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LOCATIVE AND EXISTENTIAL SMALL CLAUSES: A COMPARATIVE STUDY

INTRODUCTION: Spanish has a three-way distinction between locative-eventive (1a), locative-non-eventive (1b), and existential (1c) Small Clauses that take a location predicate (SC-PP). These constructions are selected by the copula verbs *ser, estar* and *haber,* respectively (Freeze 1992). The copula distribution is conditioned by the syntactic and semantic properties of the subject nominal: *ser* subjects are [+DEFINITE, +EVENT] (1a), *estar* subjects are [+DEFINITE, -EVENT] (1b) and *haber* subjects are [-DEFINITE, ± EVENT] (1c) (Perpiñan, 2014).

(1)   a. La fiesta **es** en el patio   b. La abeja **está** en el patio   c. **Hay** una fiesta/abeja en el patio
      The party BE$_S$ in the patio   The bee BE$_E$ in the patio   BE$_H$ a   party/bee   in the patio
      'The party is in the patio'   *'The bee is in the patio'*   *'There is a party/bee in the patio'*

PROPOSAL: I argue for the existence of an asymmetrical SC-PP structure whose functional head can have two possible featural make-ups: [-DEFINITE] for existential constructions (selected by *haber*), and [+DEFINITE] for locative constructions (selected by *ser/estar*). The alternation between *ser/estar* is argued to be due to movement of the Small Clause head, which is motivated by the presence or absence of an aspectual head in the subject nominal, following Brucart (2012).

LOCATIVES: The alternation between *ser* and *estar* is widely studied in the Spanish literature (see Camacho, 2012 for an overview). It is standardly characterized as reflecting the semantic distinction between individual-level (*ser*) and stage-level (*estar*) predication. Individual-level predicates reflect intrinsic, permanent properties (e.g. *Soy inteligente* 'I am intelligent'), while stage-level predicates reflect time-bound, finite properties (e.g. *Estoy triste* 'I am sad'). Event nominals in SC-PPs challenge this characterization, since "being bound to time and place", as expressed by a locative predicate, is an intrinsic property of an event. Brucart (2012) solves this conundrum by proposing an Aspect feature in the SC head, which must move to v^0 to be checked. v+SC^0 is spelled-out as *estar*. Event nominals are proposed to have an Aspect functional head within their nominal structure, which checks the matching Aspect feature within the event nominal. The 'bare' v is then spelled-out as *ser*.

EXISTENTIALS: The alternation of the locative copulas with *haber* has received significantly less attention, and the research on the internal structure of the *haber* SC is minimal. *Haber* has a number of unique properties such as VSO order, non-agreement, and rejecting non-definite Subjects. The former two are explained by Freeze (1992) to be the result of a fossilized locative clitic -*y* that blocks the transmission of φ-features and prevents EPP effects, forcing the subject to remain within the SC. My proposal accounts for the latter by proposing that, in addition to the Aspect feature proposed by Brucart (2012), the existential SC head has a [-DEFINITE] feature that must also be checked by the subject. Existential SCs undergo the same Aspect-checking mechanism as Locatives, but the fossilized clitic forces a spell-out of *hay*.

SIGNIFICANCE: This proposal consolidates multiple analyses that approach, but never quite reach, a full account of the structure and distribution of SC-PPs in Spanish. In doing so, it furthers our cross-linguistic understanding of the relationship between existential and locative structures, with the aim of providing a unified account of SCs that can account for these and other under-researched copula constructions.

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