

# Spanish Proper Nouns with Epithet and Absolute Quantification\*

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**Abstract** Taking the perspective that Spanish proper nouns with epithet(e.g., *Alfonso X el Sabio* 'Alfonso X the Wise') are syntactically derived as a starting point, this article focuses on the analysis of the properties of their constituents and their formation processes. The predicative relation that epithets establish with proper nouns and the absolute superlative interpretation of the individual-level properties denoted by epithets are shown to be determined in the course of syntactic derivation. Agreement taking place in these constructions corroborates the current approach drawing on the recently developed feature sharing view of Agree.

**Key words** Spanish proper nouns, epithets, absolute superlatives, feature sharing, articles as operators

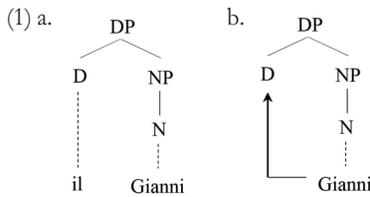
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## I. Introduction

Since the publication of Abney's(1987) influential work, studies on nominal constructions have achieved remarkable advances. However, crosslinguistically, proper nouns(PNs) still remain an underexplored field. In the Spanish linguistic literature, as noted in Fernández Leborans(1999, 79), no specific attempt to demarcate the boundary of PNs has been undertaken. Bello(1847, 62), whose grammatical judgement matches the current theoretic view in many aspects, only states that PNs serve to distinguish an individual person or thing from the rest of the family it belongs to. Furthermore, it has been occasionally suggested that it may not hinge on grammar to make a distinction between PNs and common nouns(CNs)(RAE 1973, 172, fn. 5).

A special property of PNs is that they refer to individual entities; hence, they only have extensional meaning.<sup>1)</sup> For instance, Longobardi's(1994) idea is that strings like *il Gianni*(lit. the Gianni) are represented as in (1a); however, that the bare PN *Gianni* must move to D in order to be assigned referentiality in the absence of a determiner shows such perspective(D being the functional head licensing this semantic property):



Drawing on Roehrs'(2015) proposal, PNs are divided into two groups,

1) On the contrary, CNs behave as predicates due to their intensional meaning. This property is already captured in Bello(1847, 62), who defines them to be suited for all individuals of a class, species or family, denoting their nature or characteristics.

namely, inherent PNs (2a) and derived PNs (2b):

- (2) a. John, Spain, Mercury  
 b. European Union, Red Velvet, Deutsche Bank

In contrast to inherent PNs, which are rigid designators, derived PNs can have descriptive (or transparent) meaning like CNs, since the lexical meaning of their components makes it viable to get a compositional interpretation(see Kripke 1971; Anderson 2004; Roehrs 2015).<sup>2)</sup>

From a generative perspective, this paper aims to explore a branch of inherent PNs less focused on in the literature, that is, PNs with epithet(PNEs).<sup>3)</sup> By this term I refer to the constructions <PN+definite article+adjective>:<sup>4)</sup>

- (3) a. Alexander the Great, Ivan the Terrible  
 b. Alfonso X el Sabio, Isabel la Católica (Spanish)  
     Alfonso X the wise, Isabel the Catholic  
 c. Jaume el Just, Pere el Gran (Catalan)  
     Jaume the fair Pere the great

It will be shown that these constructions are not built by a simple

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- 2) Though derived PNs usually show compositional meaning as in (2b), a single-worded PN can be also a derived PN insofar as the unique component transmits some descriptive meaning, as is the case of *Scorpions*, *Twice*, *Queen*, etc., referring to the pop artist groups.
- 3) In a linguistic sense, *epithet* can also refer to a nonrestrictive adjective that expresses a prototypical characteristic of a noun it modifies. It is well known that in Romance languages adjectives of this type prefer to occupy prenominal position, while restrictive modifiers always follow the noun(see Cinque 2010):
- (i) a. la blanca nieve (Spanish)  
       the white snow  
       b. la dolce miele (Italian)  
           the sweet honey
- 4) Nouns can also form epithets instead of adjectives, as in *John the carpenter*, *Simon the pirate*, etc. These constructions are different from (3), their derivational processes being relatively simpler. They will be briefly discussed later(see fn. 9).

addition of descriptive words or phrases to PNs, nor does an epithet establish an appositive relation with the preceding noun. Accordingly, it is argued that they have a more complex structural extension than bare PNs, and that a scalar interpretation is provided in them. Although many other languages admit PNEs of the same configuration, the data from Spanish will receive a special attention in this work, since the rich morphology of this language helps us to inquire into their grammatical behavior. The paper is organized as follows. In Section II, general properties of PNEs are outlined; a parallel observation focuses on their scalar interpretation as absolute superlatives and compares them with other constructions of the same semantic nature. Section III analyzes the syntactic derivation of PNEs and the agreement occurring within them drawing on a recent proposal about Agree operation. Section IV summarizes the results of the analysis.

## II. Syntax of epithets

### 1. Grammatical properties of epithets

An epithet fixes its link to a specific PN by a long-established usage. Therefore, PNs accompanied by an epithet differ from appositive constructions like (4). In the latter, adjectives can be substituted for by other semantically similar ones, whereas this phenomenon is not permitted regarding the former(see [8b]):<sup>5)</sup>

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5) However, I tentatively suggest that constructions like (4) serve as cornerstones of PNEs. The string of (4b) appears, indeed, in the accounting entry of a Spanish entrepreneur alluding to a politician who received illegal payments; the representation varies such as *Luis*, *El Cabrón*, *Luis 'el cabrón'*, etc., depending on the news media. After his identity was revealed and being *cabrón* was taken as his unique feature by the public (due to the immense fraud committed by him), *Luis el Cabrón* has been settled as the most used string in the media.

- |                |       |           |
|----------------|-------|-----------|
| (4) a. Marisa, | la    | borde     |
| Marisa         | the.F | roughneck |
| b. Luis,       | el    | cabrón    |
| Luis           | the.M | bastard   |

On the other hand, it is important to note that an epithet behaves as a predicate of the preceding PN insofar as it denotes a prototypical feature of the referent of the noun. It should be avoided, then, to take a PN and its epithet for two independent nominal elements designating one and the same entity (*contra* Gary-Prieur 1994). Similarly, Fernández Leborans(1999, 105) states that epithets are predicative expressions, not referential ones. Specifically, they denote an individual-level property of the referent. In Romance languages, nominal modifiers with this reading usually occur in prenominal position(Cinque 2010, 7):

- (5) a. *Le invisibili* stele di Andromeda esercitano un grande fascino. (Italian)  
 the invisible stars of Andromeda have a great fascination.  
 ‘Andromeda’s stars, which are generally invisible, have a great fascination’.  
 (individual-level)
- b. *Le stele invisibili* di Andromeda sono moltissime.  
 the stars invisible of Andromeda are very-many  
 ‘Andromeda’s stars, which are generally invisible, are very many’.  
 (individual-level)  
 ‘Andromeda’s generally visible stars, which happen to be invisible now, are very many’. (stage-level)

Consequently, it has been argued that a PNE like *Isabel la Católica* is equivalent to *la católica Isabel*(Noailly 1991)(however, this statement is misleading in part and will be reconsidered later; see §II.2).

The predicative relation between PNs and their epithets is not only conceptual, but also syntactically relevant. Adjectives that cannot be attributes or predicative complements cannot appear in epithets either:

- (6) a. \*El autor de la obra es presunto.  
 the author of the work is alleged  
 b. \*Consideramos al autor presunto.  
 consider.1PL the author alleged  
 c. \*Juan el Presunto  
 Juan the alleged

The following examples are straightforward in this respect. In colloquial(vulgar) Spanish, the word *puto* is used as a pejorative qualificative in prenominal position (7a). However, it denotes someone being a prostitute, when it appears as attribute (7b)(it is used here as a noun); the qualificative interpretation is not available now. When it comes to the usage as epithet, again, it only refers to the occupation (7c):

- (7) a. Le está amargando la vida su puto novio.  
 her.DAT is embitter.GER the life her damned boyfriend  
 'Her damned boyfriend is embittering her life'.  
 b. Juan es puto.  
 Juan is prostitute/\*bastard  
 c. Juan el puto  
 Juan the prostitute/\*bastard

In addition, PNEs are not lexically frozen units. Constituents of PNs, be them inherent or derived ones, cannot be deleted or substituted(Roehrs 2015). Nonetheless, epithets can be elided without having effect on designating an entity, which is performed by the PNs alone (8a).<sup>6)</sup> They do

6) A reviewer suggests that PNEs are likely to be considered lexically frozen because the deletion of epithets causes interpretive changes (see §2 for the performance of epithets in the interpretive side of PNEs). However, the term *frozen* as used in this article is confined to referring to strictly inseparable PNs, for instance, *Deutsche Bank* (neither of its two lexical components can be used in order to indicate the banking entity). It will be shown later that the addition of an epithet to a PN follows from complex syntactic derivational processes and the meaning of the complete PNE is also determined in this course.

not admit, though, substitution by other elements, regardless of how semantically close they are (8b)(due to the extralinguistic environment that their link to the PNs arises after long time use, as mentioned before):

- (8) a. Alfonso X (el Sabio), Juana (la Loca)  
       Alfonso X the wise      Juana (the mad)
- b. Felipe el Hermoso/#Guapo, Isabel la Católica/#Cristiana  
       Felipe the handsome/handsome, Isabel the Catholic/Christian

This observation appears to point out that the view that epithets incorporate into PNs at the lexical level should be revised from a theoretic point of view(cf. Fernández Leborans 1999). Presumably, PNEs are not constructed by pre-syntactic rules at the Lexicon, but are rather derived by general syntactic rules. This hypothesis will be discussed in further detail in Section III; however, before proceeding, we need to look into another major property of PNEs, which, to the best of my knowledge, has not been examined in theoretic terms in the literature.

## 2. Scalar interpretation of PNEs

It is important to mention that the property expressed by an epithet is necessarily quantified “to an extreme degree”. If someone is titled *el Hermoso*(lit. the Handsome), as in *Felipe el Hermoso*, it is supposed that his physical attractiveness must be sufficiently high to make him distinguishable from other possibly handsome males, though he may not be the most handsome man in a specific world of discourse. Otherwise, he could not be called *el Hermoso*. In other words, PNEs show absolute superlative interpretation (rather than a relative superlative [i.e., “more X than all others”], as just mentioned above).

These characteristics imply some consequences. Recall, firstly, that

Noailly(1991) takes *Isabel la Católica* to be equivalent to *la católica Isabel*. This statement is only partially correct, because PNEs do not only express an individual-level property, but also quantify it to an extraordinarily high grade. Prenominal adjectives do not exhibit scalar meaning themselves; hence, they can be quantified by other elements(e.g., *la muy católica Isabel* [lit. the very Catholic Isabel])(see below for the discussion of the impossibility of quantifying epithets).

On the other hand, the absolute superlative interpretation imposes restrictions with regard to the selection of adjectives that may integrate epithets: only quantifiable adjectives can be there. Otherwise, scalar interpretation becomes somewhat obscure. Consider (9a), referring to a famous Spanish bullfighter; a relational adjective is in the epithet. Now, the high degree interpretation is nullified.<sup>7)</sup> Adjectives belonging to this class do not accept quantification in general. When modified by quantifiers as in (9b) and (9c), they exhibit a coerced interpretation(=*having the very/more properties associated with being French/Italian, not having the very/more conditions of being French/Italian*):

- (9) a. Manuel el Cordobés  
       Manuel the Cordovan
- b. Es una ocurrencia muy francesa.  
    is a idea very French  
    ‘It is a very French idea’.
- c. Me parece que este plato es más italiano que aquel.  
    me.DAT seems that this dish is more Italian than that  
    ‘It seems to me that this dish is more Italian than that one’.

My view that PNEs constitute absolute superlatives in the DP domain is substantiated by the fact that they share properties with other

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7) (9a) can be analyzed as an appositive, not an PNE(see fn. 9).

constructions of the same semantic nature. Absolute superlatives, which denote a property or state occupying an extremely high position on a scale, do not admit any modification by quantifiers. It is well known that the *-issim-* forms in modern Romance languages are added to adjectives or adverbs to form absolute superlatives and systematically reject quantification(see Bobaljik 2012):

- |         |                 |                      |           |
|---------|-----------------|----------------------|-----------|
| (10) a. | (*molto/*poco)  | brav-issimo          | (Italian) |
|         | very/little     | good-ABS.SPRL        |           |
|         | b. (*muy/*poco) | complicad-ísimo      | (Spanish) |
|         | very/little     | complicated-ABS.SPRL |           |
|         | c. (*molt/*poc) | car-ísim             | (Catalan) |
|         | very/little     | expensive-ABS.SPRL   |           |

In Spanish, the psychological verb *encantar* can be considered an absolute superlative counterpart of *gustar* ‘like’, since it necessarily projects a state of being fond of someone or something to an extreme degree. It cannot be modified by the typical verbal modifier *mucho* ‘much’ neither:<sup>8)</sup>

- |         |                              |                |          |     |            |
|---------|------------------------------|----------------|----------|-----|------------|
| (11) a. | Te                           | gusta          | mucho    | el  | chocolate. |
|         | you.DAT                      | like           | much     | the | chocolate  |
|         | ‘You like chocolate much’.   |                |          |     |            |
|         | b. Te                        | encanta        | (*mucho) | el  | chocolate. |
|         | you.DAT                      | like-very-much | much     | the | chocolate  |
|         | ‘You really like chocolate’. |                |          |     |            |

It is not a coincidence that epithets never incorporate quantifiers as their constituents in spite of inherently expressing a very highly measured

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8) A question may arise at this point whether *encantar* can be analyzed as the suppletive form of *gustar*, not as an independent lexical item, when the latter verb places in a local domain of a functional head licensing this kind of superlative interpretation. I leave this issue for future research(for further detail on verbal root suppletion, see Veselinova 2006; Bobaljik 2012; Harley 2014, among others).

property of the noun; rather, their inclusion causes ungrammaticality due to the overlapping of degree quantification:

- |         |           |     |                   |          |
|---------|-----------|-----|-------------------|----------|
| (12) a. | Alfonso X | el  | (*muy)            | Sabio    |
|         | Alfonso X | the | very              | wise     |
|         | b. Isabel | la  | (*verdaderamente) | Católica |
|         | Isabel    | the | truly             | Catholic |
|         | c. Juana  | la  | (*realmente)      | Loca     |
|         | Juana     | the | really            | mad      |

Thus, I claim that absolute superlative reading is licensed by the merge of the definite article in the derivational course of these PNs. As stated in Leonetti(1999, 826), Spanish articles can function as intensive or quantifier operators, as illustrated in (13); note that determiners of other classes cannot be used in this environment(Leonetti 1999, 826-827):

- (13) a. Es increíble {las/\*estas} deudas que tiene.  
 is incredible the/these debts REL has  
 'The (high) amount of debts that he has is incredible'.
- b. Me pregunto {la/\*una} cara que pondrá al enterarse.  
 myself.DAT ask the/a face REL put.FUT.3SG when realize.INF  
 'I wonder the face she will put on when she realizes (it)'.

Articles performing as intensive operators are also shown in other syntactic environment, for example, in the formation of relative superlatives. Romance languages do not have synthetic relative superlatives unlike Germanic languages that employ the superlative suffix *-st* forms; meanwhile, they recur to some analytic processes by which comparative constructions headed by an article act as superlatives:

- (14) a. el libro más corto (Spanish)  
 the book more short

- b. il libro più corto (Italian)
- c. el llibre més curt (Catalan)
- d. le plus court livre (French)
- the more short book

I assume that the relative superlative interpretation of these constructions is determined by the combination of an extreme degree meaning licensed by articles and the comparative meaning transmitted by the rest within the domain of the articles; thus, articles do not possess relative superlative meaning for themselves. Then, it is plausible to consider that the article of epithets and the one of Romance relative superlatives are instances of one and the same functional head. A syntactic analysis that adopts this perspective will be proposed in the next section.

### **III. PNs with epithet as output of syntactic derivation**

#### **1. Derivational processes**

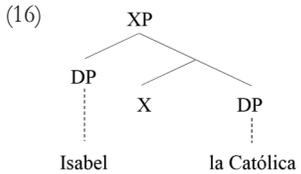
The main properties of PNEs argued for in the previous sections can be summarized as follows: (i) epithets establish a predicative relation with PNs; (ii) PNEs do not constitute lexically frozen units; (iii) epithets show an absolute superlative interpretation. In this section, I will show that these properties result from the syntactic operations taking place in the course of derivation.

To start, let us take a look at some lexicalist approaches to PNs, although they do not concern specifically the issues pertaining to epithets. Anderson(2003) argues that PNs enter the syntax as fixed lexical units. A more elaborated analysis proposes the notion of *templates* as abstract structures stored in the Lexicon(Culicover and Jackendoff 2005): some morphological operations takes vocabulary items and templates out of

the Lexicon in order to insert the former into the latter during the derivation at the lexical level to construct PNs. However, this kind of perspective may not be particularly attractive, since they pose redundancy problems, generally perceived as one of the major inconveniences of the Lexicalist Hypothesis (Selkirk 1982; Di Sciullo and Williams 1987). In languages with rich morphology, such as Spanish, the components of epithets (article and adjectives) agree with PNs (15). Were it the case that PNEs are derived by morphological operations, we should admit that grammar would consist of two different computational modules (Lexicon and Syntax), in which identical operations such as agreement take place:

- (15) a. Isabel            la            Católic-a  
          Isabel        the.F.SG    Catholic-F.SG  
       b. Fernando     el            Católic-o  
          Fernando    the.M.SG   Catholic-M.SG  
       c. Fernando     e            Isabel        los            Católic-os  
          Fernando    and         Isabel        the.M.PL    Catholic-M.PL

Instead, I claim that PNEs are built by general syntactic rules. Let us have a closer look at the derivational processes. The fact that epithets set a predicative relation with PNs may invoke a small clause-based account preferentially, as illustrated in (16):



However, assuming a simple small clause for these constructions arises questions. The structure of (16) would rather give rise to an output with an identificational interpretation (not a predicative one), since the complement position is occupied by a DP (e.g., *Isabel is the Catholic woman*)

[*who we've been looking for*]). Higgins'(1979) fine classification of copular sentences contends that a small clause cannot take a DP as its complement when the element in this position shows predicative reading with respect to the subject-hood element in the specifier position:<sup>9)</sup>

(17)	TYPE	SUBJECT	ATTRIBUTE
	identificational	referential	referential (DP)
	identity	referential	referential (DP)
	predicational	referential	predicational (NP, AP, etc.)
	specificational	superscriptional	specificational (DP)

- (18) a. That man over there is John Smith. (Identificational)  
 b. The Morning Star is the Evening Star. (Identity)  
 c. Paul is sick. (Predicational)  
 d. What I don't like about John is his tie. (Specificational)

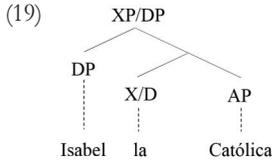
An alternative like (19), where the article occupies the head of the small clause, also appears to be unnatural(cf. den Dikken 2006). If we take into consideration that DP is an extended projection of N(Grimshaw 1991), the AP-status of the complement of (19) would require justification. In this respect, it is not a desirable solution to posit a phonologically null noun under the adjective; then, we would be forced to explain how the adjective, performing now as a restrictive nominal modifier, could also get

9) A small clause taking a DP as predicate may suit PNs with a noun epithet such as *Juan el carpintero*(lit. Juan the carpenter), *María la florista*(lit. María the florist), etc.:

(i) [ $\pi$ P [DP *María*]  $\pi$  [CP ... [DP *la florista*]]]

In (i), where  $\pi$  licenses a paratactic relation between the elements occupying its specifier and complement(Gärtner 2001), the second DP is a nominal appositive, which is argued to be an independent matrix clause in the literature(Ott in press). As being nominal appositives, their representation varies like *Juan el carpintero* or *Juan, el carpintero*. For now, I will ignore the difference, given the usage of comma as a sign of prosodically separated units is unstable(Kovacci 1999, 739).

involved in a predicative relation with the PN.



I adopt Kayne’s(1994) remnant movement strategy and, comparatively, Kayne’s(2004) analysis of French superlatives to give account of the derivation of PNEs. While French has ordinary relative superlatives such as (20a), it also has other more colloquial or informal equivalents such as (20b); in the latter, postnominal adjectives in superlative are marked by the article associated with the noun:<sup>10)</sup>

- (20) a. le plus court livre  
           the more short book  
           ‘the shortest book’
- b. le livre le plus court  
           the book the more short

Kayne(2004) proposes that (20a) and (20b) are the output of different derivational processes. Specifically, he proposes that (20b) undergoes a more complex derivation, as described in (21):<sup>11)</sup>

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10) Definite articles are only duplicated in this superlative environment in French. Hence, these constructions cannot be analyzed as instances of determiner spreading as occurs in Greek (i). They differ from each other in many aspects. For instance, *to megalo* of (i) receives a focus interpretation(Leu 2008; see also Alexiadou and Wilder 1998); no informative interpretation is noticed in (20b):

(i) to megalo to vivlio  
       the big the book

11) The AP in (21a) might be analyzed better as Degee Phrase(Abney 1987; Corver 1991). I will not go into details here. On the other hand, the notion of *trace* is used for expositional sake.

- (21) a. [XP [DP *le livre*] X [AP *plus court*]] → merger of C and attraction of AP  
 b. [CP [AP *plus court*]<sub>i</sub> C [XP *le livre* t<sub>i</sub>]] → merger of D  
 c. [DP *le* [CP [*plus court*] C [XP *le livre*]] → attraction of the remanant  
 d. [DP [XP *le livre*]<sub>j</sub> *le* [CP *plus court* t<sub>j</sub>]] → *le livre le plus court*

It is important to note that the article preceding the noun in (21a) does not contribute to the creation of the superlative meaning; rather, it only takes scope over the noun in its domain that does not involve the (comparatively) quantified adjective. The article merged at a later stage (21b) is the very element performing as intensive operator that brings about the superlative meaning when combined with the comparative adjective in its domain(see §II.3). I argue that this article materializes the same D head in epithets and propose that *Isabel la católica* derives from (22):

- (22) a. [XP [DP *Isabel*] X [AP *católica*]] → merger of C and attraction of AP  
 b. [CP [AP *católica*]<sub>i</sub> C [XP *Isabel* t<sub>i</sub>]] → merger of D  
 c. [DP *la* [CP [*católica*] C [XP *Isabel*]] → attraction of the remnant  
 d. [DP [XP *Isabel*]<sub>j</sub> *la* [CP *católica* t<sub>j</sub>]] → *Isabel la Católica*

PN and adjective are introduced into the syntax as the subject and the attribute of a small clause, as is expected from their predicative relation (22a); the complement being an AP, there is no problem like the one in (16). Later, the article merged in (22b) is an operator that quantifies the property denoted by the adjective in its domain to an extremely high degree. The interpretation of the entire epithet is determined at this stage, namely, as an absolute superlative(it cannot evolve further towards a relative superlative, since it lacks comparative elements).

The fact that epithets appear in postnominal position even in the languages where modifiers normally precede nouns corroborates the current analysis insofar as the processes of (22) can give account of the formation of PNs with epithet crosslinguistically in the same manner:

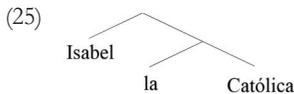
- |         |               |       |         |           |
|---------|---------------|-------|---------|-----------|
| (23) a. | den           | gamle | mann-en | (Swedish) |
|         | the           | old   | man-the |           |
|         | 'the old man' |       |         |           |
| b.      | Emund         | den   | gamle   |           |
|         | Emund         | the   | old     |           |
|         |               |       |         |           |
| (24) a. | Wilhelm       | der   | Große   | (German)  |
|         | Wilhelm       | the   | great   |           |
| b.      | Magnus        | den   | Gode    | (Danish)  |
|         | Magnus        | the   | good    |           |

Swedish adjective *gamle* of (23a) precedes the noun as a restrictive modifier, but it follows the noun as a part of the epithet in (23b). The same behavior of adjectives is attested in other languages (24). In the next section, more advantages of this analysis are discussed.

## 2. Agreement

Theoretic grammar does not offer a concrete mechanism for agreement in the nominal domain, its interest being usually focused on verbal agreement.<sup>12)</sup> However, recent studies suggest that Agree also underlies the nominal agreement (Baker 2008; Carstens 2010; Danon 2011). Based on this assumption, let us elucidate some agreement issues occurring within PNEs.

An analysis that conjectures that PNs and epithets are introduced into the syntax according to the sequential order, as in (25), cannot appropriately deal with their agreement. The probes (article and adjective) do not have the goal (PN) in their c-command domain from this view:



A possible solution might be to admit that probe searches upwards

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12) In the English grammar tradition, *agreement* is used exclusively with respect to verbal agreement, while nominal one is called *concord*.

when it fails to find a goal in its c-command domain(Baker 2008; Wurmbrand 2012; Zeijlstra 2012), which is, nonetheless, not cannon in the current theories, or to posit an unpronounced noun under the adjective, which, as I showed above, is not the best idea.

Agreement between PNs and epithets can be explained in a principled way in the approach proposed in this paper. Specifically, I adopt Pesetsky and Torrego's(2007) feature sharing view of Agree. This model suggests that Agree creates a link through which an unvalued feature F(a probe) at syntactic location  $\alpha(F_\alpha)$  is replaced by another instance of F(a goal) at location  $\beta(F_\beta)$ ; as a result, the same feature is present in both location. It sharply differs from Chomsky's(2001) original idea in that it allows that Agree takes place between two unvalued matching features. For example, in (26a), there are two occurrences of a single unvalued feature to undergo Agree (the empty pair of brackets indicates that the feature has not yet participated in Agree);<sup>13)</sup> when Agree occurs between them, it results in one occurrence of F with two instances (the number notation indicates multiple instances of a single feature). Then, if one of the instances of the unvalued F participates later in Agree with a valued occurrence of F at a third location  $\gamma$ , the value of  $F_\gamma$  will be shared by all instances of F at three locations following the link (26b):

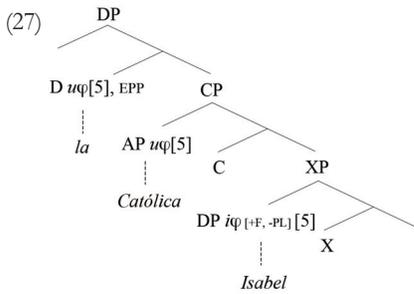
- (26) a. ...  $F_\alpha[ ]$  ...  $F_\beta[ ]$  ...  $\Rightarrow$  ...  $F_\alpha[3]$  ...  $F_\beta[3]$  ...  
 b. ...  $F_\alpha[3]$  ...  $F_\beta[3]$  ...  $F_\gamma val[ ]$  ...  $\Rightarrow$  ...  $F_\alpha[3]$  ...  $F_\beta[3]$  ...  $F_\gamma val[3]$  ...

I claim that agreement in PNEs is triggered at the stage of (22b), now represented in tree diagram in (27), after the merger of D. The unvalued  $\phi$ -features on the definite article  $D(\mu\phi[ ])$  scans its c-command domain and finds as their goal the unvalued occurrence of  $\mu\phi[ ]$  on A.<sup>14)</sup> Agree

13) Pesetsky and Torrego(2007) use the term *instance* to indicate a pair of feature and location. Another term *occurrence* refers to distinct features that might undergo Agree.

14) The notation *i* and *u* to the left of  $\phi$ -features indicate the features being interpretable and uninterpretable, respectively. Pesetsky and Torrego(2007) reject the valuation/

takes place and a (number-indexed) link is set between them; however, the resulting instances of  $\mu\phi[5]$  still remains unvalued as  $\phi$ -features on A lack values. Then,  $\mu\phi[5]$  on D probes again and enter an Agree relation with  $[+F, -PL]$  of the lower D to be valued against them. Therefore, these values are shared by every instance of the  $\phi$ -features of the link and the adjective is also materialized as feminine plural.<sup>15)</sup>



Finally, the probe bears an EPP property in largely the same way C, generally taken to be the clausal counterpart of D, can have the same

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interpretability biconditional of Chomsky(2001), and argue that an interpretable feature can be unvalued and a valued feature can be uninterpretable. This topic is not relevant to the present discussion.

15) I consider that structural and semantic incompleteness of the small clause prevents the dominating CP from being a phase in (27); hence, a probe on the upper D can scan the complement domain of the CP. On the other hand, with the CP being a phase, the derivation may give rise to the same output, if we assume that valued features are accessible to later operations without being deleted, as argued in Pesetsky and Torrego's(2007) model. By the time the  $\phi$ -features of the upper D enter Agree with the ones of A, these has been already valued by Agree with the lower D's  $\phi$ -features. Then, the upper D eventually shares the same  $\phi$ -values as the lower D.

A reviewer makes an interesting comment about whether the adjective can provoke an intervention effect on the probing from the upper D to the lower D in (27). Actually, adjectives have been sometimes considered interveners with their own underspecified [DEF] feature as regards the probing of determiners in some Scandinavian languages (Julien 2002; Roehrs 2006). However, to the extent that I know, this phenomenon has not been noted among Romance languages. Neither am I aware of the reason why this contrast is produced for now. If the adjective behaved as an intervener in (27), the alternative account proposed above in this footnote might be the only possible way the probing takes place.

property to attract specific DPs(e.g., *wh*-DPs) to its specifier. The movement of the lower DP Isabel to the specifier of the upper DP is well-justified in this way.

#### IV. Conclusions

The link of a PN with its epithet is fixed after a long-established usage. However, PNEs do not form indissoluble lexical units; they are not introduced into the syntax as an output of previous lexical operations. In this paper, I have argued that PNEs are built by general syntactic rules and, hence, their properties necessarily reflect what occurs in this derivational course. Adjectives that cannot be attributes (or predicative complements) cannot constitute epithets either, since they are merged initially as predicates of a small clause, where PNs originate as subjects; they express a (prototypical) individual-level property of PNs. Definite articles, which precede adjectives at the end of the derivation, are merged with the small clause at a later stage to license absolute superlative interpretation to the adjectives in their domain; their behavior as intensive operators quantify the property denoted by the adjectives to an extremely high degree. It has been also demonstrated that the later incorporation of the definite article, as proposed in this approach, can give account of the agreement operation occurring within PNEs without assuming unnatural stipulations.

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# Nombres Propios con Epíteto del Español y Cuantificación Absoluta

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Kim, Sangyoon(2016), “Nombres Propios con Epíteto del Español y Cuantificación Absoluta”, *Revista Asiática de Estudios Iberoamericanos*, 27(2), 1-23.

**Resumen** A partir del postulado de que los nombres propios con epíteto del español(e.g., Alfonso X el Sabio) se derivan sintácticamente, este trabajo presenta un análisis de las propiedades de sus constituyentes y los procesos de su formación. Se argumenta a favor de que la relación predicativa que los epítetos establecen con los nombres propios y la interpretación de grado superlativo absoluto de las propiedades semánticas (de nivel individual) aportados por los epítetos se determinan en el curso de la derivación sintáctica. La observación sobre la concordancia en estas construcciones en el marco teórico de feature sharing de la relación de sondeo corrobora la aproximación desarrollada en este estudio.

**Palabras clave** Nombres propios del español, epítetos, superlativos absolutos, feature sharing, artículos como operadores

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