

2.1 Optimality-Theory (Farkas and de Swart 2007, 2010)

In their analysis of the cross-linguistic variation of definiteness in plural generics, Farkas and de Swart (2007, 2010) (henceforth FandS) appeal to the two optimality-theoretic constraints in (5).

- (5) a. MaxMax: Maximize maximality features of the discourse referent by reflecting them in the nominal projection.
 b. *Def/[–Fam]: Avoid non-familiar definites.

FandS assume that K and Gen plurals introduce maximal ([+Max]) discourse referents which are unfamiliar ([–Fam]) by default. A discourse referent introduced by a K plural is the sum of all possible instances, derived via the sum operator Σ , and one introduced by a Gen plural is bound by the generic operator. With that, the ranking of the constraints in (5) yield the two sorts of languages exemplified in Section 1 by English and Italian. First, MaxMax » *Def/[–Fam] yields a so-called high-maximality language like Italian, Spanish, French, Romanian, Hungarian or Greek, where K and Gen plurals are optimally definite regardless of the familiarity of the discourse referent. Table 1 and onward show tableaux with [–Fam] discourse referents.

EXTINCT(Σ DINOSAUR) [+Max] [–Fam]	MaxMax	*Def/[–Fam]
Dinosauri sono estinti.	*	
^{EP} I dinosauri sono estinti.		*

Gen _x [DOG(x)] [BARK(x)] [+Max] [–Fam]	MaxMax	*Def/[–Fam]
Cani abbaiano.	*	
^{EP} I cani abbaiano.		*

Table 1: FandS, high-maximality languages.

Next, *Def/[–Fam] » MaxMax yields a high-familiarity language like English or Dutch, where non-definite K and Gen plurals are licensed by [–Fam] discourse referents, Table 2.

EXTINCT(Σ DINOSAUR) [+Max] [–Fam]	*Def/[–Fam]	MaxMax
^{EP} Dinosaurs are extinct.		*
The dinosaurs are extinct.	*	

Gen _x [DOG(x)] [BARK(x)] [+Max] [–Fam]	*Def/[–Fam]	MaxMax
^{EP} Dogs bark.		*
The dogs bark.	*	

Table 2: FandS, high-familiarity languages.

Lastly, Farkas and de Swart (2010) characterize German as having optional definiteness in plural generics (see Schaden 2013 for a more nuanced view). They therefore analyze the two constraints as unranked in German, Table 3.

EXTINCT(Σ DINOSAUR) [+Max] [–Fam]	MaxMax	*Def/[–Fam]
^{EP} Dinosaurier sind ausgestorben.	*	
^{EP} Die Dinosaurier sind ausgestorben.		*

Gen _x [DOG(x)] [BARK(x)] [+Max] [–Fam]	MaxMax	*Def/[–Fam]
^{EP} Hunde bellen.	*	
^{EP} Die Hunde bellen.		*

Table 3: Farkas and de Swart (2010), German.

In conclusion, FandS assume that both K and Gen plurals introduce maximal discourse referents. Whether the plural must be definite is determined by the language's ranking of MaxMax, so FandS predict uniform definiteness between K and Gen plurals. The same is predicted by Dayal (2004, 2009), presented next.

2.2 Neo-Carlsonian (Dayal 2004, 2009)

In her analysis of the cross-linguistic variation of definiteness in plural generics, Dayal (2004, 2009) appeals to two dimensions of variation. The first involves the definite article: It has the canonical maximality function, notated as ι , and it may also have the non-canonical kind-reference function, notated as $\hat{\iota}$. The second dimension involves the Blocking Principle (Chierchia 1998), which is in full or partial effect. In full effect, a covert type-shift (like $\hat{\iota}$) is blocked if it is equivalent to any function of an overt determiner. In partial effect, a covert type-shift is blocked if it is equivalent to a canonical function of an overt determiner. With that, Table 4 summarizes Dayal's account of the cross-linguistic variation in (6), where definiteness is forbidden in plural K generics in (6a) English, optional in (6b) German, and obligatory in (6c) Italian.

- (6) a. (*The) dogs are widespread.
 b. (Die) pandabär-en sind vom Aussterben bedroht.
 DEF.PL panda-PL COP.PL of.the extinction threatened
 'Pandas are facing extinction.'
 c. *(I) can-i sono diffus-i.
 DEF.PL dog-PL COP.PL widespread-PL
 'Dogs are widespread.'

	Definite article lexicalizes	Blocking
English	ι	full
German	ι $\hat{\iota}$	partial
Italian	ι $\hat{\iota}$	full

Table 4: Dayal (2004, 2009).

Following Table 4, the definite article in English lacks the $\hat{\iota}$ function, so kind-reference by plurals requires covert $\hat{\iota}$ and cannot be achieved via definiteness, (6a). In Italian, covert $\hat{\iota}$ is equivalent to the $\hat{\iota}$ function of the definite article, so covert $\hat{\iota}$ is blocked, which necessitates the definite article in (6c). In German, the definite version of (6b) comes from *die* 'the' denoting $\hat{\iota}$, and the bare version comes from covert $\hat{\iota}$, which is not blocked because (i) $\hat{\iota}$ is a non-canonical function of the definite article, and (ii) the Blocking Principle is in partial effect in German.

(6) involves K plurals, and the pattern replicates with Gen plurals in Dayal's dataset. As an extension of Carlson's (1980) analysis where generic characterization by bare plurals in English is mediated by kind-reference, Dayal posits the same for definite plurals in e.g. Italian, (7).

- (7) Generic characterization by plurals is mediated by kind-reference.
 (Dayal 2004, 2009, Cohen 2020)

The references in (7) analyze K and Gen plurals (definite or not) as denoting kinds via $\hat{\iota}$, which maps plural properties to their kind-correlates. For example, K *dogs* and *I cani* 'the dogs' denote $\hat{\iota}$ DOGS, which can be the argument of a kind-level predicate as in (6a) and (6c) respectively. Gen *dogs* and *I cani* 'the dogs' also denote $\hat{\iota}$ DOGS, and generic quantification is introduced over instances of the kind. Thus, (7) predicts uniform definiteness between K and Gen plurals. However, the next section shows that this is too strong.

3 Definiteness is Better with K Compared to Gen Plurals

Contra the prediction of uniform definiteness between K and Gen plurals by the theories in Section 2, Section 3.1 summarizes the existing evidence for definiteness being better with K compared to

Gen plurals, and Section 3.2 presents new evidence from Hebrew. This calls for the theories to be adjusted, as is done in Section 4.

3.1 Dutch, German and Fering

In a questionnaire study, Oosterhoff (2008) collected acceptability judgements (of between 1–5) from 29 speakers, each speaking a different variety of Dutch or Frisian, for the (non-)definite K plural in (8) and the (non-)definite Gen plurals in (9).

- (8) (De) telefoon-s is uitgevonden door een Schot.
 DEF telephone-PL were invented by a Scotsman
 ‘(The) telephones were invented by a Scotsman.’
- (9) a. (De) wiel-en zijn rond.
 DEF wheel-PL COP.PL round
 ‘(The) wheels are round.’
 b. (De) stofzuiger-s mak-en lawaai.
 DEF vacuum.cleaner-PL make-PL noise
 ‘(The) vacuum cleaners make noise.’

The average acceptability of (8–9) is summarized in Table 5. Definiteness makes a huge difference for the Gen plurals in (9), which are perfectly acceptable as non-definite but unacceptable as definite. By contrast, definiteness hardly makes a difference for the K plural in (8), where both versions are borderline acceptable.

	non-definite	definite
kind-denoting (K)	2.66	2.52
Generic-characterizing (Gen)	5.00	1.45

Table 5: Acceptability of (8–9), Oosterhoff (2008:§5.5.3).

The *definite* column in Table 5 shows that definiteness is better with the K plural in (8) compared to the Gen plurals in (9). This pattern replicates in an experiment on German by Barton et al. (2015), which included definite K and Gen plurals as in (10a) and (10b) respectively.

- (10) a. Die Eisbär-en sind vom Aussterben bedroht.
 DEF.PL polar.bear-PL COP.PL of.the extinction threatened
 ‘The polar bears are facing extinction.’
 b. Die Pferd-e sind Herdentier-e.
 DEF.PL horse-PL COP.PL gregarious.animal-PL
 ‘Horses are gregarious animals.’

The participants of Barton et al. were tasked with accepting or rejecting sentences. Definite K plurals as in (10a) were 84.9% accepted, and definite Gen plurals as in (10b) were only 61.9% accepted. Non-definite K and Gen plurals were 99.5% accepted, as summarized in Table 6—another case where definiteness is better with K compared to Gen plurals.

	non-definite	definite
kind-denoting (K)	99.5%	84.9%
Generic-characterizing (Gen)		61.9%

Table 6: Barton et al. (2015) acceptability.

The third piece of evidence for the preceding pattern comes from the Frisian dialect of Fering (Schwarz 2009); the K plural in (11a) is acceptable with the A-form definite article, whereas the Gen plural in (11b) is preferably non-definite.

- (11) a. A waalfask-er sterew ütj.
 DEF.PL whale-PL are.going extinct
 ‘The whales are going extinct.’
- b. (#A) Rooz-en san emfintelk jin froost.
 DEF.PL wheel-PL COP.PL sensitive against frost
 ‘Roses are sensitive to frost.’

To reinforce the non-accidentality of the pattern where definiteness is better with K compared to Gen plurals, the next subsection shows that it replicates in Hebrew.

3.2 Hebrew

I ascertained the definiteness of Hebrew K plurals via a corpus study on heTenTen21 (Jakubiček et al. 2013) and the four predicates in Table 7. I extracted the plural arguments and classified them according to whether they were definite or non-definite (= bare). The plural arguments were 96.7–100% definite, as summarized in Table 7.

predicate	definiteness of K plural
nikxedú ‘went extinct’	98.2% (270/275)
hukxedú ‘were exterminated’	100% (17/17)
hitrabú ‘propagated’	96.7% (231/239)
hitmaatú ‘dwindled’	96.8% (180/186)

Table 7: Definiteness of K plurals in heTenTen21.

Of the 19 bare plurals enumerated in Table 7, two are translations of English bare plurals, six are speculated as being such translations, three occur in poetry, five (all *hitmaatú* ‘dwindled’) occur in Jewish legal text, and two occur with *hitrabú* as an individual-level predicate meaning ‘reproduced’ rather than a kind-level predicate meaning ‘increased in number’. The last case is in (12), which seems to be a genuine (albeit rare) bare K plural.¹

- (12) [It is not survival of the fittest, but survival of the adaptable – after all,]
 dinozáur-im nikxed-ú me-ál pnéj kadúr ha-aréts,
 dinosaur-PL went.extinct-PL from-on face.of ball.of DEF-earth
 ‘Dinosaurs went extinct off the face of the earth,’
 [and it is a fact that the small and weak Jewish people survived all of the possible wars and disasters of the past two thousand years.]

Continuing to Gen plurals, I ascertained their definiteness by extracting from heTenTen21 the strings in Table 8 which are interpreted generically, i.e. they express the generalizations that (i) babies cry, (ii) dogs bark, (iii) fish swim and (iv) birds fly. (i–ii) are about domestic sound nuisances, and (iii–iv) are about locomotion. The Gen plurals in (i–ii) and (iii–iv) are respectively around 10% and 20% definite, Table 8.

	definiteness of Gen plural
(i) (ha-)tinokót boxím. ‘(The) babies cry.’	8.2% (8/97)
(ii) (ha-)klavím novxím. ‘(The) dogs bark.’	10.0% (4/40)
(iii) (ha-)dagím soxím. ‘(The) fish swim.’	20.0% (2/10)
(iv) (ha-)tsiporím afót. ‘(The) birds fly.’	20.8% (10/48)

Table 8: Definiteness of Gen plurals in heTenTen21.

(13) shows examples of bare and definite (*ha-*)*tsiporím afót* ‘(The) birds fly.’ Intuitively, the bare plural in (13a) could be definite, and the definite one in (13b) could be bare, i.e. definiteness is

¹ Retrieved 5 July 2023 from <https://panastreet.blogspot.com/search/label/קולנועית20דמות>.

somewhat optional.

- (13) a. *éx matos-ím tas-ím ba- avír? ve- láma tsipor-ím*
 how plane-PL fly-PL in.the air? and why bird-PL
af-ót ve- lo nofl-ót?
 fly-PL and not fall-PL
 ‘How do planes fly in the air? And why do birds fly and not fall?’
- b. *láma ha- tsipor-ím af-ót?*
 why DEF bird-PL fly-PL
ki elohéj ha- tsipor-ím hexlít kax.
 because god.of DEF bird-PL decided such
 ‘Why do the birds fly? Because the god of the birds decided as such.’

Most of the Gen plurals enumerated in Table 8 are non-definite, and it is not immediately clear why some are definite, e.g. (13b). Also unclear is whether it is accidental that (i–ii) are less definite than (iii–iv) (~10% vs. ~20%). Still, it suffices for present purposes that Hebrew replicates the pattern of definiteness being better with K compared to Gen plurals. This is problematic for the prediction of uniform definiteness by the theories in Section 2, which is remedied next.

4 De-composing Maximality

This section adjusts the theories in Section 2 to account for the pattern where definiteness is better with K compared to Gen plurals. This is done by integrating the observation that kind-reference involves a narrower notion of maximality than generic characterization.

4.1 Optimality-Theory

As mentioned in Section 2.1, FandS assume that K and Gen plurals introduce maximal discourse referents in different ways: The maximality of K comes from the sum operator Σ , whereas that of Gen comes from binding by the generic operator. These are different notions of maximality, so it would not be surprising if some languages distinguished between them, as do the languages in Section 3. These languages motivate decomposing MaxMax into the two constraints in (14).

- (14) a. Max Σ Max: Kind-denoting nominals should be definite.
 b. MaxGenMax: Generic-characterizing nominals should be definite.

As part of the account of the pattern in Section 3, I posit that (14a) is universally ranked as no lower than (14b). This is grounded in (14a) involving a narrower notion of maximality. On the one hand, kinds are instantiated by all possible instances, e.g. the dog species is instantiated by every possible dog specimen. By contrast, generic characterization admits exceptions, e.g. the existence of dogs who do not bark does not falsify *Dogs bark*. This ranking makes the typological prediction in (15), which is compatible with the present data.

- (15) If Gen plurals must be definite in a language, then so must K plurals.
 (\Leftrightarrow There are no languages where Gen plural must be definite, but K plurals need not be.)

In addition to predicting (15), the preceding ranking maintains the analysis of FandS in the manner summarized in (16a–b); both MaxMax constraints are ranked above *Def/[–Fam] in high-maximality languages like Italian, and both are ranked below it in high-familiarity languages like English. Crucially, I also account for the Hebrew and German patterns in Section 3 in the manner summarized in (16c–d) and expanded upon next.

- (16) a. {Max Σ Max, MaxGenMax} » *Def/[–Fam] High-maximality (e.g. Italian)
 b. *Def/[–Fam] » {Max Σ Max, MaxGenMax} High-familiarity (e.g. English)
 c. Max Σ Max » *Def/[–Fam] » MaxGenMax Hebrew pattern in Section 3.2
 d. *Def/[–Fam] » Max Σ Max » MaxGenMax German pattern in Section 3.1

Table 9 shows how (16c) accounts for the Hebrew pattern in Section 3.2, where K plurals are preferably definite and Gen plurals are preferably non-definite: *Def/[–Fam] is ranked between the two MaxMax constraints.

EXTINCT(ΣDINOSAUR) [+Max] [–Fam]	MaxΣMax	*Def/[–Fam]	MaxGenMax
dinozáurim níkxedú.	*		
^{EP} ha-dinozáurim níkxedú.		*	

Gen _x [DOG(x)] [BARK(x)] [+Max] [–Fam]	MaxΣMax	*Def/[–Fam]	MaxGenMax
^{EP} klavím novxím.			*
ha-klavím novxím.		*	

Table 9: Account of Hebrew pattern in Section 2.2.

Continuing to German, regarding (16d) as stochastic accounts for the data in Table 2 (repeated below). Stochastic means that the constraints overlap such that the lower-ranked constraints infrequently outrank the higher-ranked ones (Boersma and Hayes 2001), Table 10.

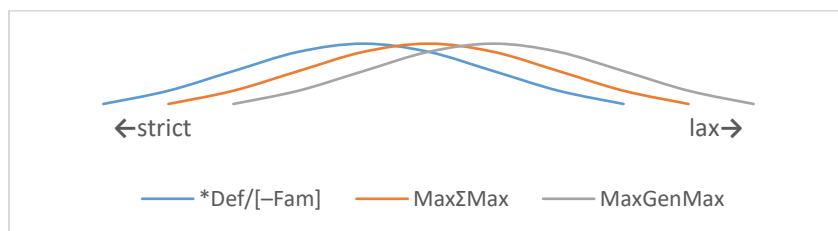


Table 10: Stochastic *Def/[–Fam] » MaxΣMax » MaxGenMax.

	non-definite	definite
kind-denoting (K)	99.5%	84.9%
Generic-characterizing (Gen)		61.9%

Table 2: Barton et al. (2015) acceptability.

The stochastic ranking in Table 10 accounts for the pattern in Table 2 as follows. First, the 99.5% acceptability of non-definite K and Gen plurals is because the majority grammar is one where the non-definite candidate is optimal. Second, 84.9% means that in 84.9% percent of the time, participants evaluated definite K plurals via the minority grammar where MaxΣMax » *Def/[–Fam] (the definite candidate is optimal). Third, 61.9% means that in 61.9% of the time, participants evaluated definite Gen plurals via the minority grammar where MaxGenMax » *Def/[–Fam] (the definite candidate is optimal). Lastly, the (statistically-significant) difference between 84.9% and 61.9% is because MaxΣMax is closer to *Def/[–Fam] than MaxGenMax is, i.e. the minority ranking of MaxΣMax » *Def/[–Fam] (definite K optimal) is more frequent than that of MaxGenMax » *Def/[–Fam] (definite Gen optimal).

In conclusion, whereas FandS' appeal to MaxMax predicts uniform definiteness between K and Gen plurals, the present decomposition of MaxMax accounts for the pattern where definiteness is better with K compared to Gen plurals. This pattern also poses a challenge to the neo-Carlsonian approach to genericity, which is met next.

4.2 Neo-Carlsonian

Recall that the aspect of the neo-Carlsonian approach in (7) (repeated below) predicts uniform definiteness between K and Gen plurals.

- (7) Generic characterization by plurals is mediated by kind-reference.

Oosterhoff (2008) poses a challenge to (7), which comes from his finding that some of his consultants reject the non-definite K plural in (17a) (marked with %), while all accept the non-definite Gen plural in (17b) (Dutch).

- (17) a. % Ijsber-en word-en met uitsterven bedreigd.
 polar.bear-PL COP.PL with extinction threatened
 ‘Polar bears are threatened with extinction.’
 b. Ijsber-en leid-en een zwervend bestaan.
 polar.bear-PL lead-PL a roving life
 ‘Polar bears lead a roving life.’

Under (7), generic characterization as in (17b) is mediated by kind-reference. So, a neo-Carlsonian would conclude from the acceptability of (17b) that *ijsberen* ‘polar bears’ can be kind-denoting. If so, then why do some speakers reject (17a)?

Oosterhoff’s conclusion from (17) is that (7) should be abandoned. However, this would make it mysterious why K and Gen plurals are usually uniform in definiteness, as in English, Italian, and the other languages listed in Section 1. Abandoning (7) also might admit the unattested pattern where definiteness is better with Gen compared to K plurals. This subsection demonstrates how to abandon (7) while excluding the unattested pattern.

Recall from Section 2.2 that Dayal (2004, 2009) assumes that a definite article may or may not have the non-canonical kind-reference function. This follows from the scale of canonical functions of definite articles, which for Dayal consists of $\iota > \cap$ (if a definite article has a function on the scale, then it also has all of the functions to the left). I expand the scale by positing $\iota > \cap > \text{Gen}$, where $\cap > \text{Gen}$ is grounded in \cap involving a narrower notion of maximality (Section 4.1).

With the expanded scale, the Hebrew pattern in Section 3.2 is accounted for via (i) the definite article lexicalizes ι and \cap , and (ii) Blocking is in full effect. Covert \cap is therefore blocked (K plurals must be definite), while covert Gen is allowed (Gen plurals can be non-definite).

Dayal’s second dimension of variation is that the Blocking Principle can be suspended for non-canonical functions of the definite article. To appeal to as little variation as possible, I pursue a uniform Blocking Principle. However, it cannot be identical to Chierchia’s (1998) principle, which disallows the optionality in German. I therefore posit (18), which weakens Chierchia’s principle by appealing to the notion of a fully-lexicalized function.

- (18) A covert type-shift is blocked if it is equivalent to a fully-lexicalized function of an overt determiner.

(18) accounts for the German pattern in Table 2 as follows. First, non-definite K and Gen plurals are fully acceptable in German because the definite article has not fully lexicalized \cap or Gen, so covert \cap and Gen are allowed. The lack of full lexicalization is indicated by definite K and Gen plurals respectively being only 84.9% and 61.9% acceptable. Assuming lexicalization proceeds along the scale of canonicity, Gen cannot be more lexicalized than \cap . This allows definiteness to be better with K compared to Gen plurals, while disallowing the opposite unattested pattern. Table 11 summarizes the analysis, where the percentages represent degrees of lexicalization.

	Definite article lexicalizes				
English	ι	100%			
Hebrew	ι	100%	\cap	100%	
German	ι	100%	\cap	84.9%	Gen 61.9%
Italian	ι	100%	\cap	100%	Gen 100%

Table 11: Analysis with uniform Blocking and degrees of lexicalization.

It follows from the present analysis that the cross-linguistic variation in definiteness of plural generics stems entirely from what the definite article lexicalizes and to what degree, while the Blocking Principle is uniform. This improves on Dayal’s appeal to variation in the Blocking Principle. Also, the present analysis is compatible with the diachrony of the definite article involving gradual

expansion to generic contexts (Skrzypek et al. 2021 and references therein), which here is formalized as gradual lexicalization of $\overset{\circ}{\text{N}}$ and then Gen. Lastly, it is a feature of the present analysis that (7) can be abandoned (generic characterization by plurals is mediated by kind-reference). (7) is motivated by a limited dataset where K and Gen plurals are uniform in definiteness, which is not always the case in the present expanded dataset.

In conclusion, this section and the previous one account for the pattern where definiteness is better with K compared to Gen plurals, while disallowing the opposite unattested pattern, in a manner which does not rely on (7). The next section discusses how the present lexicalization analysis can be distinguished from the optimality-theoretic (OT) one in Section 4.1.

5 Discussion

To the question of how the OT and lexicalization analyses differ, the latter is committed to kind-reference being a function of the definite article in high-maximality languages (e.g. Italian), whereas OT views the definite article as one of possibly multiple ways to reflect maximality of kind-level discourse referents, without kind-reference being a function of the definite article. Thus, if K plurals in high-maximality languages are licensed as non-definite by means which can be viewed as reflecting maximality, this would point towards OT.

Consider (19) (Hebrew) as a case study for distinguishing between the analyses, where definiteness is reported as optional for the K plural (Doron 2003).

- (19) (ha-) nemer-ím hem mín mugán.
 DEF tiger-PL COP.PL species protected-SG
 ‘(The) tigers are a protected species.’

To corroborate (19), I extracted from heTenTen21 the plural bare and definite arguments of *mín* ‘species’, which were 76.6% definite (59/77). This challenges the face-value prediction of the analyses in Section 4 that Hebrew K plurals must be definite (see also (12)). For OT, this challenge is met by noting that MaxMax does not require maximality to be marked with a definite article, plus appealing to the analysis of the Hebrew copula as an anaphoric pronoun anteceded by the subject (Shirtz 2014). Thus, MaxΣMax is satisfied in the bare version of (19) via the copula, i.e. the copula serves to reflect the maximality of the kind-level discourse referent introduced by bare *nemerím* ‘tigers’. This is perhaps achieved by the property of definite (as opposed to indefinite) pronouns where they refer maximally to their antecedents, e.g. (20).

- (20) [The tigers]_i crouched and {they_i, some_j} growled. ($j \subseteq i$)

The sentences in the corpus study in Section 3.2 lack copulas, which could explain why their K plurals are +97% definite, as opposed to K plurals as in (19) being only 76.6% definite. This is compatible with the copula licensing the non-definite K plural in (19).

Turning to the lexicalization analysis, one might conclude from the acceptability of bare (19) that the Hebrew definite article has not fully lexicalized $\overset{\circ}{\text{N}}$. However, this has nothing to say about the hypothesized role of the copula in licensing the non-definite K plural in (19), i.e. it does not explain why K plurals as in (19) (with a copula) are 76.6% definite, while the K plurals in Section 3.2 (without a copula) are +97% definite. OT has more to say in suggesting that the copula reflects maximality, which I take as an initial advantage for OT.

Regardless of the choice between the analyses, one must admit the pattern where definiteness is better with K compared to Gen plurals, which is achieved here by integrating the observation that kind-reference involves a narrower notion of maximality than generic-characterization.

6 Conclusion

This paper aggregates and presents new evidence for the generalization that if K and Gen plurals are non-uniform in definiteness, then definiteness is better with K compared to Gen plurals. This

poses a challenge to the OT and neo-Carlsonian theories of genericity, which predict uniform definiteness between K and Gen plurals, and the key to meeting the challenge is to integrate the observation that kind-reference involves a narrower notion of maximality than generic characterization: The latter admits exceptions, but there are no exceptions to the instantiation relation. In OT, this means that the constraint to reflect the maximality of K plurals is no weaker than the constraint to reflect the maximality of Gen plurals. In an analysis following Dayal (2004, 2009), this means that the lexicalization of Gen by a definite article is no more advanced than its lexicalization of \bar{n} . Both analyses rule out the unattested pattern where definiteness is better with Gen compared to K plurals, and they do not rely on generic-characterization by plurals being mediated by kind-reference. Lastly, the analyses differ in that OT leaves open the possibility of maximality being reflected by means other than the definite article, e.g. the copula.

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