imprudent to hypothesise that the emergence of *estar* originated first as a suppletive verbal construction in sequences of the type non-thetic *hy* + *ser* and then moved to cover sequences of the type non-thetic *ser* + *hy*, which was already being replaced by *ser* + ADV. Later, it is possible that as the verb *estar* became consolidated into the grammar of Castilian, it moved to fully cover thematic-eventive constructions as attested by the data.

⁶⁷ The searches for the sequences *hy* + *ser* and *ser* + *hy* were performed through a combination of searches per century of the proform plus one form of the verb *ser* such as *es*, *son*, *era**; therefore, they only reflect the tendencies in the third person. The parameters for the search of *estar* were the same as previously mentioned: *estan en*, *estaba** *en* (which includes all results for *estabas/estabamos/estabais/estaban*). In the search for the sequence *hy* + *(h)a* were included specific searches for sequences of the type *hy auia**, to keep consistent with the search in the imperfect tense. Variation in the orthography through the centuries was also considered. Alternative spelling of words such as <<y>> and all of its derivatives (*i*, *hi*, *hy*), as well as possible use of <<u>> or <<v>> for lemmas (root representations in the search) in the imperfect such as *estaua** or *estava**. The results included non-locative phrases for all centuries such as *estavan en aumento*, *estavan en posesión de*, *estavan en juro*, etc. However, these phrases account only for about 10% of the results of each century. They also help demonstrate the semantic extension of *estar* in phrases that are not purely locatives but nonetheless start to be accompanied by *estar* rather than *ser*.

2.1.2.3 Summary

This section covered the use of *estar* in both presentational and non-presentational constructions in early Castilian. We have proposed that constructions often deemed in the literature as inverse locatives are indeed a case of discourse-bound presence or eventive existence. These constructions come with a stage topic that is often recursive or reactivated, with the delimitation posed by an adverbial coda. We also proposed that despite the apparent similarities between structures comprised by the elements *estar* + pivot, they all represent different semantic readings, which will be further explored in subsequent sections. Moreover, based on the available data, we have also hypothesised that the loss of the proform in constructions with *ser* and its eventual substitution with *estar* began within sentence-internal positions, first replacing *ser* + *hy*, then *hy* + *ser* constructions. It later moved to sentence-initial positions for eventive, list, and evidential readings.

2.2 Portuguese

The case of early Portuguese regarding ECs and LCs is exceptionally similar to Castilian in terms of patterns of copulae and proform⁶⁸. Unfortunately, research on the evolution and composition of ECs and LCs in Portuguese, whether synchronic or diachronic, is still relatively limited (cf. Mattos & Silva, 1997; Avelar & Callou, 2013; Gonçalves, 2014).

The resources in terms of language corpora are also limited. For these reasons, extracting and analysing original data from mediaeval texts proved more challenging than in Castilian. Many

⁶⁸ We base these claims on a broad overview from extraction of raw data from *the Corpus Informatizado do Português Medieval* (CIPM) into a word processor to quantify tokens at a less parsimonious pace; that is, without having to scrutinise every link and sub-link one by one in the CIPM as searches by lemma are not currently available. The downside of this approach is that an analysis by century may not be presented. It is only through random manual searches by century (at a rate of 33.3%; i.e., skipping two of every three documents) that certain patterns of copulae and proform have been noticed. These generalisations have also been compared with the *Cantigas Medievais Galego Portuguesas* (CMGP).

gaps have had to be left open regarding source typology. In Castilian, the data is broad and varied in terms of the typology of documentation. In Portuguese, given the limitations of electronic lemmatisation and the search for frequency by combining words and century, the sources are mainly restricted to poetic compositions and meticulous analysis by hand, which rendered any quantitative analysis very arduous for this study in terms of structural patterns of copulae and proform.

The troubadour-style songs, *Cantigas*, from the 12th and 13th centuries (*Cantigas Medievais Galego Portuguesas*) (CMGP)⁶⁹ are the most at-hand resource for searching ECs and LCs. There also exists the possibility of individual analysis of some prose texts available in mediaeval Portuguese from some isolated legal documentation, such as the *Division of Inheritance* (1192) or the *Will of Elvira Sanchiz* (1193); however, the probability of finding ECs and LCs is narrow given the short length of these documents. Some tokens were also extracted from the *Corpus Informatizado do Português Medieval* (CIPM).

2.2.1 Ser

2.2.1.1 Focalising the pivot

Like Castilian, a prevalent structure found in early Portuguese is the sequence $(h)i + ser^{70}$ in non-sentence-initial positions; however, unlike Castilian, there are virtually no instances that occur with weak quantifiers, which blocks the potential “purely existential” reading of the sentence. In other words, in both the *Cantigas* and the CIPM, an interesting pattern emerges — most so-called absolute existentials are expressed by *haver* (with or without the proform), whilst

⁶⁹ The *Cantigas* date from the late 12th century to the middle of the 14th century (<https://cantigas.fcsh.unl.pt/sobreascantigas.asp>). It is important to mention that the tokens were directly taken from the Corpus without being corroborated with the original manuscript. For this reason, the possibility exists that some passages may contain stylistic additions or corrections by transcribers.

⁷⁰ Only 32 instances of this sequence were found in the CIPM (12th -16th centuries), but only in the imperfect, *hi era(m)*, and mostly related to relative clauses. Not a single instance of athetic *hi + ser* was found.

cases with a concrete denotation for a place and pivots with strong quantifiers (24.c.) use either *(h)i + ser*; or *estar* already in the 13th century (24.d.) which introduces the focalised pivot at the end of the sentence ('an image'). It is unclear if this is due to the previous preposition (before, in front of) or simply to fulfil the metrics of the verse. What is clear is that, besides *haver*, *estar* was able to introduce a new pivot mid-sentence.

The passages in (24.a.) and (24.b.) are some of the closest examples found of *ser* with an existential reading, which follow a *ser + (h)i* order instead.

- (24) a. Nostro Senhor Deus! Que prol vos tem ora
 Our Lord God what benefit DAT.2.PL have-3.SG.PRS now
 por destroirdes este mund'assi?
 to destroy-2.PL.INF this world like this
 Que a melhor dona que era i,
 That the best woman that COP.3.SG.IPFV there
 nem houve nunca (vossa madre fora), levades end'?
 NEG have-3.SG.PFV never your mother out lift-2.PL.PRS thence.
 'Our Lord, God, what benefit do you get by destroying this world like this?
 For the best woman that was there, and not one like her ever existed
 (except for your mother), you take away?'
 (Pero da Ponte. Stanza 1, lines 1-5. 13th century. CMGP)

- b. era hi muito poboo jumto
 COP.3.SG.IPFV there much people together
 'There were a lot of people together'
 (Cronica del Rei dom Joham da boa memoria. Primeira parte. Cap. 16. 15th century. CIPM)

- c. era hi presente Joham Rodriguez de Saa
 COP.3.SG.IPFV there present Johan Rodríguez of Saa
 'There, Johan Rodriguez was present'
 (Crónica de Dom João I. Primeira parte. Cap. 137. 15th century. CIPM)

d. na vila de Foja foi ant' u~' eigreja u estav' huã omage
 in-the village of Foja COP.3.SG.PFV before one church where COP.3.PL.IPFV one image
 'In the village of Foja happened, before a church, where there was an image'
 (Cantigas de Santa Maria. Alfonso X. Doc. CSM136. 13th century. CIPM)

In (24.a.), we have two propositions with two different expressions. Here, the troubadour is lamenting the death of Dona Beatriz, the wife of Fernando III of Leon and Castille and the mother of the future monarch, Alfonso X. In this *pranto* (elegiac poem), the poet asks god how he could remove from the world the best woman (that) there was/was there. In both senses, the intended communicative act is achieved. In both phrases, the world (*mundo*) literally stands as the stage topic represented by *(h)i*.

In Castilian, the expression in (24.a.) could be represented either by *La mejor mujer que había*, or *la mejor mujer que estaba (ahí)*. We are talking about the case of a non-thetic construction, an adjectival clause to be specific, which lies between both types of readings if one follows the traditional taxonomy, which could be translated either with *haber* or *estar*. Again, based on Lahousse's (2007) observations, the difference here lies in the position of the frame-setter (the stage topic or adverb). In the case of *haber*, the stage topic is silent or covert (addressation). In the case of *estar*, a specification or reframing seems to be necessary to restate the scope of the VP (*en ese lugar, ahí*, etc.) (delimitation) (see Krifka, 2008a, 2008b).

There are cases where the type of copula expressed sometimes will depend on metalinguistic factors, as we will later see, especially in an environment where even though a strong determiner accompanies the pivot, its definiteness is not overtly specific and relies on the adjectival clause for higher definiteness. What makes (24.a.) most likely the case of a stage topic is probably the imperfective aspect of the verb, referring to a transitional moment in the more extended scheme of time; in this case, the time she was in the world. In fact, in modern Portuguese, as in modern

Castilian, one may felicitously utter *Como estava a festa (quando saíste)?* ('How was the party (when you left)?'). As Erteschik-Shir points out, "only stage-level predicates can have stage topics" (1997, p. 27), which may be reflected by the aspectual nature of the imperfective.

The token in (24.a.) could also be an optimal example of the environment that led to a subsequent replacement of possessive *haver* for existential *haver*, where the world in all its extension is the topic, but also the possessor of everything contained in it (see Lyons, 1967, 1968; Freeze 1992; Koch, 2012; Cifuentes Honrubia, 2015); where the sentences 'the best woman it ever had' and 'the best woman there was' are equivalent (see Gonçalves, 2014).

In Portuguese, the use of *ser* for absolute ECs was already infrequent in the 13th century, much more so than in Castilian. Even though a future thorough quantitative analysis of these verbs could confirm this, it is evident that so-calledthetic-absolute existentials are already being expressed through what appears to be an evolved usage of *haver* if we compare it with its Castilian counterpart (i.e., without the proform), as in the following cases.

- (25) a. [...] que lhi nom minguou rem
 for DAT.3.SG NEG wane-3.SG.PFV thing
 de quant' havia na maison.
 from as much COP.3.SG.IPFV in-the house
 'For nothing waned for him from all that was in the house'
 (Gonçalo Anes do Vinhal. Stanza 5, lines 30-31. 13th century. CMGP)

- b. Nom há home que m'entenda
 NEG COP.3.SG.PRS man that ACC.1.SG.-understand-3.SG.SBJV
 com'hoj'eu vivo coitado [...]
 how-today-I live-1.SG.PRS despondent
 'There is no man that understands how despondent today I live'
 (Fernão Rodrigues de Calheiros. Stanza 1, lines 1-2. 13th century. CMGP)

- c. Ca lhe quero bem tam de coração
 for DAT.3.SG love1.SG.PRS well so of heart
 que sei mui bem que, se m'ela nom val,
 that know-1.SG.PRS very well that if ACC.1.SG.- she NEG appreciate-3.SG.PRS
 que morrerei cedo, nom há i al.
 that die-1.SG.FUT soon NEG COP.3.SG. there another
 ‘For I love her with all my heart that I know well that if she does not love me back,
 I will die rather quickly; there is no other choice.’
 (Rui Queimado. Stanza 3, lines 13-15. 13th century. CMGP)

Unlike Castilian, the cases with *haver* in early Portuguese reflect a more evolved stage — *Haver* appears inthetic absolute-existential constructions without the proform and in different tenses⁷¹. In the cases such as (25.c.), where the proform is still present, the latter does not hold any concise morphosyntactic endophoric reference, as far as the contextual evidence shows, already in the 13th century⁷², which might explain why in modern Portuguese, there are no vestiges of any kind along the same model of Castilian *hay* (cf. *hai), or of the proform.

Nonetheless, the question regarding EPs' setting or a local stage for cases such as (25.b.) and (25.c.) is still unclear. That is, where is the scope, delimitation, or locus of the existence of such predicates? Some scholars, such as Moro (1997), propose the locus of so-called absolute existentials to be the world as a whole (p. 278 ref.14) (e.g., *Há gente que faz o bem*. ‘There are people who do good’). In the eventive readings, the frame-setting is much more apparent as it relates to the moment of utterance (e.g., ‘There is a woman waiting (at this moment outside)’).

⁷¹ Out of more than five hundred tokens not organised by century (ranging from the 12th to the 16th centuries) about eighty of them are cases ofthetic *haver* in the imperfect (*havia*) without the proform.

⁷² In Castilian one may still find instances of the proform holding deictic value (i.e., ungrammaticalised) well into the 14th century.

However, what should one do with the case ofthetic propositions of the type ‘There is a god,’ ‘Aliens exist,’ or ‘There are creatures out of this world’?⁷³

In the file-card model (Heim, 1982; mentioned by Erteschik-Shir, 1997) for information structure, topics, including stage topics, are represented by a card. “Cards represent existing discourse referents, i.e., referents that belong to the ‘common ground’ of human knowledge or collective consciousness, which is defined as “that part of the information state which the hearer has in common with the speaker” (Lahousse, 2007, para. 8). Previously, we also stated that according to Erteschik-Shir, all existentials have stage topics (p. 29). If all existentials have stage topics, what is the topic for expressions that lack a discourse-bound spatiotemporal location (e.g., ‘Once upon a time there was a woman ...’), or the presupposition of a *locus mundi* (e.g., ‘Angels exist’)?

According to the file-card model (Heim, 1982), re-introduced by Erteschik-Shir (1997), there are three permanent cards (i.e., a priori spatiotemporal arguments): The card for the speaker (first person), the card for the hearer (second person), and a card that signifies the here-and-now of the discourse situation (p. 18). This last card would apply in cases where a discourse-bound or explicit spatiotemporal setting is unavailable, such as the previously named example of ‘There is fear about the future,’ which refers to the set of meta-linguistic, or deictic, circumstances surrounding the speaker and hearer (e.g., under these circumstances).

For our current discussion, we will assume the last card as the frame-setting topic for utterances that do not pre-establish or infer a precise spatiotemporal locus. In this case, that locus could be represented by human consciousness itself in the here-and-now of time (hence the psychological and philosophical interest in this topic). This, of course, would not apply to cases

⁷³ Koch (2012) would argue that these cases of generic location lack a “LOCA” (p. 544). However, if we take as a premise that everything that exists must exist somewhere, this approach is insufficient.

of existence in the past or the future, where a frame-setting delimited by a specific section of time needs to be pre-established for the utterance to be felicitous. Cases like (25.b.) would constitute examples of actual “generic existence” in the taxonomy used by Koch (2012), unlike the rest of the cases where the spatio-temporal setting is discourse-bound and represented by either overt or covert stage topics.

2.2.1.2 Focalising the locus

Like early Castilian, in early Portuguese, the sequence *(h)i + ser* was comprised primarily of strong pivots in non-sentence-initial positions.

- (26) Dom Estêvam [...]
 Mr. Estevam
 caeu em Runa até eno Arnado,
 land-1.SG.PFV in Runa until in-the Arnado
 em tôd[ol]os três portos que i som
 in all-the three harbours that there COP.3.PL.PRS
 ‘Don Esteban landed in Runa, even to Arnado, in all three harbours which are there.’
 (João Soares Coelho. Only Stanza, lines 4-6. 13th century. CMPG)

Weak pivots in relative clauses do not need to anchor a specific temporal location. Generic readings may take *haver* or *estar* in modern Portuguese, even with strong quantifiers, if the copula is part of an adjectival clause (e.g., *os três portos que há lá*). As previously mentioned, framer clauses such as adverbials and locative phrases will interpret the proposition differently depending on their position (Lahousse, 2007, para. 5) (see Krifka, 2008). We now know that the pronominal and adverbial nature of the proform allowed it to appear in either position.

The distribution of these infrequent but active constructions in early Portuguese is mainly found at the end or middle of the sentence but never in the sentence-initial position. The same

distribution within the sentence happens for the even more infrequent sequence *ser* + *(h)i*, which is relatively scarce since this is a position where other adverbials (e.g., *aly*, *là*, etc. ‘there’) and complements may be placed; nevertheless, they do exist as in (27.a.). Moreover, similar to Castilian, the verb *ser* could also appear accompanied by a circumstantial complement of place (coda) without the proform, as in (27.b.) and (27.c.), which convey locative readings.

- (27) a. Mais, se vós sodes i de mal sem,
 but if you COP.2.PL.PRS there of bad seed
 de que lh'apoedes mal prez?
 of what ACC.3.SG.F -judge-2.PL.PRS bad price
 ‘But if you are there foolishly, why do you judge her cruelly?’
 (Pero da Ponte. Stanza 2, lines 9-10. 13th century. CMGP)
- b. Dom Pero Núñez era em Cornado
 Mr. Pero Nuñez COP.3.SG.IPFV in Coronado
 e ia-s'a Santiag'albergar [...]
 and go-3.SG.IPFV Santiago-to-dwell-INF
 ‘Don Pero Nunez was in Coronado and often went to dwell in Santiago’
 (João Airas de Santiago. Stanza 1, lines 1-2. 13th century. CMGP)
- c. Um ric'home que hoj'eu sei,
 One rich-man who today-I know-1.SG.PRS
 que na guerra nom foi aqui, [...]
 who in-the war NEG COP-3.SG.PFV here
 ‘A rich man whom I know today, who was not here during the war [...].’
 (Pero Gomes Barroso. Stanza 1, lines 1-2. 13th century. CMGP)

2.2.1.3 Summary

This section established that, unlike Castilian, the structure *hy + ser* (cases without endophoric textual reference for the proform),thetic and internal-clause position with weak pivots was uncommon in early Portuguese. Perhaps this phenomenon is due to the possibility that the verb *haver* had already taken hold of most thetic existential expressions. However, this does not preclude that the formula PROF. + COP., which could appear in relative clauses or final-sentence position with strong pivots (e.g., *quando aquesto viu a gente ouveron gran devoçon e quantos outros y eran ...* ‘When the people saw this, they had great devotion, and whoever was there...’). We also exemplified the recursive nature of the address, also known as theme or topic. In other words, the material of the coda in an EC, or the locus in an LC, may become a new topic. We proposed the close relationship between so-called locatives and existentials lies in this phenomenon.

2.2.2 Estar

2.2.2.1 Focalising the pivot

The case of *estar* in eventive EC in early Portuguese is similar to Castilian in terms of stages of development. In other words, it appears that *estar* undergoes a slow process of grammaticalisation where the cases of presentational constructions are only a few in the early centuries. Nevertheless, *prima facie*, it also appears that such a process was slightly more advanced in the Western end of the Peninsula, where all vestiges of the proform completely disappeared. In Portuguese, the proform was never grammaticalised in the impersonal form of *haver* (**hai*), unlike Castilian or any other construction.

Even though a quantitative empirical study would be needed to confirm the above, corpora results in the *Corpus Informatizado do Português Medieval* reveal many more at-hand tokens of

instances with *estar* in eventive ECs (29) than its Castilian counterparts despite the vast difference in quantity and availability of documentation. Therefore, there is a possibility that such constructions were more frequent in Portuguese than in Castilian during the 12th, 13th, and 14th centuries.

A typical example of *estar* leading an eventive existential is the preposition of a progressive construction with the main verb, as in the following example from the 13th century.

- (28) Estavam hoje duas soldadeiras
 COP.3.PL.IPFV today two workers.F.PL
 dizendo bem, a gram pressa, de si [...]
 speaking well to great hurry of themselves
 ‘Today, there were two female workers speaking hastily about themselves.’
 (João Baveca. Stanza 1, lines 1-2. 13th century. CMGP)

Examples from later centuries are marginally harder to locate. However, one may still find them sporadically, suggesting that presentational constructions with *estar* were not completely rare, as in (29.a.), (29.b.), and (29.c.) from the 15th century. In the latter case, a combination of *haver* and *estar*, with weak pivots, is noteworthy, especially given the eventive nature of *estar* + bare plural nominal. The nature of these eventive/evidential constructions will be further treated in depth in the next chapter.

- (29) a. Amtre estes paços & a cidade estavam gramdes ortas
 between these steps and the city COP.3.PL.IPFV big gardens
 & pumares acompanhados de muytos arvoredos
 and apple trees accompanied of many groves
 ‘In between these steps and the city, there were big gardens
 and apple tree fields accompanied by many groves.’
 (Crónica do Conde D. Pedro de Meneses. L.1. CAP 15. 15th century. CIPM)

- b. era hi muito poboo jumto, amtre os quaaes estava huu~ tenoeiro
 COP.3.SG.IPFV there much people together between the which COP.3.SG.IPFV one cooper
 (There were a lot of people, among whom was a cooper)
 (Cronica del Rei dom Joham da boa memoria. Primeira parte. Cap. 16. 15th century. CIPM)

- c. E em aquel prado havia u~u~ curral u estavam touros
 And in that meadow COP.3.SG.IPFV a yard where COP.3.SG.IPFV bulls
 ‘And in that meadow, there was a yard where there were bulls’
 (Demanda do Santo Graal. Doc. DSG. 15th century. CIPM)

2.2.2.2 Focalising the locus

Locative readings with *estar* in early Portuguese are abundant⁷⁴. In a similar pattern as Castilian, these constructions in early Portuguese may be expressed through *estar* as in (30.a.) and (30.b.). Unlike EPs with anaphoric or cataphoric-bounded settings, true locatives denote expressions of the type: Within a relevant setting, *y*, an entity *x* is. If a categorical proposition represented by a locative *x* in *y* requires the entailed existence of the subject, which is always represented by a strong pivot, one may argue that even true locatives are existential propositions.⁷⁵

⁷⁴ In a broad search of individual forms (*estaua*, *estava*, *estuv**, *estuu**, *estan*, etc.) of the CIPM (comprising the 12th – 16th centuries), the results yielded twelve cases of locatives and circumstantial complements in the form of *estava* + *ante*, three with *estava* + *con*, twenty-five for *estava* + *sobre*, and a hundred and fifty four for *estava* + *em(n)*.

⁷⁵ This conundrum in Western philosophy is revisited by German philosopher Franz Brentano (1874) who introduced the concept of perceptive judgement, also called presentational, existential or thetic judgement. Moreover, Brentano proposed that all judgements, including categorical judgements, are in fact existential or thetic judgements. For example, the judgement that A is B implies the proposition that an A that is B exists or, in other words, that there is no A that is not B (PES 214, [II 56; SVS 1, 236]). This is similar to what would be analysed in symbolic logic as the premise $(\exists x)fx$; that is, there is an *f* such that *x* is *f*. Put simply, according to Brentano, all categorical propositions entail, at a different level, a thetic proposition of existence or being of the element upon which the judgement is being predicated.

- (30) a. Martim Vásquez, noutro dia,
 Martin Vásquez in-another day
 u estava em Lixboa,
 when COP.3.SG.IPFV in Lisboa
 mandou fazer gram coroa
 order-3.SG.PFV make-INF great crown
 ‘The other day Martín Vásquez, when he was in Lisboa,
 he ordered a great crown to be made.’
 (Pedro Conde de Barcelos. Stanza 1, lines 1-3. 14th century. CMGP)
- b. O que por vós coitad’ andava
 The who for you miserable walk-3.SG.IPFV
 bem aqui na vila estava
 well here in-the village COP.3.SG.IPFV
 e pero nom evos vëo ver
 and but NEG ACC.2.PL come-3.SG.PFV see-INF
 ‘The one who was in pain for your love was here,
 in the village, the other day, but he did not come to see you.’
 (Nuno Peres Sandeu. Stanza 2, lines 6-8. 13th century. CMGP)

Due to the limitations of Portuguese Historical Corpora and the scope of this study, robust quantitative analysis is still necessary for early Portuguese. However, even a priori, it is evident that the proform declined at about the same time and rate as Castilian. The *ser* – copula structures for LCs were eventually substituted by *estar*, as the evidence of the current state of affairs in Portuguese shows. In this manner, the same claim applies to Portuguese as it does to Castilian — that the verb *estar* absorbed the discursive function of the proform in locatives and eventive existentials as it was eventually incorporated as a copula into the grammar.

2.2.2.3 Summary

In this section, we saw evidence that early Portuguese behaved similarly to Castilian; *estar* was already used for presentational sentences to introduce a weak pivot. As evidence from the *Cantigas* shows, *estar* also coexisted with *ser* in LCs with an overt focalised locus. To draw more precise conclusions about the volume of constructions with *estar*, contrasted to Castilian, a thorough quantitative analysis needs to be carried out for the 12th, 13th, and 14th centuries.

3. Conclusions

This chapter delved into the origins of EPs in Castilian and Portuguese that stem from the Latin verb SUM, exploring their function within both ECs and LCs. It was established that in Latin, SUM was usually utilised in presentational ECs to introduce weak pivots, whilst, in LCs, it was usually employed in V2 or V3 position with strong topical pivots, such as proper names or pronouns, to signify a specific location. To anchor transient presence and location in LCs with SUM, the Latin examples show a range of linguistic methods, including locative adverbials, nouns in the locative or ablative/dative case, prepositions attached to the verb for locative anaphoric reference, and the adverb IBĪ. Close observation shows that similar methods were used in early Castilian and Portuguese to anchor a temporary existence within a specific context. The most notable similarity is the extensive use of a proform, commonly *hy* in Castilian and *hi* in Portuguese, which can be traced back to its etymological roots in IBĪ. This technique was widely prevalent during the formative stages of these two Ibero-Romance languages as they developed their copulae systems, which included the introduction of verbs like *estar* and *haber/haver*.

From a theoretical perspective, this chapter introduced the concept of stage topic or frame setter to explain the interpretation of ECs. ECs focalise the pivot using the contextual domain as the topic in Ibero-Romance. The contextual domain (i.e., the material of the coda) in an EC or

the locus in an LC may become the new topic. We proposed the close relationship between so-called locatives and existentials lies in this phenomenon.

The above theoretical implication is relevant to the data available in early Castilian and its interaction with the proform, which shows that from the 13th century, Castilian structures with *hy* + *ser* were in high competition with presentational constructions with *haber* + proform, *haber* by itself, or grammaticalised *hay* in the present tense. Unlike Castilian, *hy* + *ser* in an internal-clause position with weak pivots was virtually inexistent in early Portuguese. This is because the verb *haver* had already taken hold of most verb-initial existential expressions. When *hy* + *ser* was present for ECs, the proform maintained its deictic value, thus acting as an overt stage topic. Contrastively, the role of the anaphoric proform in LCs differs in cases where the subject is the active topic of the sentence, and the locus is a reactivated element in the discourse. As a result of the latter, we presume that the disappearance of the proform from the language would render any instances of *ser* useless in the final position unless accompanied by an adverbial complement, unlike the case for *estar*.

Chapter III

The East: Expressions of Presence in Catalan and Aragonese

This chapter will uncover the Ibero-Romance languages' historical aspects of the verbs *ser*, *estar*, and *haber*. We will build upon the concepts presented in the previous chapter and explore the intricate use of *estar* as a copula and the role of the proform in early Catalan and Aragonese. We will demonstrate that *estar* as a copula was not confined to modern standard Catalan but was already present in early Catalan. Additionally, we will show that the incorporation of *estar* as a full copula into the grammar of Portuguese and Castilian may be associated with the disappearance of the proform in those languages, as contrasted by the cases of modern varieties of Catalan and Aragonese.

In the first section, we will delve into the historical data from early Catalan and illustrate that using *estar* as a copula was not exclusive to modern standard Catalan. Our analysis will reveal that early examples of *estar* with weak pivots suggest that this copula extended beyond the prescriptive norms found in modern standard Catalan. The second section will revisit the proform and its relationship with *ser* and *estar*. We will present evidence from the Aragonese variety from El Cheso in the form of *estar*, which supports our theory that the disappearance of the proform is indirectly related to the incorporation of *estar* as a full copula into the grammar of Portuguese and Castilian.

Moreover, this chapter's encompassing purpose is to support this study's central theoretical tenet— that weak pivots in EPs with *estar* in modern Ibero-Romance would be better classified as rhematic rather than thematic. This proposition is supported by Francez's (2007) proposal that the copula, whether *haber* or *estar*, depends on contextual constraints through addressation or delimitation. In other words, the choice of copula depends on the setting or coda, and the

concepts of addressation and delimitation are contiguous features between an existential and a locative reading. The latter concepts will be further explored in the next chapter, along with the concept of contrastive topicality and the relationship between the delimitation and address of an event. By the end of this chapter, readers will gain a deeper understanding of the historical evolution of the copula system in the eastern Ibero-Romance languages, laying the groundwork for further exploration in the final chapter.

1. East Iberia

1.1 Catalan

1.1.1 Ser

1.1.1.1 Focalising the pivot

In present-day Catalan, cases with *ser* as expressions of existence are common. Data shows that from the 13th century, existential clauses could be expressed either with *ser* (*ésser*) or *haver*. Catalan had an extended reach from the Rosselló county in the upper Northeast of the Iberian Peninsula to the Balearic Islands and even further East to the isle of Sardegna, which still preserves the Algherés dialect. For that reason, when we speak of the Catalan, one needs to take into account that the examples belong to a specific area and may not dictate a common trend in an Ibero-Romance variety that was, and still is, far from being a cohesive unity within its borders regarding the uses of copulae. Nevertheless, sufficient historical evidence shows that the verb *ésser* was utilised along with the verb *haver* to express existence in the 13th century.

- (1) a. E fou-hi portal que exia el val
 and COP.3.SG.PFV-there passage that exit-3.SG.IPFV the valley
 ‘And there was there a passage to exit the valley’
 (Crònica de Bernat Desclot. PII.116. L.21. 13th century)

- b. E havia-hi bé XXXa mília hòmens d'armes sens femnes e enfans
 and have-3.SG.PFV-there well thirty thousand men of-arms without women and children
 'And there were at least thirty thousand soldiers without women and children.'
 (*Crònica de Bernat Desclot*. PIII.38. L.13. 13th century)

Constructions with *ser* (*ésser*) as a copula utilised in ECs are expected from the 14th through the 15th centuries. Ramos Alfajarín (2000) performed a detailed quantitative work that computed all instances of the three copulae (*ésser*, *haver-hi*, *estar*) during those centuries⁷⁶, along with their syntactic and semantic distributions. Ramos also quantified the tokens by region and textual typology. What the numbers reveal is that both *ésser* (47,3%) and *haver(-hi)* (43,4%) in the East⁷⁷ have a similar distribution when it comes to presentational clauses without a definite NP in the *Llibre de Meravelles* de Llull and continues, to a lesser degree, through the 15th century⁷⁸.

⁷⁶ The book *Ésser, estar i haver-hi en català antic. Estudi sintàctic i contrastiu* by Ramos Alfajarín uses a corpus of twenty-five early Catalan texts spanning from the 12th to the 14th centuries. The corpus includes a variety of texts, such as legal documents, religious texts, and literary works, to provide a comprehensive analysis of the usage of the verbs *ser*, *estar*, and *haver-hi* in various contexts. The corpus is analysed both qualitatively and quantitatively, using mostly a comparative method to explore the syntactic and semantic features of the verbs in different existential and locative constructions. The book also provides a contrastive analysis of the usage of the verbs in early Catalan. Some of the text utilised for the construction of this corpus include, for example: *Homilies d'Organyà*: A collection of sermons from the 12th century, written in the Eastern Catalan; *Llibre dels fets*: A historical chronicle from the 14th century, written in the Western Catalan; *Tirant lo Blanc*: A chivalric romance from the 15th century, written in Valencian; and *Lo Somni*: A prose work from the 14th century, written in the Majorcan variety.

The theoretical approach of the study is mostly centred in Cognitive Linguistics. Cognitive Linguistics is a theoretical framework that views language as a cognitive system, where meaning is central, and language is seen as a tool for communication and expression of thought. In cognitive linguistics, language change is not viewed because of random, external forces, but as a cognitive process that involves the gradual restructuring of the mental grammar of speakers. This framework is applied to linguistic change by studying the ways in which speakers form and manipulate mental representations of language, as well as how they interpret and produce linguistic structures. The comparative approach is mainly focused in the grammatical, morphosyntactic and lexical features of the tokens. The study considers animacy of the subjects in the sentence and the semantic features of permanence for each copula.

Despite the substantial volume of data analysed in this study, the significance of certain quantitative analyses pertaining to grammatical context is outweighed by the potential insights gleaned from a comprehensive investigation of the discourse that prompted the use of one copula over the other.

⁷⁷ Comprises the Central, Rossellonese, Balearic, and Algherese varieties.

⁷⁸ The tendencies continued until the first half of the 15th Century with *ésser* in the 40th percentile and *haver(-hi)* in the 50th percentile in both East and West. By the first half of the 16th Century, the tendencies change dramatically

The contrast is more pronounced in the West with 14,8% frequency for *ésser* and 85,1% for *haver(-hi)* in the *Confessió de Barcelona* de Vilanova (Ramos Alfajarín, 2000, pp. 168-72). The data reveals that whilst Catalan exhibits parallel patterns to Castilian regarding the distribution of copulae during its initial phase—the prevalence of constructions with *haver-hi* replacing existential *ser* and the emergence of *estar* for anaphoric-locative uses—the proform, unlike its counterparts in Castilian and Portuguese, never wholly vanished from the language.

Having studied the loss of the proform in Castilian for almost a decade, this phenomenon is fascinating as one would hope to find that Catalan behaved differently than Castilian and Portuguese in copula distribution. However, even early northern texts, not necessarily Valencian, such as the *Vides de sants roselloneses* from the 13th century, already show an extended use of *estar* for locative purposes in tokens such as “[...] *car los sants totstemps estan en lo cel* [...]” (‘since the saints are always in heaven’) (p. 484. Lin. 4). The Catalan data is highly contrastive with Castilian and Aragonese, as we will see in the next section, as it shows an almost absolute decline in subsequent centuries of compound expressions for existence and location with *ser* and the proform.

Given that the canonical locative sentences in modern standard Catalan are formed by a combination of *ser* + a locative complement, either the proform *hi* or a prepositional phrase, the presence of these constructions from the early stages of the language is found from the 13th throughout the 16th centuries (2. a-d).

giving *haver(-hi)* the lead with percentages above 80% in most literary works from both East and West and *ésser* with 10,5% and 0,8% in the East, and 28,5% and 5,6% in the West.

- (2) a. E foren-hi tots los barons d' Aragó
 and COP.3.PL.PFV-there all the men of-Aragon
 'And there were all the barons of Aragon.'
 (*Crònica de Bernat Desclot*. PII.88. L.12, 13th century)
- b. E jo seré -hi de nuyt e de día
 and I COP.1.SG.FUT of night and of day
 'And I will be there night and day.'
 (*Llibre dels fets del rei en Jaume*. Fol.82r. L.25, 14th century)
- c. Lo primer peccat que és huy en lo món és indevoció, e són -hi
 The first sin that COP.3.SG.PRS today in the world is undevotion and COP.3.PL.PRS-there
 los llauradors pròpriament
 the workers properly
 'The first sin that there is today in the world is lack of devotion,
 and those who work a lot are rightfully there.'
 (*Sermons St. Vicent Ferrer*. P XIV.210. L.16., 15th century)
- d. [...] ý sagueren, com stava apuntat, a la part del avengeli,
 and follow-3.PL.PFV as was indicated to the part of-the gospel
 per no esser-hi lo senyor loctinnet.
 for NEG COP.-INF-there the lord Loctinnet
 'There they followed, as it was indicated, to that part of the gospel,
 since Lord Loctinnet was not there.'
 (*Llibre de les Solemnitats de Barcelona*. P451. L.39, 16th century)

These anaphoric constructions with *ésser* start to coexist increasingly with the verb *estar* as the centuries progress, thus contradicting the typological idea that Catalan, as a language, omits *estar* in constructions with an anaphoric location. The primary contrast in these constructions between Catalan, Castilian, and Portuguese is that in Castilian and Portuguese constructions with

ser decrease as the centuries progress until they are effectively null by the end of the 15th century. Contrastively, in modern Catalan, the formula *ser* (*ésser*) + locative complement is the sanctioned structure for anaphoric locations, except for presentational structures with sentence focus such as in *Hi havia el president* or *HI HAVIA el president* ('There was the president'), even though it is allowed in cases of topicalisation, as in *Hi era, el president* (Rigau, 1999, p. 408)⁷⁹.

1.1.1.2 Focalising the locus

Given that the structure *ser* + LOC complement is the sanctioned form in modern standard Catalan, it is not surprising that it was already productive in early texts, similar to Castilian and Portuguese, as in (3), which follows the order (anaphoric) proform + copula. Therefore, we will further address and contrast these conventional cases with those with *estar* in section 3.1.2.2.

- (3) Per manament de la reyna se féu la iglesia que vuy hi és encara
 by commandment of the queen REF.-make-3.SG.PFV the church that today there COP.3.SG.PRS still
 'By the commandment of the queen, the church was built, which is still there today.'
 (*Los col·loquis de la insigne ciutat de Tortosa*. eHumanista/IVITRA 1. Pág. 331. Orig.1557.

1.1.1.3 Summary

In this section, we have examined the use of presentational constructions in early Catalan language. The quantitative analyses conducted by Ramos Alfajarín have yielded valuable insights into the frequency and prevalence of presentational constructions with *ser* and *haver* in Catalonia's East and West regions.

Whereas it is interesting to note that the Western regions appear to have a stronger preference for utilising *haver* in presentational constructions, it is even more significant to highlight the

⁷⁹ As mentioned previously, this does not apply to the Algerés dialect, which allows for the structure *ésser* + LOC in all types of sentences.

enduring presence of the proform *hi* in all modern Catalan dialects. This observation sheds light on Catalan's linguistic evolution and emphasises the importance of recognising and acknowledging the persistence of specific linguistic features across time and space. The subsequent section will delve into a more nuanced analysis of Catalan location constructions (LCs) and their correlation with the verb *estar*.

1.1.2 Estar

1.1.2.1 Focalising the pivot

Given the prescription of Catalan's current northern and central standard, one would think that *estar* is not and never was part of the existential or locative syntactic paradigms. Nothing could be further from the truth. *Estar*, as copula denoting presence in Catalan, was just as productive as Castilian and Portuguese. Some of the earliest data even show examples of the so-called 'eventive existentials' with *estar*, already introduced in section two of the previous chapter. The treatment of eventive existentials with *estar* will be the main topic of this subsection, as it is pivotal to justify the taxonomy proposed at the end of the previous chapter, where such constructions are grouped with the verb *haber/haver*.

One of the main issues in the literature concerning EPs is that scholars have no consensus about eventive existentials and their definition. Some proposed restrictions state that there must be a pivot with a coda, where the coda is not necessarily a prepositional phrase. The coda may be a participle of the stage-level kind (e.g., 'There is a person injured'), a relative clause (e.g., 'There is a person who looks like Mick Jagger'), or gerundive codas (e.g., 'There is Mary waiting'), sometimes accompanied by an adverb of eventive nature such as 'yesterday' or 'just' (see Villalba, 2013, pp. 150-52). However, when trying to isolate specific examples for unsteady

structural labels, such as the case of eventive existentials, one may encounter some taxonomic difficulties.

There seems to be a fervent yearning for the labelling and classification of linguistic phenomena in the scholarly dialogue, which appears to constrain a priori all the empirical evidence available. Whilst pattern identification is undoubtedly one of the primary jobs of a linguist, adjudicating names to structures and finding exceptions to the rule sometimes might limit the scope of the research. In other words, one is limited to working within a pre-established system. Such is the case of the so-called definiteness effect, which has been widely discussed from different linguistic approaches (see Milsark, 1969; Abbot, 1992, 1993; Ward & Birner, 1995; Zucchi, 1995; Keenan, 2003). The case of Catalan is unique regarding ECs since it seems to defy the DE (e.g., *Hi havia el cotxe destrossat*. ‘There was the car destroyed,’ cf. with Castilian, **Había el coche destrozado*) (see Leonetti, 2008). We will not discuss the apparent implications of the definiteness effect in Catalan here; nevertheless, it is essential to consider the DE restriction from a pragmatic context (see Breivik, 1981; Ward & Birner, 1995). Information structure and information status play a pivotal role in selecting the copula in presentational structures that focalise the presence of an entity. This is nothing novel. In 1982, Heim had already introduced a unified semantic analysis of “definites and indefinites,” where the distinct capability of definites for deixis and anaphora area accounted for. In other words, strong pivots find felicitous readings in familiar entities, whereas weak ones find felicitous readings when introducing novel entities. This familiarity might stem from prior mention or a prominently relevant context (Heim, 1982). This is why in all the Romance varieties studied thus far, as well as in English, expressions of the type ‘There is the man in the garden’ are felicitous within the appropriate context.

In the case of Catalan, which currently selects *haver-hi* as the default copula for so-called ‘proper existentials’ (e.g., *Hi ha persones bones* ‘There are good people’), other ECs are expressed with the same structure as canonical or proper existentials (i.e., *haver-hi*). Nevertheless, examples from early Catalan show that *estar* also fulfilled the role of a copula expressing existence with weak pivots in clauses where the pivot is in focus position, similar to the previous cases presented for Castilian and Portuguese. Consider the following examples from early Catalan from different linguistic regions: Center (4.a.), South (4.b.), and North (4.c.).

- (4) a. E àn aytal costuma: que de totas parts de la yla estan guàrdies
 and have-3.PL.PRS there-such custom that of all parts of the island COP.3.PL.PRS guards
 ‘And there they have such a custom in which there are guards in every part of the island.’
 (*Crònica de Bernard Desclot*. P.III.6 L.13. 13th Century. CICA)

- b. [...] que nenguna fembra appellada pecadriu no gós anar en alcun
 that NEG female called.F.SG sinner.F.SG NEG dare.3.SG.PRS go.INF in any
 loch on habiten o estan moros.
 place where inhabit-3.PL.PRS.SBJV or COP.3.PL.PRS moors
 ‘That no female called a sinner attempts to go to any place where there are moors or where they live.’
 (*Manual de Consells de la ciutat de València*. P. 399 L.26. 14th Century. CICA)

- c. Con de la ciutat cumana isqués, en la qual estaven preycadors [...]
 when of the city Cuman exit-3.SG.IPFV.SBJV in the which COP.3.PL.IPFV preachers
 ‘As he exited the Cuman city, in which there were preachers, [...]’
 (*Vides de sants Rosselloneses*. P. 432. L. 12. 13th Century. CICA)

Having observed the different sequences of copula + pivot in presentational constructions with *estar* in Castilian, Portuguese, and Catalan, we may distinguish three patterns, some present and some absent in the modern standard varieties. For example, one may find constructions of

type 1) *estar* + strong pivot + modifier (e.g., (Contextual domain of the utterance) *Está la camisa amarilla* ‘There’s the yellow shirt’), 2) *estar* + weak pivot + locus (e.g., (Contextual domain of the utterance) *Está un libro sobre la mesa* ‘There’s a book on the table’), and 3) *estar* + weak/strong pivot + stage-level coda (e.g., (Contextual domain of the utterance) *Está un cerdo rostizado* ‘There is a pig roasted’ or *Está Gianni en el jardín* ‘There’s Gianni in the garden’). The modern standard Catalan counterparts of the three sequences are all presented with *haver-hi*. The difficulty in analyzing and proposing a taxonomy for these constructions goes beyond the scope of information structure (cf. Koch, 2012), at least in Ibero-Romance.

As argued previously, the reading will depend on the utterance’s context and the pivot’s definiteness. For example, even though we have classified a similar structure, such as cataphoric setting-bounded existence (see example (12.b.) from the previous chapter) where the pivot is not strong, the case of *Está Gianni en el jardín* ‘Gianni in the garden’ is different given its definiteness, which automatically individuates it as a pivot (see Camacho, 2012, p. 193). Gianni’s existence is already entailed despite it being new information, and it is his presence within a specific interval of time that becomes relevant — the place where Gianni ‘is existing’ at a specific moment and as an answer to the question ‘Who is at the house at this moment?’ or ‘What is happening at this moment?’ For that reason, the case of ‘Gianni is in the garden’ must be treated as a case of either an eventive or an evidential reading, which, in this case, expresses a different proposition: within a time-frame y , an entity x in a state/setting is relevant. In this fashion, evidential readings will fall into the same category as eventive ones, where the type of presence is stage-level or transient.

Within a time frame y, an/the entity x in a state/setting z is relevant.	Eventive Presence	Estar	Context: What is happening at this very moment (there)? CAST: Está el/un coche azul estacionado (sobre la calle) PORT: Está o/um carro azul estacionado (na rua)	STAGE- LEVEL PRESENCE
Within a set of possibilities y, an/the entity x is relevant.	Enumerative Presence	Estar/Ter Haber/Haber	Context: What is the most reliable and affordable car brand? CAST: Hay el/uno que acaba de abrir en la calle principal or Está la Fiat PORT: Há um consseionário na rua principal or Port: Tem a Fiat	
Within a time frame y, an/the entity x in a state/setting z is relevant.	Evidential Presence	Estar	Context: What can you see/observe at this very moment inside that room? CAST: Hay una mesa y <u>está un libro sobre la mesa.</u> PORT: Há uma mesa e <u>está um livro sobre a mesa.</u>	

Table 3.1 Addendum to the Proposed Taxonomy for Expressions of Presence in Ibero-Romance

1.1.2.2 Focalising the locus

Modern standard Catalan breaks away from its major Iberian counterparts, Castilian and Portuguese, as it utilises a tripartite set of copulae for existential and locative constructions, with the significant difference being the proform *hi* as a clitic and the absence of *estar* in most locative phrases.

Nevertheless, a simple glance at any set of documents that predate the second half of the 19th century will show that this was not always the case, and that Catalan was, in fact, not that

different from Portuguese and Castilian at the time⁸⁰, except only for the active presence and use of the proform. In other words, there is evidence that the verb *estar* was actively used in locative sentences in Western Catalan since the second half of the 16th century until the grammar reforms brought up by the *Renaixença*⁸¹ in the middle of the 19th century. The use of *estar* in LC is essentially the normative use in Valencian (Vañó-Cerdà, 2007) and Tortosa (Sanz & González, 1995) even though its usage is often frowned upon and considered, by some Catalan purists, a grammatical calque borrowed from Castilian (see the linguistic commentary by Ballesta i Rog, 1987).

Various theoretical and robust quantitative studies in the past decades (see Ramos, 2000; Solà, 1994; Vañó-Cerdà 1999, 2007) have already pointed out the absurdity of grammarians trying to create a consensus on the distribution and normativity of the use of *ser* and *estar* in Catalan when there is historical evidence of the ubiquity of both copulae for locative and existential constructions since mediaeval times. Consequently, the grammar of standard Catalan is historically opaque. It may lead to the belief that throughout the centuries, the Catalan language underwent a natural systematisation and distribution of its copulae, where *estar* was never used in locative constructions, let alone as a copula accompanied by *hi*. However, as Vañó-Cerdà (1999, 2007) and Ramos (2000) express, glancing at the historical evidence presents another reality. Given that highly vast and thorough data on the existence and documentation of *ser*, *estar*, and *haver-hi* has been carried out, most of the examples here presented were extracted from the *Corpus Informatitzat del Català Antic* (CICA) to illustrate through primary data the arguments presented in the Studies of Vañó-Cerdà and Ramos.

⁸¹ It refers to the 19th Century revival movement of Catalan language and culture.

- (5) a. [...] manà posar lo comte las armas de aquestos quatre cavallers que també
 command-3.SG.PFV place.INF the count the weapons of these four knights who also
 li eran capitans, esculpides en pedra com per a vuy encara hi estan.
 DAT.3.SG. COP.3.PL.IPFV captains sculpted.F.PL in stone as for today still there COP.3.PL.PRS
 ‘the count had the weapons of these four knights, who were also his captains, be placed [in the
 plaza], sculpted in stone, as they are still there until today.’
 (*Los col·loquis de la insigne ciutat de Tortosa*. P. 6 L.11, 16th Century. CICA)
- b. Aquest temple estava en las cases de els dignitats de la seu, que estan
 this temple COP.3.SG.IPFV in the houses of the dignitaries of the cathedral which COP.3.PL.PRS
 a la plaça de la Lenya, hon està hui la capella de Sent Vicent [...]
 at the square of the Lenya where COP.3.SG.prs today the chapel of Saint Vincent
 ‘This temple was in the houses of the dignitaries of the cathedral, which are in the Lenya square,
 where the chapel of Saint Vincent is today [...]’
 (*Primera part de la Història de València*. P. 129 L. 5. 16th Century. CICA)

Both cases, one from Valencia and the other from Tortosa show that *estar* was actively used in locative constructions, even along the proform, as in (5.a.). The possibility of (5.a.) being written by a Valencian author is dispelled by the fact that the *col·loquis of Tortosa* was written by Cristòfor Despuig, the renowned *tortosí* author from the 16th century⁸². Furthermore, evidence of the alternation in using the three copulae (*ésser*, *estar*, *haver-hi*) in Western Catalan dates to the 13th century, including some noteworthy details about the use of *estar* as in (6) where it appears alongside *ser*.

⁸² These are today the only Catalan-speaking zones (Valencia and Tortosa) where the use of *estar* in locative constructions has taken over the verb *ser* completely (see Sanz & González, 1995).

- (6) Si alcun vol provar fet civil per testimonis qui no són en
 if someone want-3.SG.PRS try-3.SG.PRS fact civil for witnesses who NEG COP.3.PL.PRS in
 altra jurisdicció de Tortosa e són e estan en altre loc [...]
 another jurisdiction of Tortosa and COP.3.PL.PRS and COP.3.PL.PRS in another place
 ‘If someone wants to deal with a civil matter for witnesses who are not in a different jurisdiction of
 Tortosa, and who are from, and find themselves, in a different place; [...]’
 (*Costums de Tortosa*. P. 210 L. 12, S. 13th Century CICA)

Vañó-Cerdà (2007), among other scholars, has been a fervent supporter of the evidence found in mediaeval texts that show that *estar* was already a reasonable alternative to essentially all uses of *ésser*, including its telic aspectual feature. The grammatical aspect was reflected in expressions that denote culmination, in tokens such as *el duc veu que el mal estava ja en la seva terra* (‘The Duque saw that evil was already in his land’) (pp. 483-89).

Vañó-Cerdà (2007) has also pointed out how, despite all tendencies to create rules, historical analysis of the use between animate and inanimate objects and the alternation of *ser* and *estar* during mediaeval times was typical, even in contexts where the standard norm does not accept such alternation today for being considered a superstrate influence of Castilian. However, despite these alternations, the case found in (6) is the perfect example of the contrasting semantic quality of both verbs in some specific contexts. In this case, the contrast between both copulae seems to establish the permanence of the witnesses in that place.

Several studies have already been carried out on the topic of *ésser*, *estar*, and *haver-hi* in Catalan diachronically, some of them of a quantitative nature and a rigorous and thorough philological approach such as the studies and analyses by Ramos (2000). Ramos’ sample compendium of the three copulae covers all possible documentation of early Catalan until the 16th century, from Ramon Lull’s *Llibre de Maravelles* (1289) to *La Crònica de Beuter* (1538). In his study, despite finding some constant tendencies in their distribution, such as the unmarked

use of *haver-hi* for absolute presentational existentials with weak or null quantifiers, the alternation between *ésser* and *estar* will often fluctuate depending on many factors, such as discourse, aspect, and “modality of the action,” in the case of resultative readings (pp. 417-23).

Ramos justifies his findings based on cognitive-linguistic foundations and grammaticalisation. The lexical richness of the verb *estar* takes over many of the functions initially assigned *ésser* exclusively. In other words, *estar*, says Ramos, can transmit more information about the interpretation of the action through its semantics, such as position (place), duration (time), and telicity (completion). Even morphological factors may be at play in this alternation, such as the syncretism of participles for both verbs, *ésser*, and *estar*, in forms such as *estant* and *estat* (see Vañó-Cerdà, 1999; Ramos, 2000). The latter phenomenon, it is argued, may have caused a syncretic analogy to have taken place in the speakers’ minds where the uses of *ser/ésser* and *estar* would blend. Therefore, the historical case of Catalan copulae is, under this lens, rather forthright; that is, the three original verbs (*ésser*, *estar*, and *haver-hi*) that existed from the time textual evidence is available to us still survive until today with nothing but a minimum of readjustment in their semantic functions, most of which are the product of prescriptive planning by Catalan grammarians whose primary purpose was to distance the language from Castilian. However, unlike Castilian or Portuguese, the free-range use of the proform as late as the 16th century is widely attestable in important literary pieces of every century.

(7) a. Per manament de la reyna se féu la iglésia que vuy hi és encara

By commandment of the queen REF.-make-3.SG.PFV the church which today there COP.3.SG.PRS still
 ‘By the queen’s commandment, the church was built, which is still there today [...].’

(*Los col·loquis de la insigne ciutat de Tortosa*. eHumanista/IVITRA 1. Pág. 331. Orig.1557. CICA)⁸³

⁸³ This edition has been chosen due to the availability of rapid searches. However, all tokens were compared to earlier editions such as the one from the Imprenta de la Reinaxensa in Portaferrissa, Barcelona, 1877.

Even more remarkable is the case of the text *Calaix de Sastre*, written between the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century (1769-1819) by the Barcelonese Baró de Maldà, Rafael d'Amat i de Cortada. In this historical and autobiographic diary, it is possible to find instances of locatives purely presented with *estar* and fluctuating between *ser* or *estar* + *hi* throughout a variety of pivots, some highly definite (proper names as in (8. a.)) or abstract concepts (such as 'the hand of god' as in (8.d.)), as well as both terminal (8.b.) and (8.d.), and non-terminal temporal references as in the rest of the tokens.

(8) a. Entretant lo Sr. de Sarfield, si no és ja en Tolosa en lo Llenguadoc,
 however the lord of Sanfield if NEG COP.3.SG.PRS already in Toulouse in the Llenguadoc
 hi està molt cerca
 there COP.3.SG.PRS very near
 'However, the Lord of Sanfield, if he is not already in Toulouse in Llenguadoc, he is very close.'
 (*Calaix de Sastre*, p. 2648)

b. Després trobarem los hostals de la Figuereta, casi un devant de l'altre, sota del
 after find-3.PL.PFV the hostels of the Figuereta almost one in front of the-other under of the
 lloch del Crexell, que està en una eminència, situat a la part del nord.
 place of-the Crexell which COP.3.SG.PRS in one height located at the part of-the north
 'After that, we found the hostels of la Figuereta, almost one in front o the other, under the place
 of Crexell, which is in a protruding place, located in the north part.'
 (*Calaix de Sastre*, p. 163)

c. Tereseta y Antonieta estàban en son aposento.
 Tereseta and Antonieta COP.3.PL.IPFV in their bedroom
 'Tereseta and Antonieta were in their bedroom.'
 (*Calaix de Sastre*, p.165)

- d. [...] resar algunes oracions a l'omnipotent Déu, que està en sa divina mà
 pray.INF some prayers to the-omnipotent god who COP.3.SG.PRS in his divine hand
 castigarnos o no.
 punish.INF.-ACC.1.PL or NEG
 '[...] say some prayers to God omnipotent, whose decision whether to punish us is in his divine hand.'
 (*Calaix de Sastre*, p. 1446)
- e. lo Sr. italià Boti, que ja es pot comptar, per lo tan llarg temps
 the mr. Italià Boti who already REF.-can-3.SG.PRS count.INF for the so long time
 que està en Catalunya, català i ben català [...]
 who COP.3.SG.PRS in Catalunya catalán and very catalan
 '[...] Mr. Italià Boti, who may be already counted as very Catalan due to the prolonged time that he
 has been in Catalunya [...]'
 (*Calaix de Sastre*, p. 2659)
- f. Tots nosaltres estàbam molt prop dels cantors y músichs.
 All we COP.1.PL.IPFV very close to-the singers and musicians
 'All of us were very close to the singers and musicians.'
 (*Calaix de Sastre*, p. 44)
- g. Vicenç Cases [...] actualment és en casa de sos pares
 Vincenç Cases currently COP.3.SG.PRS in house of his parents
 'Vicenç Cases [...] is currently at his parent's house.'
 (*Calaix de Sastre*, p. 1201)

It would not be implausible to argue that if it were not for the intervention of some grammarians, the case of wide Catalan varieties currently would be feasibly similar to the case of other Romance varieties from the East of the Peninsula (i.e., without a precise distribution of copulae per semantic structure), such as the Aragonese language family, which will be explored in the next section.

1.1.2.3 Summary

The most salient features of *estar* in early Catalan are the eventive nature of some presentational constructions with *estar*. This function of *estar* was not widely present in Castilian in its early stages, which later would come to adopt *estar* more prominently, whilst Catalan would abandon it for *haver-hi* in EC and *ser* + coda for LCs. The robust quantitative study by Ramos (2002) demonstrates a comprehensive range of presentational uses of *estar* in early Catalan until the 16th century (pp. 156-85). The same may be said about locative expressions as early as the 13th Century in Western varieties and as late as the 19th century in at least one work from Central Catalan. The difficulty of making generalisations regarding Catalan in the early centuries was also stated, given that it is a language comprised of different varieties, which are most notable in their contrast between East and West.

1.2 Aragonese⁸⁴

1.2.1 Ser

1.2.1.1 Focalising the pivot

⁸⁴ Aragonese is a Romance language spoken mainly in the region of Aragon in northeastern Spain. It is also spoken in some neighboring areas, such as the eastern part of the province of Huesca, the northern part of the province of Zaragoza, and the western part of the province of Teruel. There are several varieties of Aragonese, including Western Aragonese, Central Aragonese, and Eastern Aragonese. Western Aragonese is spoken in the westernmost part of the region and has been heavily influenced by Spanish. Central Aragonese is spoken in the central part of the region and is considered the standard variety of the language. Eastern Aragonese is spoken in the easternmost part of the region and has been heavily influenced by Catalan. In addition to these regional varieties, there are also several local varieties of Aragonese, such as Ansotano, Benasquese, and Chistabino, which are spoken in small towns and villages throughout the region. These local varieties may differ significantly from one another in terms of pronunciation, vocabulary, and grammar. Aragonese is a minority language and has been classified as endangered by UNESCO. While efforts are being made to promote and preserve the language, it is currently spoken by only a small percentage of the population, and its use is limited mainly to informal settings and cultural events. Aragonese is not heavily regulated or standardised, and as a result, there can be significant variation in the language used by speakers in different regions and contexts. This lack of standardisation can make it challenging to develop consistent educational materials and promote the language more widely. However, there are ongoing efforts to standardise the language and establish it more firmly as a recognised and valued part of the cultural heritage of the region.

(https://www.mercator-research.eu/fileadmin/mercator/documents/regional_dossiers/aragonese_in_spain.pdf)

Aragonese's case is even more complex if a quantitative study of early Portuguese data proves difficult. The Corpus Diacrónico del Español (CORDE) does not allow a search by regions in Spain. Similarly, the Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies (HSMS) Library only allows for searches by individual text, and the Prealfonsine Bible contains some passages that belong to one of its manuscripts (E8) believed to have Eastern influence. Consequently, it is untenable, at the moment, to offer a precise quantitative analysis of all the structures and patterns followed by early Aragonese similar to the cases of Castilian and Catalan. However, some rough frequency tendencies are shown in finding specific examples for each phenomenon. For example, the sequence *hy + ser* and *ser + hy*, sentence-internal or sentence-final, with a weak pivot in this case, is consistent throughout the more than thirty texts available from the 13th and 14th centuries. Most tendencies for all four subsections are, in fact, virtually identical to Castilian. However, one crucial point is that, unlike Castilian, some modern non-standardised varieties of Aragonese still retain the proform (e.g., *Aquí tropas no'n y heba* 'Here there were no troops'⁸⁵) (see Gille & Enguita Utrilla, 2022, pp. 453-54).

- (9) a. Et aquest fuero estiendese a compra de toda hereditat treitos molinos
 and this jurisdiction extends-3.SG.PRS to purchase of all inheritance contracts mills
 fornos bannos castiellos & torres quando hy son muytos parçoneros.
 furnaces baths castles and towers when there COP.3.PL.PRS many participants
 'And this jurisdiction extends to the purchase of all inheritance, contracts, mills, furnaces, baths,
 castles, and towers when there are many participants.'
 (*Fueros de Aragón*. BNM 458, 1247. CORDE)

- b. y encara y era otro clamado leo
 and still there COP.3.SG.IPFV another called.M.SG Leo
 'And there was still another one called Leo.'
 (*Crónica de los Emperadores*. Fol. 95v. 1393. HSMS)

⁸⁵ See Appendix in Mott (1992, p. 132).

- c. E si demanda mas de .x. ouellas [...] es hy batalla
 and if demand-3.SG.PRS more than ten sheep.PL COP.3.SG.PRS there battle
 de escudo & de bastón
 of shield and of spear
 ‘And if he demands more than ten sheep [...] there must be a duel of shield and spear.’
 (*Fueros de Aragón*. BNM 458, Párrafo 2. 1247. CORDE)

- d. E si la demanda fore de .c. sueldos en suso, aya batalla [...]
 and if the demand were of one hundred salaries and above COP.3.SG.PRS.SBJV battle
 ‘And if his demand were to be from one hundred sueldos and up, there must be a battle [...].’
 (*Fueros de Aragón*. BNM 458, Párrafo 5. 1247. CORDE)

A remarkable feature of the proform in (9.a.) is the apparent deficit of adverbial reference without completely losing its anaphoric value; in this case, resembling a type of neuter-dative (*a ello, en ello*) (cf. Vázquez, 2019, p. 108). One could either interpret the sentence as ‘*cuando (en ello) hay muchos participantes*’ or ‘*cuando hay muchos participantes*’. This phenomenon still occurs in Modern Standard Catalan in sentences such as *A la jaqueta hi falta un botó* ‘The jacket is missing a button’ (see Rigau, 1997, p. 401), where the clitic *hi* may function as a dative pronoun.

In (9.b.), the adverbial phrase *encara y* is used to express the continuity of permanence of the person named Leo. In (9.c.), *es hy batalla* indicates a deontic consequence of a condition being met; if someone demands more than ten sheep, there must be a battle. The use of the proform here is similar to the use in (9.a.), where it acts as an empty reference interpreted as a neutral dative (e.g., *en ello*). Finally, the case of (9.d.) confirms that the information structure of this construction is identical to (9.c.) and that it is just as feasible to utilise *haver*.

Overall, these examples demonstrate the versatility of the proform in early Aragonese, allowing it to express anaphoric reference, empty reference, and indicate consequences of conditions being met. While a precise quantitative analysis of early Aragonese is difficult, these examples provide insight into the use of the proform and its importance in conveying meaning in mediaeval Aragonese texts.

Conversely, presentational constructions with *haber* without the proform are practically inexistent⁸⁶. The agglutinated form had already been grammaticalised since the 13th century⁸⁷. One single text from the second half of the 14th century (*Viajes de Juan de Mandevilla*) shows three hundred and twenty instances of *ay*. The tendencies in the Prealfonsine bible (10.a.) (10.b.) are consistent with those in the HSMS. Therefore, similar to Castilian, it is no surprise that one does not find a single instance of the sequence *hy* + *ser* in the sentence-initial position.

- (10) a. No ay y tardança ninguna
 NEG COP.3.SG.PRS there delay NEG
 ‘There is no delay’
 (*Biblia Prealfonsí*, 1 Crónicas 29:15. 13th Century. CBM)

- b. No ay dios en el çielo semellant a ti ni en tierra
 NEG COP.3.SG.PRS god in the heaven similar to you NEG on earth
 ‘There is no god like you in heaven or earth’
 (*Biblia Prealfonsí*, 2 Crónicas 6:14. 13th century. CBM)

⁸⁶ We were not able to locate a single instance of impersonal *haber* (*ha*) in the intermitent search by hand throughout all Navarro-Aragonese texts of the library of the HSMS for any century.

⁸⁷ There are just a couple of instances where the form *ay* appears in the *Vidal Mayor* (1260), the oldest text available in Aragonese.

1.2.1.2 Focalising the locus

Similar to early Castilian syntax, examples featuring anaphoric or reactivated locus are conspicuously prevalent using the verb *ser* (11.a.) (11.b.). These constructions are classified as either locative or with a locative focus, primarily due to the thematic nature of the subject and the unmistakable deictic value assigned to a specific place employing the proform and its position following the verb. The proform, in essence, acts as a limiter of reference and, concurrently, as the reactivation of a prior spatial frame of reference, as detailed in §2.2.1.1. It is worth noting that the unorthodox order of the sentence structure, along with the definiteness of the subject — which could be construed as either an active topic or a new referent pre-established in the common ground — introduces an element of ambiguity in the interpretation. The Fuero de Navarra code is a fitting example of this phenomenon (11.a.).

- (11) a. E si pora uentura non fuere hy el seynor de los puercos,
 and if by chance NEG COP.3.SG.FUT.SBJV there the owner of the pigs
 aquest dreyto deue fer el mayoral
 this obligation must do.INF the foreman
 ‘And if by chance the owner of the pigs were not there, the foreman needs to fulfil this
 obligation [...]’
 (*Fuero General de Navarra*, versión A. BNM Ms. 17653 – 1250-1300.CORDE)

Despite the complexities associated with interpreting such constructions, the presence of a NEG item in (11.a.) implies that *el seynor de los puercos* is an active topic due to the quantity implicature inherent in universal quantifiers (see Geurts, p. 256). This adds to the intricacy of the sentence’s meaning, which is further compounded by its dynamic nature, illustrating how the delimitation of existence can transform into an addressation and vice versa, a phenomenon elaborated upon in §2.2.1.1 of the previous chapter. The syntactic structure of such sentences is

of particular interest, as the definitiveness of the subject permits it to be either a novel referent or an established one in the common ground, thereby introducing a level of ambiguity that contributes to their linguistic and literary value. In (11. b-c), we observe the usage of sequences featuring the verb *ser* accompanied by the proform or an adverbial complement, which alternate with those featuring *estar*. This pattern is analogous to what is observed in Catalan and has persisted over time in certain Aragonese varieties. For instance, Miral (2005) examines the usage of such constructions in the Aragonese dialect spoken in El Cheso, located in the Pyrenees.

b. [...] Empero non deue poner fuego en la tierra d'aqueill rey [...] nin deue

but NEG must put.INF fire in the land of-that king NEG must
hy ser quando algún castieillo toman [...]

there COP.INF when some castle seize-3.PL.PRS

‘But he must not set that king’s land on fire [...] neither should he be there when they seize a castle [...].’

(Vidal Mayor. Ordenamientos y códigos legales, 1250. CORDE)

c. Porque se dize que aquesta columpna [...] encara oy en dia es en Siria

because REF-say.3.SG.PRS that this columnna still today in day COP.3.SG.PRS in Siria

‘Because it is said that this column is in Syria up until today.’

(Crónica de San Isidoro Fol.109-111r, 1385. HSMS)

It is essential to mention that what we call ‘focal location’ in the (11.a-c.) tokens does not belong to the definition of focus proper, as established in information structure’s traditional literature (cf. Lambrecht, 1994). This type of focus is what is usually called a reactivated focus. Though the name seems paradoxical, it signifies the marking of established, and focus here is generally used to indicate the structural marking of information status (Gussenhoven, 2008, p. 96). Likewise, the case of (11.c.) calls for a similar explanation where in an “[...] anaphoric theory of definite descriptions,” strong pivots, despite their information structure, are already presupposed even as a focus (Rooth, p. 91). Such is the case of *Siria*, which belongs to the focus domain of the EP, modifying ‘this column’ and contributing contrasting information.

1.2.1.3 Summary

This section showed that the patterns found in early Aragonese for *ser* are very similar to Castilian. The sequence *hy* + *ser* in sentence-initial position for presentational constructions and any forms by *haber* without the proform (*ha*) are virtually inexistent. The forms of impersonal *ay* of Aragonese show very early signs of grammaticalisation of the proform. LCs in Aragonese also follow a similar trend as Castilian — the proform retains its deictic value of concrete physicality.

We have seen that the proform functions as a limiter of reference and, concurrently, as the reactivation of a prior spatial frame of reference, thereby adding to the intricacy of the sentence's meaning. Despite these challenges, a NEG item in specific constructions suggests that the subject is an active topic. The syntactic structure of such sentences is remarkable, as the definitiveness of the subject allows it to be a novel referent established in the common ground or previous discourse. While the term 'focus' indicates the structural marking of information status in these constructions, it does not belong to the definition of focus proper as established in information structure's traditional literature. This type of focus is usually referred to as a reactivated focus, as it signifies marking established information for information status.

1.2.2 *Estar*

1.2.2.1 Focalising the pivot

Though scarce, cases with *estar* that focalise the pivot are similar to those in early Castilian. ECs with bounded location either as a frame setter (12.a.) or as a delimitation (12.c.). The case of (12.b.) reflects the elements present in either an eventive (Villalba, 2013, pp. 150-52) or evidential reading through individuation (following Camacho, 2015, p. 193).

- (12) a. aquí están dos caualleros quelo quieren ver
 here COP.3.PL.PRS two knights who.ACC.SG.M want-3.PL.PRS see.INF
 ‘Here are two knights who want to see him.’
 (*Cuento de Tristán de Leonís*. Fol. 108v. 1390. HSMS)
- b. Et tornadas las espías le dixi-eron que los griegos estauan aquí desarmados
 and returned.F.PL. the spies DAT.3.SG tell-3.PL.PFV that the Greeks COP.3.PL.IPFV here unarmed
 ‘And when the spies returned, they told him the Greeks were here unarmed.’
 (*Crónica de Morea*. Fol. 226v. 1377. HSMS)
- c. Estaua el dicho aníbal en una torre
 COP.3.SG.IPFV the said.M.SG Aníbal in one tower
 ‘The aforementioned Hannibal was in a tower’
 (*Crónica de los Conqueridores*. Fol 124r. 1376. HSMS)

Individuation is a basic operation that anchors certain events to a given location and time. In the case of eventive expressions, *estar* provides these constructions with an aspectual feature based on the “anaphoric relation between event time and the interval [of time] that is asserted” (Zagona, 2012, p. 159).

The way Camacho (2012) characterises evidentiality is through class comparisons, which may be between individuals (e.g., *Soy feliz (comparado con ella)* ‘I am happy (compared to her)’) or within-individual (e.g., *Estoy feliz (comparado con la semana pasada)* ‘I am happy (compared to last week)’). Regarding this phenomenon, Camacho says:

In the first case, the situation involves comparing properties that applies to a single individual, so the slices of properties are not individuated. I take individuation to be a basic operation that anchors certain events to a given location and time. In other words, to elucidate whether the actual property obtains, the individual/property slice pair needs to be individuated because it does not have existential import by itself (vs. individuals), so that it can be evaluated against a real-world context. In doing so, the relevant comparisons can be established [...]. Although individuation is not the same as location, I

assume that they are closely related, so that individuated properties tend to be located, and located properties tend to be individuated. Because within-individual comparisons require individuation through location, evidentiality has a dedicated path to become potentially salient [...].

The more evidential cues in the situation, the likelier an evidential interpretation will surface. By contrast, between-individual comparisons can be established without any further operation, since they apply to different individual/property pairs, hence each of them comes with implicit existential import. Individuation through location is not required, hence evidence has no dedicated path to become salient (pp. 192-193).

Applying the same principle to the concepts of being and location makes it possible to explain why phrases consisting of bare nominals may not be expressed felicitously—for example, phrases such as *#Estaban vacas* (cf. *había vacas*). Nevertheless, one may hear *#Estaban vacas pastando* (‘There were cows grazing’) in some varieties of modern Castilian other than Spain; or *#Estaban libros en el piso*, as opposed to *Estaban varios libros tirados en el piso* (‘There were several books tossed on the floor’). The nominals need to be individuated to be evaluated against a real-world context containing the spatiotemporal frame often attributed to *estar* through that context. This is why both eventive and evidential readings, as we have previously proposed, share the same type of expression: Within a time frame *y*, an entity *x* in a state/setting *z* is relevant, such as ‘The Greeks/here/unarmed,’ as in (12.b.).

Similarly, in (12.b.), despite the lack of context, one may assume that the subject, *los griegos*, is an active topic of the discourse, given its definiteness. It is difficult to imagine a setting in which the eventiveness of this expression may be conveyed in the absence of the presence of the proform (cf. *eran hy desarmados*), or *estar* as the copula, without inserting an aspectual adverbial of the type ‘in this/that precise moment.’ The relevant information provided by the perceptual insight of the informants in real-time highlights not only the place (‘here’) but

also the concurrent state of the entity ('unarmed'). We propose that when the contextual domain of the utterance is already pre-established (i.e., when the context is already understood to be the here and now), this gives rise to an eventive interpretation, which tends to be deictic at the moment of the utterance. Consequently, finding data with eventive contexts is challenging given their typical oral and deictive setting.

1.2.2.2 Focalising the locus

The following tokens show that the case of true locatives with *estar* in early Aragonese is not that different from its Iberian counterparts. They also alternate between *seyer* and *estar* in (13.b.) (13.c.). In the case of (13.d.), *estar* appears along the proform as a frame-setter that does not refer to the coda *sobre un bel cauallo*.

- (13) a. et leuaron a pleyto a garcia iohans [...]
 and carry-3.PL.PFV to lawsuit to García Iohans
 por un cirueillo que estaua en el soto
 for one plum tree that COP.3.SG.IPFV in the cops
 ‘And they sued García Iohans over a little plum tree that was in the copse.’
 (*Fuero de la Novenera*. Fol 148-149v. 1301. HSMS)
- b. Et los asitiados seyendo en medio de los muros [...]
 And the besieged.PL COP.PROG in between of the walls
 ‘And the besieged ones, finding themselves in between the walls’
 (*Crónica de los Conqueridores*. Fol. 32r. 1376. HSMS)
- c. [...] aquellos que estauan cerca los muros
 those who COP.3.PL.IPFV near the walls
 ‘Those who were near the walls.’
 (*Crónica de los Conqueridores*. Fol. 179r. 1376. HSMS)
- d. reyna tamaris armada hi estaua sobre un bel cauallo
 queen Tamaris armed.F.SG there COP.3.SG.IPFV over one beautiful horse
 ‘the armed queen, Tamaris, was there mounted on a beautiful horse.’
 (*Crónica de los Conqueridores*. Fol 408r. 1376. HSMS)

Aragonese is the classic example of a language that, historically, has not been widely interfered with by regulatory linguistic institutions⁸⁸. In some current Aragonese varieties, the patterns of use in the copulae *ser* and *estar* display a high degree of defectiveness and suppletion in their paradigms. Take the case of the Chistavino⁸⁹ variety of Aragonese, whose use of *estar* extends beyond the typical classification of assigning stage-level and individual-level values to each verb (i.e., usually *ser* for individual-level and *estar* for stage-level). The overextension of the functions usually attributed to *ser* in most Ibero-Romance varieties (e.g., aspect and inherent properties) is not attested in Chistavino, as illustrated by the examples from Mott (1992, p. 124).

(14)

- a. Deben estar las cinco
must.3.PL COP.INF the five
'It must be five o'clock'

- b. Bien guapos sin estane!
very handsome.M.PL without COP.INF- PART.
'Very handsome without being that'

- c. Quiero estar rico
want.1.SG. COP.INF rich
'I want to be rich'

- d. No vas a estar tú el único
NEG go.2.SG to COP.INF you the only
'You are not going to be the only one'

⁸⁸ The consequence of a lack of a distinguished standard across its varieties signifies the instability of grammatical paradigms, which does not necessarily entail any rupture in communication; this, however, entails a challenge for language scholars, such as me, who pledge to find patterns everywhere.

⁸⁹ The Chistavino variety is spoken in Gistaín, Valle de Gistau, Huesca.

- e. De no estar per él...
 of NEG COP.INF for him
 ‘If it were not for him ...’
- f. Va estar soldado en África
 go.3.SG COP.INF soldier in Africa
 ‘He was a soldier in Africa’

The case of locatives and existentials in Chistavino Aragonese and the surrounding areas is similar, *mutatis mutandis*, to the case of the Catalan language family. Absolute existentials are expressed by *haber* + proform (e.g., *Aquí tropas no’n y heba* ‘Here there were no troops’ (Mott, 1992, p. 132)), whilst locatives follow a pattern of *ser* + coda (proform/adverbial), except for instances when expressing temporary permanence, similar to standard Catalan. However, the imprecise distribution of functions and overlapping syncretism of forms in some tenses regularly cause those boundaries to be traversed⁹⁰. In some cases, such as in the imperfect indicative, which overlaps in one of the paradigms for both verbs (i.e., *yere*, *yeras*, *yera*, *yeren*, *yérez*, *yeran*.), some of the sentences, such as *Ixes yeran es que (y)eran per aquí* (‘Those were the ones that were around here’) (Mott, 1992, pp. 133-35), may be indistinguishable in their verbal source, either *ser* or *estar*.

It is worth pointing out that the phenomenon of the grapheme representing a yod sound at the beginning of all these forms of *ser* bears a resemblance to the longstanding historical relationship of the copulae with the proform (*y*, *hy*, *i*, *hi*) in Ibero-Romance. This phenomenon may be due to organic sound changes (ERAT > [jera]) or an impromptu coincidence in graphemes in a language

⁹⁰ It is very possible that some scholars will hastily attribute such a rupture and imprecision to the interaction and influence of Castilian as the standard dominant language. However, it is important to look beyond the diglossic conundrum and look for other factors, including the opposite; that is, the absence of formal intervention by regulatory institutions.

that is not formally regulated (cf. the forms *yeran* vs. *(y)eran* in the passage above). Less opaque, however, is the case of the Aragonese variety of the Hecho Valley (Cheso, in the Aragonese Pyrenees), a little further West from the Gistaín Valley, which presents clear cases of integration of the proform in the morphology of the present indicative for cases where the locus in questions is discursively referential, similar to the role of *estar* in standard Castilian and Portuguese. For example, the forms *isó*, *ibiés*, *ibié*, *isomos*, *isoz*, *isón* will be utilised in instances where reference to the place has been previously activated, such as in the following environment: *¿ye lo vetiello en la extravilla? No, no ibié* ('Is the calf in the stable? No, it is not there') (Miral, 2005, p. 212). For the sake of comparison, let us juxtapose this interaction with some of the other Ibero-Romance varieties so far discussed: Portuguese (15.a.), Castilian (15.b.), Catalan (15.c.), and Aragonese (Cheso) (15.d.).

(15)

- A. PORT. Está o bezerro no estábulo? No, não está
- B. CAST. ¿Está el becerro en el establo? No, no está.
- C. CAT. Que hi ha el vedell a l'estable? No, no hi és.
- D. CHESO. ARAG. Ye lo vitiello en la extravilla? No, no ibié.

We can agree that in any case, the anaphoric reference of location is carried by the form of the verb in the answer, either *está*, *hi és* or *ibié*. It is also worth mentioning that the information, in this case, the question, is displayed in a presentational fashion, as opposed to a topicalised sentence or a prosodic question (cf. *El vedell, és a l'estable?* or *El vedell és a l'estable?* 'The calf, is it in the stable?' or 'The calf is in the stable?'). This is important and has theoretical implications since

the copula utilised in Catalan will depend on how the information is presented (cf. *Hi havia el president* and *El president, hi era*. ‘There was the president’ and ‘The president, he was there’) (See footnote 94 for a discussion of the difference between the two). Contrastively, in some varieties of Aragonese, such as in the Ansó valley, the copula remains the same (curiously (*e*)*star*), apparently impersonal, in presentational structures where the immediate difference is the lack of deictic value of the proform, as in the case of *Bi’stió casas que teneban muitos críos* (‘There were houses that had many children), and *Bi’staba ovellas y crabas en o mon* (‘There were sheep and goats, in the mountain.’) (Benítez, 1989, pp. 137-38; cited by Gille & Enguita Utrilla, 2022, p. 454). In the last chapter, we will explore the notion of the proform as both an anaphoric argument and an inflectional verbal feature.

Moreover, the presence of the proform, in Catalan and Aragonese at least, will depend on referential grounds⁹¹. The expressions of an abstract or a specific location, once exclusively established by the prototypical verb SUM in Latin, have been delegated to other verbal paradigms that could encompass those same expressions through their semantic content (e.g., possession with *haver* or aspectual temporality with *estar*) in a manner that allowed the expression of the spectrum of definiteness of a pivot to appear in the spectrum of definiteness of a place.

1.2.2.3 Summary

This section showed that the case of early Aragonese is very similar to early Castilian, due probably to their mutual influence through mediaeval times (see Enguita Utrilla & Arnal Purroy, 1993), with Castilian eventually taking over as the new lingua franca of the Peninsula. It was argued that eventive readings should be expressed in the same way as evidential ones, as we saw

⁹¹ The proform (*hi*) does not hold any explicit deictic value in existential constructions expressed with *haver* if they are existential and when accompanying a pivot with a strong quantifier, whilst non-verbal initial constructions with *ésser* (*ser*) will usually presuppose previous discourse referents, in the context of the present discussion, a location.

that *estar* played the same role as the combination *ser* + *hy* in those instances. In the case of locative cases, once more, it was demonstrated that modern Aragonese from El Cheso shows morphological evidence of an aspectual influence of the ancestor of the proform in Ibero-Romance, the Latin adverb *IBI* ('there'), which supports our theory that the bipartite copula system, *ser*, and *estar*, in modern standard Castilian and Portuguese was consolidated, in part, due to the disappearance of the proform from these languages.

2. Conclusions

In this chapter, we have presented some historical data from early Catalan and early Aragonese, where concepts presented in the previous chapter, such as evidential and eventive readings with *estar* have been expanded and linked together as a deictic occurrence in some other modern varieties of Ibero-Romance such as Castilian, not necessarily modern Catalan.

In the first section, we have demonstrated that *estar* as a copula was already present in early Catalan, which used to alternate with *ser* and the proform in EPs of location. We have also shown that some early examples of *estar* with weak pivots show that this copula was extended beyond the prescriptive norms we see in modern standard Catalan, which uses *haver-hi* in most cases of low definiteness.

In section two, we have reiterated from the last chapter that the proform, in combination with *ser*, allowed for several readings beyond generic existence that today are covered mainly by *estar* in V1 position. Evidence from the Aragonese variety from El Cheso in the forms of *estar* suggests (e.g., *isó = estoy*) support our theory that the disappearance of the proform is indirectly related to the incorporation of *estar* as a full copula into the grammar of Portuguese and Castilian.

All of the above supports the notion that weak pivots in EPs with *estar* in modern Castilian and Portuguese would be better classified as rhematic (i.e., focalised elements), as proposed by Francez (2007) rather than thematic as the copula, either *haber* or *estar*, will depend on contextual constraints through means of addressation (i.e., the setting) or delimitation (i.e., the coda). The concepts of addressation and delimitation would be an area of contiguous features between an existential and a locative reading. The concept of contrastive topicality and the relationship between the delimitation and address of an event will be further explored in the next chapter.

Chapter IV

Discussion and General Conclusions

In chapter two, we have delved into the origins of EPs in Castilian and Portuguese, examining the role of the Latin verb *SUM* in both ECs and LCs. In doing so, we have uncovered a range of techniques Latin employs to anchor transient presence and location in LCs, many of which have been observed in early Castilian and Portuguese. In particular, we have noted the extensive use of a proform, commonly *hy* in Castilian and *hi* in Portuguese, which can be traced back to its etymological roots in the Latin adverb *IBI*. This trend was widely prevalent during the formative stages of these two Ibero-Romance languages as they developed their copulae systems, which included the introduction of verbs like *estar* and *haber/haver*.

Our examination of the theoretical implications of ECs has led us to introduce the concept of stage topic or frame setter. In Ibero-Romance languages, ECs focalise the pivot using the contextual domain as the topic, and the contextual domain or locus may become the new topic. We have proposed that this phenomenon underlies the close relationship between so-called locatives and existentials.

In our analysis of the interaction between the proform and the verb *ser* in Castilian structures, we have found that *hy* + *ser* was in high competition with presentational constructions with *haber* + proform, *haber* by itself, or grammaticalised *hay* in the present tense. In contrast to Castilian, *hy* + *ser* in internal-clause position with weak pivots was virtually inexistent in early Portuguese. The proform maintained its deictic value, thus acting as an overt stage topic in ECs. In LCs, however, the role of the anaphoric proform differs in cases where the subject is the active topic of the sentence, and the locus is a reactivated element in the discourse. We have therefore presumed that the disappearance of the proform would have rendered any instances of *ser* useless

(e.g., *Ellos eran* ‘*They were’) in the final position unless accompanied by an adverbial complement, unlike the case for *estar*.

Our analysis of the verb *estar* has led us to propose that constructions often deemed inverse locatives are, in fact, existential constructions in which the stage topic is often recursive or reactivated, with the delimitation posed by the adverbial coda (i.e., in a specific place as new information). This finding is supported by early Portuguese, which behaved similarly to Castilian in using *estar* for presentational sentences to introduce a weak pivot. As evidence from the *Cantigas* shows, *estar* also coexisted with *ser* in LCs with an overt focalised locus. Despite the apparent similarities between structures comprised by the elements *estar* + pivot, they all represent different semantic readings (i.e., eventive, evidential, and enumerative). The latter has led us to propose three categories of ‘Presence Expression,’ that is, General Presence, Stage-level Presence, and Local Presence.

In chapter three, we explored the historical roots of the copula *estar* in early Catalan and Aragonese and its subsequent expansion and linkage with evidential and eventive readings in modern Ibero-Romance languages such as Castilian and Portuguese. Through our analysis of early Catalan, we have addressed the coexistence of *estar* with *ser* and the proform in EPs of location and the extension of *estar* beyond the prescriptive norms of modern standard Catalan. Additionally, our examination of Aragonese, precisely the variety from El Cheso, has provided evidence supporting our theory that the disappearance of the proform may be indirectly related to the incorporation of *estar* as a full copula into the grammar of Portuguese and Castilian.

We have also explored the various readings that *estar* can convey beyond generic existence, highlighting the role of the proform in combination with *ser* and the eventual replacement of the proform by *estar* in modern Ibero-Romance languages. This shift has significant implications for

classifying weak pivots in EPs with *estar*, which we argue are better classified as rhematic, focalised elements rather than thematic, copulative elements. In simpler terms, pivots are not subjects; they are predicates. The contextual constraints of addressation and delimitation are critical in determining whether *estar* or *haber* is used as the copula, making these concepts an area of contiguous features between General Presence, Stage-level presence, and Local Presence.

To conclude this study, section one of the present chapter will further address the role of the proform in the copular system of early Ibero-Romance; section two will explore the concept of addressation and delimitation, their positioning in the proposition and their semantic and pragmatic relevance in the readings of EPs. Finally, section three will establish some syntactic implications for the model for EPs presented in this study.

1. On the emptiness of the proform

In this study, we have often mentioned the historical presence of the deictic particle known as the proform in some Romance varieties. These particles often function as clitics and are derived from other historical adverbs or clitics that refer to a specific or broad place in space-time. They are a necessary element in existential constructions in many Romance varieties.

In the major Romance varieties of the West, these particles have either disappeared or become grammaticalised. For example, Portuguese no longer displays the presence of this syntactic element, while Castilian has grammaticalised it into the impersonal form of *haber* — *hay*. Also, there is no evidence that Romanian has ever displayed this syntactic element as part of its grammar. It is mostly Italo-Romance and Galo-Romance varieties where the proform is still present.

The origin of these particles in Italo-Romance, and possibly other Romance varieties, was to serve as a locative anchor to license definite pivots in presentational constructions, where

definiteness was a new overt grammatical marking in contrast to Latin. The structure PROFORM + COPULA + PIVOT would later become reanalysed in other existential constructions with indefinite pivots, with the proform as an obligatory element (Ciconte, 2011) (see chapter one, § 3.2). This process is relatively transparent through the historical foreshadowing of the proform previously discussed (see chapter two, §1.1.3), where the introduction of an adverbial or an adverb such as *ibī* was vital in the focalisation of a locus with SUM as demonstrated by data from Late Latin, Early Romance.

- (1) a. Non enim ego iam inferis, et tamen etiam ibi es,
 NEG because I already hell.ABL and however even there COP.2.SG.PRS
 nam descendero in infernum, ades
 for descend-1.SG.FUT.PRF in hell.ACC at-COP.2.SG.PRS
 ‘Because I am not yet in hell, though you are even there; for if I go down into hell, you are there’
 (St. Agustin. *Confessionum*. Liber Primus. 1.2.2. 4th century AD.)
- b. Monazontes [...] usque ad lucem ibi sunt et
 monks.NOM until to light.ACC there COP.3PL.pres and
 ymnos dicunt
 hymns.ACC. say-3PL.PRS
 ‘The monks stay there until dawn and sing hymns.’
 (*Peregrinatio Egeriae*. Pars Secunda. XXV-7. 4th century AD.)

Syntactically (see chapter one, § 1.1), it has been proposed that the proform is merely a phonological form generated at the PF (phonological form) stage from the inflectional node, which bears the feature [+LOC], much like an adverbial. According to this view, the proform is a surface manifestation of inflectional features and does not function as an argument (Freeze, 1992, pp. 569-70; Espinal & McNally, 2011, p. 121-25).

The insights provided by Freeze's theory, later reiterated by Espinal and McNally, have implications for our understanding of the proform's role in the syntax of various languages. This view supports the idea that the proform does not contribute to the sentence's argument structure but functions as a purely syntactic element that carries information related to location and anaphora.

The idea that the proform is a surface manifestation of inflectional features challenges the assumption that the proform is a distinct lexical item. Instead, it suggests that the proform is a product of the morphosyntactic processes that generate inflectional forms. In other words, dative and accusative clitics may sometimes be treated as object grammar morphemes that spell out grammatical features of internal arguments. The latter is remarkably true in the so-called non-locus referential proforms (NLRP). NLRPs are proforms that do not refer deictically to a physical location, for example, proforms in list readings (e.g., *A: On puc comprar un cotxe bonic i barat? B: Hi ha la Fiat*⁹²), where the proform serves as an anchor of topicality. In other words, the non-overt version of the question implies that there are many places to buy a car. It also implies one is wondering which one out of all those possibilities would be the best choice (i.e., *la Fiat és entre els llocs on pots trobar un cotxe bonic i barat*. 'The Fiat dealership is among the places where one may find a good and affordable car'). This is referred to as common knowledge or givenness in information structure (see Benatar & Clifton, 2014).

Regarding the supposedly empty proforms (i.e., proforms that in appearance do not possess any deictic or discourse-referential value beyond the function of marking 'existentiality'; cf. Ciconte, 2010), if we abide by the truism that 'Everything that is, is somewhere,' we might need

⁹² This is similar to a dialogue in English such as:

A: Where can I buy a nice cheap car?
B: There is the place on Centre Street

to start referring to these expressions as Presence Constructions rather than Existential or Locative in order to not restrict them to a specific structure or copula even though it is true that not all expressions of the proform point directly to a specific location previously mentioned in the discourse. In that sense, not all expressions of the proform are indeed deictive-locative; however, that does not mean that the proform may not be deictive-informational⁹³. Even in discourse-initial, sentence-initial, andthetic expressions, the proform will point at a situation where the pivot might be anchored. This is true discursively for virtually every language. One needs to ground the presence of the entity expressed somewhere in the awareness of the hearer. Even the universal expression ‘Once upon a time’ (It happened once during the infinite wide-scope of time), which is usually followed by ‘There was ...’, needs to be anchored at some point in time-existence (cf. Tusc: *C’era una volta*, Cat: *Hi havia una vegada*, Fr: *Il était une fois*, Occ: *Un còp i aviá*, Cast: *Había una vez (érase una vez)*).

In chapter two (§2.2.1), we explored the concept of the information status file-card model proposed by Heim (1982) and cited by Erteschik-Shir (1997). The model utilises the concept of cards to represent topics, including stage topics, linked to existing discourse referents. These

⁹³ Ciconte (2011) argues that early evidence of Tuscan suggests that the proform was already an empty element with no presuppositional value. The author gives as an example a passage from *La navigazione di San Brendano* (16th century): *E non v’era erba in niuno luogo* (‘And there was not any grass anywhere’), where the addition of the (unnecessary) locative clause seems redundant alongside the presence of the proform. Ciconte takes as the base of previous centuries some examples where there seems to be a type of complementary distribution where the proform would appear only when there was no explicit locative clause accompanying the expression (p. 38). However, and it is beyond our knowledge whether the author has addressed this issue in subsequent publications, the examples utilised are asymmetrical in terms of information structure. Whereas examples (a) and (c), which do not contain a proform are of thethetic type, sentence-initial; example (b) where the proform, clearly introduces a definite pivot, which implies a deictic-situational value to the proform. Thus, in the example mentioned above, the locative clause *in niuno luogo*, is rather optional and seems to serve a purpose of discursive clarification or emphasis; however, it is not necessary to make the sentence felicitous. *E non v’era erba* is both grammatical and pragmatically valid on itself assuming that the original place has been already mentioned, as it actually is: *Questa isola era tutta piena di pietre, e non v’era erba in niuno luogo*, (‘This island was all full of rocks, and there was not any grass anywhere’).

referents belong to the “common ground” of human knowledge or collective consciousness, which refers to the information shared between the speaker and the hearer.

According to the model, all existentials have stage topics, which raises questions about how to represent topics for expressions that lack a discourse-bound spatiotemporal location or the presupposition of a locus mundi. For example, what is the topic for expressions such as “Angels exist”?

The file-card model suggests the existence of three permanent cards that govern all meaningful communicative utterances, which signify a priori spatiotemporal arguments— the card for the speaker (first person), the card for the hearer (second person), and a card that represents the here-and-now of the discourse situation.

In cases where an explicit spatiotemporal setting is unavailable, such as “There is fear about the future,” this last card serves as the frame-setting topic. Consequently, the last card represents the topic for utterances that lack a discourse-bound spatiotemporal location or the presupposition of a locus mundi. Therefore, the proform would be an outer representation of the information status, and so-called empty proforms would serve a discourse-bound role to present and preserve new information as an inflectional feature.

Historically, it appears that the proform started as the anaphora of a locative argument that automatically becomes the head of a TopP, as we will explore in the next sections. However, one of the main hurdles when dealing with it in some Romance varieties is that this particle with deictic value is still highly productive in eastern Ibero-Romance varieties, as well as in Tuscan (Italian), French, and many other Italo-Romance and Gallo-Romance varieties (e.g., Catalan *Vas anar a l'església? No. No hi vaig anar.* ‘Did you go to church?’ No. I didn’t go (there)). In this manner, the proform may appear simultaneously as the anaphora of an argument

and as an inflectional particle with a role in the information status of an utterance, as previously discussed. It is this multifaceted nature of the proform, we argue, that tends to hinder any syntactic analysis that does not also incorporate a pragmatic framework that takes into account the information status of the expression.

2. Information Status

While information status and structure deal with how information is presented in language, information status focuses on whether the information is new or given. In contrast, information structure focuses on how information is structured within a sentence or utterance to convey emphasis, focus, and context.

Information status refers to whether a piece of information is new or given in discourse. It concerns how speakers signal to their listeners whether a particular piece of information is something the listener is already familiar with (given) or something new and unfamiliar (new). This distinction is important for effective communication, as it helps listeners understand the relationships between different pieces of information and follow the flow of the conversation. Information status is often divided into three main categories (1) Given Information, which is the information that the listener is already aware of or has been introduced earlier in the discourse. It is typically expressed using definite noun phrases or pronouns. (2) New Information, which is information that is introduced in the discourse. It often appears at the end of a sentence and is marked with indefinite noun phrases or other linguistic markers that signal novelty. For example, in the sentence "I saw the dog. It was sleeping," the second sentence introduces new information about the dog's activity. (3) Familiar (or Discourse Old) Information is information mentioned earlier in the discourse but not the immediate topic of conversation. It falls between given and new information and is usually signalled with pronouns or zero anaphora.

Conversely, information structure refers to how sentences or utterances are structured to highlight certain pieces of information and convey their importance or relevance in the discourse. It involves arranging linguistic elements (words, phrases, clauses) to convey a sentence's intended focus, contrast, or emphasis. Information structure includes several components. (1) Focus: A sentence's focus is the most important or new information being emphasised. It often appears at the end of the sentence or utterance. (2) Topic: The topic is the information that the sentence is about or provides context for the rest of the sentence. It is typically placed at the beginning of the sentence or in a prominent position. (3) Background provides additional information that is not central to the sentence's main point but helps clarify the context or provide extra details.

2.1 Types of Foci

In chapter two (§ 2.1.2.2), we saw that some of the most common sequences with the proform in Castilian are *ser + hy* and *hy + ser* in non-thetic position, with weak and strong quantifiers. (e.g., (11.b.) and (13.b.) reproduced here as (2.a.) and (2.b.)).

- (2) a. pusieron hy fitos que aun hy son
 place-3.PL.PRS there posts that still there COP.3.PL.PRS
 ‘And they placed boundary posts which are still there’
 (*Sentencia*. Documentos del Reino de Castilla. 1243. CORDE)
- b. Et ponemos que cantedes las eglesias que son hy
 And put-2.PL.PRS that sing-2.PL.PRS.SBJV the churches which COP.3.PL.PRS there
 ‘And we put forward that you celebrate mass for the congregations that are there’
 (*Documentos notariales*. El Monasterios de Oña [...]. España, 1274. CORDE)

Even though a quantitative analysis of Portuguese data is not available now, similar trends were observed. Of particular interest was the case of (24.b.) (reproduced here as (3)), where the EP in terms of modern copula selection is inconsequential for interpretation. ‘The best woman there was’ and ‘The best woman there’ are equivalent. In modern Castilian and Portuguese, the copula selection and sentence structure will depend on the type of pragmatic reading one wants to convey (e.g., evidential presence) (see chapter three, §1.1.2) and the desire for emphasis through the reactivation of previous elements in the discourse. *La mejor mujer que había/estaba (alli)* are all felicitous and grammatical possibilities with the appropriate context.

- (3) Nostro Senhor Deus! Que prol vos tem ora
 Our Lord God what benefit DAT.2.PL have-3.SG.PRS now
 por destróirdes este mund'assi?
 to destroy-2.PL.INF this world like this
 Que a melhor dona que era i,
 That the best woman that COP.3.SG.IPFV there
 nem houve nunca (vossa madre fora), levades end"?
 NEG have-3.SG.PFV never your mother out lift-2.PL.PRS thence.
 ‘Our Lord, God, what benefit do you get by destroying this world like this?
 For the best woman that was there, and not one like her ever existed
 (except for your mother), you take away?’
 (Pero da Ponte. Stanza 1, lines 1-5. 13th century. CMGP)

Both copulae may be employed due to the VP belonging to a relative clause, as previously discussed (see chapter two, §2.2.1.2). Some pivots in relative clauses do not need a specific temporal location; therefore, in Castilian and Portuguese, either *haver/haber* or *estar* may be used. This is especially true for generic readings that may take either copula, even with strong quantifiers, as long as the copula is part of an adjectival clause. The choice of copula depends on

the level of activation of the framer of the proposition. Framer clauses, such as adverbials and locative phrases, can provide a different interpretation based on their position. We have seen that the proform's pronominal and adverbial nature in early Castilian and early Portuguese allowed it to appear in either position.

In the case of the preverbal position of the proform in early versions, or the case of the modern version without a coda (e.g., *Era la única persona que había*, #‘She was the only person there was’), a simple reactivation of the topic or frame in information status should suffice.

Whereas in the case of the postverbal position, where the proform tends to function not as a clitic but as a tonic adverb, the modern version usually requires a coda in the form of an adverb or an adverbial phrase (e.g., *Era la única persona que estaba ahí*, ‘It was the only person (that was) there’).

The information status phenomenon happening here is rather complex. So far, in the previous chapters, we have been classifying these structures as locus-focalised entities, even though the locus has been previously identified as in *este mund’assi* in (3). There is no clear consensus on what type of constituent this is in terms of information structure and information status. This type of focus appears to blend into background-salient information, common-ground information, and part of the scope of new information. It may be referred to as reactivating focus (see Gussenhoven, 2008, for his taxonomy of foci in English), background focus, contrastive focus, or more likely as prosodic focus, or givenness-marking (Wagner, 2012, pp. 107-11).

It is precisely the reason why in this position, it tends to be felicitous to resort to prosodic-discourse givenness or a background focus —When the uniqueness of the definite NP cannot be determined, a contrasting prosodic element needs to be established in the relative clause, as in the case of ‘The woman that was there.’ In other words, “ [...]for the purposes of prosodic

givenness-marking, it is not sufficient that something is true and part of the common ground in order for it to count as given” (Wagner, pp. 108-10). It also needs to be discourse salient.

Consider the following examples.

(4) I was late for work because I forgot to do laundry the night before. My closet was almost empty, ...

- a. And THE ONLY BLOUSE there was HADN'T BEEN IRONED.
- b. #And the only blouse THAT WAS THERE hadn't been ironed.

(5) I was late for work because I forgot to do laundry the night before. Most of my blouses were dirty. I went through my closet, ...

- a. And the only blouse THAT WAS THERE hadn't been ironed.
- b. #And THE ONLY BLOUSE there was HADN'T BEEN IRONED.

The reason why (4.b.) and (5.b.) are not felicitous within their given contexts is that the saliency of the elements of the focus domain is not relevant; in other words, not all elements within the scope of the focus have the same saliency. In the case of EPs, this is more evident when the common ground is insufficient regarding reference. Consider the following examples in Castilian.

- (6) a. **Los hombres hay ahí* ('The men there are there')
- b. #*Los hombres que hay/están ahí* ('The men who are there')
- c. *Los hombres están ahí* ('The men are there')

- d. **Los hombres hay* ('The men there are')
- e. *#Los hombres están* ('The men are there')

In the examples above, (6.c.) is the only true locative where the information status of *Los hombres* is evident by a form of common knowledge, either as part of the context set or the discourse set (see Wagner, pp. 110-11) regardless of their information structure. That is, it may be the answer to any type of background question that requires either a presentation-focus 'What is happening?' or a predicate-focus 'Where are the men?' For this reason, it is essential not to conflate the types of common ground. Similarly, (6.b.) and (6.e.) would only be felicitous as a product of discourse relevance in the appropriate context. We can observe this phenomenon in the following passage, presented initially as (22) in chapter two and reproduced here as (7).

- (7) quando alguno se agrauiare de otro que pusiere colmenas
 when someone REF.3.SG wrong-3.SG.FUT. SBJV of another who put-3.SG.FUT. SBJV beehives
 cerca de su majada a menos de legua o en otro lugar onde non deuíe
 near of his fold to less than league or in another place where NEG should-3.SG.IPFV
 o posare lo que nuestro ordenamiento dize, que los nuestros
 or place-3.SG.FUT. SBJV PRO.N which ours law say-3.SG.PRS that the our
 alcaldes, por partir pleyto, vayan luego allá a vello a costa del rebelde.
 deputies to stop-INF quarrel go-3.PL.PRS.SBJV later there to see it at expense of the transgressor
 E sy fallaren que an de estar e que guardó el que
 and if find-3.PL.FUT. SBJV that have-3.PL.PRS of COP.INF and that keep-3.SG.PFV the who
 puso las colmenas lo que dize el nuestro ordenamiento [...]
 put-3.SG.PFV the beehives NOM.N which say-3.SG.PRS the our law

'If someone were wronged by another who put beehives near his fold, less than one league away, or somewhere else where it is forbidden to lay them down according to what our laws dictate, let our deputies go there to stop and to witness the quarrel at the transgressor's expense. And if they found that they (the beehives) are there and that the person who put the beehives kept what is dictated in our laws.' (*Documentación Medieval de la Iglesia Catedral de León*. P. 17. 1419-1426. CORDE)

The adverb *allá* in the phrase *vayan luego allá* is a clear example of a salient prosodic feature that contrasts all the previous directions previously mentioned and simultaneously reactivates the locus in the discourse domain as part of a focused structure. Contrast this with the role of *estar* as in the phrase *que an de estar*. In the latter, the place is not prosodically salient, yet it is still informationally active that its givenness may be encoded in the lexical value of the verb *estar* (cf. **E sy fallaren que an de haber*).

2.2 The Recursiveness of the Topic

In the same way that a focal prosodic element may be integrated into the background reference, it is no surprise that a topical element such as frame setters are an intricate part of posterior discourse developments as part of a contextual common ground.

As discussed in chapter two (§2.1.1.1), the sequence *ser + hy* at the beginning of a sentence is infrequently used in early Castilian texts. This pattern extends beyond the *Cantar de Mio Cid* and is observed in other discourse traditions from the 13th and 14th centuries. This finding aligns with stage topics, which serve different functions depending on their position in a sentence.

When used in sentence-initial position (i.e., sentence focus), stage topics establish the setting of the proposition, whilst, in sentence-internal or sentence-final position (i.e., predicate focus), they modify the state of affairs expressed by the verb. This differentiation is described by Krifka (2008b) as the functions of “addressation” and “delimitation,” respectively. The former directs the listener’s attention to the initial part of the sentence or discourse, emphasising a subject’s presence. In contrast, the latter highlights the boundaries or scope of the information presented, focusing on the subject’s habitational nature and demarcations of existence or livelihood. This phenomenon is also known as a contrastive topic, and it may give us further insight into the

relationship between existence and location in EPs. Consider the following context where the active topic is underlined and then picked up or inferred in the following sentence.

(8) Lucas went to The Bahamas. *There* was a lot of traffic on their way to the hotel.

When they finally arrived (at the hotel), they found nobody to help them at the front desk. After waiting for almost thirty minutes (at the front desk), they peeked over the counter, and what did they see? *There* was the hotel manager sleeping on the floor!

The phenomenon in the passage above is possible due to what Krifka (2008b) calls “recursive addressing”; a new referent may become a new topic indefinitely. In the case of existential readings, the material in the coda may potentially become the new address or setting (e.g., (En ese momento) *Estaba un pajarillo en el balcón, pero al poco rato se fue* ‘(At that moment) There was a bird on the balcony, but soon after it left’). In the case of locative readings, it will be the locus (e.g., *Los músicos estaban lejos del teatro a pesar de que había varias personas esperando* ‘The musicians were far from the theatre despite there being several people waiting). Additional empirical studies could further investigate a potential universal principle for languages beyond Romance and English.

MODEL FOR GENERAL AND STAGE-LEVEL PRESENCE

Stage-TOP [Addressation] FOC [(COPULA) (PIVOT) CODA [Delimitation]]
[Delimitation] → New [Addressation] (Recursiveness of the Topic)

MODEL FOR LOCAL PRESENCE

TOP [Subject] FOC [Locus]
FOC [Locus] → New [Addressation] (Recursiveness of the Topic)

Remember that, as mentioned previously (see chapter two, § 2.1.1.1), the framing role of the topic will modify the state of affairs of the whole proposition in sentence-initial position or the VP in sentence-internal position. However, a similar case could be made for the contrast between existence and location, where the frame-setting locus of EPs expressingthetic presence dominates the entire proposition, as opposed to the categorical judgement defined by the new locus in focus position, which only governs the VP, similar to Japanese particles *wa* and *ga* (see Kuroda, 2005). Regarding information status, if the entailment of the definite pivot is considered (i.e., ‘the musicians’ entails that a set of musicians exist), one could say that the focus serves as a contrastive topic in a context where subsequent discourse permits it.

It is essential to mention that the above models only consider information structure, not information status. As previously discussed, non-prominent background elements may be part of the focus domain, which does not disqualify them from counting as expressions communicating presence. And vice versa, prominent background elements such as definite pivots with strong quantifiers not part of the focus domain may only be anchored through *estar* in locative expressions. This is because, unlike *haber/haver*, *estar*, in Castilian and Portuguese, may encode discursive common ground in personal and impersonal expressions, preverbal and postverbal positions, full sentences, dependent clauses, et cetera.

The mobility of the proform as an adverbial element is what gives the proform its multifaceted nature as setter derived from a delimitator, which allowed it to play the role of 1) quirky subject⁹⁴ (e.g., *Hi havia dues persones (al carrer)*. ‘There were two people (on the street)’), 2) anaphoric adverb (e.g., *Non ci sono mai stato*. ‘I have never been there’), and 3)

⁹⁴ We are not claiming that the proform in this case is a quirky subject in itself, but rather a surface expression of the subject as a silent argument anchored as the topic, a type of psychological imprint of the theme of the discourse in information status.

inflectional particle in eventive readings (e.g., *Il y a le téléphone qui sonne*. Lit. ‘There is the phone ringing.’)⁹⁵.

3. Further theoretical implications of *estar* in EPs

In chapter three (§1.2.2.2), we discussed the purported equivalence of *estar* and *ser* + *y* in some constructions and how that is reflected in some of the Aragonese data from the Chistavino region. We also discussed that in standard Catalan, *haver-hi* might focalise definite pivots with strong quantifiers (e.g., *hi havia el president*) but not loci (e.g., **el president hi havia a la festa*), which requires *ser*.

In the case of Castilian and Portuguese, *ser* can also encode location only when it is grounded by the subject as an abstract entity, and the predicate/topic is overt, as in the sentence *La ceremonia de graduación es en ese edificio* (‘The graduation ceremony is in that building’). However, when the topic is covert, it fails to ground the pivot as in the following possible exchange:

(9) ¿Qué pasa en ese edificio? (‘What is happening in that building?’)

#Es la ceremonia de graduación/ Está la ceremonia de graduación (There’s the graduation ceremony)

⁹⁵ Espinal and McNally (2011, p. 121-25) mentioned that the proform may not perform the role of quirky subject because it may be accompanied by a sentential negative particle unlike the case of true subjects which may not be accompanied by such elements. They give the example of “*Al hotel, no hi ha la piscina*” (‘At the hotel, there is not a swimming pool’). However, the authors are conflating two different surface cases of the proform. The case they mention, the proform is a reiteration of an active argument in information structure, possibly a contrastive topic, a fronted or reactivated focus. In those cases, the proform does not perform the role of quirky subject due to the co-indexation of the locative argument in information structure. In other words, “*hi ha piscina*” is not equivalent to “*hi havia el president*,” in which the proform is truly an inflectional feature of the verb that relies in information status. This notion can be tested through the fact that the hypothetical case of #*A la festa, no hi havia el president* is not felicitous. One would need to say in Catalan: *El president no hi era, a la festa*. Also consider the example *Hi ha el garatge al maitex edifici* (p.123), which should render in a negative version: *El garatge NO es al maitex edifici* (cf. **No hi ha el garatge al maitex edifici*). Similarly, Castilian may not employ *haber* (cf. **No había el presidente*). Instead, Castilian needs to rely on the verb *estar*, as in *En la fiesta, estaba el presidente*. Nonetheless, the case of negation sentences may indeed be a prolific soil where some of the proposals regarding evidentiality and the verb *estar* proposed in this study may be tested in future studies (cf. the case of #*No está un libro sobre la mesa* ‘There is not a book over the table.’).

On the other hand, Catalan requires the copula to surface as *haver-hi* in a presentational sentence, as it contains the accusative case property to focalise DPs (e.g., *Que hi ha el vedell?*), unlike the Alguerese variety⁹⁶, which only will allow these types of constructions with *ésser* (e.g., *Hi era el vedell a l'estable*) (cf. the locative reading *El vedell era a l'estable*) (Rigau, 1999, p. 408). In standard Catalan, the presuppositional expression without overt location requires the proform to accompany the verb *ser* (e.g., *No hi es el vedell, (a l'estable)*). (see chapter three, §1.2.2.2). Nonetheless, in the *Calaix de Sastre*, one can find instances of referential expressions without an overt postverbal locus, probably due to the subordinate nature of the AP to qualify the unknown entity, as discussed previously in this chapter (§2.1).

- (10) Per aquestos temps se féu, no sé de cert si en lo any 64 o 65,
 for these times REF. make-3.SG.PRF NEG know-1.SG.PRS of certain if in the year 64 or 65
 la campana nomenada Nona de la cathedral, per haverse trencada la que hi havia
 the bell called Nona of the cathedral for have-REF broken the which there COP.IPFV
 ‘Around this time, I do not know exactly whether it was in the year 64 or 65, the bell called Nona was
 made at the Cathedral since the one that was there had broken [...]’.
 (Calaix de Sastre, p. 1766. CICA)

What the case of Alguerese Catalan and the example from the *Calaix de Sastre* show is that the crucial aspect of these EPs is not semantically grounded on the lexical content of *ésser* or *haver*, and their equivalents in other varieties but on the capacity to anchor the pivot and location, which for this case, the presence of the proform is crucial to individualise it. This is especially true for all the Western varieties of Romance, such as Catalan, Aragonese, Occitan,

⁹⁶ Aguerese or Algherese is a variety of Catalan spoken in the city of Alghero in the northwestern part of Sardinia. There are currently about seven to eight-thousand native speakers of Algherese.

French, Tuscan, etc., that do not operate with the verb *estar* in cases where information status prevents the anchoring of the location from taking place overtly⁹⁷.

Expressing existence without at least a tacit reference to a situation is practically impossible. Based on communicative grounds, the reference to the presence of an entity of any type, in terms of animacy, seems to depend on the awareness of the space of the hearer. Weak pivots do not make strong subjects unless the visual constraint is fulfilled (see the references to Beaver et al., 2005 and Breivik, 1981 in chapter one); that is, unless everyone concerned in the presence of the entity is visually engaged in a spatial awareness of such presence (e.g., the position of many different objects within a painting). In such a case, a phrase such as *Un llibre de comptes és sobre la taula* ('An account book is on the table') (cf. *Hi ha un llibre de comptes sobre la taula*), which sounds rather odd, may, be felicitous (Breivik, p. 12), which may reflect an evidential reading as previously argued.

3.1 Formal implications

Throughout this study, we have mentioned that in specific contexts, the verb *estar* replaced the functions of both locator and location, which may have contributed to the decline in using the proform for this specific grammatical purpose. Although the proform and *estar* coexisted at a transitional point in Castilian and Portuguese, the proform was no longer essential in the Castilian and Portuguese copula system, as *estar* could convey the presuppositional value of a spatiotemporal frame (see chapter two, §2.1.2.2).

In modern Castilian, the presence of *estar* obviates the need for any adverbial clitic in a sentence, as it already lexically includes the stage topic. The pragmatic feature of the stage topic

⁹⁷ Compare the following cases. Tuscan: (A) *Cosa succede in quell edificio?* (B) *C'è la cerimonia di laurea*, Catalan: (A) *Que passa en aquell edifici?* (B) *Hi és la cerimònia de graduació*, and Aragonese: (A) *Que pasa en ixe edificio* (B) *Ibié la cerimonia de graduación*.

can be equated with the semantic feature [+LOC], also known as [+NEXUS], which refers to a presupposed locus or situation. In the past, the proform fulfilled this feature with *ser* to license definite pivots. Therefore, we have proposed that in Castilian, as the use of the proform declined, the feature of [+LOC] was absorbed by *estar*, as observed in all stage-level EPs, which contain the feature of temporal or incidental existence. This argument is supported by our data and by the works of Maienborn (2004, p.167-68) and Zagana (2012) (see chapter two, §2.1.2.2).

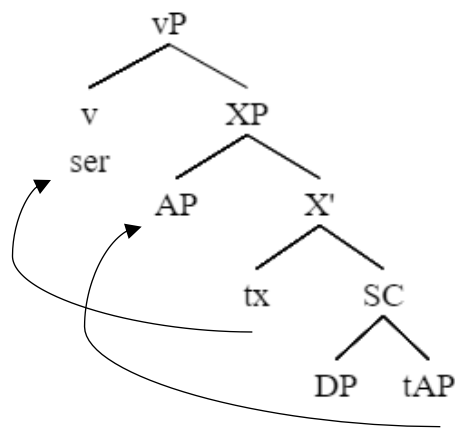
Similar to Maienborn (2005) and the Nexus Element (Clements, 1988), the semantic and syntactic justifications in Gallego & Uriagereka (2016) are theoretically formal; for that reason, we will try to simplify the technicalities of the approach as follows.

- I. The approach by Gallego and Uriagereka (2016) is focused mainly on the divergences and distribution of *ser* and *estar* with APs as the predicate in Castilian.
- II. They propose that the difference in copula selection does not depend on lexical grounds derived by the AP⁹⁸ but on a functional element labelled “X.”
- III. The element labelled “X” has to do with aspectual context, that is, on the telicity of the action based on the context of the utterance, and it is believed to be of a prepositional nature. In other words, it provides the scope of the proposition (e.g., TO BE something within a specific situation.
- IV. The authors correlate stage-level, perfective aspect, and athetic (semantic) reading for the copula *estar*; and individual-level, imperfective (undefined) aspect and a categorical (semantic) reading for the copula *ser*.

⁹⁸ This means that the selection of the copula does not depend on what the adjective is as there are many adjectives that may combine with either copula, which would imply a double entry in the lexicon.

- V. The element “X” is part of an XP within the vP (voice P) internal configuration. If the X element is incorporated into the derivation, this licenses *estar* to be derived from *ser*, and the predicate moves to [Spec, XP] in l-syntax in the following fashion (p. 134).

(11)



This view includes a basic structure of copular sentences à la Moro, as presented in chapter one (§1.1), where there is a small clause containing both subject and predicate, tense and aspect will later be incorporated depending on the presence of “X” (Eventive Context) in which *ser* will yield *estar* instead. Even though our view slightly differs in the application of the small clause model, as we will show in the following subsection, the semantic aspects of Gallego & Uriagereka’s model appear to elegantly convey the relationship between both copulae and explains how context plays an important role in the selection of the copula.

Based on our data for the case of EPs, we will argue the selection of the copula will depend mainly on an adjunct PP, which will provide the eventive aspect and not on the quality of the AP. For example, as an answer to the question *¿Quién es el cantante en televisión?* (‘Who is that

person?’), one can reply: *Es Bocelli en el Coliseo* (‘It’s Bocelli at the Colosseum’), where the focus domain is the DP and its modifier. However, when the focus domain includes the situational aspect (e.g., What’s on TV right now?), one needs to use *estar*: *Está Bocelli en el Coliseo (en television, en este momento)* (‘There’s Bocelli at the Colosseum (on TV, at this moment)’).

This is, of course, a formal projection of a pragmatic phenomenon; however, it does an excellent job of capturing the semantic implications of the scope of the predicate on the subject and displaying it in a syntactic configuration. Logically, this proposal implies a predicate context variable c-commanding the subject context variable, which is why it may be applied to APs with *ser* and *estar* and EPs.

(12)

$$\exists e [\exists x [\text{simpático}(e, x) \ \& \ Y(e) \ \textbf{[hombre}(x) \ \& \ X(x)]]]$$

El hombre está simpático (‘The man is nice’)

This means that the variable that grounds the subject (x) is dominated by the primary predicate context variable $Y(e)$, which confines the subject to the contextual attributes of the main predicate. In other words, the man may only be nice within the parametric situation previously established (e.g., in the mornings, when wearing specific clothes, etc.).

Maienborn (2005, pp. 168-69) expresses a similar idea logically for each copula, where a referential argument (z) denoting a state is characterised by a property predicate (P) applied to the individual (x), which would be the default set of *ser*. However, “[e]star carries the additional presupposition that the referential argument z is related (via a free variable R) to a specific discourse situation S_i ”:

(13)

a. *ser*: $\lambda P \lambda x \lambda z [z \sqsubset [P(x)]]$ (= English *be*, German *sein*, etc.)b. *estar*: $\lambda P \lambda x \lambda z [z \sqsubset [P(x)] / [\mathbf{si} \mid \mathbf{R}(z, \mathbf{si})]]$

Similar to Gallego and Uriagereka, Maienborn (2005) deals primarily with the phenomenon of APs as complements of these copulae. The semantic configuration is relevant to the treatment of locatives by reading the referential argument (*z*) as a locus within the situational set related through the free variable (*R*) to the subject (*x*) and by removing the predicate (*P*). What this approach implies, in part, is that *estar* in locative sentences would generally not be treated as a copula⁹⁹.

On the other hand, the model by Gallego & Uriagereka (2016) does consider the situation of PPs characterised as an attribute, introduced by a preposition such as *la sortija es de oro* ('the ring has gold') (p. 148). In the case of locative attributes, it is of utmost importance to acknowledge the fact that though possible in other Romance languages (e.g., Catalan, French, or Italian), Castilian usually will not take *ser* with locative complements, as if it were a standing property; especially if we consider that locations tend to convey a perpetual standing nature (e.g., *Los Alpes están en Europa*. 'The Alps are in Europe'), which are not likely to change position.

In some cases, even geographical locations can shift within an abstract geographical location with political boundaries (e.g., Scotland, The Statue of Liberty, etc.); *estar* is the only copula permitted. Furthermore, there are cases in Castilian where *ser* is the only copula allowed for physical locations (e.g., *La ceremonia es en el palacio*, 'The ceremony is in the palace,' or *La*

⁹⁹ This is the problem Maienborn (2005) finds when attempting to collate certain adjectives associated with a physical locus and that seem to combine exclusively with *estar*, such as "*presente, ausente* and *lejo* [sic]" (p. 173). These adjectives do not convey a property (*P*), but a position within a referential context.

entrada es por allá ‘The entrance is around there’). Also, both *ser* and *estar* may appear with similar prepositional phrases (e.g., *Estar en México y ser de México* ‘To be in and to be from Mexico; and *Ser doctor y Estar de doctor* ‘To be a doctor and to act temporarily as a doctor’). The selection of the verb, in this case, will have to do with “an [often] abstract component of the structures they participate in.” (p. 149).

Even though any major theoretical argumentations go beyond the scope of this study, as we have observed, copula selection may have to do rather with the context and environment of the utterance where phrases such as *La cocina es (por) allá* and *La cocina está (por) allá* (‘*The kitchen is there*’) depends on any other information previously activated in the discourse. For example, consider the following contextual scenarios.

- (i) A. Estoy buscando al chef y me dijeron que por aquí le puedo encontrar
(‘I am looking for the chef and they told me I can find her here.’)
B. *Sí, claro. La cocina es por allá* (‘Yes, of course. The kitchen is over there’)
C. *#Sí, claro. La cocina está por allá* (‘Yes, of course. The kitchen is over there’)
- (ii) A. *(En esta casa) Por aquí se encuentra la sala. Por acá el comedor. Y la cocina está allá.* (‘(In this house) Here is the living room. Here is the dining room. And the kitchen is over there’).
B. *# (En esta casa) Por aquí se encuentra la sala. Por acá el comedor. Y la cocina es por allá.* (‘(In this house) Here is the living room. Here is the dining room. And the kitchen is over there’).

In the first case, the kitchen is semantically glued to the concept of chef, and there is no alternate context nor a need to individuate the kitchen as a place. This contrasts with the second example, where a series of contextual environments (e.g., the house as a whole, the other rooms, and the kitchen itself) requires a presupposition. The latter gives *estar* its compound essence, distinct from *ser*, that permeates into the internal structure from the pragmatics of context.

3.2 The syntax of presentational EPs with *estar*

According to Cruschina (2012), who subscribes to Moro's (1997) model on the raising of predicates, certain sentences (e.g., *C'è Gianni in giardino*) are classified as eventives. However, we argue that genuine eventives do not place the coda under a modifier in the same way as enumerative readings, as we will show in this section.

Cruschina's (2012) categorisation of certain sentences as eventives raises the question of the definition of eventives in the context of syntax. While Moro's (1997) model of the raising of predicates provides a framework for understanding the syntactic structures of such sentences, the question remains whether all sentences classified as eventives by Cruschina (2012) conform to this framework.

We propose that true eventives do not locate the coda under an NP modifier in the same manner as enumerative readings. Instead, they place it as an adjunct to the VP. In simple terms, the coda may modify the pivot or the copula. This approach is consistent with the model proposed by Francez (2007), who argues that the dislocation of a complement is not limited to the domain of information structure. This view is further supported by Villalba's (2013) investigation, which demonstrates that this structure is characteristic of eventive sentences in Romance languages.

The model we propose, which takes into account information structure and information status, accounts for so-called inverse locatives (presentational structures with *estar*), eventive EPs, as well as EPs consisting of NPs within dependent adjectival clauses, which solves some previous conundrums (cf. Leonetti, 2008; and Cruschina, 2012 for the case of *C'è Michelangelo in Piazza della Signoria*).

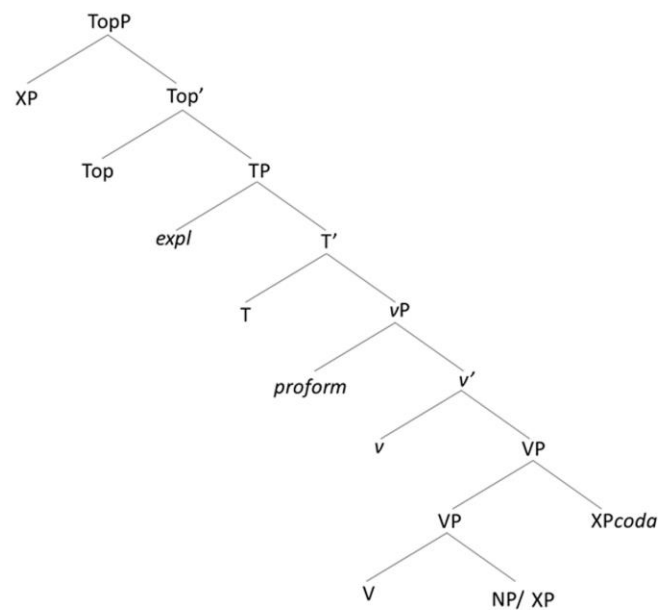


Fig. 4.1 Syntactic Model for Expressions of Presence (EPs)

This model represents a significant departure from previous approaches, which have traditionally viewed the proform solely as an extension of the predicate. However, our analysis demonstrates that proforms can transition seamlessly between discourse-based anaphora contexts (see Wagner, 2012) and at the same time as inflectional features. This sheds light on the elusive nature of empty proforms and the recursive nature of the topic, allowing for a more nuanced

understanding of these complex linguistic phenomena. Through this model, we can more effectively capture the intricacies of proform usage and achieve a deeper understanding of the syntax-pragmatics interface where, historically, the proform served as a frame setter derived from active information in the discourse from a locative origin in the coda position.

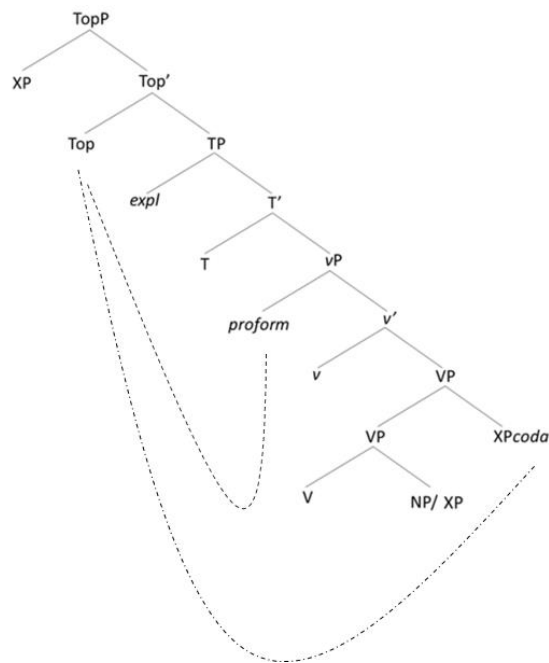
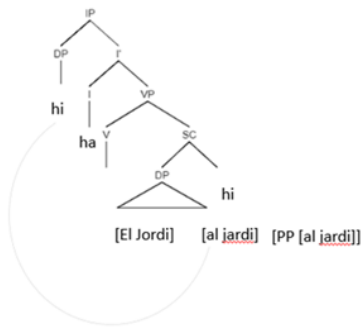


Fig. 4.2 The Historical Journey of the Proform

Figure 4.3 exemplifies the case of a copula accompanied by the proform, in this case, Catalan, which is one of the few Ibero-Romance varieties that retains it. This model explains the previously discussed double nature of the proform, which traces its origin in the external

argument of the coda, which may serve as a topic setter (e.g., (*al jardí*), *hi era el Jordi*), but that also may surface as an inflectional feature (e.g., *hi havia el Jordi, al jardí*).

MORO, 1997 & CRUSCHINA, 2012



Based on Francez (2007) and Villalba (2013)

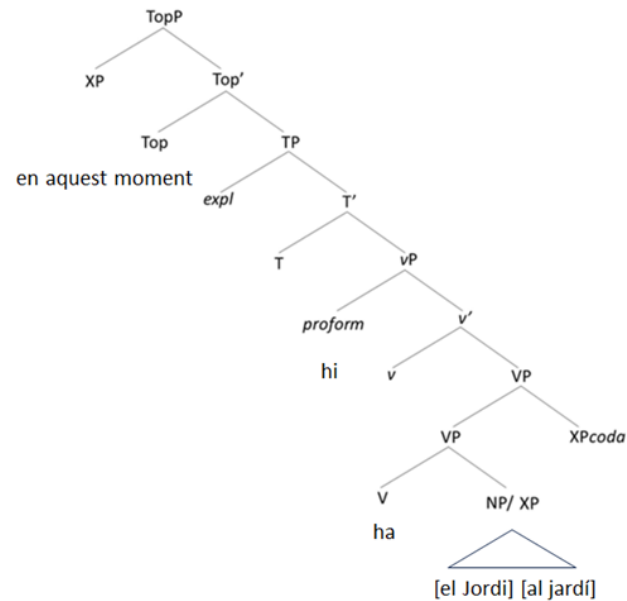


Fig. 4.3 Model Comparison for EPs

A similar process happens with *estar*, which gets triggered in EPs by the presence of a stage-level modifier within the modifier node of the VP, which can be in the form of an AP (e.g., [*está*] *un coche estacionado*. ‘[there’s] a parked car’), a VP (e.g., [*está*] *el perro durmiendo*. ‘There’s the dog sleeping’); or as a delimitator from a set of options, in the form of a PP (e.g., *Il David in piazza della signoria*. ‘The David in Piazza della Signoria.’ As opposed to the one in the Galleria dell’Accademia). Notice that all the above sentences are an answer to a question analogous to ‘What is happening right now?’ This is in full contrast to phrases where the subject is also clearly

the topic, as in *El niño está durmiendo* ('Where is the child? The child is sleeping'), or *El David está en la Galleria dell'Accademia* ('Where is the original statue of The David? It's in the Galleria dell'Accademia'). It is also important to point out that in Fig. 4.3 example, the sentence may include both a modifier and a coda as in *Está Jorge comiendo en el jardín* ('There's George eating, in the Garden'), which means, the garden becomes a possible new topic and therefore a new frame setter due to the nature of its recursiveness.

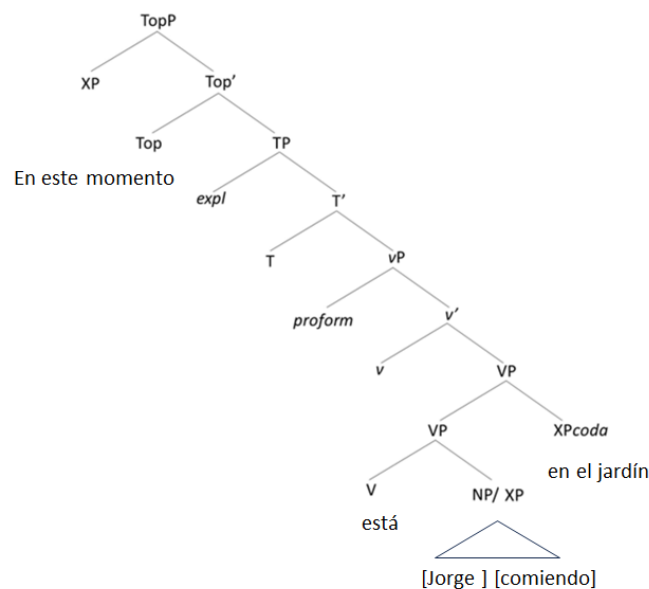


Fig. 4.4 Model for EPs with *estar*

As previously discussed, we argue that the reason why *estar* gets triggered in these types of clauses is due to the lack of conveyance of temporality in copulae such as *ser* or *haber/haver* (See Zagona, 2012), which can be accompanied by the proform in languages such as Catalan, Tuscan, and French, which, as inflectional particles, may encapsulate the temporality of the topic in information status. The detailed internal process of copula selection is, at this point, beyond

the scope of this study, and it may be further explored in future research. However, some tentative explanations have been discussed in the previous section. It appears that there is a process where the modifier of the pivot and the presence of a delimiting coda trigger the selection of *estar* for a stage-level reading or *haber/haver* for general/absolute presence. The notion of the limitation of the universe of the coda set was discussed in chapter one under Zucchi's (1995) approach to the semantic analysis of the permissible quantifiers in existentials. As shown, the key answer appears in the presence of the coda (or limiting environment) and what is considered one. Accordingly, in this study, we have shown that in many varieties of Romance, and more specifically in Ibero-Romance varieties, the historical decline of the proform in Western varieties has left invaluable linguistic remnants and clues to the deciphering of how humanity tends to use language to express presence.

4. General Conclusions

4.1 Post hoc hypotheses

Following an exhaustive qualitative examination of historical and contemporary data, accompanied by incisive analysis and explication of select data points within the present chapter, certain post-research hypotheses emerge, warranting future meticulous inquiry and research for their corroboration.

1. *Estar* carries the properties of both temporary space and telicity (aspect). *Ser* only carries temporary space. Space needs to be implied, understood, or salient.
2. In English, 'There' probably functions as an expletive in syntax, a proform in information status, and an anaphoric argument in syntax/information structure. 'My Father was always there for me'. There was always my father (to help me) (cf. Francez, 2007, pp.12-13).

Recalling chapter one, Kuroda originally positioned the prepositional phrase at the outset, with the residual ‘There’ leaving an indelible trace at the end of the sentence. This structural configuration resonates with Brentano's postulation, wherein the thetic sentences occupied the initial terrain, epitomised by the proposition: "Somewhere is someone or something – that something or someone is somewhere." Within this proposition, the seeds of the definiteness effect germinate conspicuously. This phenomenon finds illustration in the context of the definite phrase ‘The Pope,’ where the Pope already assumes the guise of a thetic expression. Uttering “There is the Pope” would be deemed superfluous unless ‘There’ references an alternate set of attributes. Thus, the sentence “The Pope is in the Vatican” should be construed as an embodiment of semantic expression within second-order logic. This, in turn, compels us to posit the hypothesis that expressions of an eventive nature (e.g., 'There is the Pope') inhabit the domain of a third-order logic. In this premise, an entity is ensconced within a spatial, temporal, or contextual enclosure, where another array of attributes circumscribes the context itself. This paradigm attests to the coexistence of a juncture encompassing the entirety, where the entirety finds its locus. We posit that this framework aligns with a form of third-order logic because it permits the quantification over properties not solely of sets of entities but also properties of properties tethered to these sets.

3. In some varieties of Ibero-Romance throughout history, the above expression level (i.e., eventive or circumstantial) has been supplemented by the copula *estar* when the proform disappeared from their grammar.
4. In the English sentence ‘#There is the man in the garden,’ ‘There’ functions as a proform despite it not being a clitic. However, the ‘There’ anaphoric nature may change and be

reflected by discourse intonation constraints. For example, ‘THERE is the man, in the garden.’

‘There’s the man in the garden’ (“weak there” per Jespersen) is temporal and does not refer discursively. Also, ‘garden’ is part of the focus domain, not the topic. Particles like ‘There’ in some constructions function as both expletives and proforms of a cataphoric nature (i.e., a deictic that anticipates reference). As chapter one mentions, the proximity or immediacy of the location to the utterance is vital to interpreting a proposition. This phenomenon has caused some authors, such as Breivik (1981), as well as Jespersen, to refer to these as two types of *There*: one that has been phonetically deaccented and is semantically empty and another that still retains its anaphoric and lexical value.

Paraphrasing from chapter one, certain scholars have espoused the idea that the pivot's properties align with those indicative of presupposition (Abbott 1992, 1993; Prince 1992; Ward & Birner 1995). Within this academic cohort, Ward and Birner, drawing inspiration from Prince's conception of 'hearer-new information,' have postulated the existence of specific instances wherein robust determiners garner permissibility and contextual felicity within existential constructions. This permissibility, they posit, unveils its coherence within the broader tapestry of contextual discourse, thereby facilitating a comprehensive grasp of the information status pertaining to the referents. Their taxonomy of five discrete contextual constellations converges with an alternative formulation akin to the topic/focus proposition we have offered in this last chapter.

5. A stage Topic and a reactivated focus are the same in information status; only their positions vary. A stage topic is preverbal – PROF. + COP, whilst a reactivated focus is

postverbal – COP. + PROF. The verb *estar* supplemented both in some varieties of Ibero-Romance throughout history.

6. Regarding the evolution of the proform, in presentational structures in initial positions, the proform was redundant in terms of information status (something to do with givenness) – PROF. + COP (e.g., *y ha/ y esta*). However, when the proform was in the middle or final position, *estar* supplied the former ('*estar* somewhere') and a full adverb, the latter ('*estar/ser* there/here').
7. Based on our diachronic qualitative analysis, it is possible that *estar* was integrated in EPs in some varieties of Ibero-Romance such as Castilian and Portuguese, in the following order: PROF. + COP [V2] (Copulative) PROF. + COP [V3] (Locative/Anaphoric) > PROF. + COP [V1] (Existential/Eventive).
8. 'There' and other proforms in Romance move between expletive/proform (anaphora)/full adverb (reference) (e.g., 'There lived a man, in a forest in the middle of...'). Proforms move between grammaticalised elements (expletives/clitics) and full syntactic arguments in modern varieties of Romance such as Catalan, French, and Tuscan (see Hopper & Traugott, 1993, pp.124-26).
9. Expressing presence in natural language must begin with athetic statement that requires a signal in the form of predication, specification, or identification (e.g., 'God is,' 'A book,' 'The Pope.'). where an individual with the properties of *x* happens to be. Then, the space/stage becomes the non-nominative subject, which simultaneously encompasses a certain degree of givenness and activation in information status (e.g., 'There are aliens,' 'There are angels,' 'There are some people who ...,' 'There are elephants (somewhere on earth),' 'There are five books (somewhere previously mentioned),' 'There is the wedding

picture of a black couple,’ ‘There is this guy who ...,’ ‘There is the Sunday Market,’ ‘There is the doctor on main street ...,’ ‘There is a mop ...(Right now)). Finally, the pivot becomes the subject in a new delimitation (e.g., ‘The Pope is in Paris,’ ‘Il David in Piazza della Signoria is on TV, in the living room, inside the house, in Indiana, etc.’).

4.2 Final remarks

This study has offered an extensive qualitative analysis that provided a detailed exploration of the origins and functions of EPs in Castilian and Portuguese, tracing them back to their Latin roots, where the Latin verb *SUM* played a significant role in the formation of EPs in both languages, being used in presentational ECs to introduce weak pivots and in LCs to signify a specific location. We have also introduced the concept of stage topic or frame setter to explain the interpretation of ECs and the close relationship between ECs and LCs. The analysis of early Castilian and Portuguese data highlights the essential role of the proform, which can be traced back to its etymological roots in IBI, in forming EPs in both languages.

We have posited that in Castilian, structures with *hy* + *ser* competed with presentational constructions with *haber* + proform, *haber* by itself, or grammaticalised *hay* in the present tense. We have presented data suggesting that the proform's disappearance from the language would render any instances of *ser* useless in the final position unless accompanied by an adverbial complement. Similarly, early Portuguese used *estar* alongside *ser* in LCs with an overt focalised locus.

Through an extensive qualitative analysis, this study has also delved into the historical data of early Catalan and Aragonese to shed light on evidential and eventive readings with *estar* as a deictic occurrence in some modern Ibero-Romance varieties. The data shows the presence of *estar* as a copula in early Catalan, alternated with *ser* and the proform in EPs of location.

Additionally, we presented some early examples of *estar* with weak pivots that extend beyond the prescriptive norms of modern standard Catalan. Moreover, the proform, in combination with *ser*, allowed for several readings beyond generic existence, a role now fulfilled mainly by *estar* in V1 position.

We also presented evidence from the Aragonese variety from El Cheso that supports the theory that the disappearance of the proform is indirectly related to the incorporation of *estar* as a full copula into the grammar of Portuguese and Castilian. As a result, we argued that weak pivots in EPs with *estar* in modern Castilian and Portuguese should be classified as rhematic elements rather than thematic, as proposed by Francez (2007), since the copula, either *haber* or *estar*, depends on contextual constraints through means of addressation or delimitation. We have also provided an in-depth analysis of the origins and development of existential and locative constructions in Ibero-Romance languages, with a particular focus on Castilian and Portuguese to investigate the use of the proform in these constructions and its relationship with the copula verbs *ser* and *estar*, providing a comprehensive analysis of the syntactic and semantic features of these constructions.

Generally, this study has provided an overview of the historical and syntactic aspects of the proform in Romance varieties, highlighting the differences in its usage across various varieties of Ibero-Romance. Whilst these particles have disappeared or become grammaticalised in the major Romance varieties of the West, they are still present in some Italo-Romance and Galo-Romance varieties. We have also discussed the proform's crucial role as a necessary element in existential constructions in many Romance varieties, serving as a locative anchor to license definite pivots in presentational constructions.

Moreover, we have argued that semantically and pragmatically, the proform plays a more important role than what is usually attributed to it, especially in non-locus referential proforms, where it serves as an anchor of topicality within the information status. For this, we have presented the file-card model (Heim, 1982) to account for it, which postulates the existence of three permanent cards that govern all meaningful communicative utterances. These signify a priori spatiotemporal arguments: the card for the speaker (first person), the card for the hearer (second person), and the card that represents the here-and-now of the discourse situation. The last card represents the topic for utterances that lack a discourse-bound spatiotemporal location or the presupposition of a locus mundi. Additionally, we have referred to the concepts of reactivating focus, background focus, and contrastive focus as information status phenomena that explain the pragmatic relationship between so-called locative and existential expressions.

Lastly, the current study has contributed to the ongoing debate regarding the definition of eventives in syntax. We have proposed a novel model that departs from previous approaches. Our analysis indicates that genuine eventives do not locate the coda under a modifier in the same manner as enumerative readings but instead position it as a dislocated adjunct to the VP. This approach is consistent with the model advanced by Francez (2007) and supported by Villalba's (2013) investigation. Our proposed model also considers information structure and status, allowing for a more nuanced understanding of the elusive nature of apparently empty proforms and the recursive nature of the topic. By shedding light on the intricacies of proform usage and the syntax-pragmatics interface, our model provides a valuable framework for future research in this area.

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