

DETERMINED PROPER NOUNS IN RIOPLATENSE SPANISH EXPRESS INTERPERSONAL PROXIMITY¹

Carolina Oggiani^a & Ana Aguilar Guevara^b

Universidad de la República^a & Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México^b

ABSTRACT. Following the referentialist view on proper nouns, based on Kripke (1980), they are expressions of type <e>, pointing out to entities directly, without providing a description of those entities (cf. Kaplan 1989; Soames 2002; Jeshion 2015; Saab & Lo Guercio 2018). Proper nouns preceded by the singular definite article in Rioplatense Spanish appear to challenge this approach because the definite article, usually of type <<e,t> <e>>, is not combining with an NP of type <e,t>, but one of type <e>>. Also, the definite article does not contribute with its propositional meaning, namely, definiteness. In this squib, we tackle this challenge by proposing that the article preceding a proper noun in Rioplatense Spanish is an expletive of type <e,e> (Longobardi, 1994; Saab 2021; Tsiakmakis & Espinal 2022), which brings along the expressive meaning of interpersonal proximity by activating the interactional structure above the DP (*à la* Wiltschko 2021).

Keywords: definite article; expletives; expressive meaning; Rioplatense Spanish.

RESUMEN. De acuerdo con el enfoque referencialista, basado en Kripke (1980), los nombres propios, de tipo <e>, señalan directamente una entidad sin proveer una descripción de ella (cf. Kaplan 1989; Soames 2002; Jeshion 2015; Saab & Lo Guercio 2018). Los nombres propios personales precedidos por el artículo definido singular parecen desafiar el enfoque referencialista, pues en estos casos, el artículo definido, que generalmente es de tipo <<e,t> <e>>, no se combina con un SN de tipo <e, t>, sino de tipo <e>, ni tampoco contribuye con el significado proposicional de definitud. En el presente squib abordamos este problema y proponemos que el artículo definido es un expletivo de tipo <e,e> cuando se combina con el nombre propio (Longobardi, 1994; Saab 2021; Tsiakmakis & Espinal 2022). La presencia de dicho expletivo desencadena el significado expresivo de proximidad interpersonal, mediante la activación de la estructura interaccional proyectada por encima del SD (*à la* Wiltschko 2021).

Keywords: artículo definido; expletivos; significado expresivo; español rioplatense.

¹ We are grateful to the audiences at the workshops *Issues in Contemporary Semantics and Ontology VI-Non at-issueness* (Buenos Aires) and *Non-bare Proper Names. Proper Names with Determiners and Modifiers in a Cross-linguistic Perspective* (Cologne). We also thank Martina Wiltschko, Renato García González, Karla Sandoval Osio and Eduardo García-Ramírez for their valuable feedback on previous versions of this article. Finally, we would like to thank the editors of *Borealis* and two anonymous reviewers for their very helpful suggestions. This research was partially funded by Consejo Nacional de Humanidades, Ciencias y Tecnologías (Ciencia de Frontera Project “Diversidad y uniformidad semántica en lenguas subrepresentadas de México: definitud, indexicalidad y cuantificación”), Grant/Award Number: 11313



1. Introduction

In Spanish, bare singular common nouns in argument position must be accompanied by a determiner (1) (Laca 1999).² This is in accordance with the idea usually assumed that in order to be a referential expression, NPs must be embedded in a DP headed by a determiner.

- (1) El hombre / *Hombre fue a trabajar.
 the man man went to work
 ‘The man went to work.’

Proper personal nouns typically occur bare in Spanish (2). Since Longobardi (1994), these nouns, which are commonly assumed to be inherently referential (Kripke 1980), are also understood as embedded in a DP.³

- (2) Carlos fue a trabajar.
 Carlos went to work
 ‘Carlos went to work.’

In Rioplatense Spanish (RS) –a variety spoken in Montevideo, Buenos Aires, and its surroundings–, definite articles can precede proper personal nouns when used in informal registers, as the following examples show (The γ diacritics marks examples obtained by Twitter):⁴

- (3) a. γ Es increíble lo que está gastando la Carolina en la Intendencia de
 is incredible the what is spending the Carolina on the municipality of
 Montevideo
 Montevideo.
 ‘It is incredible what Carolina is spending on the municipality of
 Montevideo.’
 b. γ After quería el Juan, y no puede caminar.
 after-party wanted the Juan and no can walk
 ‘Juan wanted to have an afterparty but he can’t even walk.’
 c. γ Qué tipito impuntual el Juan tas loco, me hizo pinchar.
 what guy unpunctual the Juan are crazy me made get-a-flat-tyre
 ‘What an unpunctual guy Juan is, it’s crazy, he made me get a flat tire.’

Definite articles anteceding singular proper nouns (*DefArt+PropNouns*, from now on), a phenomenon identified in languages of several families (Caro Reina & Helmbrecht 2022), have received some particular attention within the Romance tradition (e.g., Longobardi 1994, for Italian; Bernstein, Ordóñez & Roca (2018, 2019, 2021), for Catalan; Camacho (2019) and Saab (2021), for Spanish). Longobardi’s work, which is the most known attempt to provide a syntactic explanation, claims that proper

² See Oggiani (2020) for an analysis of some nominals in Rioplatense Spanish that can appear bare in certain argument positions and under specific lexical constraints.

³ To account for how the D position of a proper noun is fulfilled, Longobardi (1994) proposes that the proper noun, generated in the N position, is raised to D, or an overt expletive determiner is inserted in D. We will elaborate on this in Section 4, when we revisit the notion of expletiveness.

⁴ Assuming that language registers are intra-individual variations determined by situational and functional settings (see Rotter & Liu 2023, 2024 and references therein), we observe that RS definite articles preceding proper personal nouns are only commonly used when the speakers are having relaxed, friendly, or unofficial style interactions.

nouns, just like any other NP, require to be embedded in a DP to be arguments.⁵ Furthermore, he claims that bare proper nouns are forced to move from N to D, otherwise, an expletive overt determiner is inserted in D.

The idea that the definite article in DefArt+PropNouns, being inherently deprived from meaning, is only present to satisfy a syntactic requirement, has been challenged more recently by Bernstein (2019), Camacho (2019), Saab (2021) and Espinal (to appear). What these authors have in common is the suggestion that the article does contribute with some meaning, which can be accounted for in terms of familiarity or salience of the entity referred to by the proper name. An explanation along these lines, however, would have to address why familiarity or salience needs to be signaled by the definite article, given that—as Ziff (1960) and Lewis (1979) have argued—the felicitous use of a proper name already implies that the referent holding the name is familiar or salient. Consider the dialogue in (4) in a context where only B knows Julia; the infelicitous answer of B is presumably due to the fact that the referent of proper names is not familiar or salient to A:⁶

- (4) A. What did you do yesterday?
B. #Yesterday I met Julia.

In what follows, we are proposing an alternative account for DefArt+PropNouns in RS in terms of *interpersonal proximity*, a speaker-oriented meaning belonging to the expressive dimension. More specifically, we propose an analysis, where the definite article is an expletive (Saab & Lo Guercio 2019, Saab 2021, Tsiakmakis & Espinal 2022), whose presence triggers the inference that the speaker feels a close bond towards the referent holding the proper name. We will argue that this inference is generated because the article associates the content conveyed by the DP, namely, an entity, and the mental state of the speaker, which includes an attitude towards that entity. This association occurs syntactically, as a result of the interconnection between the interactional and the propositional components of the *Universal Spine* (Wiltschko 2014, Ritter & Wiltschko 2020; Wiltschko 2021).

This squib is organized as follows. Section 2 assesses the meaning of DefArt+PropNouns and shows that this construction conveys the expressive meaning of interpersonal proximity. Section 3 presents our syntactic-semantic analysis for this construction and section 4 provides a general conclusion.

2. Assessing the meaning of DefArt+PropNouns in RS

This section addresses the notion of interpersonal proximity conveyed by the definite article in DefArt+PropNouns. Section 2.1 demonstrates that this construction is only felicitously used if the speaker feels a unidirectional, either positive or negative, close bond with the referent holding the proper name. Then, Section 2.3 submits interpersonal proximity to a number of tests commonly used in the literature to identify content belonging to the expressive dimension.

⁵ The assumption that proper nouns project a DP has been further adopted by Borer (2005), Matushansky (2008) and Ghomeshi & Massam (2009), among others.

⁶ Furthermore, an account of DefArt+PropNouns in terms of familiarity or saliency would also have to clarify whether the notion of familiarity or saliency is different or similar from what previous literature has attributed to some of the regular uses of the definite article (see Christophersen (1939), Kamp (1981) and Heim (1982) for familiarity, and von Heusinger (1997; 2006) for saliency).

2.1 *DefArt+PropNouns convey interpersonally proximity*

A DefArt+PropNoun (9a), in contrast with its corresponding bare version (9b), expresses that the speaker feels she/he is interpersonally close to the referent:

- (9) a. *María vino a mi fiesta.*
 María came to my party
 ‘María came to my party.’
 b. *La María vino a mi fiesta*
 the María came to my party
 ‘María came to my party + I feel close to her.’

Interpersonal proximity (IP) can be due to a number of propitious circumstances. For example, the speaker might feel close to a referent because she or he is a friend, a relative, a workmate, or a person the speaker sees regularly, like a janitor or a waiter (10). It could also be that the referent is a famous person which whom the speakers feels identified (11):

- (10) *La Ana, que es mi hermana más chica, llega mañana a Buenos Aires.*
 the Ana, that is my sister more young arrives tomorrow from Buenos Aires
 ‘Ana, who is my younger sister, comes tomorrow from Buenos Aires.’
 (11) *El Diego es y será el mejor jugador de la historia.*
 the Diego is and will-be the best player of the history
 ‘Diego (Maradona) is and will be the best (football) player in history.’

Crucially, IP is a prerequisite for the utterance of a sentence with DefArt+PropNoun to be felicitous. Examples (11) and (12) describe situations in which the speaker met someone (called Carla and Martha, respectively) for the first time. These contexts are, therefore, incompatible with the presence of the definite article.

- (11) Context: Carla is the speaker's new Tinder.

Hoy conocí a Carla / #la Carla.
 today met to to Carla / the Carla
 ‘Today I met Carla for the first time.’

- (12) Context: the speaker is reporting that he went to a dance play and that his best friend Ludmila, and Marta (a classmate of Ludmila) performed together in the play.

Después nos fuimos a tomar algo con la Ludmila y Marta / #la Martha.
 Afterwards we went to have something to drink with Ludmila and Marta’.
 ‘Afterwards we went to have something to drink with Ludmila and Marta’

Correlatively, in contexts where the speaker is familiar with the referent holding the name but does not have a close relationship, the presence of the definite article is infelicitous.

- (13) Context: Marta is the CEO of the multinational corporation where the speaker works as an office boy.

#La Marta ha sido el CEO de la empresa por más de veinte años.

Also, feeling interpersonally close to the referent is independent of the speaker having a positive or a negative feeling towards her or him. As the following example shows, DefArt+PropNouns can then be felicitously used in both situations, where the speaker likes (13a) or dislikes (13b) the referent.

- (13) La María vino a mi fiesta...
 the María came to my party...
 ‘María came to my party.’
- a. y me puse feliz porque es mi mejor amiga.
 and me made happy because is my best friend
 ‘and I was very happy because she is my best friend.’
- b. y me puse furiosa porque es mi peor enemiga.
 and me made furious because is my worst enemy
 ‘and I was furious because she is my worst enemy.’

Furthermore, IP between the speaker and the referent is unidirectional. That is to say, it is relevant only if felt by the speaker with respect to the referent, despite the referent not feeling the same way, as (14) illustrates:

- (14) Context: The Mayor of Montevideo, Carolina, does not even know who the speaker is.

La Carolina es una intendenta horrible.
 The Carolina is a mayor terrible
 ‘Carolina is a terrible mayor.’

In sum, DefArt+PropNouns convey that the speaker has a close bond with the holder of the name. In what follows, we test the expressive nature of this inference.

2.2. *Interpersonal proximity as an expressive meaning*

As it is well-known, expressive contents are inferences that, in general, are supplementary to the main propositional content of a sentence (Potts 2005; Tonhauser 2011). They do not have truth conditions in the usual sense, but rather use conditions (Gutzman 2019). Accordingly, we argue that the sentence in (9) (now 16) is true if and only if a person called María came to the speaker’s party, but crucially it can only be adequately used if and only if the speaker wants to express that she or he feels close to María.

- (16) La María vino a mi fiesta.
 the Maria came to my party
 ‘María came to my party.’

Truth conditions: María came to the speaker’s party.

Use conditions: The speaker feels a close bond with María.

Given its expressive nature, the IP inference displays a number of properties (cf. Potts 2005; Tonhauser 2011; Gutzman 2019). First of all, the IP inference is not at-issue and therefore, it is not susceptible to direct denial (17). Correlatively, this inference projects over sentential operators such as negation, modals or a conditional antecedent (18).

(17) A: La María vino a mi fiesta.
the María came to my party
'María came to my party.'

B: #No es verdad. Ustedes ni se conocen.
not is true you not-even each-other know
'That's not true. You don't even know each other.'

- (18) a. No es verdad que la María vino a mi fiesta (NEGATION)
not is true that the María came to my party
'It is not true that María went to my party.'
- b. Es posible que la María haya venido a mi fiesta. (MODAL)
is possible that the María has come to my party
'It is possible that María has come to my party.'
- c. Si la María vino a mi fiesta, yo no me enteré. (CONDITIONAL)
if the María came to my party I not noticed
'If María went to my party, I didn't notice it'.

Second, the IP inference is not displaceable, that is, it cannot be associated with anything but the utterance situation (19):

- (19) En 1986 la María usaba lentes.
In 1986 the María wore glasses
'In 1986 María used to wear glasses.'
- a. \Rightarrow the speaker has a close bond with María at the moment of uttering the sentence.
- b. \nRightarrow the speaker had a close bond with María back in 1986.

Finally, the IP inference can only be evaluated with respect to the speaker's perspective:

- (20) Luis me dijo que la María lloró toda la noche.
Luis me told that the María cried all the night
'Luis told me that María cried all night long.'
- a. \Rightarrow The speaker has a close bond with María.
- b. \nRightarrow Luis has a close bond with María.

In sum, IP is a not-at-issue, projective, not-displaceable and perspective-dependent meaning. In the upcoming section we will explain how this expressive meaning can be semantically and syntactically derived.

3. A syntax-semantics proposal for DefArt+PropNouns

In this section we first assume a referentialist approach to proper nouns and a simplified syntax for DPs hosting proper nouns. Then, in order to generate an expressive meaning, we propose that the definite article is an expletive whose presence links the denotation of the DP with the interactional structure above.

3.1. Initial assumptions

We adopt the referentialist view on proper nouns (based on Kripke (1980)), according to which they point to entities directly, without providing a description of those entities (cf. Kaplan 1989; Soames 2002; Jeshion 2015; Saab & Lo Guercio 2018; among many others).⁷ Consequently, the denotation of a bare proper noun is a constant, of type $\langle e \rangle$ (21a). Likewise, we assume that the truth conditional meaning of a DefArt+PropNoun is a constant corresponding to an individual (21b).

- (21) a. $\llbracket \text{María} \rrbracket = m_e$
 b. $\llbracket \text{La María} \rrbracket = m_e$

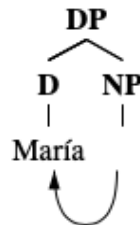
Furthermore, following Longobardi (1994) we assume that (argumental) proper nouns are embedded in DPs. More specifically, bare proper nouns end up in D, as (22a) shows, whereas DefArt+PropNoun have D occupied by the definite article (22b):⁸

- (22) a. María
 b. La María

- (23) a.



- b.



Adopting the denotation in (22) and the syntax in (23), is not free of problems. On the one hand, if NPs headed by proper nouns directly refer to individuals and therefore are of type $\langle e \rangle$, then the uniqueness denotation usually attributed to the definite article, of type $\langle \langle e, t \rangle, e \rangle$ (cf. Partee 1986; Heim 2011), is redundant and incompatible with proper nouns. On the other hand, (22) and (23) do not capture the expressive meaning of DefArt+PropNouns (as seen in Section 2). In the following subsections, we propose that the definite article is an expletive triggering the expressive meaning by virtue of the interactional structure above the DP.

⁷ See Kleiber (1981), Elbourne (2002), Fara (2015), Matushansky (2008) for a predicative approach to proper names. See also García-Ramírez (2024) for a discussion the dispute between the referentialist and the predicativist theories on proper names.

⁸ We follow Saab & Lo Guercio (2020) in assuming that in proper names D selects directly for an NP, that is, no in-between layers including the NumP are projected.

3.2 *The definite article as an expletive*

Longobardi (1994, 2005) argues that a definite article preceding a proper noun in Italian is just a ‘placeholder’ in the head of DP, a projection that must exist in order for nominals to be licenced in argument position. In other words, this article occurs for purely structural reasons, with no semantic import. The existence of an expletive definite article in natural language has also been endorsed by a number of recent works, which, apart from preserving its syntactic nature, claim that the definite expletive denotes an identity function of type $\langle e, e \rangle$ (Saab 2021; Tsiakmakis & Espinal 2022; Espinal et al. 2022; Espinal to appear). We adopt this view for the treatment DefArt+PropNouns in RS:

$$(24) \quad \begin{aligned} \llbracket la \rrbracket &= \lambda x_{er}. x_e \\ \llbracket la \rrbracket (\llbracket María \rrbracket) &= \lambda x_e. x_e(m) \\ \llbracket la María \rrbracket &= m_e \end{aligned}$$

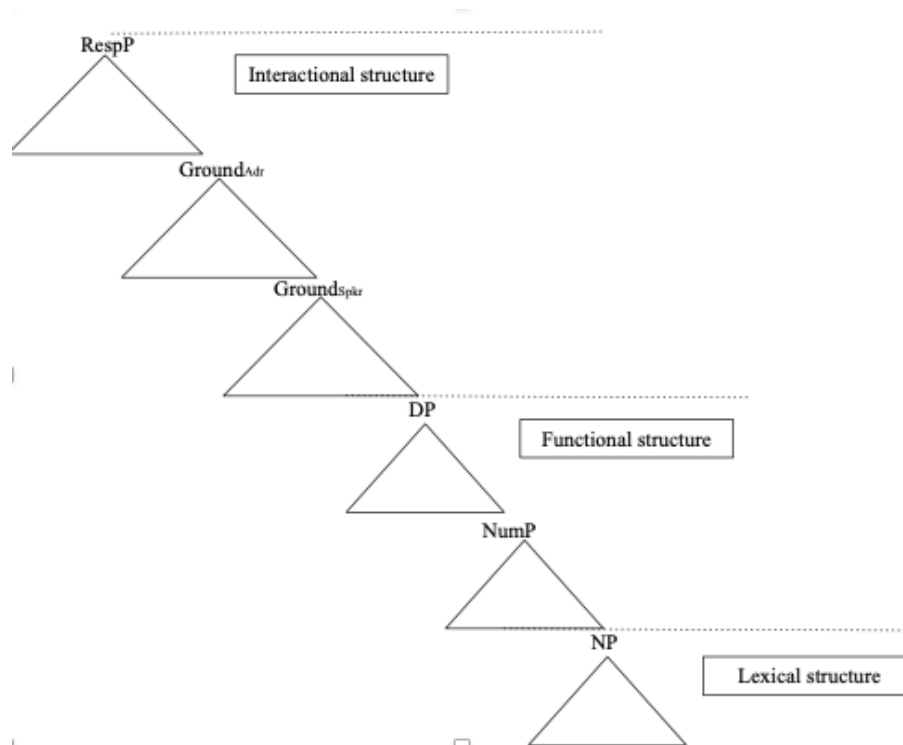
Furthermore, recent work on expletives has pointed out that some cases, like negative markers and personal articles in Italian and Catalan (Greco 2020; Tsiakmakis & Espinal, 2022) or the article in polydefinite DPs in Greek (Tsiakmakis 2023) do bring along some meaning, which is “beyond grammar, at the level where speech act information is encoded” (Tsiakmakis & Espinal 2022, p.23; see also Delfitto et al. 2019; Greco et al. 2018). We add the definite article in RS DefArt+PropNouns to this list.

In what follows, we account for the expressive meaning enrichment of RS DefArt+PropNouns by proposing a syntactic operation framed in the *Interactional Spine Hypothesis* (Wiltschko 2014; Wiltschko & Heim 2016; Wiltschko 2017, 2021).

3.3 *Interpersonal proximity derived through the Interactional Spine*

Our point of departure is Wiltschko (2014)’s *Universal Spine Hypothesis*, represented in (25), based on the heuristic that there is a universal structure regulating the relation between the form, meaning, and distribution of units of language. This structure consists of a number of layers, each associated with a function that can affect the interpretation of units of language. The Spine models both the language used to convey thoughts and the language used to regulate interaction between interlocutors, that is, the structures used to express propositional (truth-conditional) and interactional (non-truth-conditional) meanings. Crucially, the Interactional Spine has a parallel structure and thus it can project above both the nominal domain (like in 25) and the clausal domain (Ritter & Wiltschko 2019).

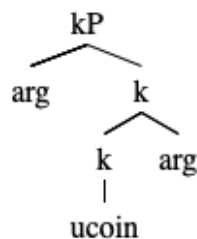
(25)



The interactional component of the Universal Spine (also represented in 25) consists of two interpretive function layers hosting interactional content, namely, RespP and GroundP (Wiltschko & Heim 2016; Wiltschko 2017, 2021). RespP hosts meanings corresponding to turn-taking movements. GroundP, the domain our proposal focuses on, hosts meanings related to shared knowledge between interlocutors. GroundP, in turn, consists of two phrases, *Ground_{Spkr}P* and *Ground_{Adr}P*, where propositional content is related to the speaker's and addressee's mental state, respectively.

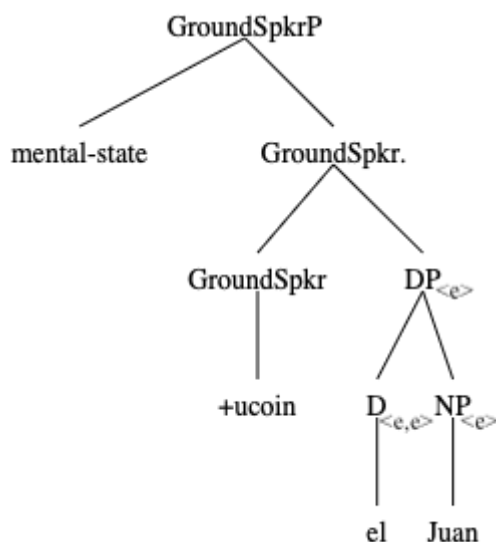
For the purpose of this squib, one last thing to make explicit about the *Universal Spine* is the architecture of the layers. As shown in (26), they are conceived as phrases with a head, a complement and a specifier, so that the head (kP) is a transitive function relating the complement (arg) and the specifier (arg) by means of the coincidence feature [ucoin] (Wiltschko, 2014). When valued positively [+coin], the argument in complement position coincides with the argument in specifier position, and otherwise when valued negatively [-coin]:

(26)



With all this in mind, we propose that DefArt+PropNouns convey interpersonal proximity by virtue of the expletive article relating the DP with the Interactional Spine, as the following example illustrates:

(27)



In (27), the DP and the *GroundSpkrP* are related via a syntactic operation that derives the enriched interpretation on top of the propositional meaning: the DP is where the propositional content is conveyed, namely, the referent Juan, whereas *GroundSpkrP* generates the expressive, non-propositional meaning that the speaker has a close bond with the referent. More technically, the specifier of *GroundSpkrP*, which corresponds to the mental state of the speaker, is related to the complement of *GroundSpkrP*, namely the denotation of the DP, by means of the positive valuing of the [*ucoin*] feature heading *GroundSpkrP*. The positive valuing is activated by the presence of the expletive article.

Our proposal enables us to explain why it is possible for a definite article to combine with a proper noun, not only syntactically but also semantically. Moreover, it accounts for the observation that expletives bring along non-propositional meaning. In this case, interpersonal proximity has been derived through the relation between the functional structure and the interactional structure within the nominal domain.

Carolina Oggiani
 Departamento de Teoría del Lenguaje y Lingüística General
 Facultad de Humanidades y Ciencias de la Educación
 Universidad de la República
 Montevideo, Uruguay
 oggiani.carolina@gmail.com

Ana Aguilar Guevara
 Departamento de Letras Hispánicas, SUAyED
 Facultad de Filosofía y Letras
 Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México
 Ciudad de México
 anaaguilarguevara@gmail.com

4. Conclusion

In this squib, we have provided evidence that DefArt+PropNouns convey the expressive meaning of interpersonal proximity. In other words, DPs like *Carlos* and *el Carlos* are truth-conditionally identical but different regarding their use conditions: *el Carlos* can only be used when the speaker wants to express that he/she feels a close bond with the individual referred to by *Carlos*.

We have also accounted for the structure and interpretation of DefArt+PropNouns. First, we assumed that a proper name directly refers to an individual. Second, we assumed that the definite article occurring in this kind of structure is an expletive. Third, we proposed a syntax for DefArt+PropNouns where the DP conveying the propositional meaning, an individual, relates to the interactional layer *Grounds_{spkrP}* above, in order to generate the expressive meaning.

The present approach explains why the definite determiner combines with a PN, even when there is no apparent need for its presence, neither semantically nor syntactically. In this sense, we believe that this analysis could also be extended to other analogous cases of determined proper nouns in natural language.

References

- Acton, E. K. & C. Potts. (2014). That straight talk: Sarah Palin and the sociolinguistics of demonstratives. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 18(1), pp. 3-31. <https://doi.org/10.1111/josl.12062>
- Bernstein, J., F. Ordóñez, & F. Roca. (2018). Proper names and dual determiner systems in Romance 1 Part. Talk presented at VIII Encuentro de Gramática Generativa, *Casa del Libro*, Argentina.
- Bernstein, J., Ordóñez, F., & Roca. (2019). On the emergence of personal articles in the history of Catalan. In M. Bouzouita, A. Breitbarth, L. J. M. Danckaert & E. Witzhausen (eds.), *Cycles in Language Change*. Oxford, Oxford University Press, pp. 88-108. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198824961.003.0006>
- Bernstein, J., Ordóñez, F., & Roca. (2021). Emphatic elements and the development of definite articles: Evidence for a layered DP in early Romance. *Journal of Historical Syntax*, 5(16-25), pp. 1-32.
- Camacho, J. (2019). Un tal Ernestico/a certain Ernestico: On the structure of proper names. *Glossa: a Journal of General Linguistics*, 4(1), pp. 1-23. <https://doi.org/10.5334/gjgl.774>
- Caro Reina, J. (2022). The definite article with personal names in Romance languages. In J. Caro Reina & J. Helmbrecht (eds.), *Proper Names versus Common Nouns: Morphosyntactic Contrasts in the Languages of the World*. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Mouton, pp. 51-92. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110672626-003>
- Caro Reina, J., & J. Helmbrecht (Ed.). (2022). *Proper Names versus Common Nouns: Morphosyntactic Contrasts in the Languages of the World* (Vol. 29). Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co K. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110672626>
- Christophersen, P. (1939). *The Articles: A Study of Their Theory and Use in English*. Copenhagen, Munksgaard.
- Davis, C. & C. Potts. (2010). Affective demonstratives and the division of pragmatic labor. In M. Aloni, H. Bastiaanse, T. de Jager, & K. Schulz (eds.), *Logic, Language, and Meaning: 17th Amsterdam Colloquium Revised Selected Papers*. Berlin: Springer, pp. 42-52. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-642-14287-1_5

- Delfitto, D., C. Melloni & M. Vender. (2019). The (en)rich(ed) meaning of expletive negation. *Evolutionary Linguistic Theory*, 1(1), pp. 57–89. <https://doi.org/10.1075/elt.00004.del>
- Espinal, M.T. (To appear). Expletive pronouns and expletive articles. In S. Armoskaite & M. Wiltschko (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Determiners*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- García-Ramírez, E. (2024). Referential inconstancy in natural language. *Glossa: a Journal of General Linguistics* 9(1). pp. 1–23.
- Ghomeshi, J. & Massam, D. (2009). The proper D connection. In J. Ghomeshi, I. Paul & M. Wiltschko (eds.), *Determiners: Universals and Variation*. Amsterdam, John Benjamins Publishing Company, pp. 67–96. <https://doi.org/10.1075/la.147.02gho>
- Greco, C., L. Haegeman & T. Phan. (2018). Expletives and speaker-related meaning. In M. Sheehan & L. Bailey (eds.), *Order and Structure in Syntax II: Subjecthood and Argument Structure*. Berlin, Language Science Press, pp. 69–93.
- Greco, M. (2020). Is expletive negation a unitary phenomenon? *Lingue e Linguaggio*, 1, pp. 25–58.
- Gutzmann, D. (2019). *The Grammar of Expressivity*. Oxford, Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198812128.001.0001>
- Heim, I. (1982). *The Semantics of Definite and Indefinite Noun Phrases*. PhD thesis. Amherst, University of Massachusetts.
- Heim, I. (2011). Definiteness and indefiniteness. *Semantics: An International Handbook of Natural Language Meaning*, 2, pp. 996-1025. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110255072.996>
- von Heusinger, K. (2007). Indefinite proper names and quantification over manifestations. In E. Puig-Waldmüller (ed.), *Proceedings of Sinn und Bedeutung 11*. Barcelona, Universitat Pompeu Fabra, pp. 332-345.
- von Heusinger, K. (1997). Salience and definiteness. *The Prague Bulletin of Mathematical Linguistics* 67, pp. 5–23.
- von Heusinger, K. (2006). Salience and anaphoric definite noun phrases. *Acta Linguistica Hafniensia* 38(1), pp. 33–53. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03740463.2006.10412202>
- Jeshion, R. (2015). Referentialism and predicativism about proper names. *Erkenntnis* 80(Suppl 2), pp. 363-404. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10670-014-9700-3>
- Kamp, H. (1981). A theory of truth and semantic representation. In J. Groenendijk, T. Janssen & M. (eds.), *Formal Methods in the Study of Language*. Wiley Online Library, pp. 277–322.
- Kaplan, D. (1989). Demonstratives. In J. Almog, J. Perry & H. Wettstein (eds.), *Themes from Kaplan*. Oxford, Oxford University Press, pp. 481–563.
- Kripke, S. (1980). *Naming and Necessity*. Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press.
- Laca, B. (1999). Presencia y ausencia de determinante. In I. Bosque & V. Demonte (eds.), *Gramática Descriptiva de la Lengua Española*. Espasa, Calpe, pp. 891-928.
- Lewis, D. (1979). Scorekeeping in a language game. *Journal of Philosophical Logic* 8, pp. 339-359. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-642-67458-7_12
- Longobardi, G. (1994). Reference and proper names: A theory of N-movement in syntax and logical form. *Linguistic Inquiry* 25(4), pp. 609–665.
- Longobardi, G. (2005). Toward a unified grammar of reference. *Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft* 24, pp. 5-44. <https://doi.org/10.1515/zfsw.2005.24.1.5>

- Oggiani, C. (2023). The semantics of (not so) bare nominals in Rioplatense Spanish. *Caderno de Squibs: Temas em Estudos Formais da Linguagem* 8(1), pp. 110-124.
- Partee, B. (1986). Noun phrase interpretation and type-shifting principles. In J. Groenendijk, D. de Jongh & M. Stokhof (eds.), *Studies in Discourse Representation Theory and the Theory of Generalized Quantifiers*. Dordrecht, Foris, pp. 115–143. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783112420027-006>
- Potts, C. (2005). *The Logic of Conventional Implicature*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Potts, Christopher & Florian Schwarz. 2010. Affective 'this'. *Linguistic Issues in Language Technology* 3(5), pp. 1-30. <https://doi.org/10.33011/lilt.v3i.1219>
- Ritter, E. & Wiltschko, M. (2019). Nominal speech act structure: Evidence from the structural deficiency of impersonal pronouns. *Canadian Journal of Linguistics/Revue canadienne de linguistique* 64(4), pp. 709-729. <https://doi.org/10.1017/cnj.2019.10>
- Ritter, E. & Wiltschko, M. (2020). Interacting with vocatives! *Proceedings of the CLA 2020*, pp. 1-17.
- Rotter, S. & Liu, M. (2024). A register approach to negative concord versus negative polarity items in English. *Journal of Linguistics* 62(1), pp. 1-29. <https://doi.org/10.1515/ling-2023-0016>
- Saab, A. & N. Lo Guercio. (2019). No name. The allosemy view. *Studia Lingüística* 74(1), pp. 60-97. <https://doi.org/10.1111/stul.12116>
- Saab, A. (2021). A short note on honorifics and personal articles in Spanish and Catalan: Consequences for the theory of proper names. *Isogloss: Open Journal of Romance Linguistics* 7(6), pp. 1-14. <https://doi.org/10.5565/rev/isogloss.142>
- Soames, S. (2002). *Beyond Rigidity: The Unfinished Semantic Agenda of Naming and Necessity*. Oxford, Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/0195145283.001.0001>
- Tonhauser, J. (2012). Diagnosing (not-)at-issue content. *Proceedings of Semantics of Under-represented Languages of the Americas (SULA)* 6, pp. 239-254.
- Tsiakmakis, E. & M. T. Espinal. (2022). Expletiveness in grammar and beyond. *Glossa: a Journal of General Linguistics* 7(1), pp. 1-36. <https://doi.org/10.16995/glossa.5807>
- Wiltschko, M. (2014). *The Universal Structure of Categories: Towards a Formal Typology*. Cambridge, UK, Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139833899>
- Wiltschko, M. & J. Heim. (2016). The syntax of confirmationals: A neo-performative analysis. In G. Kaltenböck, E. Keizer, & A. Hohmann (eds.), *Outside the Clause: Form and Function of Extra-Clausal Constituents*. Amsterdam, John Benjamins, pp. 305-340. <https://doi.org/10.1075/slcs.178.11wil>
- Wiltschko, M. (2021). *The Grammar of Interactional Language*. Cambridge, UK, Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108693707>
- Ziff, P. (1960). *Semantic Analysis*. N.Y., Ithaca, Cornell University Press.