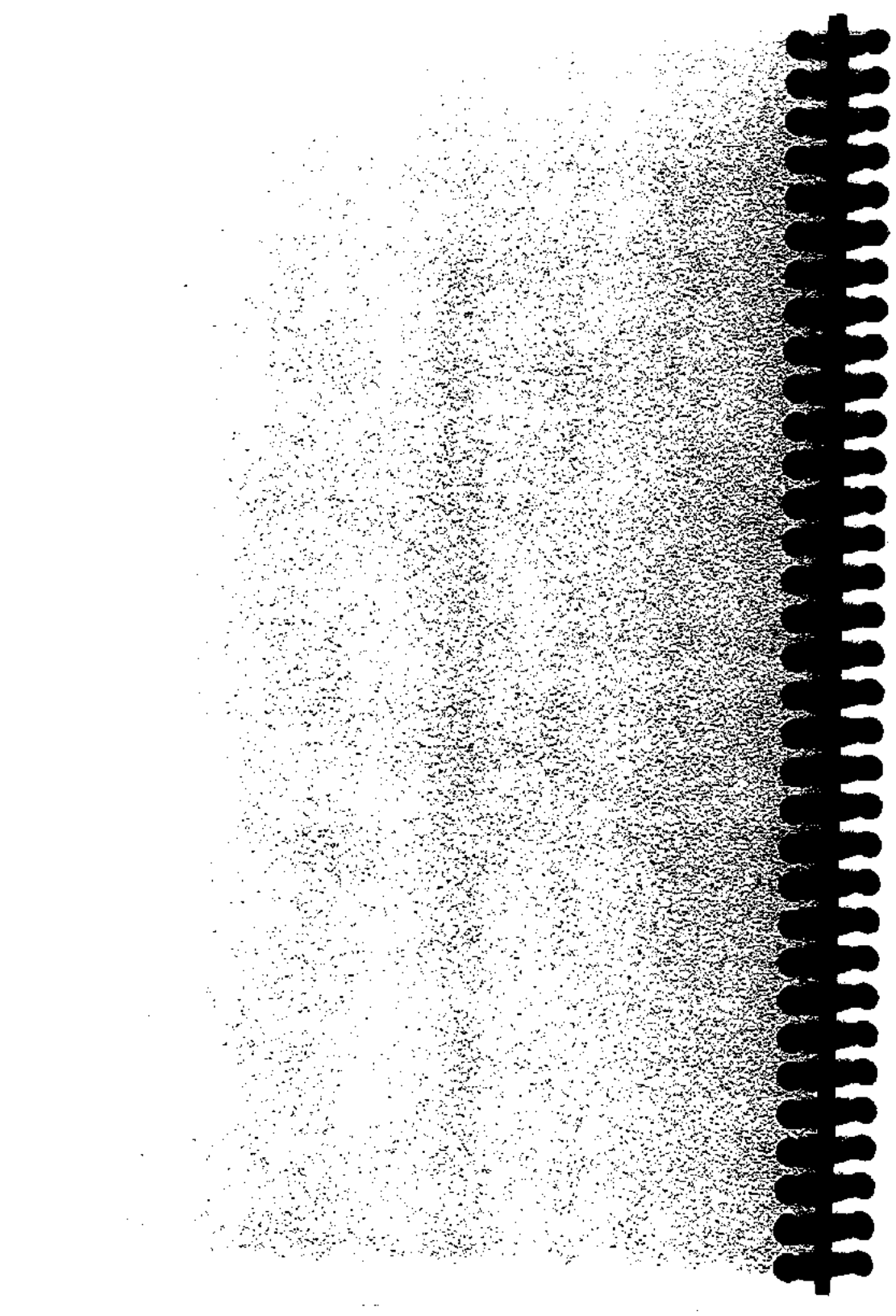

THE SYNTAX AND SEMANTICS OF THE WEAK LOCATIVE

by

Christina M. Tortora

A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the University of Delaware in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics

Fall 1997

THE SYNTAX AND SEMANTICS OF

THE WEAK LOCATIVE

by

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Those are my principles. If you don't like them I have others.

– Groucho Marx

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

For the majority of my graduate career, both my research and my husband have pulled me in (spatially) different directions, but the life of a gypsy graduate student has had its advantages. I have met many people along the journey whose interest and attention have rendered both my survival and this dissertation possible; I am grateful to have this opportunity to thank them.

First I thank my professors at the University of Delaware for their persistent moral and intellectual support. Peter Cole, my advisor, deserves thanks on many fronts: his enthusiasm for teaching solid argumentation is what sparked my interest in syntax. I also thank him for keeping up with me as a student during my absence from campus; I was lucky to have an advisor who believes in the importance of field research. Bill Frawley also deserves a hearty thanks: I have never met anyone so busy and at the same time so wholly capable of keeping up with his students. Anyone who has had Bob Frank as a syntax teacher knows that his lightning mind and tenacious focus inevitably teach you to think fast and stay calm in the face of unexpected turns of discussion; this is no doubt indispensable to anyone planning to do syntax, and I thank him for his help. My other two (non-Delawarean) committee members, Luigi Burzio and Paola Benincà, deserve special thanks. Luigi is a devoted teacher; my e-mail discussions with him always began with what I thought to be a simple question, but resulted in a days-long

exhaustion of all its implications. His talent for making me reach the core of an issue on my own made dissertation writing a pleasant and exciting experience. To thank Paola Benincà in any meaningful way would take a dissertation unto itself. A friend and a mentor, Paola is an intellectually generous scholar who possesses an inspirational passion for understanding human language, and an enviable ability to understand human nature. I am indebted to her for teaching me how to think of the right questions for my dialect consultants, for patiently providing me with subtle and difficult judgements on Italian, for critically commenting on my ideas and written work every step of the way, and for helping me structure my dissertation; but these are only a few of the countless areas in which she has influenced my development. There is surely no aspect of this work that has not been affected by her in some way.

Many fellow students at Delaware deserve thanks for solidarity, including Nancy Goss, Eynat Gutman, Steve Hoskins, Thomas Klein, Tom Purnell, Dave Schneider, Chengchi Wang, and Jenny Wang. I am particularly indebted to both Tonia Bleam and Jeff Lidz, who provided thoughtful and invaluable comments on an earlier version of this thesis, and without whom I would not have made it through graduate school. Tonia and Jeff constitute a unique category: they are the only role models I have who are actually younger than me. I thank Tonia for her wisdom and strength, which kept me afloat through the rougher seas. I thank Jeff, who is a blessing, for the marathon discussions that made my graduate career an explosion of growth; Jeff still stands as my only near-equal in telephone stamina.

I thank the following people at the University of Padova for their unceasing hospitality and support (both spiritual and practical), and for teaching me about Italian dialects over the past four years: Paola Benincà, Cecilia Poletto, Lorenzo Renzi, Laura Vanelli, and Teresa Vigolo. The initial idea for this dissertation and my first Borgomanerese contact came directly from the *Atlante Sintattico Italia Settentrionale* (no doubt the most important and thorough syntactic atlas of the Italian dialects in existence), which Paola Benincà, Cecilia Poletto, and Laura Vanelli so generously shared with me. I also owe a special thanks to Richard Kayne for initially putting me in contact with the linguists at Padova. Thanks also go to Anna Cardinaletti, Guglielmo Cinque, and Giuliana Giusti at the University of Venice for their hospitality, kindness, and invaluable discussions that have directly influenced the development of this work.

My consultants in Borgomanero provided a never-ending flow of delicious food, drink, and data. I am particularly indebted to Giuseppe Bacchetta for his enthusiasm and interest in my project. I also thank his wife Mila Bacchetta for her unrelenting hospitality. Thanks also go to Franca Forzani, Carlo Giustina, Osvaldo Savoini, Piero Velati, Mario Piemontesi, Carlo Barattini, Tito Pastore, Angelo Bellone, Tino Ripamonti, Gabriele Testi, Francesco Fornara, Carlo Piemontesi, Alfredo Arcelli, Giuseppe Ferrero, Pier Mario Pettinaroli, Giuseppe Vecchi ('Pinin'), Giuseppe Vecchi ('Pino'), Giuseppe Cerutti, Don Bartolo, and Antonio Zoppis and his son.

On the Wisconsin front: I owe so much to Mürvet Enç, with whom it was a pleasure to share linguistics, good restaurants, and flamenco during my two years in Madison. I also thank: Yafei Li for his friendship, the opportunity to teach Intro to

Syntax, and endless hours of stimulating conversation; and Leyla Zidani-Eroğlu, my fellow traveler through the dark tribulations of dissertation writing.

Others who have contributed (perhaps without realizing it) to the development of many ideas in this thesis are Andrea Calabrese, Viviane Déprez, Richard Kayne, Lori Repetti, and Raffaella Zanuttini. I also thank my professors at SUNY at Stony Brook, Frank Anshen, Mark Aronoff, Ellen Broselow, Dan Finer, and S.N. Sridhar, for teaching me linguistics in my undergraduate years. I especially thank Ellen and Dan for their encouragement and faith; my NSF-REU research assistantship with them made my undergraduate education an unforgettable experience.

Most importantly, I thank John Shean, my selfless husband and soul-mate who has always patiently supported my decisions and choices, even when they have resulted in tremendous inconveniences to him. I cannot think what my life would be without him.

Last, but certainly not least, I thank my parents, George Tortora and Marina Duque-Valderrama, without whom I would not be alive (in many more ways than one). I dedicate this work both to them and to the memory of my Grandma.

The research for this dissertation was supported by a National Science Foundation Minority Graduate Fellowship, a University of Delaware Presidential Fellowship, and National Science Foundation Grant #SBR-9630139.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT xii

1. INTRODUCTION 1

2. UNACCUSATIVE VERB CLASSES 10
   - 2.1 Introduction 10
   - 2.2 Unaccusative verb classes 12
     - 2.2.1 GOAL-entailing vs. SOURCE-entailing verbs of inherently directed motion 14
     - 2.2.2 α-telic verbs of inherently directed motion 17
   - 2.3 Conclusions 19

3. THE WEAK LOCATIVE GOAL ARGUMENT IN BORGOMANERESE 21
   - 3.1 Introduction 21
   - 3.2 The syntactic manifestation of the GOAL / non-GOAL distinction in Borgomanerese 22
     - 3.2.1 The data 22
     - 3.2.2 What is the *ghi*-construction? 28
       - 3.2.2.1 Hypothesis: *ghi* is the morpho-syntactic instantiation of GOAL 28
       - 3.2.2.2 *Ghi* is a locative 29
       - 3.2.2.3 The 'expletive' status of the *ghi* in the *ghi*-construction 32
       - 3.2.2.4 The semantic interpretation of 'expletive' *ghi* 41
       - 3.2.2.5 Summary: the 'locative expletive' is a *weak locative goal argument* 44
     - 3.2.3 The structure projected by GOAL-entailing VIDMs 46
     - 3.2.4 Pre-verbal *ngh* 51
       - 3.2.4.1 *Ngh* is a subject clitic 51
       - 3.2.4.2 *Ngh*: evidence for a null locative in Spec, IP 53
         - 3.2.4.2.1 *Pro-loc*: the null locative 57
         - 3.2.4.2.2 *Pro-loc* and the i-subject 61
   - 3.3 SOURCE-entailing verbs and the existential 68

3.3.1 Speculations on the relevant lexical semantic distinction between SOURCE vs. GOAL and LOCATION ... 70
3.4 Conclusions ... 74
APPENDIX: What is the *n*? ... 76

4. THE WEAK LOCATIVE GOAL ARGUMENT IN ITALIAN ... 80
4.1 Introduction ... 80
4.2 The weak locative goal argument in Italian ... 81
4.2.1 Indirect evidence for the WLGA ... 83
4.2.1.1 GOAL and the unmarked i-subject ... 85
4.2.1.1.1 *Come*, *return*, and *enter* vs. *escape* and *exit* ... 86
4.2.1.1.2 α-telic VIDMs ... 88
4.2.1.2 The syntactic presence of *pro-loc* in Italian ... 91
4.2.1.3 Further evidence for the WLGA ... 98
4.3 The *pro-loc* hypothesis and Moro's analysis of unaccusatives ... 99
4.3.1 Motivation for the small clause analysis ... 101
4.3.1.1 The small clause analysis of copular sentences ... 101
4.3.1.1.1 The small clause analysis of *ci*-sentences ... 105
4.3.1.1.2 Moro's unification of *ci*-sentences and unaccusatives ... 109
4.3.2 Understanding the small clause analysis of unaccusatives ... 112
4.3.2.1 A locative predicate for all unaccusatives? ... 113
4.3.2.2 Two internal arguments or a small clause? ... 118
4.3.2.3 Optional or obligatory locative? ... 124
4.3.3 *Pro-loc* and the existential in Italian ... 126
4.4 Conclusions ... 131
APPENDIX: Explanation for the connection between the null locative and unmarked V-S word order ... 132

5. *THERE*: THE WEAK LOCATIVE GOAL ARGUMENT IN ENGLISH ... 138
5.1 Introduction ... 138
5.2 Expletive *there* and Case ... 140
5.2.1 Questions raised by the expletive analysis ... 143
5.2.1.1 Chomsky (1995) ... 143
5.2.1.2 Lasnik (1992; 1995) ... 147
5.2.1.2.1 Lasnik (1992): Case marking the expletive ... 147
5.2.1.2.2 Lasnik (1995): alternative proposals ... 149
5.3 Moro's analysis of *there* as a raised predicate ... 153
5.3.1 The elimination of problems caused by an expletive analysis ... 156
5.3.2 Questions raised by the predicate analysis ... 159
5.4 *There* is a weak locative goal argument ... 162
5.4.1 The lexical restriction of *there* ... 164

5.4.1.1 *There* is selected by GOAL-entailing VIDMs ... 165
5.4.1.1.1 *There* is a WLGA ... 171
5.4.2 *There* is weak ... 176
5.4.2.1 The feature deficiency of weak XPs ... 182
5.4.2.2 The feature deficiency of weak *there* ... 183
5.4.2.2.1 The speaker-oriented interpretation ... 186
5.4.2.3 Other Advantages of the WLGA Analysis ... 191
5.4.2.3.1 The WLGA and Case assignment ... 193
5.4.3 Verbs of Existence ... 205
5.5 Conclusions ... 207

6. CONCLUSIONS ... 209

REFERENCES ... 217

ABSTRACT

There are two different hypotheses in the literature concerning the locative subject which occurs with certain unaccusatives in some languages (e.g., English: *There have arrived four women*). One takes the locative to be a semantically null expletive, inserted into subject position to satisfy the Extended Projection Principle. The other, which enjoys less popularity in the literature, takes the locative to have semantic content. Each hypothesis is motivated by different considerations. The former appeals to the expletive-like properties of this morpheme, which differentiate it from 'deictic' locatives (e.g., English: *Four women have arrived there*). The latter appeals to the fact that this morpheme can only occur with what seems to be a semantically coherent sub-class of unaccusatives. Drawing primarily on evidence from a Northern Italian dialect, this thesis proposes an analysis of the locative which incorporates both sets of considerations, but which primarily supports the claim that the locative has semantic content.

Chapter 2 discusses the lexical semantics of unaccusative verbs of inherently directed motion (VIDMs), and shows that a semantic distinction can be made within this class of verbs. In particular, some VIDMs entail the existence of a reached location-goal (GOAL-entailing; e.g., *arrive*), while some do not (SOURCE-entailing, or more generally, non-GOAL-entailing; e.g., *leave*). This distinction bears directly on the analysis in the subsequent chapters.

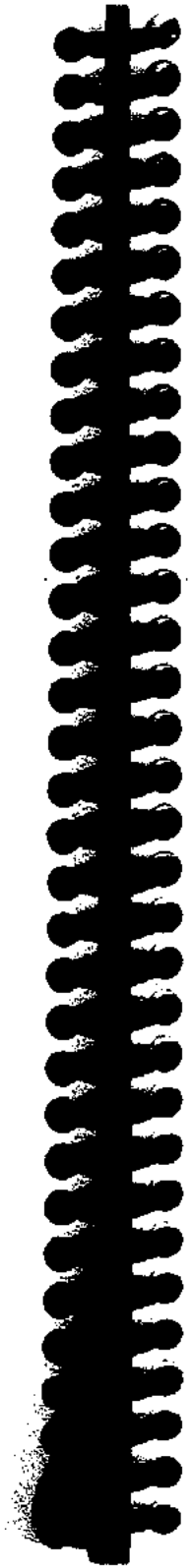
Chapter 3 shows that in Borgomanerese (a Northern Italian dialect), only GOAL-entailing VIDMs can occur with a discontinuous sequence of two locative clitics (*ngh...ghi*) when the subject of these verbs is post-verbal. While these locatives exhibit expletive-like behavior, the evidence shows that they have semantic content. I argue that these locatives are the overt reflex of a phonologically null locative morpheme (*pro-loc*) which is optionally selected by GOAL-entailing VIDMs as a second internal argument, the *weak locative goal argument* (WLGA). The analysis of *pro-loc* as a 'weak' morpheme (in the sense of Cardinaletti & Starke (to appear)) places the behavior of *pro-loc* in the greater context of the behavior of weak pronouns generally. Various characteristics of the '*ghi*-construction' are shown to follow from this hypothesis.

Chapter 4 shows that while Standard Italian has no overt evidence for a WLGA (in contrast with Borgomanerese), positing the existence of an optionally projected (phonologically null) WLGA allows us to explain certain facts regarding unaccusatives in Italian, such as the distribution of subjects, telicity, and the interpretations of goals vs. sources. The WLGA analysis suggests a modification of Moro's (1993; 1997) influential analysis of Italian unaccusatives.

Chapter 5 turns to an analysis of the 'locative expletive' *there* in English. I show that an expletive analysis of this morpheme is undesirable, and while Moro's (1993; 1997) predicate analysis eliminates some of the problems raised by the expletive analysis, an analysis which unifies English with Borgomanerese and Italian is to be

preferred. An analysis of *there* as a WLGA allows us to capture neatly many of the characteristic properties of *there*-sentences, such as *there*'s need for Case, the presence of an i-subject, the ban on first and second person i-subjects, and the speaker-oriented interpretation of *there*-sentences. I also provide an analysis of the feature composition of weak *there* (and *pro-loc*) which explains the speaker-oriented interpretation of the location-goal, as well as the intuition that weak *there* is expletive-like.

Chapter 6 concludes with some speculations on the nature of expletives in other languages, and on how the proposal put forth in this dissertation bears on a discourse theoretic analysis of *there*-sentences.



Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Current linguistic theory does not easily accommodate the notion of an expletive-like NP which has clearly definable semantic content. This is reflected, for example, in the fact that we do not have a ready technical term for such a theoretical entity. The very term 'expletive' implies a category that is devoid of any semantic content, and 'argument NP' is only used for a category that we know intuitively to have referential properties. While the term 'quasi-argument' has been used to describe such a potential intermediate entity (e.g., *it* in *It's raining*), the notion is by no means as firmly entrenched in our theory as the notions of 'expletive' and 'argument'. A survey of introductory syntax courses, for example, would probably reveal that in most cases *it* is introduced to the first year student as an 'expletive', and not as a 'quasi-argument'; with good reason, since native intuition can be appealed to, and since the former notion is much easier to define than the latter.

Perhaps this gap in our inventory of theoretical categories simply reflects a true gap in language. After all, if as native speakers we have the intuition that a particular morpheme is an expletive, why question such a clear state of affairs? On the

other hand, it may be that the theory does not easily accommodate such an intermediate category because its properties are elusive, and confounded by independent factors. Certainly, we cannot allow native speaker intuition to be the sole determinant of such an issue; ask a native speaker what the suffix *-s* in *eats* is, and the answer will likely not reveal the true grammatical status of this morpheme. This lack of intuition does not preclude, however, the possibility that *-s* is a marker of, say, number. The correct analysis of this category ultimately can only be established through scientific inquiry.

In this dissertation, I take a close look at the properties of inversion constructions with locative morphemes which have expletive-like properties in three different languages: Borgomanerese (a Northern Italian dialect; see below), Italian, and English. I show that certain properties of this construction can only be understood if the locative morpheme is analyzed as an argument of the unaccusative verb it occurs with. To illustrate with a familiar example, it is well known that in English the 'locative expletive' *there* can only occur with certain unaccusative verbs. The view that *there* is an 'expletive', however, does not explain this lexical restriction, which is also exhibited in Borgomanerese and Italian. To account for the restriction of this morpheme to a subclass of verbs in these three languages, I propose that it is not an expletive at all, but rather a locative selected as a second internal argument only by GOAL-entailing unaccusatives. In other words, the locative expletive is really the morpho-syntactic instantiation of the lexical semantic category GOAL. The hypothesis that the locative is a GOAL argument is further supported by the fact that its syntactic presence affects the semantic interpretation of the eventuality. Specifically, the presence of this locative

goal argument forces a 'speaker-oriented' interpretation of the location-goal entailed by the verb. This fact may be difficult to determine for English; since the presence of the locative correlates with an inverted subject, it might be concluded that it is the position of the subject that forces this speaker-oriented interpretation, rather than the presence of the locative. However, the case of Borgomanerese provides an interesting and fruitful testing ground for the claim that it is the presence of the locative which affects the interpretation in this way. Borgomanerese combines properties of both Italian and English. Like English, it has an overt expletive-like locative which occurs only with GOAL-entailing verbs. Like Italian, however, Borgomanerese is a 'free-inversion' language; it allows post-verbal subjects both in the presence and in the absence of the locative. These two properties make it easier to test the semantic effects of the locative, since unlike English, the inversion of the subject is not dependent on the presence of the locative, and unlike Italian, the locative is phonologically overt.

In order to account for the 'expletive-like' nature of this morpheme in these three languages, I show that it is best analyzed as lexically *weak*. I adopt this notion from Cardinaletti & Starke (to appear), who show that a range of independent facts concerning pronominal behavior across languages are explained by hypothesizing a class of pronouns which are 'weaker' (in terms of semantic and syntactic behavior) than stressable ('strong') pronouns. The particular semantic and syntactic behavior of the weak locative is thus shown to follow from more general properties exhibited by weak XPs cross-linguistically. The hypothesis that this argument (which I call the *weak locative goal argument*) is 'weak' also allows us to explain one of the characteristic

properties of the construction in which it appears, namely, the presence of an 'i-subject' (in the sense of Burzio (1986)).

This dissertation is organized as follows. In Chapter 2 I discuss the lexical semantics of unaccusative verbs of inherently directed motion, and show that a semantic distinction can be made within this class of verbs. In particular, there are those verbs of inherently directed motion which entail the existence of a reached location-goal (GOAL-entailing) and those which do not (SOURCE-entailing, or more generally, non-GOAL-entailing). In the remainder of the dissertation, I discuss the syntactic manifestation of this semantic distinction exhibited in Borgomanerese, Italian, and English.

In Chapter 3 I show that in Borgomanerese, only GOAL-entailing verbs of inherently directed motion can occur with a discontinuous sequence of two locative clitics, *ngh* and *ghi*, when the subject of these verbs is post-verbal. I refer to this particular construction as the *ghi*-construction. While it can be shown that these locatives are 'expletive-like', I claim that the restriction on the occurrence of the locatives with GOAL-entailing verbs indicates that they have semantic content. As we shall see, this claim is supported by the fact that the presence of these locatives affects the semantic interpretation of the GOAL. I conclude that these locatives are the overt reflex of a phonologically null locative morpheme (*pro-loc*) which is optionally selected by GOAL-entailing verbs as a second internal argument, the *weak locative goal argument* (WLGA). I also show that 'subject inversion' nature of the *ghi*-construction

receives an explanation under the hypothesis (which is motivated by cross-linguistic data) that *pro-loc* is 'weak'.

In Chapter 4, I show that while Italian has no overt evidence for a WLGA (in contrast with Borgomanerese), positing the existence of an optionally projected phonologically null WLGA allows us to explain some poorly understood facts about unaccusatives in Italian: the distribution of subjects, telicity, and the interpretations of goals vs. sources. I further argue that the analysis of Italian unaccusatives provided here is to be preferred over the influential analysis of unaccusatives proposed by Moro (1993; 1997).

In Chapter 5 I turn to locative expletive *there* in English. I show that an expletive analysis of this morpheme is undesirable, and while Moro's (1993; 1997) predicate analysis eliminates some of the problems raised by the expletive analysis, an analysis which unifies English with Borgomanerese and Italian is to be preferred. An analysis of *there* as a WLGA allows us to capture neatly many of the characteristic properties of *there*-sentences, such as the presence of an i-subject and the ban on first and second person i-subjects. I also provide an analysis of the feature composition of weak *there* (and *pro-loc*) which explains the speaker-oriented interpretation of the location-goal, as well as the intuition that weak *there* is expletive-like.

In Chapter 6 I conclude with some speculations on the nature of expletives in other languages, and on how the proposal put forth in this dissertation bears on a discourse theoretic analysis of *there*-sentences.

BORGOMANERESE

Here I briefly discuss the dialect described in the third chapter of this dissertation. Borgomanerese is a Northern Italian dialect of the Gallo-Italic family, related to the Piedmontese dialect (spoken in Torino) described in Burzio (1986). It is spoken in the town of Borgomanero (part of the Province of Novara), which is situated in the northeastern part of the Piedmont region in Italy. There are very few published works which describe this dialect in any detail, Pagani's (1918) 40 page article representing the only basic description in existence (Biondelli (1853) also includes a Borgomanerese translation of the "The Parable of the Prodigal Son"). The data I cover in this dissertation are the product of several field trips I have made to Borgomanero from 1994 to 1997. The initial investigation was inspired by some data found in the *Atlante Sintattico Italia Settentrionale* (ASIS; see references) housed at the University of Padova. The dialect I describe in this work is actually a variety spoken in the southern half of the town, known by speakers as the *dad zutti* ('below') dialect, as opposed to the variety spoken in the northern half of the town, known as the *dad zó* ('above') dialect.

The orthography I use for Borgomanerese is one which I have adopted from the Borgomanerese writers and poets of today, including Giuseppe Bacchetta (Bacötta), Pier Mario Pettinaroli (Calistu), Mario Piemontesi, and Piero Velati, who in turn adopted (and adapted) the orthography used by Gianni Colombo, a writer of the 1950s-1960s who left behind a brief unpublished description of some aspects of the phonology

and syntax of Borgomanerese. Here I clarify some aspects of the orthography, which incorporates elements of the orthography of Standard Italian.

Accent marks: A grave accent mark is used to indicate word stress under the following two circumstances (although, see below under **Vowels**): (i) when the word stress falls on an unpredictable syllable whose nucleus is /a/, /i/, or /u/, assuming as predictable the accent on the penultimate syllable (e.g., *riva* /'riva/ '(s/he) arrives' vs. *rivà* /ri'va/ 'arrived (past participle)'; *parti* /'parti/ 'place' vs. *partì* /par'ti/ 'leave'); (ii) to orthographically disambiguate two monosyllabic homophones (e.g., *la* 'the (fem. sing)' vs. *là* 'there'). There are some idiosyncratic uses of the accent mark, where its elimination would result in no ambiguity (e.g., *gnì* /ɲi/ 'come'; *fè* /fɛ/ 'do/make'). Perhaps the intuition here is that all regular infinitival forms bear their word stress on the final syllable (e.g., *mangè* 'eat', *durmì* 'sleep'), monosyllabic forms included. As such, I have adopted these uses as well.

Consonants: Most of the consonantal orthography is also taken from Italian. For example, the phoneme /č/ is written as *c* before the front vowels /i/, /e/, and /ɛ/ (e.g., *naci* /'načі/ 'gone'), and as *ci* before the back vowels /u/, /o/, /ɔ/, and /a/ (e.g., *ciamè* /ča'mɛ/ 'ask'). The phonemes /k/ and /g/ are written as *ch* and *gh* before the front vowels, (e.g., *chi* /ki/ 'here'; *daghi* /'dagi/ 'I give'), and as *c* and *g* before the back vowels (e.g., *cà* /ka/ 'home'). The grapheme *gn* is also adopted from Italian, to indicate the voiced palatal nasal (e.g., *gnì* /ɲi/ 'come'). Unlike Italian, Borgomanerese has a

voiced alveo-palatal fricative /ž/. On analogy with the Italian grapheme *sci*, which is used to indicate the voiceless alveo-palatal fricative /š/ before back vowels (e.g., Italian *sciopero* /'ʃopero/ 'strike'), Borgomanerese writers tend to use the grapheme *sgi* for /ž/ (e.g. *sgjõ* /žõ/ 'down'; *lesgja* /'leža/ 'she reads'). However, sometimes it is also written as *gi* (e.g., *Gjuanin* /ža'nin/ 'Gianni'; *giobia* /'ʒobia/ 'Thursday'), or even as *gi*, which is used in Italian for the voiced alveo-palatal affricate (e.g., *môngia* /mœnža/ 'she eats'). For the purposes of this dissertation, I have decided to adopt this varied usage; an attempt to systematize this aspect of Borgomanerese orthography is a matter for future work (Tortora (in preparation)).

Vowels: Borgomanerese has two front mid rounded vowels, lax /œ/ and tense /ø/, which are written as *ò* and *ö*, respectively (e.g., *còn* /kœn/ 'dog'; *sö* /sø/ 'above'); these two vowels always carry the main word stress. In addition, it has a high front rounded vowel, written as ü, which may or may not bear the word stress (e.g., *cüsina* /kü'zina/ 'kitchen' vs. tücci /'tüč:i/ 'everyone'). Like Standard Italian, Borgomanerese also has the two mid front vowels, tense /e/ and lax /ɛ/, as well as the two mid back vowels tense /o/ and lax /ɔ/. These are distinguished orthographically with an acute accent on the tense vowel and a grave accent on the lax vowel (i.e., as *é* and *è*, and as *ó* and *ò*, respectively), under the following two circumstances: (i) when the main word stress falls on an unpredictable syllable whose nucleus is one of these vowels (e.g., *mangè* /man'žɛ/ 'eat' vs. *Burbané* /burba'ne/ 'Borgomanero'); (ii) when orthographic disambiguation is helpful (e.g., *è* /ɛ/ 'is' vs. *e* /e/ 'and'; *telefunè* /telefu'nɛ/ 'to telephone' vs. *telefuné* /telefu'ne/ 'you-pl telephone'). In either case, then, the accent mark indicates both word stress and the tense/lax distinction. Again, the above writers have also developed what seem to me to be idiosyncratic uses of the accent marks, where their elimination would result in no ambiguity (e.g., *nsé* /nse/ 'as such'). I have nevertheless adopted these uses as well, out of respect for their written tradition. Otherwise, the graphemes *e* and *o* are used, without an accent mark.

Chapter 2

UNACCUSATIVE VERB CLASSES

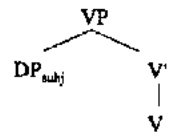
2.1 Introduction

As demonstrated by Perlmutter (1978), and then by Burzio (1986) (within the Principles & Parameters (P&P) framework), Standard Italian provides evidence for a structural distinction between two separate classes of intransitive verbs (a hypothesis termed the Unaccusative Hypothesis in Perlmutter (1978)).[1] These two classes are generally referred to in the literature as *unergatives* and *unaccusatives* (or *intransitives* and *ergatives*, according to Burzio's (1986) terminology). According to the Unaccusative Hypothesis as interpreted in the P&P framework, while both unergatives and unaccusatives are monadic verbs, unergatives differ from unaccusatives in that they

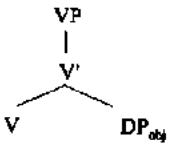
[1]Hall (1965) also provides an analysis of intransitive verbs which distinguishes a subclass of these verbs as taking underlying objects.

project a d-structure subject (in Spec, VP) and no object (1)[2], while unaccusatives project a d-structure object (in sister-to-V position), and no subject (2):[3]

(1)



(2)



If a verb does not project an external argument, that verb is by definition an unaccusative. Thus, all passive verbs are unaccusatives, as are the intransitive verbs that participate in what Burzio (1986) calls the AVB/BV alternation (in Levin & Rappaport-Hovav's (1995) terms, these are the verbs that participate in the 'causative alternation').[4]

[2]Hale & Keyser (1993) provide evidence for a different analysis of unergatives, in which these verbs are analyzed as taking a null direct object argument, acting as covert transitives. Nevertheless, the crucial difference between unergatives and unaccusatives remains in their analysis as well: only the former project a d-structure subject.

[3]Here and throughout this work I assume without argument the VP-internal subject hypothesis (Fukui (1986), Fukui & Speas (1986), Kitagawa (1986), Koopman & Sportiche (1991), and Sportiche (1988)).

[4]Simplifying somewhat (see Levin & Rappaport-Hovav for a detailed discussion), these are verbs that have both a transitive and an intransitive use, the object of the transitive appearing as the subject of the intransitive:

(i) *John broke the window.*
(ii) *The window broke.*

There is also a large class of unaccusative verbs which have no transitive counterparts (unlike passives and AVB/BV verbs). The verb *arrive* is often used in the literature on unaccusativity as the prototypical example of this type of unaccusative verb. We will see in this dissertation, however, that *arrive* (as well as other semantically similar verbs with which it forms a distinct class) behaves differently from other unaccusatives which also have no transitive counterparts. In this chapter I will discuss the lexical semantic property of *arrive* (and verbs like it) which distinguishes this verb from other unaccusatives. It will become apparent in Chapters 3, 4, and 5 why isolating the particular 'conceptual category' (in the sense of Jackendoff (1990)) entailed by these verbs is useful.

2.2 Unaccusative verb classes

Levin (1993) and Levin & Rappaport-Hovav (1995) (henceforth L&RH) argue for the view that certain aspects of verb meaning can be a factor in determining syntactic structure. With respect to the Unaccusative Hypothesis, for example, they argue that unaccusativity is both semantically determined and syntactically instantiated. This does not mean, however, that all unaccusatives necessarily form a semantically coherent class. As L&RH (p. 5) state, "There is no more reason to assume that the unaccusative class is semantically homogeneous than there is to assume the same about the class of transitive verbs." So, for example, although passives are unaccusatives (as noted above), one could not argue that they form a semantically homogeneous class

anymore than one could argue that all transitives form a semantically homogeneous class.[5] Similarly, the unaccusatives which have no transitive counterparts should not be expected to form a semantically homogeneous class, although they are assumed to ultimately have the same syntactic properties (i.e., they project the structure in (2)). For example, among these unaccusatives we find "verbs of inherently directed motion" (terminology from Levin (1993) and L&RH). This class includes the verbs in (3):

(3) *arrive, ascend, come, depart/leave, descend, drop, enter, escape, exit, fall, flee, go, pass, return, rise*

There are also unaccusative verbs of existence (VOEs), appearance (VOAs), and disappearance (VODs):

(4) a. *exist, persist, prevail, remain, stay, survive*

b. *appear, arise, develop, emanate, emerge*

c. *disappear, expire, lapse, vanish* (Levin (1993); L&RH)

Then there are unaccusatives which do not fall into either class, such as those in (5):

(5) *die*, Italian *bastare* 'be enough', *nascere* 'be born', *piacere* 'please', *sembrare* 'seem'

[5] If we take unaccusativity to be semantically determined, we must assume that there is some level at which passives and unaccusatives are semantically homogeneous. Without going into detail, I will just note here that L&RH derive unaccusativity by proposing a linking rule which states that the argument which undergoes a directed change must be projected as the direct object (ensuring that subjects of passives and unaccusatives are d-structure objects). Aside from this level of semantic similarity, however, we can assume that unaccusatives are as semantically heterogeneous as transitives.

The verbs in (3) are grouped into a single class because they all entail "a specification of the direction of motion, even in the absence of an overt directional complement" (Levin (1993:264)). They are also characterized in L&RH (p. 58) as "achievement verbs; they specify an achieved endpoint--an attained location."[4]

2.2.1 GOAL-entailing vs. SOURCE-entailing verbs of inherently directed motion

There is at least one notable respect in which the class of verbs of inherently directed motion (henceforth VIDMs) is not entirely semantically homogeneous. The term "achieved endpoint" cannot be used to mean that all the verbs in (3) entail a necessarily reached location-goal. Some VIDMs entail a location-goal that is necessarily reached, while others do not:

(6) a. *Mary arrived at the station, *but she never got there.*

b. *Mary left for the station, but she never got there.*

From the sentence in (6a) we can conclude that *arrive* entails a reached location-goal, confirmed by failed cancellation by the adjunct *but she never got there.* However, as can be seen in (6b), although *leave* can appear with a PP denoting a location to be reached, the reaching of this location can be canceled, suggesting that *leave* does not entail a goal.

[4]These verbs also share the same syntactic behavior: (i) they do not participate in the causative alternation (as noted above), and (ii) as L&RH claim, they cannot occur with resultative XPs (however, see Tortora (to appear) for arguments against this conclusion). Note that VOAs, as well as VODs, also exhibit these properties; see Chapter 5, §5.4.1.1 for an analysis of VOAs and VODs as VIDMs.

This is not to say that *leave* does not entail a location of some sort (cf. Levin's 1993 and L&RH's intuition that verbs like *leave* specify direction of motion, which entails the existence of a location). However, the type of location entailed by the meaning of *leave* should be characterized as a source, rather than a goal (Jackendoff (1990:259) also views *leave* as entailing a Source).[7] Given this lexical semantic difference between *arrive* and *leave*, then, let us say that the lexical semantic representation of *arrive* includes GOAL (or, 'location-goal'), and the lexical semantic representation of *leave* includes SOURCE (or, 'location-source'). I will refer to the VIDMs which lexically entail GOAL as 'GOAL-entailing', and to those which lexically entail SOURCE as 'SOURCE-entailing', or 'non-GOAL-entailing verbs'.[8] For the purposes of exposition, I will at times also refer to the former as 'arrive-type verbs', and to the latter as 'leave-type verbs'. I take GOAL and SOURCE to be 'conceptual categories', in the sense of Jackendoff (1990). Specifically, they are convenient terms for the conceptual category which Jackendoff (1990:43) calls PLACE, and which I will also refer to as LOCATION.

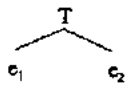
[7]In Tortora (1996) I use the term 'non-locative unaccusative' for verbs like *leave*. This label is misleading, however, given that these verbs do entail the existence of a location.

Jackendoff (1990:46-47) (following Gruber (1965)) defines Source as "the object from which motion proceeds," and Goal as "the object to which motion proceeds." As he points out, the Source is the argument of the Path-function FROM, while the Goal is the argument of the Path-function TO. Thus, it is not the PP that is the Source or Goal, but the DP complement of the P. In the text, I may use the terms SOURCE and GOAL to refer to the entire PP (as in Jackendoff (1972), (1976)). However, nothing important will hinge on this.

[8]Thinking of the distinction in terms of GOAL-entailing vs. non-GOAL-entailing (as opposed to GOAL vs. SOURCE) will become useful in the discussion of Italian in Chapter 4.

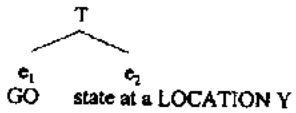
Let us consider Pustejovsky's (1991) analysis of event structure, which can provide a framework in which a location-goal can be structurally distinguished from a location-source. Simplifying a great deal, Pustejovsky follows Vendler (1957) in categorizing eventualities into various types. Pustejovsky claims that an 'event' e (which includes that which Vendler terms 'accomplishments' and 'achievements') consists of two sub-events, represented as e_1 and e_2 in (7) (T indicates 'transition'):

(7)



The sub-event e_1 represents a process or a state which temporally precedes the sub-event e_2. The sub-event e_2 represents the state resulting from the process which occurred in e_1, or a state which is in opposition to the state which held in e_1. A GOAL-entailing event such as that described by the verb *arrive*, for example, can be represented in the following way:[9]

(8)

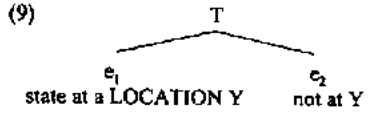


The structure in (8) is thus a formal way of stating that the event described by *arrive* involves motion (the left branch of the structure), with the result that the referent of the NP which undergoes the motion is in a state at a location (the right branch of the structure). Like *arrive*, the verb *leave* describes an event that involves two sub-events.

[9]For the purposes of this discussion I am simplifying and modifying Pustejovsky's system, and combining it with the primitives used by Jackendoff. However, nothing crucial hinges on these changes.

In contrast with *arrive*, however, the resulting state described by *leave* is the negation of a state at a location. This is illustrated in (9), which describes a state at a location on the left branch, and the negation of that state on the right branch:

(9)



Let us say, then, that a GOAL-entailing VIDM is one which has the PLACE category (=state at a LOCATION) on the right branch of the structure, while a SOURCE-entailing VIDM is one which has the PLACE category on the left branch of the structure.[10]

2.2.2 α-telic verbs of inherently directed motion

There is a third type of VIDM, which is ambiguous between GOAL-entailing and non-GOAL-entailing. These VIDMs (which L&RH refer to as "atelic verbs of inherently directed motion") include verbs like *descend, rise,* and *fall*. Such verbs do not necessarily entail a reached goal, as can be seen by their compatibility with a durative phrase:

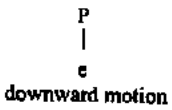
(10) a. *The airplane descended for 5 minutes.*

[10]Regarding the structure in (9), note that it can be inferred from 'not at Y' that the referent of the NP is at some other location, Z. Thus, strictly speaking, the right branch of the structure for the SOURCE-entailing VIDM also represents a state at a location. To make the distinction between GOAL and SOURCE clear, then, let us define GOAL as the right branch location which does not include a negation.

b. *The gas rose for 10 minutes.*

c. *The meteorite fell for 15 minutes.*

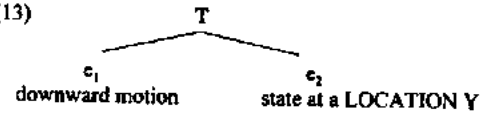
Thus, in contrast with *arrive* and *leave*, *descend* in its atelic sense does not have a dual event structure; it is a 'process' (or an 'activity'). In Pustejovsky's terms, it has a non-complex event structure, which can be represented in his system in the following way (*P* indicates 'process'):

(11)


A verb like *descend*, however, can also be interpreted as GOAL-entailing (and thus, as telic), as the following sentence shows:

(12) *The airplane descended onto the runway in 5 minutes / *for 5 minutes.*

In its telic sense, then, *descend* is like *arrive* in that it has a dual event structure, with a state at a LOCATION on the right branch of the structure:

(13)


Let us assume, then, that what underlies the ambiguity of *descend* is the existence of two different lexical items. Furthermore, let us assume that one is derived from the other via a lexical rule.[11] I will refer to the instance of *descend* which is non-GOAL-entailing (that represented in (11)) as 'atelic *descend*', and to the instance of *descend* which is GOAL-entailing (that represented in (13)) as 'telic *descend*.' I will use the general term 'α-telic VIDMs' to refer to this subclass of ambiguous VIDMs.

Note that SOURCE-entailing VIDMs (e.g., *leave*) and atelic VIDMs (e.g. atelic *descend*) share the property of being non-GOAL-entailing; neither the representation in (9) nor that in (11) involves a state at a location on the right branch of the structure.[12] This is in opposition to arrive-type verbs (e.g., *arrive*) and telic VIDMs (e.g. telic *descend*), which share the property of being GOAL-entailing VIDMs.

2.3 Conclusions

Unaccusatives do not form a semantically homogeneous class of verbs, but rather can be divided into various semantically homogeneous sub-classes. Unaccusative verbs of inherently directed motion form a semantically coherent verb class in that they

[11]The idea here is that atelic VIDMs are "variable behavior verbs" (in the sense of L&RH). L&RH note (as does Perlmutter (1978), among many others) that across languages, atelic unergative verbs of manner of motion (e.g. *run, swim, jump*) also behave like telic unaccusative verbs of directed motion (hence the term 'variable behavior'). L&RH suggest an analysis of this case of regular polysemy which I will briefly note here (see Chapter 5, §5.4.1.1 for a more detailed discussion). The idea is that unergative *run* is the basic instance of the verb, while the unaccusative instance of this verb is derived via a lexical rule (one which maps the constant of an atelic verb of motion onto the lexical semantic template that unaccusative verbs of directed motion appear in). The point here is that such a lexical rule could conceivably apply to atelic VIDMs as well. In this case, the basic form of an α-telic VIDM such as *descend* would be the atelic form, but like the case of unergative *run*, the constant of this verb could be mapped onto the lexical semantic template that arrive-type verbs appear in, lexically deriving a GOAL-entailing VIDM (i.e., the telic form).

[12]This is true for *descend* by default, since it does not have a right branch. Note that although *leave* is also non-GOAL-entailing, it is telic (unlike atelic VIDMs). It passes all tests for telicity; for example, it is incompatible with durative phrases: **John left for 15 minutes* (this cannot mean "it took John 15 minutes to leave"); likewise, *John is leaving* does not entail that *John has left.*

all specify a direction of motion. Nevertheless, within this class of verbs three types of VIDM can be distinguished:

(A) Arrive-type (entailing a GOAL; e.g. *arrive, come, enter, return*)

(B) Leave-type (entailing a SOURCE; e.g. *leave, escape, exit*)

(C) α-telic VIDMs (ambiguous between entailing / not entailing a GOAL; e.g. *descend, rise, fall*)

SOURCE-entailing VIDMs and atelic VIDMs are non-GOAL-entailing, in opposition to arrive-type verbs and telic VIDMs, which are GOAL-entailing VIDMs.

We might ask at this point whether this semantic difference (GOAL-entailing vs. non-GOAL-entailing) between VIDMs like *arrive* and *leave* is interesting, from a grammatical standpoint. In the chapters which follow, I will show that this semantic distinction correlates with an important syntactic difference between these two types of verbs in Borgomanerese, Italian, and English.

Chapter 3

THE WEAK LOCATIVE GOAL ARGUMENT IN BORGOMANERESE

3.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter we saw that VIDMs come in two types: GOAL-entailing and non-GOAL-entailing. In this chapter I will show that this lexical semantic difference has a syntactic manifestation in Borgomanerese. In particular we will see that only GOAL-entailing VIDMs in this language can occur with a discontinuous sequence of two locative morphemes (*ngh...ghi*). At first glance, these locatives seem to have 'expletive-like' properties; they are the same locatives used in the existential construction, for example. However, the fact that they may occur only with GOAL-entailing VIDMs suggests that they have semantic content. In order to account for their presence, I hypothesize that they reflect the presence of a phonologically null locative argument, *pro-loc*. *Pro-loc* will be taken to be a 'weak locative', selected by GOAL-entailing VIDMs as an optional second internal goal argument. This argument is thus termed the *weak locative goal argument* (WLGA). In contrast, SOURCE-entailing verbs cannot select *pro-loc* as an optional second internal argument. The hypothesis

offered in this chapter will allow us to account for two central properties of sentences that contain the WLGA: (i) the fact that the WLGA can only occur with a post-verbal subject (or i-subject, in the sense of Burzio (1986)), and (ii) the fact that the entailed location-goal necessarily has a speaker-oriented interpretation in the presence of the WLGA. In the Appendix at the end of the chapter, I provide an analysis of the morphological structure of the locative subject clitic.

3.2 The syntactic manifestation of the GOAL / non-GOAL distinction in Borgomanerese

3.2.1 The data

In Borgomanerese, the semantic distinction between GOAL-entailing and non-GOAL-entailing verbs correlates with a syntactic difference between these two types of verbs (Tortora (1996)). As can be seen by the data in (14a-c), when the subject of the GOAL-entailing VIDMs *rivè* 'arrive', *gnì* 'come', *gnì ndre / turnè ndre* 'return', and *gni denti* 'enter' is post-verbal, a locative clitic, *ghi*, appears. This clitic is doubled by the locative subject clitic *ngh* in preverbal position (see §3.2.4). For the purposes of exposition, let us refer to the construction in (14) as the '*ghi*-construction'.[13]

[13]The locative status of *ghi* and *ngh* will be discussed in §3.2.2.2 and §3.2.4 below. Note that in the glosses, SLOC = subject locative clitic; LOC = locative clitic; and SCL = subject clitic.

In Borgomanerese, the clitic sequence *ngh...ghi* only appears in the present perfect and the past perfect. As such, all the Borgomanerese examples will be in the

(14) a. *Ngh è rivà-gghi na fjola.*
SLOC is arrived-LOC a girl
"A girl (has) arrived."

b. *Ngh è gnŏ-gghi la Maria.*
SLOC is come-LOC the Maria
"Maria came / has come"[14]

present perfect. While a detailed explanation of this restriction is a matter for future research, here I will offer a few comments on this restriction. As Poletto (1993; in preparation) and Roberts (1991) note, many Northern Italian dialects possess a series of subject clitics which appear only with auxiliary verbs (*clitici soggetto di ausiliare* 'auxiliary subject clitics' in Poletto's terminology). I assume that the subject clitic *ngh* in Borgomanerese is a clitic of this type, since it does not appear in the simple tenses. I also assume that the absence of *ghi* in the absence of *ngh* reflects a dependency between the two clitics (again, the nature of this dependency is a matter for future research, although see §3.2.4.2.1).

[14]Note that the geminate gg in the examples (e.g. *rivà-gghi* in (14a)) is the result of a phonological rule in Borgomanerese which doubles the initial consonant of a clitic when it follows a stressed vowel (a rule similar to 'raddoppiamento fonosintattico' in Standard Italian).

Another detail worth clarifying is the "low" enclitic position of *ghi*. This is just part of the more general fact about Borgomanerese that all object clitics climb to a position no higher than after the verb:

(i) *I o mangià-llu.*
SCL have.1sg eaten-it "I have eaten it."

(ii) *I môngia-lu.*
SCL eat.1sg-it "I eat it."

As can be seen in (14c-e), *ghi* also encliticizes to certain prepositions. Again, this is just a general fact about object cliticization in Borgomanerese:

(iii) *I porti al libbru.* "I carry the book."
SCL carry.1sg the book

(iv) *I porta-lu.*
SCL carry.1sg-it "I carry it."

(v) *I porti denta-lu.*
SCL carry.1sg inside-it "I carry it inside."

That an object clitic (such as *lu* in (iv)) has not remained in its base position, but rather undergone clitic movement, can be seen by the following sentences, in which the DP object *la torta* 'the cake' must follow the adverb *sempri* 'always', while the clitic *la* appears in a higher position:

(vi) *I môngi sempri la torta.* "I always eat the cake."
SCL eat.1sg always the cake

c. *Ngh è gnö ndre-gghi l me omu.*
SLOC is come back-LOC the my man
"My husband returned."

d. *Ngh è turnà ndre-gghi l me omu.*
SLOC is returned back-LOC the my man
"My husband returned."

e. *Ngh è gnö denta-ghi na segretaria.*
SLOC is come inside-LOC a secretary
"A secretary entered."

In contrast with the above, when the subject of the non-GOAL-entailing VIDMs *nè*, 'go; leave', *partì* 'leave', *nè fora* 'exit', and *scapè* 'escape' is in post-verbal position, these clitics do not appear, as can be seen in (15).[15] (15') shows that the appearance of these clitics with these verbs results in ungrammaticality.

(15) a. *L è naci l Mario, nsômma loj.*
SCL is gone the Mario, with them
"Mario went with them."

b. *L è naci la me amisa.*
SCL is gone the my friend
"My friend left."

(vii) *I môngia-la sempri.* "I always eat it."
SCL eat.1sg-it always
**I môngi sempra-la.*

[15]The VIDM *nè* 'go' in Borgomanerese differs from English *go* (and Italian *andare* 'go'; see footnote 57). Whereas in English *go* behaves like a GOAL-entailing verb (Jackendoff (1990)), in Borgomanerese it clearly patterns with *leave* (and is in fact also used to mean 'leave', as can be seen in (15b)). It should not come as a surprise that the use of *go* varies across languages, since it does seem to be the most semantically empty of all VIDMs (hence, Jackendoff's use of GO as a primitive).

It should also be noted that the post-verbal subjects with the SOURCE-entailing verbs in (15) get a contrastive focus interpretation. Thus, a more accurate translation of (15c), for example, would be "It was a girl that left." For the purposes of the present discussion, I put aside this fact, returning to a more detailed discussion of this fact in Italian in Chapter 4.

c. *L è partè na ffola.*
SCL is left a girl
"A girl left."

d. *L è scapà un côn.*
SCL is escaped a dog
"A dog escaped."

e. *L è naci fora na parsuna.*
SCL is gone out a person
"A person exited."

(15') a. **Ngh è naci-ghi l Mario, nsómma loj.*
SLOC is gone-LOC the Mario, with them
"Mario went with them."

b. **Ngh è naci-ghi la me amisa.*
SLOC is gone-LOC the my friend
"My friend left."

c. **Ngh è partè-gghi na ffola.*
SLOC is left-LOC a girl
"A girl left."

d. **Ngh è scapà-gghi un côn.*
SLOC is escaped-LOC a dog
"A dog escaped."

e. **Ngh è naci fora-ghi na parsuna.*
SLOC is gone out-LOC a person
"A person exited."

These clitics cannot occur with any other (non-VIDM) unaccusatives, either, such as *fundè* 'sink', *crössi* 'grow', or *brusè* 'burn', as can be seen by the contrast between (16) and (17):[16]

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[16]The unaccusative status of these verbs is attested by the fact that they take the auxiliary *vessi* 'be', and not *avej* 'have' (Borgomanerese is like Italian with respect to auxiliary selection).

(16) a. *L è fundà na nave.*
SCL is sunk a ship
"A ship sank."

b. *L è crasö l prezziu di pummi.*
SCL is grown the price of apples
"The price of apples has grown."

c. *L è brusà na piônta.*
SCL is burned a plant
"A tree has burned."

(17) a. **Ngh è fundà-gghi na nave.*
SLOC is sunk-LOC a ship
"A ship sank."

b. **Ngh è crasö-gghi l prezziu di pummi.*
SLOC is grown-LOC the price of apples
"The price of apples grew."

c. **Ngh è brusà-gghi na piônta.*
SLOC is burned-LOC a plant
"A tree burned."

These clitics are also banned from appearing with unergatives, such as *telefuné* 'telephone' and *parlè* 'speak':

(18) a. (i) *L à telefunà l Piero.*
SCL has telephoned the Piero
"Piero has telephoned."

(ii) **Ngh à telefunà-gghi l Piero.*

b. (i) *L à parlà la Maria.*
SCL has spoken the Maria
"Maria has spoken."

(ii) **Ngh à parlà-gghi la Maria.*

To summarize the facts, the VIDMs *arrive*, *come*, *return*, and *enter* can appear in the *ghi*-construction. The VIDMs *leave*, *go*, *escape* and *exit*, and other unaccusatives, as well as unergatives, do not appear in the *ghi*-construction.[17]

It should be noted that this occurrence of *ghi* with certain unaccusatives in Borgomanerese differs from the phenomenon exhibited in Piedmontese, noted by Burzio (1986:119-126). Burzio reports that in Piedmontese (specifically, the dialect spoken in the city of Torino in Piedmont), when the subject of an unaccusative is in post-verbal position, the clitic *ye* appears:[18]

(19) *A y riva i client.* (Burzio's (82b), p. 122)
SCL there arrives the clients

Burzio points out that *ye* has what he terms a "pleonastic" use in (19). This contrasts with what he terms its "locative" use, seen in (20):

(20) *I client a y rivu.*
the clients SCL there arrive
"The clients arrive there."

This clitic is thus ambiguous between a "locative morpheme" and a "pleonastic morpheme" which does not have any locative semantic content. These two different *yes* exhibit different syntactic behavior. Unlike the "locative" *ye* in (20), "pleonastic" *ye* can co-occur with a locative PP. This contrast is seen in (21a) and (21b) (corresponding to Burzio's (83a) and (83b), respectively):

(21) a. **A y portava sempre i cit al Valentin.*
SCL there took always the kids to.the Valentin

[17]Although see below in §3.2.2.3 and §3.3 concerning the existential construction.

[18]The clitic *ye* appears as *y* when pre-verbal.

b. *A y riva i client ntel negasi.*
SCL there arrives the clients in.the store

This use of a morpheme that is homophonous with a locative clitic in Piedmontese may appear to be similar to the use of *ghi* seen in (14) in Borgomanerese. However, the two phenomena are fundamentally different. The "pleonastic" *ye* of Piedmontese occurs with all unaccusatives (Burzio (1986:123)). L. Burzio reports (personal communication), for example, that all of the unaccusatives seen in (15) and (16) occur with *ye* when the subject is post-verbal. The occurrence of Borgomanerese *ghi*, on the other hand, is limited to a subclass of unaccusatives. The semantic status of Borgomanerese *ghi* will be discussed immediately below.

3.2.2 What is the *ghi*-construction?

3.2.2.1 Hypothesis: *ghi* is the morpho-syntactic instantiation of GOAL

As we have seen above, *ghi* only occurs with VIDMs which entail GOAL. Furthermore, as we will see immediately below, *ghi* is homophonous with the locative clitic morpheme in Borgomanerese. Let us assume that the fact that a morpheme which is homophonous with a locative co-occurs with GOAL-entailing VIDMs cannot be purely accidental.[19] In order to explain this correlation, I propose that *ghi* is the overt,

[19]This line of reasoning has been adopted by several researchers in the past, the most recent of which is Freeze (1992), who notes that the co-occurrence of locative morphemes and what he calls 'locative unaccusatives' in many languages indicates that the locative morphemes must have semantic content.

morpho-syntactic instantiation of the lexical semantic category GOAL. In what follows, I will show that although the *ghi* in the *ghi*-construction is homophonous with a locative, it has different syntactic and semantic properties. In §3.2.2.4 I will discuss a point of semantic interpretation concerning the *ghi*-construction which further supports our hypothesis. In particular, I will show that the presence of *ghi* in the *ghi*-construction has an effect on the semantic interpretation of the GOAL.

3.2.2.2 *Ghi* is a locative

Borgomanerese has several deictic locatives.[20] The deictic locatives which mean 'here' are *chi, scià, chinsé, chilò*, and *chilonsé* (22a).[21] *Ghi* can also be used to

[20]I use the term 'deictic' to refer to a morpheme which employs the *speaker* as its reference point (Frawley (1992)). Thus, *here* and *there* are deictic locatives in English, the former encoding a location that is near the speaker (call it [+speaker]), and the latter encoding a location that is removed from the speaker (call it [−speaker]). Use of the feature [speaker] (originally used by Fillmore (1971), and then by Cinque (1972) and Vanelli (1995), among others) will become crucial in the analysis of the 'weak locative morpheme' in Chapter 5.

[21]The morphemes *chilò, chinsé*, and *chilonsé* are composed of the morpheme *chi* plus the bound form *lo* (deriving from Latin ILLOC), and/or *nsé* 'as such' (equivalent to Italian *così*). The difference in meaning among these elements is subtle and requires further study. However, a preliminary investigation reveals that *chilò* and *chilonsé* indicate a location that has a higher degree of proximity to the speaker than the location indicated by *chi* and *chinsé* (see, e.g., Frawley (1992)). P. Benincà suggests (personal communication) that the demonstrative system in Borgomanerese (like that of Spanish, Tuscan varieties, and literary Italian) may employ the feature [hearer], such that *chilò* and *chilonsé* are [+hearer]. While further investigation is also required for *scià*, I note here some interesting distributional facts. *Scià* is relatively restricted; in contrast with the other locatives, it is essentially only licit with verbs of motion and with the existential:

(i) *Ven chi / scià!*
come here

mean 'here', as can be seen by (22b):

(22) a. *La Maria l è gnõ chi / scià / chinsé / chilò / chilonsé.*
the Maria SCL is come here.
"Maria came here."

b. *La Maria l è gnõ-gghi.*
the Maria SCL is come-here
"Maria came here."

One difference between the deictic locatives in (22a) and *ghi* in (22b) is that the former are not clitics while the latter is. Another difference is that unlike the non-clitic deictic locatives, *ghi* can also mean 'there' (23b), like the non-clitic morphemes *inò* and *là* (23a):[22]

(ii) *Ngh è scià-gghi trej mati.*
SLOC is here-LOC three.fem girls

(iii) *As môngia ben chi / *scià.*
SI eat well here "The food is good here."

It can also be used in combination with another locative, but only with verbs of motion, as in (iv) (not with the existential (vi)):

(iv) *Ven scià chi!*
come here here

(v) **Ven chi chilò.*
come here here

(vi) **Ngh è scià chi-gghi trej mati.* (cf. (41a) below)
SLOC is here here-LOC three.fem girls

Furthermore, it cannot be used with the verb *gnì denti* 'enter', even though this verb is composed with the verb *gnì* 'come' (cf. (i)):

(vii) *Ven denti (*scià).*
come inside (*here)

[22]While further study is required, an initial investigation indicates that the locatives *inò* and *là* differ in terms of remoteness (see, e.g., Frawley (1992)). The former encodes a location which is away from the speaker to a lesser degree of remoteness than the location encoded by the latter (whether *inò* is [+hearer] (see footnote 21) is a matter for further research). For example, *Varda inò!* 'Look there!' can be used to indicate a book that can be seen on a table at the far end of the room, but not to indicate a mountain that can be seen in the distance. For the latter eventuality, *Varda là!* is appropriate.

(23) a. *La Maria l è naci inò / là.*
the Maria SCL is gone there.
"Maria went there."

b. *La Maria l è naci-ghi.*
the Maria SCL is gone-there.
"Maria went there."

Ghi thus has essentially the same use as the locative clitic *ci* in Italian, which also can be used to denote either 'here' or 'there,' as can be seen in (24b) and (25b):

(24) a. *Mangi là spesso?*
eat.2sg there often
"Do you eat there often?"

b. *Sì, ci mangio spesso.*
yes, there eat.1sg often
"Yes, I eat there often."

(25) a. *Mangi qua spesso?*
eat.2sg here often
"Do you eat here often?"

b. *Sì, ci mangio spesso.*
yes, here eat.1sg often
"Yes, I eat here often."

Borgomanerese *ghi* and Italian *ci* are what I will call 'non-deictic locatives' (henceforth NDL). I use the term 'non-deictic' to distinguish locatives like Borgomanerese *ghi* and Italian *ci* from the deictic locatives, such as those seen in (22a) and (23a). The latter, like *here* and *there* in English, lexically specify a value for the feature [speaker] (see footnote 20). Unlike *here* and *there*, locatives like Borgomanerese *ghi* and Italian *ci* do not lexically encode whether the location they pick out is near the speaker [+speaker] or removed from the speaker [-speaker], but rather have a value for this feature fixed by

the context. Nevertheless, *ghi* and *ci* refer to any location that is in the context (either linguistic or spatial).

3.2.2.3 The 'expletive' status of the *ghi* in the *ghi*-construction

We have just seen that *ghi* can be used as an NDL. Here I will address the question of the use of the *ghi* in the *ghi*-construction. This morpheme has a substantially different syntactic and semantic behavior from the NDL *ghi*. First, whereas the former occurs with the locative subject clitic *ngh* (discussed in detail in §3.2.4), the latter does not. Second, as we shall see immediately below, the former can co-occur with a PP or a deictic locative, while the latter cannot. Third, as we shall see in detail in §3.2.2.4, the former, in contrast with the latter, forces a speaker-oriented interpretation of the location-goal. Much of our discussion of Borgomanerese *ghi* will involve discussion of Italian *ci*, since the latter has a more familiar status than the former, and as such will facilitate our understanding of *ghi*.

It is well known that the locative morpheme *ci* in Italian is also used in existentials:

(26) Italian
Ci sono tre ragazzi nella stanza.
LOC are three.masc boys in.the room.
"There are three boys in the room."

As can be seen in (27), the locative morpheme *ghi* in Borgomanerese is like Italian *ci* in that it, too, is used in existentials:

(27) Borgomanerese
Ngh è-gghi tre mataj int la stônza.
SLOC is-LOC three.masc boys in the room
"There are three boys in the room."

Both in accounts in the literature, as well as in reports by native speakers, the use of the locative morpheme *ci* in the Italian existential is understood to be fundamentally different from the "referential" use of this morpheme (seen in examples (24b) and (25b) above). The locative *ci* as used in the existential has been described as "non-referential," or "expletive," supporting the intuition among linguists and native speakers alike that this morpheme does not "refer" to or pick out any contextually relevant location, in contrast with the NDL in (24b) and (25b).[23] The locative in the Borgomanerese existential (seen in (27), which is a direct translation of the Italian (26)), has the same status as Italian existential *ci*, according to native speakers of Borgomanerese. For the purposes of exposition, let us temporarily refer to

[23]The two different *cis* (i.e., the NDL and the "expletive") also exhibit different contraction possibilities. Many speakers prefer contraction of the NDL *ci* and the auxiliary *essere* 'be':
(i) *C' è andata ieri.*
there is (she)gone yesterday
"She went there yesterday."
Nevertheless, non-contraction between the NDL *ci* and the auxiliary is also permitted:
(ii) *Ci è andata ieri.*
there is (she)gone yesterday
In contrast, contraction is obligatory with 'expletive' *ci*:
(iii) *C' è stata una ragazza qua.*
LOC is been a girl here
"There was a girl here."
(iv) **Ci è stata una ragazza qua.*
LOC is been a girl here
This difference between NDL *ci* and 'expletive' *ci* suggests the possibility that they occupy different syntactic positions, 'expletive' *ci* occupying a position closer to the auxiliary verb.

Borgomanerese *ghi* (and Italian *ci*) as used in the existential as the 'locative expletive', to distinguish it from the NDL *ghi* (and *ci*). I use this term with the caveat that I am not committing myself to the view that this morpheme has no semantic content in the existential (see §3.3 below).

Note that the *ghi* in the *ghi*-construction in (14) has the same status of the *ghi* in the existential construction in (27). That is, there is an intuition that, unlike the NDL, the *ghi* in the *ghi*-construction does not refer to or pick out any contextually relevant location. Note that speakers give the sentences in (14) as translations to the corresponding Italian sentences in which there is no overt "referential" (i.e., deictic or NDL) locative. For example, (14a) is given by speakers as a translation of the following:

(28) *E' arrivata una ragazza.*
is arrived a girl.
"A girl arrived."

For expository purposes, then, I will temporarily refer to the *ghi* in the *ghi*-construction as the 'locative expletive' as well.

Apart from native speakers' intuitions, however, it can be shown that the *ghi* in the *ghi*-construction, like the *ghi* in the existential in (27), behaves differently from the NDL *ghi*. First, returning to the existential, note that locative expletive *ghi* (like Italian locative expletive *ci* in (26)), can occur with an overt locative PP. In contrast, NDL *ghi*, like Italian NDL *ci*, cannot occur with a PP. This can be seen in (29) (Borgomanerese) and (30) (Italian):

(29) Borgomanerese:

a. *La Maria l è naci-ghi.*
the Maria SCL is gone-there
"Maria went there."

b. **La Maria l è naci-ghi a la staziòn.*
the Maria SCL is gone-there to the station
"Maria went to the station."

c. *Na segretaria l è rivà-gghi.*
a secretary SCL is arrived-there/here
"A secretary arrived there/here."

d. **Na segretaria l è rivà-gghi a la staziòn.*
a secretary SCL is arrived-there/here at the station
"A secretary arrived there/here at the station."

(30) Italian:

a. *Maria ci è andata.*
Maria there is gone
"Maria went there."

b. **Maria ci è andata alla stazione.*
Maria there is gone to.the station
"Maria went there to the station."

c. *Maria ci è arrivata.*
Maria there/here is arrived
"Maria arrived there/here."

d. **Maria ci è arrivata alla stazione.*
Maria there/here is arrived at.the station
"Maria arrived there/here at the station."

Thus, locative expletive *ghi* differs from NDL *ghi* in that the former, but not the latter, can occur with an overt locative PP.

As can be seen by the following sentences, the *ghi* in the *ghi*-construction in (14) can occur with a PP, just like the locative expletive *ghi* in the existential in (27):[24]

(31) a. *Ngh è rivà-gghi na segretaria a la stazión.*
SLOC is arrived-LOC a secretary at the station
"A secretary arrived at the station."

b. *Ngh è gnò denti-ghi na segretaria int la stônza.*
SLOC is come inside-LOC a secretary in the room
"A secretary entered in the room."

Given (31), it seems that we can directly conclude that the *ghi* in the *ghi*-construction is like the *ghi* in the existential. However, we must be careful about what is meant by "can occur with a PP," because there are two structurally distinct types of PP-doubling in languages like Italian and Borgomanerese. In order to distinguish the two types of PP-doubling, we need to briefly discuss the phenomenon of right-dislocation.

It is well known that in Italian, an XP can be right-dislocated (Antinucci & Cinque (1977), Benincà (1988b), Calabrese (1982)). This is exhibited in (32b), where the direct object DP *la torta* 'a cake' (which is in its base position in (32a)) appears on the right edge of the sentence, following a strong intonational break (indicated by the double-comma):

(32) a. *Maria ha dato la torta a Giorgio.*
Maria has given the cake to Giorgio

b. *Maria ha dato a Giorgio,, la torta.*
Maria has given to Giorgio,, the cake

[24]Thus, Borgomanerese *ghi* has the same syntactic behavior as the "pleonastic" *ye* of Piedmontese (discussed in §3.2.1 above), which can also co-occur with a locative PP.

As can be seen in (33), a clitic "double" can optionally appear with a right-dislocated XP:[25]

(33) *Maria l' ha data a Giorgio,, la torta.*
Maria it-has given to Giorgio,, the cake.

Note that just like the direct object argument in (32b) and (33), a locative PP can also be right-dislocated, appearing without or with a clitic:

(34) a. *Maria è andata,, alla stazione.*
Maria is gone,, to.the station.

b. *Maria ci è andata,, alla stazione*
Maria there is gone,, to.the station.

As can be seen in (34b), then, in Italian the NDL clitic can occur with a PP, so long as the PP is right-dislocated. This contrasts with (30b,d), where the NDL clitic cannot occur with a non-right-dislocated PP. We must thus distinguish between a right-dislocated PP, such as that found in (34b), from what I will call here a 'doubled PP', such as that found in the existentials (26) and (27) (where no intonational break precedes the PP).

Note that Borgomanerese is just like Italian in that it also allows right-dislocated PPs to occur with NDL *ghi*:

(35) *La Maria l è naci-ghi,, a la stazión.*
the Maria SCL is gone-there,, to the station
"Maria went there, to the station."

Thus, whereas NDL *ghi* can occur with a right-dislocated PP (35), only locative expletive *ghi* can occur with a doubled PP (27). In order to establish that the *ghi* in (31)

[25]L. Burzio reports (personal communication) that the intonational break in (32b) is not as strong as that in (33).

is a locative expletive (and not a NDL), we must ensure that the co-occurring PPs are indeed doubled, not right-dislocated. If the latter is the case, then the presence of these PPs does not tell us anything about the status (NDL or locative expletive) of this *ghi*.

The most straightforward way to answer the question of whether the PPs in (31) are doubled or right-dislocated is to see if these PPs occur with no intonational break preceding them. To ensure that these PPs are not right-dislocated, we can also appeal to quantified XPs (Samek-Lodovici (1994)). Let us first look at Italian, where it is well known that quantified XPs cannot be right-dislocated ((36b) and (37b)), unlike non-quantified XPs (cf. (32b), (33), (34)):

(36) a. *Non ho presentato nessuno a Carlo.*
neg have.1sg presented nobody to Carlo
"I have not introduced anybody to Carlo."

b. **Non ho presentato a Carlo,, nessuno.*
neg have.1sg presented to Carlo,, nobody

(37) a. *Maria non è andata da nessuna parte.*
Maria neg is gone to no place.
"Maria did not go anywhere."

b. **Maria non è andata,, da nessuna parte.*
Maria neg is gone,, to no place

Borgomanerese also disallows quantified XPs from being right-dislocated, as can be seen by the following sentences:

(38) a. *I o presentà-gghi nzün a l Carlo.*[26]
SCL have.1sg presented-to.him nobody to the Carlo
"I have not introduced anybody to Carlo"

[26]As can be seen in (51) below, *ghi* is also the 3rd person singular and plural dative clitic (translating as 'to him/her/them'). See §3.2.4.2.1 for a discussion of dative clitic doubling in Borgomanerese.

b. **I o presentà-gghi a l Carlo,, nzün.*
SCL have.1sg presented-to.him to the Carlo,, nobody

(39) a. *La Maria l è mija nacia in nzünna parti.*
the Maria SCL is neg gone to no place
"Maria has not gone anywhere."

b. **La Maria l è mija nacia,, in nzünna parti.*
the Maria SCL is neg gone,, to no place

Given that a quantified XP in Borgomanerese cannot be right-dislocated, it follows that if a quantified PP is permitted in a sentence, it must not be right-dislocated. It also follows that if a quantified PP can appear with *ghi*, then the use of *ghi* in such a case must be as a locative expletive, since only locative expletive *ghi* allows a doubled (non-right-dislocated) PP to occur with it. As can be seen by the following sentence, the *ghi* in the *ghi*-construction can occur with a quantified PP:

(40) a. *Ngh è rivà -gghi nzün in nzünna parti.*
SLOC is arrived-LOC no one to no place
"No one arrived anywhere."

I conclude from (40), then, that the *ghi* in the *ghi*-construction is a locative expletive, just like the *ghi* in the existential in (27).

A final piece of evidence lies in the behavior of deictic locatives, like *chi* 'here'. Consider (41a), where *chi* occurs in a position to the left of the post-verbal subject, ensuring that it is not right-dislocated. We can see that only locative expletive *ghi* can co-occur with this deictic locative (cf. Italian in (42)):

(41) Borgomanerese:
a. *Ngh è chi-gghi dü mataj.*
SLOC is here-LOC two.masc boys
"There are two boys here."

b. **La Maria l è rivà chi-gghi.* (cf. *La Maria l è rivà chi.*)
the Maria SCL is arrived here-here.

c. **La Maria l è nacia là-gghi.* (cf. *La Maria l è nacia là.*)
the Maria SCL is gone there-there

(42) Italian
a. *Ci sono due ragazzi qua.*
LOC are two boys here.
"There are two boys here."

b. **Maria ci è arrivata qua.*
Maria here is arrived here.

The *ghi* in the *ghi*-construction in (14) can be doubled by *chi*, just like the *ghi* in the existential in (41a):

(43) *Ngh è rivà chi-gghi la me amisa.*
SLOC is arrived here-LOC the my friend
"My friend arrived here."

Borgomanerese *ghi* thus has two different uses, like *ci* in Standard Italian: it can be used as a NDL, meaning either 'here' or 'there,' and it can also be used as a locative expletive. By comparing the existential construction with sentences that contain NDL *ghi*, we have seen that only locative expletive *ghi* can be doubled by a PP or another deictic locative like *chi*. Since the *ghi* in the *ghi*-construction in (14) can be doubled by a PP or a deictic locative like *chi*, I conclude that its use in this construction is as a locative expletive, too.

Although I have been using the term 'locative expletive' to differentiate the *ghi* of the *ghi*-construction from NDL *ghi*, in what follows, I will present evidence which shows that the former has semantic content. As we shall see, the presence of locative expletive *ghi* affects the semantic interpretation of the eventuality.

3.2.2.4 The semantic interpretation of 'expletive' *ghi*

The *ghi*-construction is associated with a particular semantic interpretation not indicated in the translations thus far provided. The location-goal that the referent of the DP finds him/herself in as a result of the action denoted by the verb must be interpreted as *a location which includes the speaker*. Let us consider, for example, (14a) with the verb *rivè* 'arrive' (repeated here as (44)):

(44) *Ngh è rivà-gghi na fjola.*
SLOC is arrived-LOC a girl
"A girl (has) arrived."

(44) can only describe an eventuality where the DP *na fjola* 'a girl' has arrived in a location shared with the speaker. Thus, (44) cannot be used to describe an eventuality in which a girl arrived in China, if the person who utters (44) was not in China at the time of the girl's arrival. In order to express such an eventuality in which there is no restriction on the interpretation of the location-goal, the absence of *ghi* is required (as in (46) and (47), to which we will turn immediately below).

The import of noting this restriction on the interpretation of the location(-goal) becomes clear when we consider sentences which do not contain locative expletive *ghi*. Consider for example the case of the verb *nè* 'leave', where there is no *ghi* when the subject is post-verbal:

(45) *L è naci na fjola.*
SCL is gone a girl
"A girl left."

As we discussed, *leave* does entail the existence of a location(-source). However, unlike the location(-goal) in (44), the location(-source) in (45) does not have to include the speaker. As such, (45) can be used to describe any eventuality involving a girl's departure, even if the speaker is not there at the time of departure. Thus, in the absence of *ghi*, there is no particular requirement on the interpretation of the location entailed by the VIDM.

Consider also the case of the GOAL-entailing verb *rivè* when it does not occur in the *ghi*-construction (i.e., when the subject is pre-verbal, and there is no locative expletive *ghi*):

(46) *Na fjola l è rivà.*
a girl SCL is arrived.
"A girl arrived."

In (46) (just as in (45) with the location(-source)), there is no restriction on interpretation of the location(-goal) at which the referent of the DP arrives. Consequently, (46) can be used to describe any eventuality, irrespective of the unity of the location of arrival and location of the speaker. Again, the presence of locative expletive *ghi* correlates with a speaker-oriented restriction on the interpretation of the location entailed by the VIDM, while its absence correlates with the lack of such a restriction.

Given these facts, it seems logical to conclude that locative expletive *ghi* forces the speaker-oriented interpretation of the location, but before we continue, I want to consider a possible objection. A close comparison of (44) and (46) reveals that in the former, the subject is post-verbal, while in the latter the subject is pre-verbal. Could it

be that it is the post-verbal position of the subject which forces the speaker-oriented interpretation of the location(-goal)? Note, however, that in (45) the subject is post-verbal, too, and there is no speaker-oriented restriction on the interpretation of the location(-source). Still we might appeal to the fact that (45) involves a SOURCE and not a GOAL to explain the difference. Is it only a GOAL that can be subject to such a restriction on interpretation?[27]

Consider, in this regard, the following. Given sentences like (46), in which locative expletive *ghi* is not present, we must conclude that the occurrence of this clitic with GOAL-entailing verbs is not obligatory. As can be seen by the following sentence, its presence is also optional when the subject is in post-verbal position (cf. (44)):[28]

(47) *L è rivà na fjola.*
SCL is arrived a girl
"A girl arrived."

The important difference to note here between (44) and (47) is that (47) patterns with (46) with respect to the interpretation of the location(-goal) (and with (45) with respect to the location(-source)). Thus, the sentence in (47) can be used to describe an eventuality in which a girl arrives at some location that does not necessarily include the speaker. Here we see, then, that it is the absence of *ghi*, and not the pre-verbal position

[27]If this were the explanation, it would not be clear why only GOAL, and not SOURCE, could be subject to such a speaker-oriented interpretation.

[28]It should be noted that (47) is a marked sentence (as opposed to (44), which is unmarked). In particular, the sentence in (44) can be used out-of-the blue, for example, as an answer to the question "What happened?" In sentence (47), on the other hand, narrow focus is placed on the post-verbal subject *na fjola*. Thus, (47) can be used only in answer to the question "Who arrived?" We will discuss this contrast in much greater detail in the discussion of Italian in Chapter 4.

of the subject, which correlates with the lack of a speaker-oriented restriction on the interpretation on the location entailed by the verb.[29] It should be underscored that it is the locative expletive *ghi* which forces the speaker-oriented interpretation, and not NDL *ghi*. The following sentence with the NDL can be used to refer to any eventuality in which a girl has arrived, regardless of the location of the speaker:

(48) *Na fjola l è rivà-gghi.*
a girl SCL is arrived-here/there.
"A girl arrived here/there."

3.2.2.5 Summary: the 'locative expletive' is a *weak locative goal argument*

Let us review the two facts which support the hypothesis that locative expletive *ghi* is the morpho-syntactic instantiation of the lexical semantic category GOAL. First, it is homophonous with NDL *ghi*, and a hypothesis which connects the locative semantics of *ghi* with the GOAL-entailing semantics of its selecting verbs is preferred over one which does not connect these two facts. Second, and perhaps more significantly, the presence of locative expletive *ghi* has an effect on the interpretation of the GOAL entailed by arrive-type verbs. When locative expletive *ghi* is present, the GOAL must be interpreted as a speaker-oriented location. When locative expletive *ghi* is absent, there is no such restriction on the interpretation of the GOAL.

[29]The reader may be wondering at this point *why* the presence of locative expletive *ghi* should force this speaker-oriented interpretation of the GOAL. I will postpone an explanation of this fact until Chapter 5 (§5.4.2.1.1.1).

Some comments are now in order concerning an apparent paradox which arises given the above conclusion. That is, the *ghi* in the *ghi*-construction possesses two seemingly contradictory characteristics. On the one hand, it is 'expletive-like'. Its characterization as an expletive-like element is based on (i) the intuitions of natives speakers that this morpheme, like the locative expletive in existentials, is semantically different from NDL *ghi* (and other deictic locatives), and (ii) the fact that its syntactic behavior differs from that of the NDL. Specifically, its ability to co-occur with a locative PP is reminiscent of the behavior of the Piedmontese "pleonastic" *ye*. On the other hand, however, we have evidence that this morpheme has semantic content. As noted, (i) it is selected only by GOAL-entailing VIDMs, and (ii) its presence has an effect on semantic interpretation of the eventuality. Thus, we have identified locative expletive *ghi* as an expletive element that has semantic content.

To distinguish the *ghi* in the *ghi*-construction from pure expletives devoid of any semantic content, I will use the term *weak locative goal argument* (WLGA) for this morpheme. I adopt the term 'weak' from Cardinaletti & Starke (to appear), for reasons that will become clearer below and in Chapter 5. For the moment, however, let us allow the term 'weak' to characterize the "intermediate" status of this element (expletive-like, yet has semantic content).[30] I use the term 'locative goal' to capture the

[30]The "intermediate" status of this morpheme can create terminological problems. In particular, native speakers report that the WLGA is not "referential" (in contrast with the NDL and the deictic locatives); yet at the same time, when it is present, the GOAL is interpreted as speaker-oriented, indicating that this element is indeed referential (referring to the location the speaker is in at the time of the event). I assume that this problem has to do with the inadequacy of the term "referential." It should also be noted that native speakers' intuitions are not always reliable when it

fact that this morpheme, when used with GOAL-entailing VIDMs, syntactically instantiates the lexical semantic category GOAL. Thus, I intend the term WLGA to identify this morpheme as it is used in the *ghi*-construction; it does not refer to the morpheme as it is used in the existential, since the existential does not entail a GOAL.[31]

3.2.3 The structure projected by GOAL-entailing VIDMs

The presence of *ghi* in the *ghi*-construction is an indication of a syntactic structure which is distinct from that projected by non-GOAL-entailing verbs, most straightforwardly because it must be the case that this clitic occupies some position in the syntax. The next question that arises, then, is what the structure projected by a GOAL-entailing verb in the *ghi*-construction is.

Let us consider the semantics of GOAL-entailing VIDMs. These verbs entail motion along a path, and as noted repeatedly above, the existence of a necessarily

comes to the correct identification of linguistic entities. For example, native speakers normally do not have any intuitions about a particular morpheme that the linguist may identify as agreement, or a subject clitic, or a complementizer. Nevertheless, linguists are able to identify the linguistic status of such elements. Thus, the fact that native speakers have an intuition that the WLGA does not "refer" to any location cannot in itself decide the issue.

[31] As Freeze (1992) (and others cited therein) have noted, it can be argued that existentials entail a location, and that the locative expletive that occurs in existentials in many languages identifies the entailed location. The hypothesis put forth in this dissertation concerning the WLGA and the lexical semantic category GOAL does not preclude an analysis of the locative expletive as used in existentials as a location-denoting argument. In the context of the above discussion, the locative expletive in existentials could be termed the *weak locative argument* (see §3.3 below for a brief discussion of the existential). In this work, however, I am mainly concerned with the locative expletive as it occurs with GOAL-entailing VIDMs.

reached location-goal which concludes the motion along the path. Thus, these verbs are *accomplishments* (in the sense of Vendler (1957)), or *telic*, or *delimited* eventualities (see, for example, Tenny (1987; 1994)), since there is a terminus to the event. It is well known that the telicity of an eventuality can be determined by an argument of the verb, which can define the goal or conclusion of the eventuality (cf. Jackendoff (1990:30), who discusses the various factors which can affect the aspect of an eventuality; see also Verkuyl (1989)).

Consider now the case of GOAL-entailing verbs, which denote telic eventualities. The single direct object argument projected by a GOAL-entailing VIDM is not the argument which provides the telic interpretation; rather, it is the GOAL which does so. It follows that if *ghi* in Borgomanerese is the overt instantiation of GOAL, then *ghi* is the element which provides the telic interpretation of the eventuality. Since internal arguments determine the aspect of an eventuality, let us conclude that *ghi* must be an argument of the verb. Further evidence that the GOAL XP which optionally occurs with arrive-type verbs is an argument comes from the 'do-so' test in English. It is well known that in English, *do so* obligatorily replaces argument XPs along with the verb (compare (49a) with (49c)):

(49) a. **John put the book on the table, and Mary did so on the floor.*

b. *John put the book on the table, and Mary did so, too.*

c. *John read the book in N.Y. and Mary did so in Delaware.*

As can be seen in the following example, the GOAL XP *at the station* has the same status as the argument PP selected by *put*:

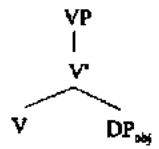
(50) a. **John arrived at the airport, and Mary did so at the station.*

b. *John arrived at the airport, and Mary did so, too.*

Of course, since the GOAL entailed by arrive-type verbs is implicit, the absence of an overt argument expressing this location-goal is permitted, and as such we find sentences like (46) and (47), which do not project *ghi*. Nevertheless, the existence of the *ghi*-construction in Borgomanerese shows that if a weak locative morpheme is available in the language, the lexical semantic category GOAL entailed by arrive-type verbs can be syntactically expressed using the weak locative morpheme.[32]

If *ghi* is an argument of arrive-type verbs, then we can no longer assume that when it is projected, arrive-type verbs are monadic, projecting the structure in (2) (repeated here):

(2)



Rather, they are optionally dyadic, unlike other unaccusatives. One argument is that which is normally taken to be the 'subject' of the sentence (i.e., the *d*-structure object), and the other is the location-GOAL, which is *ghi* in the *ghi*-construction in

[32]The fact that a GOAL-entailing VIDM can occur with an overt PP *(Mary arrived at the station)* reveals that the lexical semantic category GOAL can always be syntactically instantiated by a referential argument. Similarly, a non-GOAL-entailing VIDM can occur with a overt referential XP specifying the SOURCE (*John left the room*), so in this sense the lexical semantic category SOURCE can be syntactically instantiated as well (see §3.3 for further discussion). The phenomenon described here, however, must be distinguished: only GOAL-entailing VIDMs may select the weak locative morpheme as the WLGA.

Borgomanerese. These verbs are nevertheless unaccusative, if we take the defining property of unaccusativity to be the phenomenon of not projecting an external argument (i.e., verbs which do not assign a subject θ-role, according to Burzio's Generalization). Thus, the two arguments projected by a GOAL-entailing verb are both internal. Since *ghi* is a GOAL, let us take it to be the indirect object argument. This proposal is supported by the fact that *ghi* is specified for dative Case. As can be seen by the following paradigm, it is homophonous only with the third person dative clitic pronoun:[33]

(51)

	Accusative clitics:		Dative clitics:	
	sing.	pl.	sing.	pl.
1	mi	ni	mi	ni
2	ti	vi	ti	vi
3	lu (m) / la (f)	i (m/f)	**ghi** (m/f)	**ghi** (m/f)

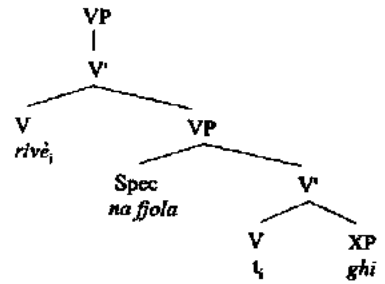
In this sense, GOAL-entailing verbs are like *give*, only *give* also projects an external argument. Although there is much controversy concerning the structure projected by a verb such as *give*, for the present purposes I adopt a Larsonian shell

[33]This contrasts with Italian *ci*, which is homophonous with the first person plural clitic pronoun, which is both accusative and dative:

	accusative clitics:		dative clitics:	
	sing.	pl.	sing.	pl.
1	mi	ci	mi	ci
2	ti	vi	ti	vi
3	lo(m)/la(f)	li(m)/le(f)	gli(m)/le(f)	gli(m/f)

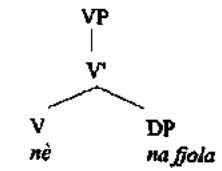
(Larson (1988a)) to demonstrate the structure projected by *rivè* in Borgomanerese (at the moment nothing crucial hinges on adopting this particular structure):[34]

(52)



This contrasts with the structure projected by *nè* 'leave', which only has a single direct object argument:[35]

(53)



As stated in footnote 14, the surface position of *ghi* seen in (44) results from its object clitic status. Note also that *ghi* in (52) is dominated by an XP node. For the moment I leave the category of this morpheme unspecified. However, I assume

[34]An alternative analysis that may come to mind would involve a small clause as the complement of the verb (cf. Kayne's (1995:69) analysis of *give*). Moro (1993; 1997), for example, proposes such a structure for Italian existentials and unaccusatives, with locative *ci* in the former and *pro* in the latter functioning as the predicate of the small clause. Moro's analysis will be discussed in much greater detail in Chapter 4.

[35]Of course, when a verb like *leave* projects a referential PP (see footnote 32), then it too must be taken to project the structure in (52) (with the PP occupying the position occupied by the XP *ghi*).

(following Uriagereka (1995), among others) that clitics head an XP projection. In what follows, we will look more closely at the internal structure of this clitic. In order to do so, however, it will be necessary to first discuss the nature of the pre-verbal clitic *ngh*.

3.2.4 Pre-verbal *ngh*

In this section we will discuss the nature of the preverbal clitic *ngh* occurring in the *ghi*-construction. The only possible analysis of this clitic is as a subject clitic, indicating that there is a phonologically null locative occupying subject position. This conclusion in turn leads to a discussion of the internal structure of the XP dominating the clitic *ghi* in (52) above.

3.2.4.1 *Ngh* is a subject clitic

As can be seen in (44) and (47) (repeated here as (54) and (55)), *ngh* is in complementary distribution with the subject clitic *l*:

(54) *Ngh è rivà-gghi na fjola.*
SLOC is arrived-LOC a girl
"A girl (has) arrived."

(55) *L è rivà na fjola.*
SCL is arrived a girl
"A girl arrived."

Since *ngh* occupies the position of a subject clitic, we can conclude that it, too, must be a subject clitic.

A possible objection to this conclusion might be suggested by a fact noted by Roberts (1991; 1993), who discusses four varieties of Valdotain which exhibit subject clitics in the compound tenses (see footnote 13 above). He notes that although these subject clitics are obligatory in the absence of any other clitics in the sentence, they disappear in the presence of an object clitic which raises to pre-auxiliary position (a phenomenon he terms "OCL for SCL"). This is exhibited, for example, in the variety of Ayas, which allows object clitics to encliticize to the past participle (56a) or move to pre-auxiliary position (56b):

(56) a. *Gnunc l a viu-me.*
nobody SCL has seen-me
"Nobody has seen me."

b. *Gnunc m a viu.*
nobody me has seen
"Nobody has seen me."

c. **Gnunc l m a viu.*
nobody SCL me has seen

d. **Gnunc m l a viu.*
nobody me SCL has seen

As can be seen in (56b), when the object clitic *me* moves to pre-auxiliary position, it displaces the subject clitic *l*. Roberts explains this complementary distribution by claiming that clitics cannot adjoin to other clitics. When an object clitic moves to a head which is normally occupied by the subject clitic, the latter can no longer occupy that position, and thus disappears.

Given the facts of Valdotain, it cannot be the case that whenever a subject clitic is in complementary distribution with another clitic, the clitic that replaces it must

also be a subject clitic. The clitic *ngh* in Borgomanerese might therefore be an object clitic which has moved up to occupy the position normally occupied by the subject clitic, as in Valdotain. There is a reason, however, why this analysis is not tenable. As already noted in footnote 14 above, in Borgomanerese we find no instance of an object clitic (direct, indirect, or oblique) climbing to a position any higher than to the right of the verb. Thus, any clitic we find in pre-verbal position in Borgomanerese (e.g., *ngh*) cannot be an object clitic.

3.2.4.2 *Ngh*: evidence for a null locative in Spec, IP

Now that we have determined that *ngh* is a subject clitic, the next question to ask is what licenses its presence. To answer this question, we must briefly review the phenomenon of subject clitics.

There is no way to adequately summarize in the present work the vast amount of complex facts surrounding the phenomenon of subject clitics in the Northern Italian dialects. For this I refer the reader to Poletto (1993), (in press), and (in preparation), who surveys over 100 dialects and concludes that there are at least four distinct types of subject clitics to be found in these languages. Nevertheless, for the present purposes, we can characterize the type of subject clitic found in Borgomanerese.

As can be seen in (57a-c), Borgomanerese has the type of subject clitic that varies according to the subject which occupies Spec, IP:[36]

(57) a. *La Maria la lesgja l libbru.*
the Maria SCL reads the book.
"Maria is reading the book."

b. *L Piero al lesgja l libbru.*
the Piero SCL reads the book
"Piero is reading the book."

c. *Té tal lesgj l libbru.*
you SCL read the book
"You are reading the book."

Thus, *la* occurs with a third person singular feminine subject, *al* occurs with a third person singular masculine subject, and *tal* occurs with the second person singular subject. Following Brandi & Cordin (1986), Rizzi (1986), and Poletto (1993), I assume that these clitics function as a form of agreement with the overt subject in Spec, IP.

[36]In Borgomanerese, the first person singular and all the persons of the plural use the same subject clitic, *i*:

(i) *Mé i lesgj l libbru.*
I SCL read the book
(ii) *Njau i lesgjumma l libbru.*
we SCL read the book
(iii) *Vjau i lesgjé l libbru.*
you.pl SCL read the book
(vi) *Loj i lesgju l libbru.*
they(masc./fem.) SCL read the book.

This subject clitic seems to be of a different type from those in (57), and will not be dealt with here. It is possible that *i* is what Poletto (in press) terms an 'invariable' subject clitic, although more tests are needed to determine this.

I should also point out that the form *tal* (the second person singular subject clitic seen in (57c/58c)) is not used with *vessi* 'be' and *avej* 'have', which require the form *t*:

(vii) *Té t è l libbru.*
you SCL have the book

Note that these clitics obligatorily appear in the absence of an overt subject, as well:

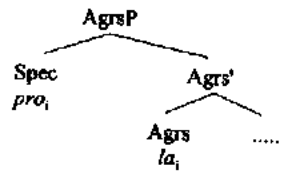
(58) a. *La lesgja l libbru.*
SCL reads the book.
"She is reading the book."

b. *Al lesgja l libbru.*
SCL reads the book
"He is reading the book."

c. *Tal lesgj l libbru.*
SCL read the book
"You are reading the book."

I conclude on the basis of the data in (58) (again, following the above authors) that Borgomanerese is a pro-drop language (like Italian). When there is no overt subject, the subject clitics agree with a *pro* in subject position:

(59)

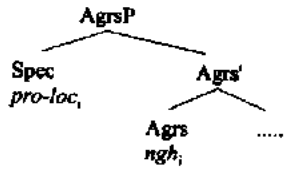


Now that we have determined that subject clitics in Borgomanerese are of the type that identify a *pro* in subject position, let us return to the question of the nature of the subject clitic *ngh*. Given its near identity to the locative clitic *ghi*, and the fact that it co-occurs with it, let us assume that it is a locative clitic, too.[37] Now, as we have

[37]Note that the lack of complete identity with the object locative clitic *ghi* should not deter us from assuming that *ngh* is a locative. Subject clitics are commonly distinct from their object clitic counterparts in the Northern Italian dialects. For example, while the third person singular masculine subject clitic is *al*, its object clitic counterpart is *lu*. Similarly, the second person singular subject clitic is *tal* (or *t*), while its object clitic

just seen, subject clitics in Borgomanerese agree with an phonologically null subject in Spec, IP. The inescapable conclusion, then, is that the presence of the locative subject clitic *ngh* signals the presence of a co-indexed phonologically null locative in Spec, IP. Let us call this XP *pro-loc*:

(60)



Further evidence that there is a phonologically null element occupying subject position in the *ghi*-construction comes from agreement facts. As can be seen in (61), the *ghi*-construction involves obligatory 3rd person singular marking on the verb, even in the presence of a plural subject:[38]

(61) a. *Ngh è rivà-gghi do mati.*
SLOC is arrived-LOC two.fem girls

counterpart is *ti*. There is no reason to assume, then, that the subject clitic version of the locative should be identical to the object clitic version of the locative. The nature of the *n* in the subject clitic locative will be discussed in the Appendix at the end of the chapter.

[38]See Cardinaletti (1997) and Chomsky (1995:Chapter 4) for a discussion of agreement patterns with post-verbal subjects across languages; in §5.4.2.3.1 below I discuss how this agreement pattern relates to Case assignment.

Note that in Chapter 4 I propose that Italian arrive-type verbs (like in Borgomanerese) optionally project a *pro-loc*. However, Italian (like English; see Chapter 5), in contrast with Borgomanerese, generally exhibits agreement with the post-verbal subject (*Sono arrivate due ragazze* 'Are arrived two girls' / **E' arrivato due ragazze* 'Is arrived two girls'), in spite of the presence of *pro-loc*. I will simply assume that *pro-loc* in Italian, like *there* in English (see references cited above), does not have the features necessary to trigger agreement.

b. **Ngh (j) n rivaj-gghi do mati.*
SLOC (SCL) are arrived.pl-LOC two.fem girls

This supports the hypothesis that a phonologically null XP (i.e., *pro-loc*) occupies Spec, IP in the *ghi*-construction. In (61a), it is *pro-loc* which triggers agreement with the verb. In contrast, when *ngh...ghi* is absent, agreement with the post-verbal subject is obligatory (62) (cf. (47)):

(62) a. **L è rivà do mati.*
SCL(3sg) is arrived two.fem girls

b. *J n rivaj do mati.*
SCL(3pl) are arrived.pl two.fem girls

Under our analysis, the lack of 3rd person singular marking on the verb in (62b) indicates the lack of a *pro-loc*.

The conclusion that a *pro-loc* occupies Spec, IP in the *ghi*-construction now raises the following questions. What is this phonologically null locative? Where does it come from?

3.2.4.2.1 *Pro-loc*: the null locative

We have thus far seen that there are three locatives in the *ghi*-construction: the subject clitic *ngh*, the phonologically null locative (*pro-loc*), and *ghi* itself. Why is there such a proliferation of locatives? The existence of a locative subject clitic in addition to the empty locative in subject position simply follows from the fact that Borgomanerese is a subject clitic language (i.e., it has overt subject clitics which agree

with the subject in Spec, IP). But why is there a *ghi* in addition to the empty locative in subject position?

To account for this, consider the fact that Borgomanerese is a dative clitic-doubling language. As seen in (63), Borgomanerese dative arguments are doubled by a dative clitic:

(63) a. *la Maria la parla-ghi a l Piero.*
the Maria SCL speaks-to him to the Piero
"Maria speaks to Piero."

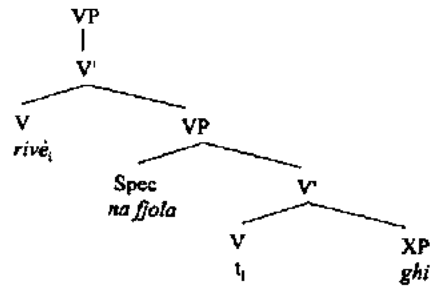
b. *Te tal da-ggu a l Mario.*[39]
you SCL give-to him.it to the Mario
"You give it to Mario."

Recall from §3.2.3 our claim that the WLGA *ghi* is the indirect (dative) object argument of the verb it occurs with. I would like to propose here a slight modification of that conclusion. Let us say that both the phonologically null locative (*pro-loc*) and *ghi* are indirect object arguments of arrive-type verbs. This conclusion takes advantage of the fact that Borgomanerese is a dative clitic-doubling language, accommodating both *pro-loc* and *ghi* by taking *pro-loc* to be the dative double of the locative clitic *ghi*, much as *l Piero* is the dative double of the dative clitic *ghi* in (63a). At this point, then, we must slightly adjust our previous assumptions: we will now take the *pro-loc* to be the WLGA. The clitic *ghi* occurs with *pro-loc* in a clitic-doubling relationship. I assume that *pro-loc* is simply part of the morphological inventory of Borgomanerese.

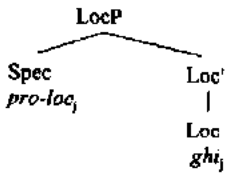
[39]Note that *gu* is simply the morphological realization of the clitics *ghi* and *lu* ('to-him' and 'it') when they occur together.

Adopting Uriagereka's (1995) analysis of clitic-doubling, we can account for the co-occurrence of both the *pro-loc* and *ghi* by positing that at d-structure *pro-loc* (the dative double) is in the Spec of the XP headed by *ghi*. Let us refer to this XP as 'LocP'. Thus, the internal structure of the indirect object XP (=LocP) seen in (52) (repeated here for convenience as (64)) is actually as in (65):[40]

(64)



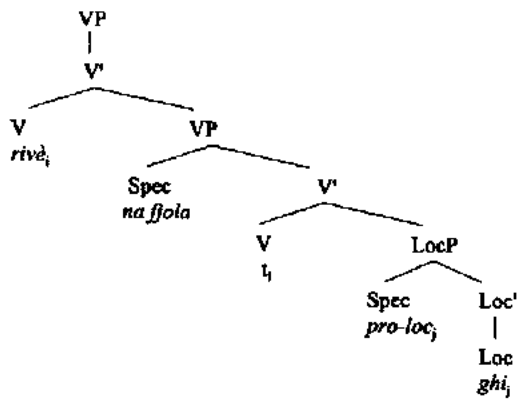
(65) WLGA clitic-doubling



The revised VP structure is thus the following:

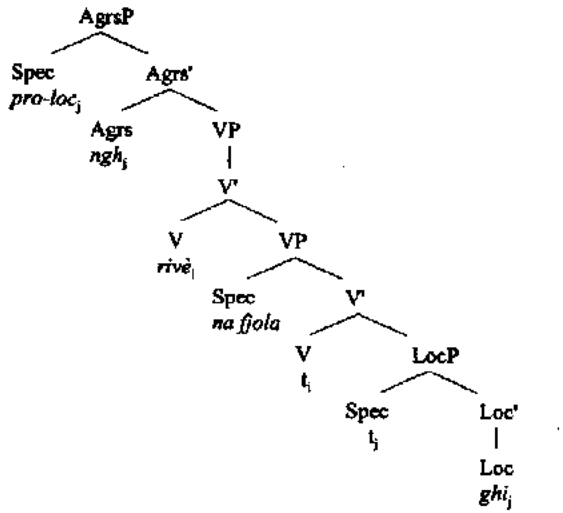
[40]There is nothing crucial which hinges on the use of Uriagereka's Spec-Head analysis of clitic-doubling, which I use as a tool to illustrate how *pro-loc* and *ghi* are both base-generated as indirect object arguments.

(66)



The *pro-loc* moves from its base position to subject position, yielding the following:[41]

(67)



[41]To save space I have eliminated any functional projections (e.g., TP, AgroP) that may intervene between AgrsP and VP).

The subject clitic *ngh* is in the Agrs head, as per our discussion of (60) above. *Ghi*, like all object clitics, encliticizes to the verb (not depicted in (67)).

3.2.4.2.2 *Pro-loc* and the i-subject

Note that if we can motivate the claim that movement of *pro-loc* to subject position is obligatory, we can explain the characteristic feature of the *ghi*-construction, namely, that the "subject" (e.g., *na fjola* in (44)) must be post-verbal (descriptively known as 'subject inversion').

Pro-loc is a phonologically null XP. It has been independently argued by Burzio (1986:129-130) (as well as Cardinaletti (1996) and Cardinaletti & Starke (to appear)) that *pro*, the more familiar phonologically null argument in Romance, must be pre-verbal (i.e., must be in Spec, IP). Burzio uses the following paradigm to show that *pro* can only occur pre-verbally ((68-69) correspond to Burzio's (105-106)):

(68) a. *Io sono alla festa.*
I am at.the party

b. *Sono alla festa.*
(I)am at.the party

(69) a. *Ci sono io alla festa.*
LOC am I at.the party

b. **Ci sono alla festa.*
LOC am(I) at.the party

(68a) and (68b) are examples of a pre-verbal overt pronoun and pro-drop, respectively. As can be seen in (69), the subject pronoun *io* 'I' occurs post-verbally when the locative

expletive *ci* occurs in subject position. (69b) shows that the presence of *ci* in subject position excludes pro-drop, suggesting that pro-drop cannot occur post-verbally, and hence that *pro* cannot be post-verbal.

Given the VP-internal subject hypothesis, I will assume that subject *pro* is base generated within VP, and its occupation of Spec, IP is a result of obligatory movement to that position. Cardinaletti & Starke (to appear) and Cardinaletti (1996) independently argue that *pro* is a 'weak' pronoun.[42] Weak pronouns, they show, cannot remain in their base positions, but rather must move overtly to Spec, IP. Consider, for example, the case of the pronoun *egli* 'he' vs. the pronoun *lui* 'he' in Italian. As can be seen in (70a,b), the pronoun *lui* can occur post-verbally as well as pre-verbally:

(70) a. *Ha aderito lui.*
has adhered he

b. *Lui ha aderito.*
he has adhered

Thus, *lui* behaves like any other noun:

(71) a. *Ha aderito Gianni.*
has adhered Gianni

b. *Gianni ha aderito.*
Gianni has adhered

In contrast, the pronoun *egli* cannot occur post-verbally:

(72) a. **Ha aderito egli.*
has adhered he

[42]A more detailed discussion of Cardinaletti & Starke's theory of weak pronouns is deferred until Chapter 5.

b. *Egli ha aderito.*
He has adhered

If the exclusively leftward nature of movement is assumed (Kayne (1995)), we must conclude that the post-verbal subjects *lui* and *Gianni* are in their base-generated positions (Spec, VP) in (70a) and (71a)). Since *egli* cannot occur post-verbally, we must further assume that it cannot remain in its base-generated position, but rather must move in the syntax to a Case related position (Spec, IP).

Pronouns like *egli* are thus XPs which exhibit clitic-like behavior. Such weak pronouns also differ from 'strong' pronouns such as *lui* in that the former but not the latter may refer to non-human- entities. This difference can be seen in (73a,b), where *esse* 'they-fem' may refer to either *girls* or *roses*, while *loro* 'they-fem' can refer only to *girls*. The weak nature of *esse* and the strong nature of *loro* is confirmed by the fact that *loro* can occur in its base position (74b), whereas *esse* cannot (74a).

(73) a. *Esse sono troppo alte.* (= the girls; the roses)
they-fem are very tall

b. *Loro sono troppo alte.* (= the girls; *the roses)
they-fem are very tall

(74) a. **Hanno mangiato esse.*
have eaten they-fem
(cf.: *Esse hanno mangiato.*)

b. *Hanno mangiato loro.*
have eaten they-fem

Thus far we have examined two properties of weak pronouns: (i) they can refer to non-human entities, and (ii) they must move overtly to a Case-related position.

As Cardinaletti & Starke (to appear) and Cardinaletti (1996) point out, *pro* qualifies as a weak pronoun. In addition to being used as a quasi-argument (75) and an impersonal (76), *pro* can have both human and non-human referents, as can be seen in (77):

(75) pro *piove.*
(it) rains

(76) pro *mi hanno venduto un libro rovinato, in quel negozio.*
they to-me have sold a book damaged, in that shop

(77) pro *sono molto belle.* (= the girls; the roses)
(they) are very beautiful

If *pro* is a weak pronoun, like *egli* and *esse*, then its obligatory presence in pre-verbal position, independently argued for by Burzio (1986), is explained.

Let us now return to the original question we set out to address in this sub-section: if we can motivate the claim that movement of the *pro-loc* argument to subject position is obligatory, then we can explain the characteristic feature of the *ghi*-construction (namely, that the "subject" must be post-verbal). It seems reasonable to assume that *pro-loc*, like *pro*, is weak. Like *pro*, then (and weak pronouns in general), *pro-loc* cannot remain in its base position and must move overtly to subject position, yielding (44), repeated here for convenience:[43]

(44) *Ngh è rivà-gghi na fjola.*
SLOC is arrived-LOC a girl
"A girl (has) arrived."

[43]Recall that the presence of the subject clitic *ngh* signals the presence of the *pro-loc* in Spec, IP.

Given that *pro-loc* must occupy the subject position, the d-structure object cannot move to that position, and thus remains in situ (i.e., post-verbal). To put it differently, if the d-structure object were to move to Spec, IP instead of the *pro-loc*, this would result in ungrammaticality, since the *pro-loc* could not move to that position, as required. Thus, whenever *pro-loc* is projected, Spec, IP has to be left open for occupation of the *pro-loc*. The d-structure object thus remains in-situ, yielding the 'subject inversion' characteristic of the *ghi*-construction.

Recall that arrive-type verbs project the WLGA (i.e., *pro-loc*) optionally (cf. the discussion in §3.2.3). If the WLGA is not projected, then, the d-structure object can either remain in situ or move to subject position, yielding the sentences in (47) and (46), respectively (repeated here for convenience):

(47) *L è rivà na fjola.*
SCL is arrived a girl
"A girl arrived."

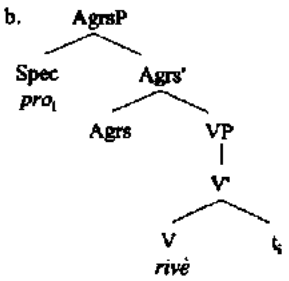
(46) *Na fjola l è rivà.*
a girl SCL is arrived.
"A girl arrived."

The option for the d-structure object to remain in-situ follows from a more general property of Borgomanerese, which (like Italian) allows 'free inversion'.

There are two final pieces of evidence that support the explanation provided here for obligatory subject inversion in the presence of *pro-loc*. First, as discussed above, pro-drop can only be pre-verbal. This follows from the fact that *pro* (as a weak

pronoun) must move in the syntax from its base-generated position. Thus, in the case of a pro-drop construction like that in (78a), *pro* must move to Spec, IP, as in (78b).[44]

(78) a. *L è rivà.*
SCL is arrived.
"He (has) arrived."

b.


Given this analysis, we predict pro-drop to be impossible in the presence of the WLGA. That is, both *pro* and *pro-loc* cannot be projected in one and the same structure, because they would have to compete for the same syntactic position, since as weak pronouns, both need to move overtly to subject position (compare (78b) with (67)). Note that this prediction is borne out:

(79) **Ngh è rivà-gghi.*
SLOC is arrived-LOC

Second, Poletto (in preparation:Chapter 6) argues that in Italian (as well as in many Northern Italian dialects), when the negative quantifier *nessuno* 'nobody' is used as a pre-verbal subject, as in (80a), it does not occupy Spec, IP, the canonical subject position normally occupied by non-quantified DP subjects, but rather occupies a

[44]The structure in (78b), which does not involve a Larsonian shell, is essentially the one seen in (53) projected by *nè* 'leave'; this is due to the fact that the second internal argument is not projected in this case.

higher Spec position.[45] Note that the hypothesis that the subject *nzün* 'nobody' in Borgomanerese occupies a position other than Spec, IP (as Poletto argues for the negative quantifier in Italian and other Italian dialects) allows us to make a prediction: with Spec, IP left open in the presence of the pre-verbal subject *nzün*, the *ghi*-construction should be possible, as *pro-loc* is free to move to that position. As can be seen in (80b), this prediction is borne out; note that (80b) contrasts with (80c), in which a non-quantified subject DP (*La Maria*) cannot occur pre-verbally in the presence of *pro-loc*:

(80) a. *Nessuno è arrivato.*
nobody is arrived

b. *Nzün ngh è rivà-gghi.*
nobody SLOC is arrived-LOC

c. **La Maria ngh è rivà-gghi.*
the Maria SLOC is arrived-LOC

To summarize, the above facts confirm that *pro-loc* is only licit when Spec, IP is left open as a position into which it can move. *Pro-loc* and *pro* are incompatible because each has the requirement that it must occupy Spec, IP; thus, if *pro* is present, *pro-loc* is excluded (and likewise, if *pro-loc* is present, *pro* is excluded). In addition, the hypothesis that *nzün* occupies a position higher than Spec, IP (in contrast with other subject DPs) explains why it is the only DP subject allowed to occur pre-verbally in the *ghi*-construction; by leaving Spec, IP open, *pro-loc* is free to move to that position.

[45]Poletto (in press) and (in preparation) argues extensively for a more articulated functional structure, involving two AgrsP projections.

Thus, once we recognize that *pro-loc* must occupy Spec, IP, the 'subject inversion' nature of the *ghi*-construction is explained.

3.3 SOURCE-entailing verbs and the existential

The claim that *pro-loc* is the WLGA in Borgomanerese raises the question of the use of the *ghi*-construction for the existential (seen in (27)), given that the existential does not entail a GOAL. To address this question, I will take this opportunity to clarify our analysis of *pro-loc*.

The idea being presented here is that *pro-loc* is simply part of the morphological inventory of Borgomanerese, in the same way that NDL *ghi* and the deictic locatives *chi* 'here' and *là* 'there' are morphemes listed in the lexicon of the language. The difference between *pro-loc*, and, say, *chi* or *là*, is that *pro-loc* is a 'weak locative', while *chi* and *là* are 'strong locatives' (again, terminology adopted from C&S).[46] Now, let us consider the fact that GOAL-entailing verbs and SOURCE-entailing verbs project their GOAL and SOURCE arguments optionally. As we have seen, the optionally projected argument of a SOURCE-entailing verb can be either a PP (81b), the NDL *ghi* (81c), or a deictic (strong) locative (81d):

(81) a. *La Maria l' è naci.*
the Maria SCL is gone

[46]One difference between a weak morpheme and a strong morpheme (noted in the preceding sub-section) is that while both are XPs, weak morphemes exhibit clitic-like behavior.

b. *La Maria l' è naci a la staziôn.*
the Maria SCL is gone to the station

c. *La Maria l' è naci-ghi.*
the Maria SCL is gone-there

d. *La Maria l' è naci là.*
the Maria SCL is gone there

The optionally projected argument of a GOAL-entailing verb, like that of a SOURCE-entailing verb, can also be either a PP (82b), the NDL *ghi* (82c), or a deictic locative (82d):

(82) a. *La Maria l' è rivà.*
the Maria SCL is arrived

b. *La Maria l' è rivà a la staziôn.*
the Maria SCL is arrived at the station

c. *La Maria l' è rivà-gghi.*
the Maria SCL is arrived-there

d. *La Maria l' è rivà chi.*
the Maria SCL is arrived here

The difference between SOURCE-entailing and GOAL-entailing verbs, however, lies in the ability of GOAL-entailing verbs to select *pro-loc* as the optionally projected argument:

(83) pro-loc *ngh è rivà-gghi na fiola.*
pro-loc SLOC is arrived-LOC a girl

The term *weak locative goal argument* allows us to differentiate this morpheme, as used with GOAL-entailing verbs, from the other locatives.

Let us now return to the question of the existential in Borgomanerese. As noted, the existential appears to employ *pro-loc* as well, in spite of the fact that this construction does not entail a GOAL:

(84) pro-loc *ngh è-gghi tre mataj.*
pro-loc SLOC is-LOC three.masc boys

To account for the existential, I would like to suggest that *pro-loc* can also be used as the morpho-syntactic instantiation of the lexical semantic category LOCATION. Given this analysis, let us take *pro-loc* to be a *weak locative morpheme* which can be used either as the optionally projected GOAL argument (in which case it is the *weak locative goal argument*), or as the optionally projected LOCATION argument (in which case it is a *weak locative argument* (WLA)). Thus, the lexical semantic categories GOAL and LOCATION pattern together, while the odd man out is SOURCE.

3.3.1 Speculations on the relevant lexical semantic distinction between SOURCE vs. GOAL and LOCATION

The above observation raises the question as to why the weak locative (i.e., *pro-loc* in Borgomanerese) cannot be used as the morpho-syntactic instantiation of the lexical semantic category SOURCE (in opposition to PPs, NDL *ghi*, and deictic locatives). While I do not have an answer to this question, it seems that the conceptual categories GOAL and LOCATION must be formally distinguished from SOURCE, since the grammar is sensitive to this distinction. Here I provide a tentative analysis which formally distinguishes the former two lexical conceptual categories from the

latter, which is based on Jackendoff's (1990) observations concerning Goal and Location, and Pustejovsky's (1991) theory of event structure. A more detailed analysis of the lexical conceptual distinction between GOAL/LOCATION and SOURCE is a matter for future research.

As Jackendoff (1990:27) notes, a "*...be*-sentence expresses the end-state of ...[a]... *go*-sentence." He captures this relation via an inference rule, which essentially states that at the end of an event in which X goes to Y, it is the case that X is at Y. Note that this conceptual relation between GOAL and LOCATION does not hold for SOURCE and LOCATION. That is, at the end of an event in which X goes from Y, it is not the case that X is at Y (rather, X is not at Y). Given Jackendoff's observation, it could in fact be argued that GOAL and LOCATION are one and the same lexical semantic category. The only difference between GOAL and LOCATION is that the former is embedded in a conceptual structure under the 'Event' GO, whereas the latter is embedded in a conceptual structure under the 'State' BE. This difference is sketched out in (85a,b) (adapted from Jackendoff (1990:27)), where X is the theme and Y is the location (let us take (85a) to roughly represent an event described by *arrive*):

(85) a. $[_{\text{Event}}$ GO ([X], $[_{\text{Path}}$ TO [([Y])])]

b. $[_{\text{State}}$ BE ([X], $[_{\text{Place}}$ AT [([Y])])]

Thus, Y in both (85a,b) can be referred to as LOCATION.[47]

[47]Nevertheless, in the remainder of this work I will refer to the former as GOAL, for the sake of clarity.

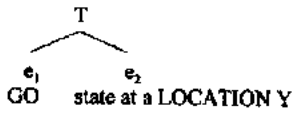
However, note that according to Jackendoff, a SOURCE-entailing event (as opposed to a GOAL-entailing event or a state at a LOCATION) is differentiated only by the presence of the Path-function FROM (instead of TO or AT; assume (86) represents an event described by *leave*):

(86) $[_{Event}$ GO ([X], $[_{Path}$ FROM [([Y])])]

Thus, while Jackendoff's inference rule excludes an equation of a location-source with a state at a location, the above structures do not express any formal distinction between a location-source, a location-goal, and a state at a location; all three are expressed as the conceptual category Y (= LOCATION). Nevertheless, as we have seen, the weak locative in Borgomanerese (*pro-loc*) can only be used to instantiate the lexical semantic category LOCATION in (85a,b), and not that in (86). It seems, then, that the former and the latter must somehow be distinguished.

Once again, Pustejovsky's (1991) analysis of event structure, which was discussed in §2.2.1, can provide a framework in which a location-source can be structurally distinguished from a location-goal and a state at a location. As we saw in §2.2.1, a GOAL-entailing event such as that described by the verb *arrive* can be represented as in (8), repeated here as (87):

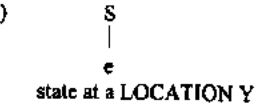
(87)



Note that in contrast, an existential does not involve such a dual event structure. Rather, it is a 'state' with a non-complex event structure (in the same sense that a

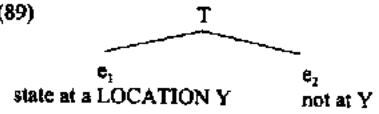
'process' has a non-complex event structure), which is represented in Pustejovsky's system in the following way (*S* indicates 'state'):

(88)



As we saw, like *arrive*, the verb *leave* describes an event that involves two sub-events. In contrast with *arrive*, however, the resulting state described by *leave* is the negation of a state at a location. This was illustrated in (9) (repeated here as (89)), which describes a state at a location on the left branch, and the negation of that state on the right branch:

(89)



Note that the above structures formally capture Jackendoff's observation (expressed by his inference rule) which equates GOAL with LOCATION. If we compare (87) with (89), we note a structural difference. In (87) (the GOAL-entailing event), 'state at a LOCATION Y' is on the right branch of the event structure, while in (89) (the SOURCE-entailing event) 'state at a LOCATION Y' is on the left branch of the event structure. Now consider (88); by virtue of the fact that there is no left branch, the LOCATION is not on a left branch in the event structure. Viewed in this way, we can distinguish SOURCE from GOAL and LOCATION by stating that the former is the conceptual category LOCATION *which occurs on the left branch of the event structure*, while the latter two are instances of the conceptual category LOCATION *which do not occur on the left branch of the event structure.*

Let us now return to the fact that *pro-loc*, the weak locative morpheme in Borgomanerese, cannot be selected by SOURCE-entailing verbs (in opposition to PPs, NDL *ghi*, and deictic locatives). Given the above analysis of the distinction between SOURCE on the one hand and GOAL/LOCATION on the other, we can state *pro-loc*'s restriction in the following way:

(90) *Pro-loc* cannot be used as the morpho-syntactic instantiation of the lexical semantic category LOCATION when LOCATION occurs on the left branch of the event structure.

Again, I cannot offer an explanation for the descriptive generalization in (90). Nevertheless, the above analysis allows us to capture the intuition that at some level, SOURCE-entailing and GOAL-entailing eventualities and the existential all entail the same conceptual category, namely, LOCATION. At the same time, it allows us to capture the fact that at another level, a location-source is grammatically distinguished from a location-goal and a state at a location.

3.4 Conclusions

The presence of the locative clitics *ngh* and *ghi* in the *ghi*-construction indicate the syntactic presence of a phonologically null locative morpheme, *pro-loc*. Although the locatives in the *ghi*-construction exhibit expletive-like properties, we have seen that the analysis of *pro-loc* as a WLGA has allowed us to explain two facts. One is the 'subject-inversion' nature of the *ghi*-construction. As a weak morpheme, *pro-loc*

must move overtly from its base position to Spec, IP, leaving the subject stranded in post-verbal position. The fact that *nzün* 'nobody' (which does not occupy Spec, IP) c occur as a pre-verbal subject in the *ghi*-construction is consistent with this analysis. The other fact this hypothesis allows us to explain is that the presence of *pro-loc* correlates with a speaker-oriented interpretation of the location-goal. This fact woul not have an explanation if *pro-loc* were analyzed as a pure expletive, with no seman content. I also proposed that only unaccusatives which contain the lexical semantic category GOAL or LOCATION can optionally select *pro-loc* as a second internal argument. To explain why *pro-loc* cannot be associated with SOURCE, I appealed an analysis of event structure which would allow us to formally distinguish the latte from the former.

APPENDIX: What is the *n*?

One final aspect of the subject clitic *ngh* needs clarification. *Ngh* is a locative subject clitic, and its lack of morphological identity to *ghi* should not come as a surprise. However, it seems rather obvious that the *gh* in *ngh* is morphologically related to *ghi*. Less immediately obvious, however, is the nature of the *n* which precedes *gh*. Many Italian dialects have a locative clitic (deriving from Latin HINC), that resembles Borgomanerese *ngh*: for example, Barese *ngĕ*, Neapolitan *nċe* (Calabrese (1996)), and Sardinian *nke* (Jones (1993)). While at first sight it might seem more straightforward to analyze *ngh* as a single morpheme deriving from Latin HINC, there are three facts that lead me to assume that *n* and *gh* are two different clitics, the former most likely related to partitive *nu* in Borgomanerese.

First, although there are several Central and Southern Italian dialects that have a locative clitic deriving from Latin HINC (such as Neapolitan *nċe*), to my knowledge there are no Northern Italian Dialects which have such a locative clitic. Second, in Biondelli (1853), there is an instance of the existential construction in Borgomanerese in which there is no *n* preceding the preverbal *gh*:

(91) *Al gh éra na botta un òmu...*
SCL LOC was a time a man...
"Once upon a time there was a man..."

The absence of *n* in an earlier stage of Borgomanerese suggests that it is a separate clitic.

Third, there are many Northern Italian dialects which exhibit a co-occurrence requirement between the locative expletive clitic and the partitive clitic. Many dialects related to Borgomanerese require the partitive clitic in the presence of the locative expletive clitic, and/or (vice-versa) the locative expletive clitic in the presence of the partitive clitic. For example, in varieties spoken in the Province of Belluno, the existential (which uses the locative expletive *ghe*) requires the presence of partitive *ne* (Nicola Munaro, personal communication), as can be seen in the following sentence:

(92) a. *Ghe n è-lo Mario?* (Italian: *C'è Mario?*)
LOC NE is-SCL Mario
"Is there Mario?"

b. *Ghe n è-la na machina?* (Italian: *C'è una macchina?*)
LOC NE is-SCL a car
"Is there a car?"

It is important to note that partitive *ne*, when obligatorily used with the locative expletive in the existential, does not make any partitive semantic contribution to the sentence. This is attested by the fact that partitive *ne* is used with full DPs, both definite and indefinite, as well as with proper names (92a).

Padovano is an example of a language in which partitive *ne* requires the presence of the locative expletive clitic *ghe* (Paola Benincà, personal communication):[48]

[48]When an overt referential indirect object clitic is present, however, the locative expletive clitic does not appear:

(i) *I me ne da do.*
SCL to-me NE gives two "He gives two of them to me."

This demonstrates that the locative clitic *ghe* in (93) does not make a semantic contribution to the sentence.

(93) *Mario ghe ne magna do* (Italian: *Mario ne mangia due.*)
Mario LOC NE eat two
"She eats two of them."

Other dialects exhibit both co-occurrence requirements (i.e., the locative expletive requires the partitive clitic, and the partitive clitic requires the locative expletive). This is found, for example, in the dialect of Motta di Livenza, spoken in the Province of Treviso (data from the ASIS):

(94) Locative requires partitive:

Ghe n è un putel. (Italian: *C'è un bambino.*)
LOC NE is a boy
"There is a boy."

(95) Partitive requires locative:

I ghe ne parla tuti. (Italian: *Ne parlano tutti.*)
SCL LOC NE speak everyone
"Everyone speaks about it."

I do not offer an explanation for this co-occurrence requirement between the locative expletive clitic and the partitive. The point here is simply that, given that this co-occurrence requirement exists in many languages related to Borgomanerese, it seems plausible to assume that the *n* in the subject clitic *ngh* is the partitive clitic.[49] Again, it

[49]A question which this analysis raises is why the partitive clitic precedes the locative in Borgomanerese, whereas in the other dialects cited it follows the locative. This fact may not be entirely unexpected once we note a morphological difference between the Borgomanerese partitive clitic and that found in the other dialects. In contrast with Borgomanerese, whose partitive clitic is *nu* (*i o vustu-nu tre* 'I have seen three of them'), the partitive clitic in the other dialects is *ne* (like in Italian). It is possible that, unlike the partitive clitic in the other dialects, *nu* is actually composed of the partitive morpheme *n* plus the epenthetic vowel *u* (P. Benincà, personal communication). The complex *ngh* (as opposed to *ghi-n*), then, may result from incorporation of the morphologically deficient *n* into *gh* within the clitic cluster.

We must also note that the order partitive-locative is only found in the subject

must be noted that, as in the cases discussed above, the partitive clitic in this case does not have any partitive semantic import (compare, for example, the meaning of (93), which is a true partitive, and the meaning of (14b)).

clitic *ngh*, where the alleged partitive clitic *n* has no partitive semantic value. The order locative-partitive is found when the partitive is used with its true partitive semantics:

(i) *Ngh è-ggu tre.* (Italian: *Ce ne sono tre*)
SLOC is-GHI.NU three

The clitic *gu* is the morphological realization of the two clitics *ghi* (locative) and *nu* (partitive).

Chapter 4

THE WEAK LOCATIVE GOAL ARGUMENT IN ITALIAN

4.1 Introduction

Unlike Borgomanerese, Italian has no direct evidence for a WLGA. However, in this chapter we will see that Italian also makes a distinction between GOAL-entailing and SOURCE-entailing VIDMs. The facts of Italian parallel those of Borgomanerese; the i-subject of GOAL-entailing VIDMs can get an unmarked interpretation, while the i-subject of SOURCE-entailing VIDMs only gets a focused interpretation. Furthermore, only in the former case does the location(-goal) get a speaker-oriented interpretation. I show that this set of facts is best explained by positing the existence of an optionally projected phonologically null WLGA (*pro-loc*). Just as in Borgomanerese, I will show that SOURCE-entailing verbs cannot optionally select *pro-loc* as a second internal argument. This proposal contrasts with the influential analysis provided by Moro (1993;1997), who claims that all unaccusatives select a SC complement with a null locative predicate. I provide a close comparison of the two proposals, and argue that the present one is to be preferred. In the Appendix, I

provide a brief discussion of accounts in the literature (Saccon (1992) and Delfitto & Pinto (1992)) for the correlation between the projection of a null locative and the unmarked status of the V-S word order.

4.2 The weak locative goal argument in Italian

In the previous chapter we saw that the *ghi*-construction in Borgomanerese involves a phonologically null locative (*pro-loc*), which is the *weak locative goal argument* (WLGA), optionally projected by arrive-type verbs. I argued that the *ghi* in the *ghi*-construction is the dative clitic double of *pro-loc*, which is base generated as an indirect object argument, and that the *ngh* is a subject clitic which agrees in features with the *pro-loc* (which occupies Spec, IP at s-structure). The appearance of the clitic *ngh* follows from the fact that Borgomanerese is a subject clitic language, and the appearance of the clitic *ghi* follows from the fact that Borgomanerese is a dative clitic doubling language.

We saw that the *ghi* of the *ghi*-construction, which was also descriptively dubbed 'locative expletive *ghi*' (in order to differentiate it from the NDL *ghi* 'here' / 'there'), is used in the existential construction in Borgomanerese as well:

(96) *Ngh è-gghi tre mataj int la stönza.*
SLOC is-LOC three.masc boys in the room
"There are three boys in the room."

As we saw, Italian also uses its locative clitic, *ci*, as a locative expletive in the existential construction:

(97) *Ci sono tre ragazzi nella stanza.*
LOC are three boys in.the room.
"There are three boys in the room."

While Borgomanerese uses its locative expletive *ghi* with arrive-type verbs (as the clitic double of the WLGA *pro-loc*) in addition to existentials, it is well known that Italian does not use the locative expletive *ci* with arrive-type verbs with post-verbal subjects, as the following example shows:

(98) **Ci è arrivata una ragazza.* (intended interpretation)
LOC is arrived a girl
"A girl arrived."

In fact, unlike Borgomanerese, Italian exhibits no overt syntactic difference between GOAL-entailing and non-GOAL-entailing VIDMs with post-verbal subjects:

(99) *E' arrivata una ragazza.*
is arrived a girl.
"A girl arrived."

(100) *E' partita una ragazza.*
is left a girl.
"A girl left."

Comparing (97) with (98) and (99), then, we might conclude that arrive-type verbs in Italian do not project a WLGA. However, recall our explanation for the occurrence of *ghi* in the *ghi*-construction in Borgomanerese: *ghi* is the dative clitic double of *pro-loc*. If we consider the fact that Italian is not a dative clitic doubling language, then *pro-loc* in Italian would not be doubled by *ci*. In other words, the lack of dative clitic doubling means that the presence of *pro-loc* in Italian would not be signaled by an overt

morpheme in (99).[50] We thus have no direct evidence either for or against the hypothesis that arrive-type verbs in Italian project a phonologically null WLGA.

4.2.1 Indirect evidence for the WLGA

It was first pointed out by Antinucci & Cinque (1977) that monadic verbs split into two groups with respect to unmarked word order. The unmarked word order for verbs like *fumare* 'smoke' and *dormire* 'sleep' is S-V, while verbs like *arrivare* 'arrive' and *venire* 'come' allow V-S as the unmarked word order. That is, given an unmarked context (such as that in (101)), the sentence in (102) with *arrivare* is grammatical, whereas the sentence in (103) with *dormire* is not (compare (103) with (104)):

(101) *Che succede?*
"What's happening?"

(102) *Arriva Maria.*
arrives Maria
"Mary is arriving."

(103) **Dorme Maria.*[51]
sleeps Maria

(104) *Maria dorme.*
Maria sleeps
"Mary is sleeping."

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[50]The question as to what licenses 'locative expletive' *ci* in existentials in Italian will be addressed in §4.3.3 below.

[51]As Samek-Lodovici (1994) points out, the order V-S in (103) forces a contrastive focus interpretation on the post-verbal subject. This phenomenon will be discussed in more detail immediately below.

Many researchers since Antinucci & Cinque (1977) (e.g., Calabrese (1992), Delfitto & D'Hulst (1994), Delfitto & Pinto (1992), Pinto (1994), among others) have claimed that this difference in behavior with respect to unmarked word order correlates with the unergative-unaccusative distinction. However, it turns out that the word order facts and the unergative-unaccusative distinction do not line up so neatly. As was first noted explicitly by Benincà (1988a), the word order V-S is not the unmarked word order for all unaccusatives in Italian. In particular, she showed that given an unmarked context such as that in (101), the sentence in (105) with *partire* 'leave' is inappropriate.[52]

(105) **Parte Maria.*
leaves Maria

The order V-S yields a marked interpretation for the single argument of *partire*. Specifically, the post-verbal subject in (105) can only be interpreted as contrastively focused, similarly to what we saw above (footnote 51) for the unergative verb *dormire*.[53] Thus, (105) can be used felicitously only in a context which allows for a contrastive focus interpretation of the post-verbal subject, such as that in (106a):

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[52]This is also noted for the verb *andarsene* 'leave' (*andare* 'go'+SI-NE) in Antinucci & Cinque (1977:126-127, footnote 2; see footnote 57 below). Note that the '*' in (105) is intended to indicate the ungrammaticality of this string in an unmarked context, not absolute ungrammaticality.

[53]Here the term 'contrastive focus' is used to indicate an interpretation of the DP as an individual which necessarily belongs to a set of known individuals. In sentence (106b), *Maria* is interpreted as belonging to a set of individuals (e.g., a set which includes *Maria, Gianni, Lucia, & Giorgio*) which constitutes the context in which the DP *Maria* can receive an interpretation in post-verbal position. The term 'contrastive focus' as used here thus does not entail a negation or a contradiction of a previously mentioned entity, but rather refers to the contrast between the referent of the DP and the other members of the set to which it belongs.

(106) a. *Chi parte?*
who leaves
"Who is leaving?"

b. *Parte Maria.*
leaves Maria
"It is Maria that is leaving."

4.2.1.1 GOAL and the unmarked i-subject

Benincà (1988a) proposed that the interpretive difference between (102) (unmarked) and (106b) (marked) is related to the fact that *arrivare* has an "implicit locative", whereas *partire* does not.[54] Specifically, she points out (p.124) that "*partire* differs from *arrivare* in that it does not have a subcategorized locative argument (the goal)... ."[55] For the purposes of exposition, let us refer to Benincà's hypothesis as the

[54]Several researchers following Benincà, including Delfitto & D'Hulst (1994), Delfitto & Pinto (1992), Pinto (1994), and Saccon (1992), have adopted the "implicit locative" analysis of *arrivare* in order to explain the difference in behavior between unergatives and unaccusatives with respect to unmarked word order. The above researchers (with the exception of Saccon), however, differ from Benincà in that they extend the implicit locative analysis to all unaccusatives. This extension incorrectly predicts that all unaccusatives should allow V-S as the unmarked word order. The analyses of these authors will be discussed in more detail in the Appendix below.

Benincà also notes that some unergatives, such as *telefonare* 'telephone' and *suonare* 'ring (e.g., a doorbell)' allow V-S as the unmarked word order:

(i) *Ha telefonato Masiero.*
has telephoned Masiero

(ii) *Ha suonato il postino.*
has rung the postman

She claims that such unergatives, like *arrivare*, have an implicit locative (with a deictic interpretation; see below). We will not consider these unergative cases here, although it is likely that they can be subsumed under the analysis provided for arrive-type verbs.

[55]Benincà suggests (p. 125) that the possibility of an unmarked post-verbal subject depends on the presence of a locative argument, which can serve as the theme

'GOAL-hypothesis.' Note that the GOAL-hypothesis makes a prediction: all VIDMs which entail a GOAL should pattern with *arrivare* in (102), while VIDMs which do not entail a GOAL should pattern with *partire* in (106b) (with respect to the interpretation of the post-verbal subject). If this prediction is borne out, then we are led to believe that the GOAL-hypothesis is correct.

4.2.1.1.1 *Come, return,* and *enter* vs. *escape* and *exit*

Recall from the discussion in Chapter 2 that the verbs in (107) were classified as GOAL-entailing verbs, while the verbs in (108) were classified as non-GOAL-entailing (SOURCE) verbs:

(107) *arrive, come, return, enter*

(108) *leave, escape, exit*

The GOAL-hypothesis predicts that the verbs in (107) should allow V-S as the unmarked word order, while the verbs in (108) should not. Note that this prediction is borne out. The sentences in (109) are grammatical in an unmarked context, while the sentences in (110) are not:[56]

(or "given" – as opposed to rheme) of the sentence. See the Appendix at the end of this chapter for a review of various explanations in the literature for the interpretive difference between (102) and (106b). Benincà also notes that the implicit locative has a 'deictic' interpretation; I will discuss this fact in detail in §4.2.1.2 below.

[56]For many speakers, the difference between (102) and (106b) is much sharper in the non-compound tenses. The difference becomes less clear, for example, in the present perfect:

(i) *E' arrivata Maria.*
is arrived Maria

(109) a. *Viene Maria.*
comes Maria

b. *Torna Maria.*
returns Maria

c. *Entra Maria.*
enters Maria

(110) a. **Scappa Maria.*
escapes Maria

b. **Esce Maria.*
exits Maria

Note that in Italian the verb *andarsene* 'leave' also disallows V-S as the unmarked word order (noted by Antinucci & Cinque (1977); see footnote 52 above), thus patterning like a SOURCE-entailing verb (cf. the verb *nè* 'go' in Borgomanerese (15a,b), which is also used to mean *leave*):[57]

(ii) ??*E' partita Maria.*
is left Maria
Since the presence of perfective aspect confounds this effect, I will only consider the simple tenses.

[57]The verb *andarsene* 'leave' is morphologically composed of the verb *andare* 'go' plus the two clitics *se* (reflexive *si*; the allomorph *se* is used when *si* clusters with another clitic) and *ne* (the partitive clitic). The verb *andare* 'go' (without the clitics *se-ne*) allows a post-verbal subject in an unmarked context only if the eventuality is interpreted as GOAL-entailing. Thus, there is a contrast in the interpretations of (i) and (ii):

(i) *E' andata Maria.*
is gone Maria
(ii) *Maria è già andata.*
Maria is already gone
The sentence in (i), if used in an unmarked context, can only mean that Maria went someplace (GOAL), while the sentence in (ii) can either mean that Maria went someplace (GOAL), or that Maria left (SOURCE). These facts suggest that the verb *andare* 'go' is ambiguous between GOAL-entailing and non-GOAL-entailing; *andarsene* 'leave', however, is unambiguously SOURCE-entailing. For further discussion of VIDMs which are ambiguous between GOAL-entailing and non-GOAL-

(111) **Se ne va Maria.*
SE NE go Maria

To summarize, the VIDMs which I claimed to be GOAL-entailing (and which occur in the *ghi*-construction in Borgomanerese) allow V-S as the unmarked word order, while the VIDMs which I claimed to be non-GOAL-entailing do not.

4.2.1.1.2 α-telic VIDMs

Now let us turn to the behavior of α-telic VIDMs. Recall (Chapter 2) that α-telic VIDMs such as *descend* are ambiguous between non-GOAL-entailing (atelic) and GOAL-entailing (telic) in English. The Italian verb *scendere* 'descend' is also ambiguous between non-GOAL-entailing and GOAL-entailing, as can be seen by (112a,b):

(112) a. *L'aereo è sceso per 5 minuti.*
the.airplane is descended for 5 minutes
"The airplane descended for 5 minutes."

b. *L'aereo è sceso (sulla pista) in 5 minuti.*
the.airplane is descended on.the runway in 5 minutes
"The airplane descended (onto the runway) in 5 minutes."

The GOAL-hypothesis makes a specific prediction with respect to α-telic VIDMs like *scendere*. In particular, it is predicted that in an unmarked context, the word order V-S for this verb can be interpreted as grammatical only if it is interpreted as telic *scendere* (i.e., only if it is interpreted as an arrive-type verb, entailing a GOAL). To put it

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entailing, see §4.2.1.1.2 below.

differently, the interpretation of this verb as non-GOAL-entailing (as atelic *scendere*) in an unmarked context should be impossible with the word order V-S, if it is indeed the case that non-GOAL-entailing verbs do not allow this word order in an unmarked context. Now let us see whether this prediction is borne out.

Consider example (113), in which the subject of *scendere* is in post-verbal position. In an unmarked context (such as that in (101) "What's happening?"), the verb in (113) can only be interpreted as entailing a GOAL (i.e., the Spitfire has to have landed). This is confirmed by the fact that the order V-S with *scendere* is incompatible with a durative phrase in an unmarked context:

(113) *E' sceso Lo Spitfire (*per 5 minuti).*
is descended the Spitfire (*for 5 minutes)
"The Spitfire descended (*for 5 minutes)."

Thus, our prediction is borne out: when the subject of *scendere* is post-verbal, the sentence can only be interpreted as grammatical in an unmarked context if the verb is interpreted as entailing a GOAL (i.e., it patterns with *arrivare*).

Note that there is another part to the prediction made by the GOAL-hypothesis. In particular, this hypothesis predicts that given a context in which the post-verbal subject of *scendere* is interpreted as contrastively focused, this verb should be interpretable as non-GOAL-entailing (i.e., as atelic *scendere*). In other words, it should behave like *partire*. The sentence in (114) provides the context in which the post-verbal subject in (115) can be interpreted as contrastively focused. The grammaticality of (115) establishes that the prediction is borne out:

(114) What descended for 5 minutes?
(set: a dirigible, a helicopter, the Spitfire)

(115) *E' sceso Lo Spitfire (per 5 minuti).*
is descended the Spitfire (for 5 minutes)
"The Spitfire descended (for 5 minutes)."

Thus, if the post-verbal subject of *scendere* is contrastively focused, the verb is interpretable as non-GOAL-entailing (i.e. it behaves like *partire*), as is attested by its compatibility with a durative phrase.

The GOAL-hypothesis thus makes correct predictions. Note, however, that the following question arises at this point: is it simply the lexical semantic category GOAL entailed by arrive-type verbs which allows V-S as the unmarked word order, or is it the *syntactic instantiation* of this lexical semantic category, i.e., the presence of a phonologically null WLGA (a *pro-loc*) which allows V-S as the unmarked word order?[38] In other words, do arrive-type verbs in Italian project a phonologically null GOAL argument? Nothing in the discussion thus far has required us to claim that arrive-type verbs in Italian syntactically project a WLGA.

[38]Given the facts concerning Italian *scendere*, the question arises as to what the facts are concerning the same verb in Borgomanerese; if it is the syntactic presence of a *pro-loc* which is responsible for the telic interpretation of the eventuality (as well as the unmarked interpretation of the V-S word order), we would expect the same verb in Borgomanerese to occur with *ngh...ghi* under this interpretation (and without these clitics under the marked interpretation). Unfortunately, I have not been able to find an appropriate equivalent of the α-telic verb *scendere* in Borgomanerese. Borgomanerese uses the verbs *gnì sgjö* 'come down' and *nè sgjö* 'go down' to express the notion of 'descension'; both these verbs, however, are inherently telic (their choice depends on the point of view of the speaker). There is also the verb *sbasèssi* (*sbasé* +SI) 'descend', which like *scendere* can be used atelicly. However, the presence of the clitic *si* excludes the clitic *ghi*, making it impossible to test the above prediction with this verb (Piedmontese exhibits the same complementary distribution between *ye* and *se* (Burzio (1986:124)).

4.2.1.2 The syntactic presence of *pro-loc* in Italian

Let us take the Borgomanerese data as evidence for the following hypothesis:

(116) **Pro-loc Hypothesis:**

Italian arrive-type verbs optionally select *pro-loc*; it is the syntactic presence of this *pro-loc* that yields the unmarked interpretation for the V-S word order.

Note that the Pro-loc Hypothesis makes two specific predictions. The first prediction is that since the unmarked interpretation of the V-S word order is enabled by the syntactic presence of the *pro-loc*, it should correlate with a restriction on the interpretation of the location-goal such that the location-goal must *include the speaker*. This prediction emerges because as we saw for Borgomanerese ((44), repeated here as (117)), the presence of the *pro-loc* forces this speaker-oriented (SO) interpretation of the location-goal:

(117) *Ngh è rivà-gghi na fjola.*
SLOC is arrived-LOC a girl
"A girl (has) arrived."
(GOAL is necessarily SO)

If it is the presence of the *pro-loc* that both forces this speaker-oriented interpretation of the GOAL as well as allows for the unmarked interpretation of the V-S word order, then the unmarked interpretation of the V-S word order in Italian should necessarily involve a speaker-oriented interpretation of the GOAL. Note that this prediction is borne out.

The sentence in (102), repeated here as (118), can only describe an eventuality where the DP *Maria* has arrived in a location shared with the speaker (cf. (117)):[59]

(118) *Arriva Maria.*
arrives Maria
"Mary is arriving."
(GOAL is necessarily SO)

The sentence in (118) cannot be used to describe an eventuality in which, for example, Maria arrived in China, if the person who utters (118) was not in China at the time of Maria's arrival. Thus, (118) corresponds to the Borgomanerese sentence in (117), which exhibits overt evidence for the presence of a *pro-loc*.

Note that the V-S word order with *partire* ((106b), repeated here as (119)), which forces a contrastive focus interpretation of the post-verbal subject, does not yield such a speaker-oriented interpretation of the location(-source):

(119) *Parte Maria.*
leaves Maria
"It is Maria that is leaving."
(i-subject gets contrastive focus; SOURCE not necessarily SO)

Thus, (119) can be used to describe any eventuality, even if the speaker is not at the location(-source) at the time of Maria's departure. This follows from the fact that *partire* does not syntactically project a *pro-loc* (as per the Pro-loc Hypothesis in (116)). Recall that Borgomanerese exhibits the same phenomenon ((45), repeated here as (120)). The non-GOAL-entailing verb *nè* 'leave' does not project a *pro-loc* (evidenced by the lack of the locative clitics). This correlates with the lack of a restriction on the

[59]This is what Benincà (1988a) refers to as the 'deictic' interpretation of the implicit locative (see footnote 55 above).

interpretation of the location(-source). As mentioned in footnote 15, the post-verbal subject, like that in Italian, gets a contrastive focus interpretation:

(120) *L è naci na fjola.*
SCL is gone a girl
"It was a girl that left."
(i-subject gets contrastive focus; SOURCE not necessarily SO)

As can be seen, then, the first prediction the Pro-loc Hypothesis makes is borne out.

Now let us turn to the second prediction made by the Pro-loc Hypothesis: the syntactic absence of a *pro-loc* with arrive-type verbs (recall that arrive-type verbs project *pro-loc* optionally) should yield a contrastive focus interpretation for the post-verbal subject of *arrivare*, exactly like with *partire* in (119). Furthermore, the contrastive focus interpretation should correlate with the lack of a restriction on the interpretation of the GOAL, since it is the presence of the *pro-loc* which forces the speaker-oriented interpretation. This prediction is borne out. That is, in addition to the unmarked interpretation that obtains with the V-S word order with arrive-type verbs, it turns out that the V-S word order with these verbs can also yield a contrastive focus interpretation of the post-verbal subject. Thus, the sentence in (102) can also be used in the following context:

(121) *Chi arriva?*
who arrives
"Who is arriving?"

Furthermore, when the order V-S is used with a contrastive focus interpretation on the post-verbal subject, the GOAL is no longer necessarily interpreted as speaker-oriented. The following example sketches out these facts:[60]

(122) *Arriva Maria.*
arrives Maria
"It is Maria that is arriving."
(i-subject gets contrastive focus; GOAL not necessarily SO)

The above example is comparable to the Borgomanerese example ((47), repeated here as (123)) in which the lack of a *ghi* yields the lack of a restriction on the interpretation of the GOAL:

(123) *L è rivà na fjola.*
SCL is arrived a girl
"It was a girl that arrived."
(i-subject gets contrastive focus; GOAL not necessarily SO)

We noted in footnote 28 that (123) also yields a contrastive focus interpretation of the post-verbal subject, rendering (122) and (123) completely parallel.

Recall, too, that in Borgomanerese, the pre-verbal position of the subject of *rivè*, which entails the lack of a *pro-loc* (for reasons cited in §3.2.4.2.2), also yields an unrestricted interpretation of the GOAL ((46), repeated here as (124)):

(124) *Na fjola l è rivà.*
a girl SCL is arrived.
"A girl arrived."
(GOAL not necessarily SO)

[60]Note that both interpretations of this sentence (i.e., unmarked (as in (118)) or contrastively focused post-verbal subject (as in (122)) yield the same intonation.

Note that Italian exhibits the same phenomenon; when the subject is pre-verbal, the location-goal does not have to include the speaker:[61]

(125) *Una ragazza è arrivata.*
a girl is arrived.
"A girl arrived."
(GOAL not necessarily SO)

The pre-verbal subject precludes the existence of *pro-loc*. As predicted by the Pro-loc Hypothesis, the location-goal is thus not necessarily interpreted as speaker-oriented.

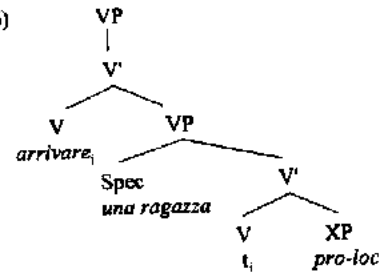
To summarize, there are several positive consequences to the Pro-loc Hypothesis: First, it allows us to explain why the unmarked interpretation obtained by the V-S word order yields a speaker-oriented interpretation of the GOAL. Second, it explains why the V-S word order can also yield a contrastive focus interpretation on the post-verbal subject, as is the case with *partire*. Third, it explains why this latter interpretation of the post-verbal subject correlates with the unrestricted interpretation of the GOAL. Fourth, it explains why it is only the 'subject inversion' construction that potentially yields the speaker-oriented interpretation of the GOAL: the presence of a pre-verbal subject necessarily correlates with an unrestricted interpretation of the GOAL because Spec, IP is not available for *pro-loc*.

These facts all line up with those exhibited by Borgomanerese, where there is overt phonological evidence for a *pro-loc*. Given these consequences, let us adopt the

[61]It should be noted that both in Borgomanerese and Italian, Spec, IP disfavors indefinite DPs like *una ragazza / na fjola* 'a girl', most probably having to do with structural locations outside of VP being associated with presupposed (in the sense of Diesing (1992)) or specific (in the sense of Enç (1991)) material. The sentence in (125) would thus be more felicitous with a definite DP (idem for the Borgomanerese example).

Pro-loc Hypothesis. Italian thus gets the same analysis as Borgomanerese (in (52)): GOAL-entailing verbs optionally project a *pro-loc* as the indirect object argument:

(126)

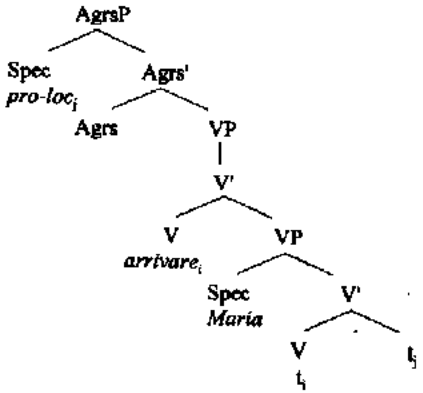


As noted at the beginning of this chapter, the difference between Borgomanerese and Italian is that Italian does not involve dative clitic doubling of the *pro-loc*, nor does it have a locative subject clitic.

In Italian, then, when *pro-loc* is projected, it obligatorily moves to Spec, IP (cf. the discussion in §3.2.4.2.2):[62]

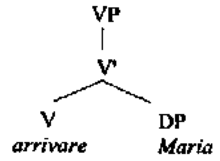
[62]Again, TP and AgroP are not represented since they are not crucial for the purpose of the illustration.

(127) *Arriva Maria.* (unmarked interpretation; speaker-oriented GOAL)



Thus, the structure in (127) corresponds to the sentence in (118), in which the post-verbal subject is unmarked and the GOAL is necessarily interpreted as speaker-oriented. The structure which corresponds to the sentence in (122), in which the post-verbal subject is interpreted as contrastively focused and there is no restriction on the interpretation of the GOAL, is the following (where no *pro-loc* is projected):

(128) *Arriva Maria.* (marked interpretation; GOAL not necessarily speaker-oriented)



This is the same structure as that projected by *partire*.[63]

[63]I assume (following Burzio (1986) and researchers following him) that in the cases where there is no *pro-loc*, a true expletive *pro* occupies Spec, IP.

Note that this analysis makes the same prediction for Italian as it did for Borgomanerese with respect to the impossibility of *pro-loc* in the context of pro-drop. That is, both *pro* and *pro-loc* cannot be projected in one and the same structure, because they would have to compete for the same syntactic position, since as weak pronouns, both need to move overtly to subject position (see (78b) above). In Italian, we can indirectly detect the absence or presence of *pro-loc* by the interpretation of the location-goal. If the location-goal is not obligatorily speaker-oriented, this means *pro-loc* is not present in the structure. Note that the above prediction is borne out: in a pro-drop construction, the GOAL is freely interpreted, indicating the lack of *pro-loc* in the presence of *pro*:

(129) *E' arrivata.*
is arrived.fem.sg
"She (has) arrived."
(GOAL not necessarily SO)

That is, (129) can be used in a context in which the (feminine) subject *pro* arrives in China, even if the speaker was not in China at the time of arrival.

4.2.1.3 Further evidence for the WLGA

As I have argued, although there is no direct evidence for the syntactic projection of a phonologically null WLGA argument in Italian, indirect evidence deriving from the interaction of the interpretation of the GOAL (i.e., whether or not it is necessarily speaker-oriented) and the interpretation yielded by the word order V-S (i.e., whether it is unmarked, or marked – with a contrastive focus interpretation of the post-

verbal subject) suggests that arrive-type verbs optionally project a *pro-loc*. Thus, *arrivare* projects two arguments in (118), while *partire* only projects one argument in (119). More generally, then, we can claim that it is the presence of an extra argument that yields the unmarked interpretation of the post-verbal subject in (118). Note that this claim makes a prediction: projecting an additional argument with *partire*, such as a PP, should yield an unmarked interpretation with the post-verbal subject. Note that this prediction is borne out:

(130) a. *Parte un razzo per la luna.*
leaves a rocket for the moon
"A rocket is leaving for the moon."

b. *Mi parte il treno.*
to-me leaves the train
"The train is leaving on me."

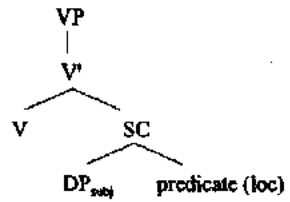
Consider (130a). With a PP syntactically present, the post-verbal subject of *partire* no longer gets a contrastive focus interpretation. The sentence in (130a) can be used in an unmarked context, just like the sentence in (118) with *arrivare*. While I will not attempt to explain why the syntactic presence of an extra argument renders the post-verbal subject unmarked, see the Appendix below for a discussion of some accounts provided in the literature.

4.3 The *pro-loc* hypothesis and Moro's analysis of unaccusatives

The hypothesis offered here bears important similarities with the influential analysis of unaccusatives proposed by Moro (1997) (originally proposed in Moro

(1989), (1990), (1991) and (1993)), which has been adopted by Delfitto & D'Hulst (1994), Delfitto & Pinto (1992), den Dikken (1995), Pinto (1994), and Zwart (1992), among others. Although Moro's proposal is similar in some respects to that offered here, it is motivated by entirely different considerations. On the basis of the behavior exhibited by copular constructions and existentials in English and Italian, Moro argues that all unaccusatives in Italian take a small clause (SC) complement. According to Moro, the argument that is normally taken to be the d-structure object of the verb is the subject of a SC, in which a phonologically null locative serves the predicate:

(131)



Because the motivations for Moro's proposal are entirely different than those for the proposal presented here (represented in (127)), some substantial differences between the former and the latter arise. First, while I argue that only GOAL-entailing verbs project a phonologically null locative (the WLGA), Moro argues that all unaccusatives select a null locative (which is not connected to the lexical semantic category GOAL). Second, in contrast to our analysis of Italian, in which the *pro-loc* is optionally projected, Moro's analysis involves the obligatory presence of the null locative. Third, Moro claims that the null locative functions as the predicate within the SC complement, while the analysis here takes it to be an argument of the verb. Thus, the two analyses are at substantial variance with one another. In what follows, I will review the motivations

for Moro's analysis, and argue that his conclusions concerning the structure projected by unaccusatives are not necessary. I further conclude that only the present proposal can explain both the facts discussed by Moro and the collection of facts discussed in §4.2.1.2 above.

4.3.1 Motivation for the small clause analysis

In order to understand the motivation for Moro's (1997) analysis of unaccusatives, it is necessary to briefly review his analysis of copular sentences.[64]

4.3.1.1 The small clause analysis of copular sentences

Moro notes that, on the surface, copular sentences (132) and non-copular sentences (133) appear to have the same structure:

(132) [$_{DP}$ A picture of the wall] was [$_{DP}$ the cause of the riot].

(133) [$_{DP}$ A picture of the wall] revealed [$_{DP}$ the cause of the riot].

However, there are two major differences to note between copular and non-copular sentences. First, in contrast with non-copular sentences, it is possible to reverse the two DPs in copular sentences and obtain the same semantic interpretation:

(134) [$_{DP}$ The cause of the riot] was [$_{DP}$ a picture of the wall]. (cf. (132))

[64]In the discussion which follows, all examples are taken from Moro (1997).

Second, the extraction possibilities in non-copular sentences are different than those in copular sentences. In particular, in non-copular sentences, while extraction from subject position is not possible (as can be seen in (135a)), extraction from object position is (135b):

(135) a. *[Which wall]$_i$ did [$_{DP}$ a picture of t_i] reveal [$_{DP}$ the cause of the riot]?

b. [Which riot]$_i$ did [$_{DP}$ a picture of the wall] reveal [$_{DP}$ the cause of t_i]?

The ungrammaticality of (135a) must be due to the position of the DP from which extraction originates, because once the DP *a picture of the wall* is placed in object position, extraction becomes possible:

(136) [Which wall]$_i$ did [$_{DP}$ the cause of the riot] reveal [$_{DP}$ a picture of t_i]?

The impossibility of extraction from subject position (as in (135a)) is expected, as it is a straightforward subjacency violation.[65]

At a first glance, copular sentences appear to demonstrate this same subject-object asymmetry as non-copular sentences:

(137) a. *[Which wall]$_i$ was$_j$ [$_{DP}$ a picture of t_i] t_j [$_{DP}$ the cause of the riot]?

b. [Which riot]$_i$ was$_j$ [$_{DP}$ a picture of the wall] t_j [$_{DP}$ the cause of t_i]?

However, the asymmetry seen in (137) suddenly disappears when the order of the DPs is reversed. That is, extraction in (134) is possible neither from subject position (138a), nor from what is the apparent object position (138b) (cf. (137b)):

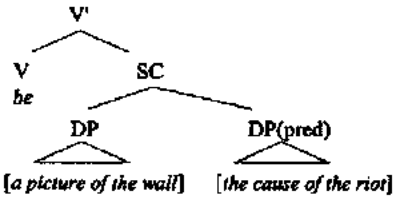
(138) a. *[Which riot]$_i$ was$_j$ [$_{DP}$ the cause of t_i] t_j [$_{DP}$ a picture of the wall]?

[65]No theta-role assigning head governs the DP *a picture of the wall*, which as a result fails to be "L-marked" (Chomsky (1986b)), thus counting as a barrier.

b. *[Which wall]$_i$ was$_j$ [$_{DP}$ the cause of the riot] t_j [$_{DP}$ a picture of t_i]?

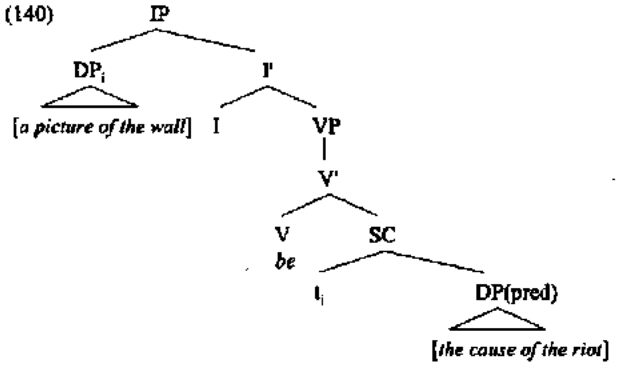
In order to account for this apparently anomalous set of facts, Moro (adopting Stowell's (1978) analysis of *be* as a raising verb), proposes that the copular verb selects a small clause (SC). Thus, the analysis of (132), for example, involves the DP *a picture of the wall* as the subject of the SC, and the DP *the cause of the riot* as the predicate of the SC:

(139)



(132) is derived by raising the subject of the SC to Spec, IP:

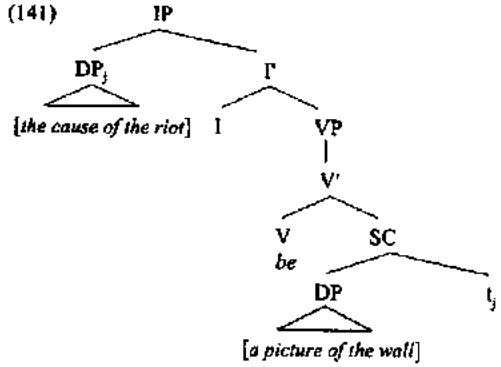
(140)



The ungrammaticality of (137a) is straightforwardly explained, since the DP *a picture of the wall* occurs in a left branch position. The possibility of extraction in (137b) is also explained, since the predicate DP *the cause of the riot* is selected by the verb.

rendering it a non-barrier.[66] The sentence in (132) is what he terms the 'canonical copular sentence.' Now let us look at the derivation of (134):

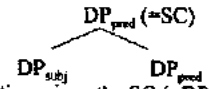
(141)



As can be seen by the structure in (141) (which Moro terms the 'inverse copular sentence'), the DP predicate *the cause of the riot* raises to Spec, IP, while the DP subject *a picture of the wall* remains in situ. Given this structural configuration, the extraction facts seen in (138a,b) are explained. Extraction from the DP *the cause of the riot* induces a subjacency violation (138a), because it occurs in a left branch position (Spec, IP). Similarly, extraction from the apparent "object" DP *a picture of the wall* in (138b) cannot obtain, since this DP also occurs in a left branch position, given the SC

[66]Moro assumes that SCs are not projected by a head, but rather involve adjunction of the subject DP to the predicate DP ((i) is adapted from Moro's (1997) example (85), p. 56):

(i)



Given this configuration, since the SC (=DP$_{pred}$) is selected by the copular verb, the actual predicate of the SC (which is a segment of the same category as the SC) is selected by the copular verb as well.

hypothesis. This analysis clearly has an advantage over one in which the DP *a picture of the wall* in (134) is taken to be an object, since the latter could not explain the prohibition on extraction from this DP in (138b). The SC analysis also explains why the "reversal" of arguments in (132) and (134) yields the same semantic interpretation: both sentences involve the same d-structure.

4.3.1.1.1 The small clause analysis of *ci*-sentences

Given that the same extraction facts obtain in Italian, Moro provides essentially the same analysis for Italian copular sentences.[67] Here I will briefly review three additional facts Moro notes concerning Italian copular sentences and sentences with *ci* (i.e., existentials), which lead him analyze *ci* as the predicate of a SC. Our review of his analysis of sentences with *ci* will lead to an understanding of his claim that all unaccusatives take a SC complement (§4.3.1.1.2 below).

Moro points out that it is widely accepted that the locative *ci* which occurs in Italian existentials is an 'expletive' (analogous to English existential *there*) whose function it is to occupy subject position when the "real" subject remains in situ (e.g.,

[67]More accurately, the analysis Moro provides for Italian differs from his analysis of English in one respect which is not crucial to the present discussion. Very briefly, he motivates an analysis of Italian in which the predicate of the SC is a *pro* (rather than a lexical DP) co-indexed with the subject of the SC. The inverse copular sentence thus involves movement of the *pro* predicate to Spec, IP, with the co-indexed lexical DP adjoined to IP:

(i) $[_{IP}$ {La causa della rivolta}$_i$ $[_{IP}$ pro$_i$ fu $[_{SC}$ una foto del muro t_i]]
the cause of.the riot pro was a picture of.the wall

Burzio (1986)).[68] Compare the copular construction in (142a) with the existential in (142b):

(142) a. *Molte copie del libro sono nello studio.*
many copies of.the book are in.the studio

b. *Ci sono molte copie del libro nello studio.*
there are many copies of.the book in.the studio

As Moro notes, however, several important facts remain unexplained under the view that *ci* is an expletive. First, he points out that in copular sentences in Italian, such as that in (143a), the predicate of the SC can be cliticized, as in (143b):

(143) a. *Gianni è uno scienziato.*
Gianni is a scientist

b. *Gianni lo$_i$ è t_i.*
Gianni *lo* is
"Gianni is such."

The view that *ci* is simply an expletive inserted in subject position leads us to expect that the presence of *ci*, as in (144a), would have no effect on the ability of the post-copular DP to cliticize. However, contrary to what is expected, the presence of *ci* blocks cliticization of the post-copular DP, as can be seen in (144b) (cf. (143b)):

(144) a. *c' è uno scienziato.*
there is a scientist

b. **ce lo è.*
there *lo* is.
"There is such."

I will return to Moro's explanation for this fact below.

[68]The nature of English *there* will be discussed in Chapter 5.

Second, as Moro explains, the following contrast receives an explanation under the SC analysis; (145b) is ungrammatical because predicates cannot be omitted:

(145) a. [Molte copie del libro]$_i$ erano [$_{SC}$ t_i [nello studio]].
many copies of.the book were in.the studio

b. *[Molte copie del libro]$_i$ erano [$_{SC}$ t_i [e]].
many copies of.the book were

Under the view that *ci* is an expletive, we would expect the presence of *ci* to have no effect on the restriction on omission of predicates. Contrary to this expectation, however, when *ci* is present, the predicate is no longer obligatorily present:

(146) c' erano [$_{SC}$ [molte copie del libro] [e]].
there were many copies of.the book

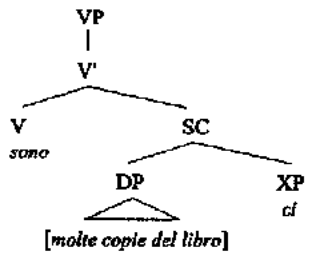
Third, as the following sentences show, the presence of *ci* precludes the existence of a DP predicate:

(147) *c' erano [$_{SC}$ [$_{DP}$ molte copie del libro] [$_{DP}$ la cause della rivolta]].
there were many copies of.the book the cause of.the riot

As with the facts concerning *lo*-cliticization and predicate deletion seen above, the view that *ci* is an expletive renders this fact obscure.

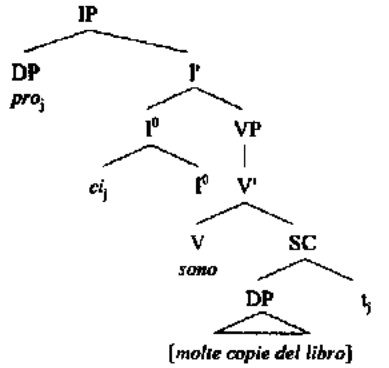
Why should the presence of an expletive have the effects seen above? Moro proposes to explain these facts by analyzing *ci* as the predicate of the SC complement of the copular verb *essere*, in contrast with what is traditionally assumed:

(148)



Sentences such as that in (146), then, are derived via raising of the predicate *ci*, which adjoins to I^0, and is co-indexed with *pro*, which occupies Spec, IP:

(149)



Ci-sentences are thus taken to be 'inverse copular sentences', under Moro's analysis. Once *ci* is taken to be the predicate of the SC projected by the copular verb, the apparently anomalous facts discussed above are explained. First, the fact that *lo*-cliticization is impossible in the presence of *ci* in (144b) follows from the fact that only the predicate of the SC can *lo*-cliticize.[69] If *ci* is the predicate of the SC, *lo* and *ci* are

[69]This is confirmed by the following contrast, noted by Moro (1997:29)
(i) [Le foto del muro]$_i$ lo$_j$ furono [$_{SC}$ t_i t_j]
the pictures of.the wall *lo* were
"The pictures of the wall were such."

predicted to be in complementary distribution. Second, the fact (seen in (146)) that the absence of the apparent predicate correlates with the obligatory presence of *ci* follows from the observation that a predicate cannot be omitted, together with the hypothesis that *ci* is the predicate. Third, the hypothesis that *ci* is a predicate also explains *ci*'s complementarity with the predicate DP in (147), since a SC cannot have two predicates.

4.3.1.1.2 Moro's unification of *ci*-sentences and unaccusatives

Now that we have reviewed the motivation for Moro's analysis of *essere* 'be' as a copular verb which takes a SC complement, we are in a position to discuss the motivation for his analysis of unaccusatives as verbs which also take a SC complement. Moro notes that existential sentences with *ci* pass all tests for unaccusativity in Italian. First, as can be seen in (150), existentials, like unaccusatives (151), take the auxiliary *essere* 'be' in the compound tenses, and the past participle agrees in number and gender with the subject:

(150) a. *ci sono state tre fotografie.*
there are been.3plF three photographs(3plF)
"There were three photographs."

b. **ci hanno stato tre fotografie.*
there have been three photographs

(cf.: *Le foto del muro furono la causa della rivolta* (canonical copular))
(ii) *[La cause della rivolta]$_j$ lo$_i$ furono [$_{SC}$ t$_i$ t$_j$]
the cause of.the riot *lo* were
(cf.: *La causa della rivolta furono le foto del muro* (inverse copular))

(151) a. *Sono arrivate tre ragazze.*
are arrived three girls

b. **Hanno arrivato tre ragazze.*
have arrived three girls

Second, existentials allow *ne*-cliticization (152), which is only possible with unaccusative subjects (and not unergative subjects) (153) (Burzio (1986)):

(152) ce$_j$ ne$_i$ sono state [$_{SC}$ [$_{DP}$ tre t$_i$] t$_j$]
there NE are been three
"There were three of them."

(153) ne$_i$ sono arrivate [$_{DP}$ tre t$_i$]
NE are arrived three
"Three of them arrived."

Thus, there is no apparent empirical difference between *esserci* and other unaccusatives, such as *arrivare*, which are claimed to project a single DP argument. *Esserci* must thus be considered to be an unaccusative verb.

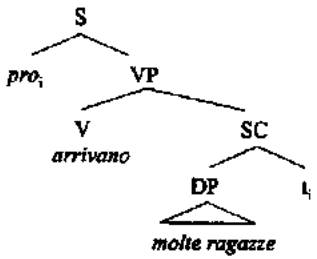
According to Moro, this fact presents a significant theoretical problem, which can be summarized in the following way. To assimilate *esserci* into the class of unaccusatives "undermines the Unaccusative Hypothesis itself" (p. 220), since, he states, the defining property of unaccusativity is the projection of the verb's single argument as a DP object (rather than a DP subject). However, as he demonstrates, *esserci*, while demonstrably unaccusative, does not take a single DP object, but rather a SC complement which contains a subject and a predicate (*ci*). How can *arrivare*, whose "subject" is really a d-structure object, and *esserci*, whose "subject" is really the subject of a SC complement, both be unaccusatives? In order to solve this apparent dilemma,

Moro proposes to unify unaccusatives with *esserci* by redefining unaccusativity such that all unaccusatives are assimilated under the SC analysis.

Given that unaccusatives other than *esserci* do not have any overt morpheme like *ci* which could potentially serve as the predicate of the SC argument, Moro proposes that unaccusatives other than *esserci* take a SC argument with a phonologically null predicate. Using *arrivare* as an example, he thus proposes the following structure for all unaccusatives:

(154) a. *Arrivano molte ragazze.*

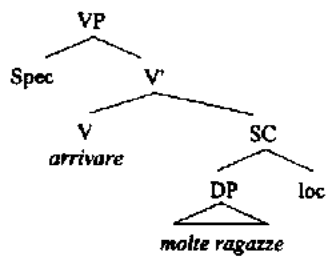
b.



In (154b), the predicative *pro* moves to Spec, IP, while the "subject" *molte ragazze* 'many girls' remains in situ, yielding (154a). Presumably, in the case where the subject DP *molte ragazze* moves to Spec, IP, yielding *Molte ragazze arrivano*, the predicative *pro* remains in situ. Moro (1997:232) later suggests that the predicate of the unaccusative SC is actually a locative (which incorporates into the verb, for theoretical reasons which will not be discussed here):[70]

[70]For change of state unaccusatives, he suggests that the predicate is not a locative, but rather the "expression of a quality."

(155)



4.3.2 Understanding the small clause analysis of unaccusatives

As noted earlier, there are obvious similarities between our proposal concerning Italian arrive-type verbs and Moro's proposal concerning unaccusatives in general. Both our analysis and Moro's motivate the existence of a phonologically null locative XP selected by the unaccusative verb, in contrast with previous analyses of Italian unaccusatives (e.g., Burzio (1986)), which claimed that such verbs take a single DP object. Nevertheless, given that each proposal is motivated by entirely different considerations, Moro's proposal involves enough significant differences from the one presented here to warrant a close comparison of the two. Let us summarize the three major distinguishing characteristics of the present analysis compared with Moro's: (i) under our proposal, only GOAL-entailing unaccusatives are claimed to project a phonologically null *pro-loc*; (ii) under our proposal, the phonologically null locative is claimed to be projected as an indirect object argument of the verb, rather than the predicate of a SC selected by the verb; and (iii) under our proposal the null locative is claimed to be projected optionally. In what follows I show that Moro's three

conclusions (that the locative is projected by all unaccusatives, that the locative is a predicate, and that the locative is obligatory) are not necessary. Establishing this allows us to maintain the present proposal, which explains the cluster of facts illustrated in §4.2.1 above. Nevertheless, our proposal supports the important insight of Moro's theory, which holds that the locative which occurs with unaccusatives is not an expletive.[71]

4.3.2.1 A locative predicate for all unaccusatives?

Let us focus on the first difference between the two analyses. Concerned with the defining characteristic of unaccusativity, Moro concludes that all unaccusatives take a phonologically null locative. The particular point of concern is the claim that unaccusatives project their single DP argument as an object. Moro questions how *esserci* (which takes a SC complement) and *arrivare* (which is claimed to take a single DP argument) can both be unaccusatives. In order to solve this apparent paradox, Moro proposes that all unaccusatives must take the same type of complement, namely, a SC.

Note, however, that this apparent problem only arises if we take the defining property of unaccusativity to be the complement structure of unaccusatives. The problem does not arise, however, if we deny that all unaccusatives must take the same type of complement. In this regard, let us consider the Burzio's Generalization,

[71]Note that while I argue against Moro's analysis of unaccusatives in general, I see no reason not to adopt his SC analysis of *be*.

which states that a verb which fails to assign an external theta-role also fails to assign accusative Case. Given this essential insight, it seems clear that the defining property of unaccusativity is not "the projection of a single d-structure object," but rather, the lack of projection of an external argument. Given that unaccusatives are as semantically heterogeneous as transitives (see Chapter 2 and L&RH), there is no reason to assume that unaccusative types are not as varied as transitive types. For example, we find transitives which project a single DP object (e.g., *cut*), or two internal arguments (e.g., *give, put*), or a single SC argument (e.g., *consider*), or a propositional argument (e.g., *say*). Similarly, we find unaccusatives which project a single DP object (e.g., *break*), or two internal arguments (e.g., *lie*: *Manhattan lies *(at the foot of the Hudson)*; see L&RH, p. 287, footnote 3), or a single SC argument (e.g., *be*), or a propositional argument (e.g., *seem*). Under the proposal presented here, VIDMs (both GOAL-entailing and non-GOAL-entailing) are taken to be unaccusatives which optionally project a second internal argument, much like the transitive verbs *bring* (e.g., *I brought a book (to the library)*), *take*, *buy* (e.g., *I bought a book (for John) / (John) a book*), or *tell* (e.g., *I told a story (to the girls) / (the girls) a story*).[72]

[72]It might be suggested that the optional status of these XPs serves as evidence that they are adjuncts, and not arguments. However, the 'do so' test suggests that these XPs are part of the core eventuality of the verb, much like the PP subcategorized by *put* (cf. discussion in §3.2.3):

(i) *Sue put the book on the table, and *Tracy did so on the floor.*
(ii) *Sue brought the book to the picnic, while *Tracy did so to the party.*

See Larson (1988b) for a discussion of the argument status of such optional XPs with verbs of motion.

Note, too, that given the theoretical possibility of there being as many unaccusative types are there are transitive types, there arises a question as to whether there are unaccusatives which allow dative shift. I would like to suggest that *escape*

To summarize, if an unaccusative is a verb which does not assign an external theta-role, then there is nothing paradoxical about *esserci* and, say, *partire* or *arrivare*, both passing tests for unaccusativity, while at the same time taking different types of complements. To put it differently, the tests for unaccusativity do not entail that all unaccusatives have the same type of complement. The unaccusative behavior exhibited by both types of verbs thus does not constitute an argument in favor of claiming that all unaccusatives, like *esserci*, must take a SC complement.

There is, however, a specific point regarding *ne*-cliticization which may be the main locus of concern for Moro, and which deserves more discussion. If we maintain that *ne*-cliticization can only obtain from a particular structural position (say, from a d-structure object), then the claim that different unaccusatives take different types of complements presents a potential problem. That is, if *ne*-cliticization is only possible from the position occupied by a direct object, then how is it possible from the subject of a SC (if, indeed, the apparent object of *esserci* is really the subject of a SC)?

(and similarly, *leave*, *exit*, and *enter*) is an example of a double object unaccusative, the indirect object of which can undergo dative shift (Dowty (1991:footnote15) also suggests (but does not adopt) such an analysis):

(iii) *Sue escaped from the police.*
(iv) *Sue escaped the police.*

The idea here is that the sentence in (iii) involves the projection of a d-structure object (*Sue*) and an indirect object PP (*from the police*). The sentence in (iv) (without the preposition) is the dative shift variant, with the indirect object NP *the police* corresponding to the indirect object NP *Mary* in *I gave Mary a book* (see also Belletti & Rizzi (1988) and Larson (1988a) for the analysis of psych-verbs as double-object unaccusatives (note that psych-verbs differ from verbs like *escape* in that the former involve movement of the indirect object to Spec, IP, while with the latter involve movement of the direct object to Spec, IP). L. Burzio suggests (personal communication) that *befall* may be another unaccusative of this type. Note that the analysis of these verbs offered here goes against Baker (1993).

Note, however, that this question arises independently of the claim that *esserci* takes a SC complement. The moment we are bound to binary branching, the question arises once we take note of the fact that *ne*-cliticization is possible from the direct object of a double object verb, as in (156):

(156) Ne$_i$ ho dati [due t$_i$] a Maria.
NE (I)have given two to Maria.
"I gave two of them to Maria."

Given a Larsonian shell, the direct object in (156) is not in the same syntactic position as the direct object of a simple transitive like *mangiare* 'eat' (assuming that verbs like *mangiare* do not project a VP shell).[73] Rather, the direct object is in the specifier of a VP complement to a V, instead of sister to V (as is the case with the object of *mangiare*). It is well known that *ne*-cliticization is also possible from the direct object of a verb like *mangiare*:

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[73]As Kayne (1984) suggests, a verb like *give* could conceivably involve a causal verb which takes a SC complement:

(i) John caused [$_{SC}$ Mary to have a book]

Under such an analysis, the argument *Mary* does not get a theta-role from the causal verb; rather, the verb assigns a theta-role to the whole SC, while *Mary* gets a theta-role from the predicate of the SC. Note, however, that a problem arises once we attempt to assimilate simple transitives like *mangiare* into this paradigm. While semantic arguments can be made in favor of a SC analysis of *dare*, it is not obvious how one could claim that a verb like *mangiare*, which as an 'activity' verb does not have a complex event structure, takes a SC complement.

Furthermore, note that under the view that all XPs must have heads, a SC analysis differs minimally from a Larsonian-type analysis. The difference between the two amounts to a semantic one: unlike the SC analysis, a Larsonian analysis takes *Mary* and *a book* to be two arguments, rather than as occurring in a subject-predicate relation. As such, both DPs get theta-roles from the verb, in contrast with the SC analysis. The ramifications of this difference between the two analyses will be discussed in §4.3.2.2 below.

(157) Ne$_i$ ho mangiati [due t_i].
NE (I)have eaten two
"I have eaten two of them."

Furthermore, *ne*-cliticization is also possible from the subject of the SC complement of a verb like *considerare* 'consider':

(158) Ne$_i$ ho considerato [$_{SC}$ [solo uno t_i] veramente adatto].
NE (I)have considered only one truly appropriate

Thus, the data in (156-158) present a problem for the claim that *ne*-cliticization is only possible from a specific structural position, independent of any questions concerning the complement type of unaccusatives. The fact that *ne*-cliticization is possible in both (157) and (158) in fact suggests that it is not restricted to a single structural position. Given this observation, the claim that *esserci* takes a SC while other unaccusatives (like *partire*) do not is unproblematic. As such, the facts of *ne*-cliticization cannot be used as an argument in favor of a generalized SC analysis of unaccusatives.

To conclude, Moro's proposal that all unaccusatives take a SC complement is driven by a single unfounded assumption: all unaccusatives take the same type of complement. However, as we have seen, the defining property of unaccusativity does not have to do with what type of complement the verb takes, but rather with the lack of an external theta-role. In this perspective, the analysis of *esserci* as taking a SC complement cannot serve as an argument in favor of a SC analysis for all unaccusatives. The potential problem concerning *ne*-cliticization remains a problem only if we assume that it can obtain from a specific structural position. However, as we have seen, this does not seem to be true. Since we are not forced to conclude that all unaccusatives

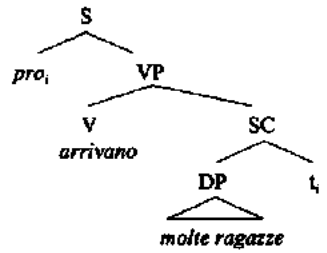
take a SC predicate, we do not need to conclude that all unaccusatives take a locative. We can thus maintain that only GOAL-entailing VIDMs take a locative.

4.3.2.2 Two internal arguments or a small clause?

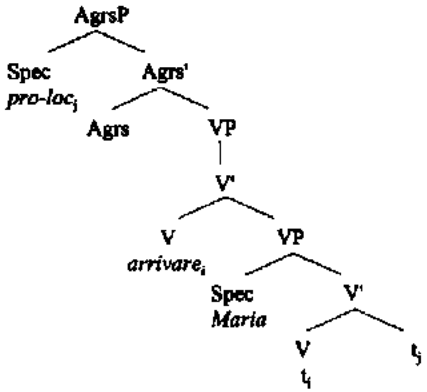
Given that there are no theoretical considerations forcing us to adopt a locative-predicate analysis for all unaccusatives, let us consider the question of whether Moro's SC proposal could be extended just to GOAL-entailing verbs. As we saw in §4.3.1.1.1, Moro provides several convincing arguments in favor of analyzing *esserci* as a SC taking unaccusative, with *ci* as the locative predicate of the SC. Given our arguments for analyzing Italian GOAL-entailing unaccusatives as projecting a phonologically null locative, the question arises as to whether there are any considerations which make a SC analysis of arrive-type verbs, parallel to a SC analysis of *esserci*, more desirable than the analysis presented here.

Notice that the one significant difference between a SC analysis of arrive-type verbs ((154b), repeated here as (159)) and our analysis ((127), repeated here as (160)), is that under the former the null locative is analyzed as a predicate while under the latter it is analyzed as a second internal argument.

(159)



(160)



Kayne (1984; 1995) has proposed that verbs which are normally analyzed as taking two internal arguments should be re-analyzed as taking a SC complement, with the two XPs which are traditionally understood to be arguments re-analyzed as occurring in a subject-predicate relationship (see footnote 73 above). The primary consideration motivating this proposal in Kayne (1984) is the need for binary branching. Note, however, that Larson's (1988a) analysis of verbs which take two internal arguments maintains binary branching without resorting to a SC analysis. Furthermore, given Kayne's (1995) arguments for the claim that every XP must have a head, Kayne's (1984) SC proposal is re-elaborated in Kayne (1995), such that the SC is

analyzed as containing a head. The syntactic difference between a Larsonian-type analysis and a SC analysis is thus no longer obvious (see Kayne (1995:Chapter 7, footnote 1)).[74]

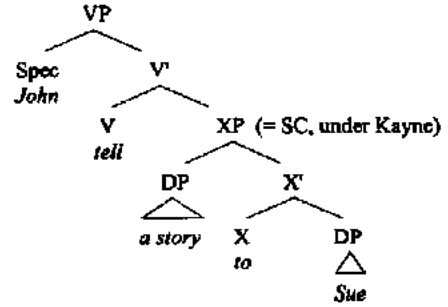
While there is no obvious syntactic difference between one claim and the other, there is a clear semantic difference between the two. As noted in footnote 73 above, a Larsonian-type analysis takes the two complement XPs in question to be arguments of the verb. As such, the verb assigns theta-roles to both (roughly, Theme to the direct object, and Goal to the indirect object). A SC analysis, however, takes the two complements to be in a subject-predicate relation. As such, the verb assigns a theta-role to the whole SC, while the predicate of the SC assigns a theta-role to the subject (i.e., the Theme argument). Since predicates do not get theta-roles, the "Goal argument" (= the predicate) does not get a theta-role under this analysis.

It is difficult to find empirical arguments in favor of one analysis over the other. However, a theoretical argument in favor of the Larsonian-type analysis and against the SC type analysis can be made. In order to make our argument, let us consider those double object verbs which take the second internal argument optionally, such as *tell*, *buy*, *bring*, etc. Under the view that the presence of two internal XPs indicates the presence of a SC complement, a verb such as *tell* would get the same

[74]From here on I use 'Larsonian-type analysis' to refer to any analysis which takes the two internal XPs to be arguments of the verb, rather than as occurring in a subject-predicate relation. The question of whether the complement configuration involves a VP shell, or some other type of binary branching structure (such as (161) below) is irrelevant for the present discussion.

analysis as *give* (the structure in (161) is intended to essentially reflect the SC analysis suggested in Kayne (1995), with *to* as the possible head of the SC):

(161)



A problem arises, however, when we consider a sentence in which the purported predicate of the SC is not projected, as in (162):

(162) *John told a story.*

Under the SC analysis, the predicate in (162) is missing. Recall that one of Moro's central arguments in favor of analyzing *ci* as a predicate (see §4.3.1.1.1 above) is the observation that predicates are never optional (Moro (1997:105)). Since predicates are not omissible, the question arises as to how a verb like *tell* could be analyzed.

One possibility which comes to mind involves claiming that the predicate in *John told a story* is syntactically projected, but is phonologically null. Once we allow such a possibility, however, then one of the central arguments in favor of Moro's analysis of *ci* as a predicate disappears. That is, he claims that the sentence in (145b) is ungrammatical because it has a missing predicate, while (146) (with *ci* as a predicate) does not. If we claim that a phonologically null predicate is possible in order to account for (162) with *tell*, then we must ask why a null predicate is not allowed in the case of

(145b). Thus, unless we want to lose Moro's explanation for (145b), and as a consequence lose a central argument in favor of analyzing *ci* as a predicate, then we cannot assert the existence of a null predicate.

To save the SC analysis, another possible explanation for (162) which comes to mind is the following: when the predicate is absent, a SC is not projected. Rather, a single internal DP argument is projected, as in the case of a simple transitive. There arises a semantic problem with this analysis, however. In particular, *tell* would assign a theta-role to the SC in the case of (161), but would assign a theta-role to the direct object *a story* in the case of (162). Thus, in (161) *a story* gets the Theme theta-role from the predicate, while in (162) it gets the Theme theta-role from the verb *tell*. The semantic problem here is twofold. First, the DP *a story* gets its Theme theta-role from different predicates in (161) and (162), and second, the verb *tell* assigns different types of theta-roles in each case. This state of affairs is conceptually problematic, since (161) and (162) do not differ semantically. It also fails to explain why the DP *a story* should get a Theme theta-role in both cases. If there are different theta-assigners in each case, then we should expect to find examples in which the theta-role of this argument differs from one example to the other. To put it differently, the idea that the object DP gets its theta-role from different theta-assigners in (161) and (162), as well as the idea that the verb assigns different theta-roles in each case, fails to explain why both examples have the same semantics.[75]

[75]Of course, the two examples obviously differ semantically in that the former contains an explicit Goal argument, while the latter does not. However, even in the latter case the Goal argument is implicitly expressed, so that the basic semantic relations

The conclusion we can draw from the above discussion, then, is that a SC analysis of double object verbs which take the second internal argument optionally runs into conceptual problems. A Larsonian-type analysis, however, has no problem in dealing with (161) and (162). Whether or not the second argument is projected does not affect the theta relation between the verb and the direct object. In both cases, the verb assigns its Theme theta-role. The difference between the two cases is simply whether or not there is a second internal argument syntactically present.[76] Recall that given

(Theme and a Goal) obtain in both cases. The relation between (161) and (162) contrasts with that seen between (i) and (ii):

(i) *I considered John intelligent.*
(ii) *I considered John.*

The verb in (i) takes a SC complement, while the verb in (ii) takes an NP complement. This difference in complement types corresponds to a clear semantic difference. The former means something like "I held this proposition to be true" while the latter means something like "I thought about John." This difference in meaning also corresponds to a difference in stativity:

(iii) *I consider John intelligent.* (**I am considering John intelligent*)
(iv) *I am considering John.* (**I consider John*)

Thus, there is a clear semantic difference reflected by the choice of complement (SC or NP). This suggests that the two sentences *I told a story to John* and *I told a story* (which do not exhibit such a semantic difference) do not involve this difference in complement types (thanks to L. Burzio for enlightening discussion).

[76]Needless to say, the concept of an optional argument presents problems for the Theta Criterion, which states that every theta-role must be assigned (in addition to stating that every argument must get a theta-role). The notion of optional argument, in fact, seems to strictly rely on the idea that a theta-role (in this case Goal), does not necessarily have to be assigned. Thus, verbs like *tell* must be distinguished from verbs like *give*, such that the former lexically specifies that the Goal theta-role can be assigned optionally.

Note that the question of unassigned theta-roles also arises within the NP domain:

(i) *The linguist analyzed *(the data).*
(ii) *The linguist's analysis (of the data).*

The NP *the data* in (ii) is optional, yet nevertheless is a complement of the head N *analysis*. When it is not present, we must assume that the relevant theta-role is not assigned by *analysis*. The question of what allows the optional assignment of a theta-

Kayne (1995), the difference between a Larsonian-type analysis and a SC analysis amounts to whether or not we call the second XP (in this case Goal) a predicate or an argument. Given the problems with the claim that this XP is a predicate, I conclude that the Larsonian-type analysis is to be preferred.

Let us note that the above discussion concerning *tell* carries over directly to arrive-type verbs (and to VIDMs in general, since SOURCE-entailing VIDMs also optionally project a second internal argument). Arrive-type verbs in Italian optionally project a second internal argument, which can be realized as a locative PP, as a deictic locative, as NDL, or as *pro-loc* (as we illustrated in §3.3 for Borgomanerese). Given that the projection of the second internal argument is optional, the same issues arise for *arrivare* as for *tell*. Thus, as we concluded for verbs like *tell*, arrive-type verbs must get a Larsonian-type analysis, rather than a SC analysis.[77] We thus maintain the claim that the locative projected by arrive-type verbs is an argument and not a predicate.

4.3.2.3 Optional or obligatory locative?

The discussion in the last section already touched upon the third and final difference between our analysis and Moro's: while I motivate an analysis of arrive-type

role will not be pursued here (see Grimshaw (1990)).

[77]A further semantic argument against a SC analysis of *arrivare* can be made. Unlike the copular verb *essere*, *arrivare* has semantic content, raising the question as to whether it is reasonable to view verbs with semantic content as copular verbs. That is, if *arrivare* assigns a theta-role to the SC, the configuration essentially yields a semantic interpretation in which a proposition arrives.

verbs in which the null locative is projected optionally, Moro claims that it is always present. Empirical arguments were made in §4.2.1.2 for the claim that the *pro-loc* is projected optionally. Moro's argument in favor of the non-optionality of the null locative is essentially a theoretical one, centering on the need to assimilate all unaccusatives with *essere*. However, as I argued in §4.3.2.1, there is no need to claim that all unaccusatives take a SC complement. Consequently, the argument for the view that the locative is always projected also disappears.[78]

In addition to the empirical arguments in favor of the claim that the projection of *pro-loc* is optional, a final theoretical argument can be made, as well. As we saw in §3.2.4.2.2, *pro* can only occur pre-verbally, because as a weak XP it cannot remain in its base position. Adopting the same analysis for *pro-loc* allowed us to explain why the construction with the projected locative always correlates with the existence of a post-verbal subject. This can be demonstrated directly in Borgomanerese, since Borgomanerese has an overt reflex of *pro-loc*. Since Italian has no overt reflex of *pro-loc*, this must be shown indirectly. It can be shown by the fact that the interpretation of the GOAL as necessarily speaker-oriented (= presence of *pro-*

[78]Another argument against the claim that the null locative is always projected comes from English. Moro analyzes 'expletive' *there* as the English equivalent of Italian existential *ci* (and his null locative predicate selected by other unaccusatives). The fact remains, however, that *there* is optional with unaccusatives:

(i) *There arrived four women.*
(ii) *Four women arrived.*

If *there* is the equivalent of the null locative in Italian, then the simplest conclusion is that the null locative in Italian is optionally projected as well. As we shall see in Chapter 5, the optionality of *there* follows if we take it to be the WLGA selected by arrive-type verbs in English (note that the optionality of *there* poses a problem for an analysis of this morpheme as the predicate of a SC).

loc) is only possible with a post-verbal subject. Note, however, that under Moro's analysis, the null locative *pro* is always projected. The structure in (159) exemplifies movement of his locative *pro* to subject position, while the "real subject" remains in situ (the 'inverse copular' variant). When the "subject" moves to Spec, IP in the 'canonical copular' variant (*Molte ragazze arrivano*), the locative *pro* remains in situ. This claim, however, is at variance with the observation that *pro*, as a weak XP, cannot remain in its base position.

4.3.3 *Pro-loc* and the existential in Italian

Recall our discussion of the existential in Borgomanerese in §3.3. We noted that the use of the *ghi*-construction for the existential indicated that the weak locative morpheme (*pro-loc*) is also used as the morpho-syntactic instantiation of the lexical semantic category LOCATION. This was sketched out in (84) (repeated here as (163)):

(163) pro-loc *ngh è-gghi tre mataj.*
pro-loc SLOC is-LOC three.masc boys

I assumed that, just as with the GOAL-entailing constructions in (14), *ghi* in the existential is the clitic double of *pro-loc*, while *ngh* is the locative subject clitic which occupies the Agr head and agrees in features with *pro-loc*, which occupies Spec, IP at s-structure. I would like to suggest here that the existential in Italian should get the same analysis. That is, in Italian, *pro-loc* is also projected as the LOCATION argument. This can be seen in (164):

(164) pro-loc *ci* *sono tre* *ragazzi*.
pro-loc LOC are three boys
"There are three boys."

Recall our discussion in §3.2.2.3 concerning the intuition that Italian existential (or 'expletive') *ci* is semantically different from the 'referential' NDL *ci*. Compare (164) with (165):

(165) *Ci* *sono andati* *tre* *ragazzi*.
there are gone.3pl three boys
"Three boys went there yesterday."

Our proposal that the existential involves a *pro-loc* can explain this difference in semantic interpretation: the 'expletive-like' interpretation of the locative in the existential in (164) actually derives from the presence of *pro-loc*.[79] The fact that *ci* in (165) yields a non-expletive-like interpretation derives from the fact that there is no *pro-loc* in this case.

Evidence in favor of this analysis of (164) and (165) comes from Borgomanerese. Consider the fact, noted in Moro (1997), that the existential

[79]Under this analysis, we must take *ci* to be the clitic-double of *pro-loc*. Of course, this raises the question as to why *ci* doubles *pro-loc* when it is a LOCATION argument, but not when it is a GOAL argument. While I cannot offer a principled answer to this question, let us suppose (given Moro's arguments) that the *pro-loc* in the existential is a predicate of a SC complement of the verb *essere* 'be' (in contrast with *pro-loc* as the WLGA). It is possible that the doubling of *pro-loc* with *ci* can obtain with a predicate in Italian, but not with an indirect object argument. Perhaps *pro-loc* as a predicate (in contrast with *pro-loc* as a dative argument) can be doubled by *ci* because as a predicate, it is not marked for dative Case; there would thus be no Case clash between the predicate and the non-dative *ci*. When *pro-loc* is projected as the WLGA, however, it is marked for dative Case; under this view, the doubling of *pro-loc* (the WLGA) with *ci* would thus result in a Case clash (see footnote 33 above, which illustrates that *ci*, unlike *ghi*, is not specified for dative Case).

interpretation of a sentence such as that in (164) contrasts with the following, which has a "true locative" interpretation:

(166) *C'* *è Mario*.
there/here is Mario
"Mario is there / here."

Thus, the *ci* in (166) is really the NDL *ci*, and not the existential *ci*. While (164) and (166) are semantically distinguishable, they are morphologically indistinguishable (both involve the morpheme *ci*). Under our theory, however, the semantic difference between (164) and (166) derives from the fact that the former involves a *pro-loc* while the latter does not.

Note that these two sentences are morphologically disambiguated in Borgomanerese. Recall that the presence of the locative SCL *ngh* signals the presence of a *pro-loc* in Spec, IP. Given this state of affairs, we predict that while the existential contains a *ngh* (see (163) above), the Borgomanerese equivalent of the sentence in (166) should not (since it contains no *pro-loc*). This prediction is borne out; the equivalent of (166) in Borgomanerese can only be expressed without the SCL *ngh*, indicating that there is no *pro-loc*. Correspondingly, this sentence gets a "true locative" (i.e., "referential") interpretation:

(167) a. *L* *è-gghi* *Mario*.
SCL is there/here Mario

b. **Ngh è-gghi Mario*.

Thus, in terms of the semantic interpretation of the locative, (167a) corresponds to (166), and (163) corresponds to (164). Given this parallelism, I will assume that the Italian existential involves a *pro-loc* while the NDL does not occur with a *pro-loc*.[80]

On this note, I would like to make one final comment concerning Moro's analysis of the Italian existential. As we saw, he analyzes the existential as an 'inverse copular sentence', with *ci* as a raised predicate. Under the analysis of the existential suggested here, however, it is *pro-loc* which is the raised constituent, while *ci* is a clitic double (like Borgomanerese *ghi*).[81] Thus, under our analysis the clitic *ci* moves to pre-verbal position not because it is a raised predicate, but rather because it procliticizes to finite verbs, like all object clitics in Italian. As can be seen in the following example, *ci* encliticizes to the infinitival form of the verb *essere*:

(168) *Sembrano esser-ci due ragazzi.*
seem be-LOC two boys
"There seem to be two boys."

The enclisis of *ci* in (168) cannot be characterized as an instance of 'NP raising' (if by 'raising' we mean movement to subject position). Similarly, then, the movement of *ci* in (164) cannot be characterized as raising either; its position is simply the result of

[80]As Moro (1997:138) notes, it would be undesirable to posit the existence of two different *ci*s in order to explain the semantic difference between (164) and (166). Under the hypothesis offered here, recourse to such a solution is not necessary; the semantic difference between the two derives from the fact that the former involves a *pro-loc* while the latter does not (supported by the Borgomanerese facts in (163) and (167)).

[81]Whether *pro-loc* in the existential is an indirect object argument or the predicate of a SC selected by *essere* 'be' remains an open question under this analysis. I simply note here that Moro provides several convincing arguments for analyzing *essere* as taking a SC, and I see no reason not to adopt this aspect of his analysis.

clitic movement. That (164) involves a *pro-loc* which has undergone NP-raising to the matrix Spec, IP is again suggested by the facts in Borgomanerese. As can be seen in (169), in a sentence with the raising verb *smijè* 'seem', the locative SCL *ngh* occupies the matrix Agr, which is indicative of a *pro-loc* in subject position:

(169) pro-loc *ngh è smijà vessa-ghi do mati int la cüsina.*
pro-loc SLOC is seemed be-LOC two.fem girls in the kitchen
"There seemed to be two girls in the kitchen."

Languages such as Piedmontese (Burzio (1986)), which unlike Italian (but like Borgomanerese) do not exhibit proclisis of object clitics on finite verbs in the compound tenses, also allow us to determine more readily that the movement of the locative clitic is simply obeying the laws of object clitic movement in the relevant language, rather than undergoing 'raising' to subject position:

(170) a. *A l era sta-ye tanta gent.* (L. Burzio, p.c.)
SCL SCL was been-LOC many people

b. **A y era stait tanta gent.*

Again, these facts suggest that, unlike the NP predicates in Moro's 'inverse copular sentences', *ci* cannot be analyzed as a 'raised predicate'.[82]

[82]As can be seen in (149) (which corresponds to Moro's (1997:Chapter 2) (39b)), Moro claims that there is a *pro* in Spec, IP, which is co-indexed with *ci*, rendering his analysis superficially similar to the one given here (see (127) above). What is not clear in Moro (1997) is whether this *pro* is inserted as an expletive, or base generated as a predicate of the SC. In his discussion in Chapter 5 (pp. 219-220, which contains a representation, (13), which is similar to his (39b), except for the fact that there is no co-indexing between *pro* and *ci*), he explicitly states that the *pro* is "expletive." This statement (coupled with the lack of co-indexing between *pro* and *ci* in his revised representation) indicates that he considers there to be no connection between these two elements. This differs from the analysis offered here, which holds that *pro-loc* and *ci* are related via clitic doubling.

4.4 Conclusions

We have seen several arguments in favor of positing the existence of a *pro-loc* in Italian, optionally projected as a goal argument by GOAL-entailing VIDMs. The fact that SOURCE-entailing VIDMs never require a speaker-oriented interpretation of the location-source can be understood in the context of the facts exhibited by GOAL-entailing VIDMs. The latter verbs only allow a speaker-oriented interpretation of the location-goal when the V-S word order is used with an unmarked interpretation of the post-verbal subject. When the V-S word order yields a contrastive focus interpretation of the post-verbal subject, the speaker-oriented interpretation is no longer required, just as with SOURCE-entailing verbs. This phenomenon finds an explanation if we posit the existence of a WLGA in Italian. This hypothesis is further supported by the behavior of α-telic VIDMs like *scendere*. The hypothesis that only GOAL-entailing verbs optionally select a phonologically null weak locative as a second internal argument is thus motivated by a cluster of syntactic and semantic facts concerning telicity, the position and interpretation of subjects, and the interpretations of locations. As such, the WLGA analysis is to be preferred over the SC analysis, which does not allow for an explanation of these interrelated phenomena.

APPENDIX: Explanation for the connection between the null locative and unmarked V-S word order

While I do not offer an explanation of the relation between the unmarked status of the V-S word order with arrive-type verbs and the syntactic presence of a locative argument, here I review some accounts offered in the literature.

Beninca (1988a) has suggested that the unmarked status of the V-S word order with *arrivare* obtains because the implicit locative argument serves as the 'theme' (i.e., 'given', as opposed to the 'rheme') of the sentence. An explanation along these lines is also suggested by Saccon (1992; 1993), who proposes that every sentence requires a 'subject of predication' (SOP).[83] She notes (Saccon (1992:394)) that in Coneglianese (a Northern Italian dialect), *rivar* 'arrive' can occur with a post-verbal subject, while an unaccusative like 'go' cannot:

(171) a. *El e rivà la Maria.*
SCL is arrived the Maria

b. **El e ndat la Maria.*
SCL is gone the Maria

She explains this difference by claiming that *rivar* has an implicit locative which can act as the SOP, while 'go' does not.[84] Thus, Saccon's explanation essentially concurs

[83]Saccon (1993:141) notes that the notion of an SOP is not unlike the notion of 'theme' or 'topic'.

[84]She states: "'To arrive' ... can only have one final destination... On the contrary, 'to go' ... can potentially have a lot of destinations." Her intuition seems to accord with the claim made here that *arrive* entails a GOAL, while *go* does not. Contrary to Saccon, however, I claim here that *go* does have an implicit locative, namely, SOURCE (which nevertheless is not syntactically projected as a null

with Benincà's, which recognizes the relevance of an extra syntactic argument. A question which arises under this explanation, however, is to how to account for the unmarked status of the sentence in (130a) (repeated here), where the post-verbal subject is followed by a PP:

(130) a. *Parte un razzo per la luna.*
leaves a rocket for the moon
"A rocket is leaving for the moon."

With the locative PP following the post-verbal subject, there is no straightforward sense in which the PP serves as a theme, or as a SOP, at least not syntactically. It is too low in the structure to be associated with any type of topic position. Normally, themes or topics are analyzed as occupying a position at least as high as Spec, IP. Saccon (1992:393) offers a different analysis of the structural position of the SOP (at least for Italian and the Italian dialects), in which it is taken to be right- or left-adjoined to the VP:

(172) a. Xmax
SOP(-theme) VP

b. Xmax
VP SOP(-theme)

According to Saccon, then, the sentence in (171b) becomes grammatical once a PP, acting as the SOP, is added:

(173) *El e ndat la Maria, a botega.*
SCL is gone the Maria, to store

In (173), the SOP (the PP) is right adjoined to the VP. Is it possible that the PP in (130a) is in the correct position to act as a theme, or as an SOP? While it does occur to

argument).

the right of the i-subject (like the PP in (173)), there is no intonational break after the direct object, in contrast with (173). According to Saccon, the intonational break in (173) is indicative of right-adjunction. The lack of an intonational break in (130a), then, suggests that the PP is not in the appropriate structural position to be an SOP. If anything, it has probably remained in its base-generated position within the VP.[85]

Another question which arises under the SOP-explanation is the unmarked status of the sentence in (130b) (repeated here), which has a pre-verbal Benefactive clitic:

(130) b. *Mi parte il treno.*
to-me leaves the train.
"The train is leaving on me."

The "extra argument" in (130b) (i.e., *mi*) is not in one of the SOP syntactic positions illustrated in (172) above. While the questions raised by the data in (130) remain open, the important observation made by both Benincà and Saccon still stands: the unmarked status of the V-S word-order seems to rely on the presence of a second syntactic

[85]While I cannot offer any insights concerning the data in Coneglianese, note that the Italian counterparts to the sentences in (171a) and (173) are not informationally equivalent. The Italian counterpart to (171a) can be interpreted as unmarked (i.e., used in answer to the question "What happened?"). The Italian counterpart to (173), however, is not unmarked. Rather the i-subject is presented as new information. This seems to be the case whenever an i-subject is followed by a right-dislocated XP, as in (i):

(i) *Ha telefonato Maria, alle due.*
has telephoned Maria, at two o'clock

Thus, adding a right-dislocated PP (as in (173)) does not render a V-S sentence with a SOURCE-entailing verb informationally equivalent to a V-S sentence with a GOAL-entailing verb.

It should also be noted that the Italian counterpart to (171b) is not ungrammatical, but rather requires a contrastive focus interpretation on the post-verbal subject (as discussed earlier in this chapter).

argument which serves some role as the theme, or subject of predication, or topic of the sentence.

Delfitto & Pinto (1992), Delfitto & D'Hulst (1994), and Pinto (1994) provide an explanation for the grammaticality of the word order V-S with *arrivare* which relies on a comparison of unaccusatives with unergatives and transitives.[86] Delfitto & Pinto (1992) (D&P), for example, note (following Benincà (1988a)) that while *arrivare* allows a definite post-verbal subject (see (118) above), transitives and unergatives do not:

(174) a. **Ha recensito il libro Gianni.* (transitive)
has reviewed the book Gianni

b. **Ha urlato Gianni.* (unergative)
has yelled Gianni

In order to explain this difference in behavior, they propose (following Moro (1989)) that unaccusatives undergo what they call a "process of reanalysis," in which the unaccusative is allowed to take a small clause (SC) complement, with a null locative as the predicate. The null locative predicate moves to Spec, IP, where it gets nominative Case. The locative predicate, by virtue of being co-indexed with its trace, is also co-indexed with the subject of the SC (under the assumption that subject-predicate relations involve co-indexing). This is illustrated in (175):

(175) pro_i è arrivata $[_{SC}$ Maria$_i$ t_i $]$

[86]These authors extend their explanation for *arrivare* to all unaccusatives, including *partire*.

The nominative Case assigned in Spec, IP is transmitted to the subject of the SC via (indirect) co-indexing between the null locative and the subject of the SC. According to D&P, since transitives and unergatives do not project such a SC complement, 'locative preposing' cannot obtain, Case transmission fails, and the sentences in (174) are correctly ruled out.

If nothing else is stated, this analysis of unaccusatives incorrectly predicts SOURCE-entailing unaccusatives to allow V-S as the unmarked word order. However, this problem can easily be remedied by recognizing that SOURCE-entailing unaccusatives do not project a locative. As such, V-S sentences with leave-type verbs can be assimilated to the sentences in (174). As D&P note (p. 6, footnote 1), the sentences in (174) are actually grammatical if the post-verbal subjects are interpreted as contrastively focused. Since *partire* also allows a post-verbal subject, as long as it is interpreted as contrastively focused, D&P's analysis of unaccusatives can be modified such that it excludes SOURCE-entailing verbs. Verbs like *partire* could thus get the same analysis as transitives and unergatives do under D&P. A question which comes to mind, however, is how these sentences can be grammatical at all, if the post-verbal subject of *partire* (and likewise, transitives and unergatives) do not pass the Case Filter under this analysis. To answer this question, D&P suggest that contrastive focus on an NP is sufficient to satisfy the Visibility Condition. Such a suggestion tacitly assumes that NPs do not need Case if they can become visible for theta-assignment in some other way.

Another question which remains (noted by D&P) is why the sentences in (174) improve once an indefinite subject is used (noted by Benincà (1988a)):

(176) a. *Ha recensito il libro qualcuno.*
has reviewed the book Gianni

b. *Ha urlato qualcuno.*
has yelled Gianni

The indefinite post-verbal subjects in (176), unlike the definite subjects in (174) do not necessarily get a contrastive focus interpretation. This contrasts with *partire*, which forces a contrastive focus interpretation of its post-verbal subject even when it is indefinite:

(177) *E' partito uno studente.*
is left a student
"It was a student that left"

I do not offer an explanation for these facts here.

A final comment concerns the claim that *arrivare* takes a SC complement. As we saw in §4.3.2 above, *arrivare* must be analyzed as optionally taking a second internal argument, not as taking a SC complement. Note that once we eliminate the possibility of a SC analysis, Case transmission as proposed by D&P is no longer possible, since no subject-predicate relation obtains between the "subject" and the (trace of the) second internal argument.[87]

[87]See §5.4.2.3.1 for an alternative analysis of Case assignment of the WLGA.

Chapter 5

THERE: THE WEAK LOCATIVE GOAL ARGUMENT IN ENGLISH

5.1 Introduction

A central assumption made by Chomsky (1981; 1986a; 1995), den Dikken (1995), Groat (1995), Lasnik (1992; 1995), and Safir (1982; 1985), among many others, is that the morpheme *there* in *there*-sentences such as that in (178) is an expletive:[88]

(178) *There arrived four women.*

The expletive analysis assumes that *there* is devoid of any semantic content, inserted into subject position to satisfy the Extended Projection Principle (EPP). Several generativists of the late 1960s and 1970s have noted, however, that the locative expletive is allowed only with unaccusatives that have locational semantics, analyzing *there* as a morpheme with locative semantic content, rather than as an expletive ('the

[88]For the purposes of this chapter I will consider '*there*-sentences' to be those constructions which involve *there* and a verb other than *be*. To avoid confusion I will refer to *there*-sentences with *be* as the 'existential'. See below in §5.4.1 for a discussion of the verbs which may occur with *there*. Note also that from here on, 'there' refers to so-called 'expletive *there*' (unless otherwise specified), and not stressable ('deictic') *there*.

locative semantics view'; among others, Fillmore (1968), Kimball (1973), Kuno (1971), Lyons (1967), and more recently, within the Principles & Parameters framework, Freeze (1992) and Hoekstra & Mulder (1990)). While the fact that *there* is limited to a semantically coherent class of verbs presents a problem for the expletive analysis, this problem is rarely addressed. Another problem raised by the expletive analysis has to do with the question of why *there* needs Case. As I will show in this chapter, this fact has continually raised problems for linguistic theory. Moro's (1993; 1997) analysis of *there* as a raised predicate eliminates some of the problems of the expletive analysis. However, as we shall see, Moro's analysis itself presents empirical and conceptual problems, and furthermore does not address the question of the restriction of *there* to a subclass of verbs. After I review Moro's work, I offer an analysis of *there* which unifies English with Borgomanerese and Italian: *there* is a WLGA. Our analysis of *there* is thus in spirit within the tradition of the locative semantics view. The analysis presented here, however, differs in that it also provides answers to questions raised by the locative semantics view. For example, it explains why speakers understand *there* to be fundamentally different from the deictic stressable *there*, seen in (179):

(179) *Four women arrived there.*

It will be shown that the 'expletive-like' properties of *there* follow from a *weak locative* analysis.

5.2 Expletive *there* and Case

It has long been noted that expletive *there* needs to occupy a Case-marked position. This can be seen in (180):

(180) a. *I tried [$_{CP}$ [$_{IP}$ there to arrive four women]]
(cf. **I tried four women to arrive.*)

b. *It seems [$_{IP}$ there to have arrived four women]
(cf. **It seems four women to have arrived.*)

c. It is unnecessary [$_{CP}$ *(for) [$_{IP}$ there to have arrived four women]]
(cf. *It is unnecessary *(for) four women to have arrived.*)

The fact that *there* needs Case immediately presents a problem for the Visibility Condition (Lasnik (1992)), which states that NPs need Case in order to be visible for theta-assignment (Chomsky 1981). That is, why should an expletive, which (as a non-argument) does not need to be visible for theta-assignment, need Case?[89] To explain this, analyses of *there* as an expletive have claimed that Case is not required by *there*, but rather by the post-verbal NP (the so-called 'associate'; *four women* in (178)). Here I review Chomsky's (1995:Chapter 4) (henceforth CH4) analysis of *there*, which adopts this basic claim of preceding analyses (e.g., Safir (1982; 1985), Chomsky (1981; 1986a)

[89]For the purposes of the discussion in this section, I follow the cited authors in assuming the Visibility Condition. Note, however, that if the Visibility Condition were eliminated, the fact that *there* needs Case would require no special explanation; *there*'s status as an NP would be enough to explain why it needs Case. One of our arguments against treating *there* as an expletive (see §5.4.2.2 below), however, relies on the cited authors' appeal to the Visibility Condition.

In addition to the question of the need for expletives to get Case, the visibility requirement also raises the question of why non-NP arguments (i.e., CPs, IPs, and PPs) do not need Case in order to be assigned a theta-role. For example, the CP complement of *say* or the IP complement of *seem* do not get Case, yet are assigned a theta-role.

(among others)). I review CH4 in lieu of reviewing all previous analyses of *there*, because as the most recent analysis in the literature, it subsumes the essential characteristics of previous analyses, while in addition offering solutions to residual problems hitherto unsolved.

CH4 holds that the need for *there* to get Case is only apparent. The real need is for the 'associate' to get Case. To summarize, CH4 assumes that the morpheme *there* is not itself endowed with Case and phi-features; it is only endowed with the D (or EPP) feature, and as such checks off this feature on Agrs.[90] It is the Case and phi-features of the associate which raise at LF to be checked off on Infl (the target). Given this analysis, the sentences in (180) are ungrammatical because the lack of a Case feature on Infl means that the Case feature of the associate is never checked off.

One of the advantages of the CH4 analysis over its predecessors resides in the claim that it is just the features of the associate which raise, and not the entire DP itself. Previous ('expletive replacement') analyses, which claimed that the entire DP raises at LF (e.g., Chomsky (1986a)), had difficulty explaining phenomena such as the

[90]Note that an inconsistency in assumptions arises in Chomsky (1995). In particular, while Chomsky assumes the Visibility Condition (i.e., that Case marking obtains so that the NP can be visible for theta-assignment), he analyzes French expletive *il* (e.g., *Il est entré trois filles* 'It has entered four women') and English expletive *it* as being lexically specified for a Case feature (in contrast with expletive *there*; see also Cardinaletti (1997)). It follows from his analysis that an NP (e.g., an expletive) can require Case-checking simply because it possesses an inherent Case feature, and not because it needs to be visible for theta-assignment. Thus, while the Visibility Condition is assumed, it is also assumed that at least some instances of Case-checking are not necessarily subsumed under the visibility requirement.

lack of scopal ambiguity seen in (181a) (cf. (181b); Williams (1984)), and the lack of binding seen in (182a) (cf. (182b); den Dikken (1995)).

(181) a. *There aren't many people in the room.*

b. *Many people aren't in the room.*

(182) a. **There seem to each other to be some linguists that are eligible for the job.*

b. *Some linguists seem to each other to be eligible for the job.*

That is, as noted by Williams (1984), the claim that the whole DP raises at LF incorrectly predicts (181a) to be equivalent in meaning to (181b). Moreover, den Dikken (1995) noted that this claim also predicts the DP *some linguists* to be able to bind the anaphor *each other* in (182a), as is possible in (182b). These problems are eliminated under the CH4 analysis. With only the Case and phi-features of the DP raising, the actual semantic features of the DP are left in situ at LF in (181a) and (182a). As such, it is correctly predicted that the (relevant part of the) DP cannot take scope over negation in (181a) and cannot bind the anaphor in (182a). Only if the entire DP moves (as in (181b) and (182b)) is a high scopal position of the semantic features of the DP obtained.

5.2.1 Questions raised by the expletive analysis

5.2.1.1 Chomsky (1995)

Despite the advantages illustrated above, the CH4 analysis also presents some problems, which I discuss here. These problems were originally raised Lasnik (1992; 1995), in his arguments against 'Case-chain' analyses, such as that of Safir (1982; 1986). The first problem is the following. Case-chain analyses claim that the associate in (178) gets Case via transmission through a chain. Specifically, *there* is assigned nominative Case in Spec, IP, and transmits this Case to the associate by virtue of being in a chain relation which it, which obtains via co-indexation of the expletive with the associate, as in (183):

(183) There_i arrived $[\text{four women}]_i$

Lasnik points out that the chain analysis incorrectly predicts the following sentence to be grammatical:[91]

(184) *There1_i seem $[_{IP}\ \text{there2}_i$ to have arrived $[\text{four women}]_i\ ]$

That is, there is no reason why (*there1, there2, four women*) could not form a chain, much as (*four women, t', t*) or (*there, t, four women*) in (185a,b):

(185) a. $[\text{Four women}]_i$ seem $[_{IP}\ t_i'$ to have arrived $t_i\ ]$

b. There_i seem $[_{IP}\ t_i$ to have arrived $[\text{four women}]_i\ ]$

[91]Note that (184) is an adaptation of Lasnik's (1992) example (61) (**There is likely there to be a man here*). The change to the verb *arrive* is simply to render the example directly relevant to the central discussion in this thesis.

Lasnik suggests that the ungrammaticality of (184) seems to reside in the fact that the expletive NP (specifically, *there2*) does not get Case. Thus, the need for an expletive to get Case cannot be reduced to the need for the associate to get Case (via a chain); if it did, (184) should be grammatical.[92]

Lasnik intended this observation to serve as an argument against chain analysis (and consequently against the claim that the associate ultimately gets nominative Case through association with Spec, IP). Note, however, that Lasnik's objection also applies straightforwardly to the CH4 analysis of *there* (which is neither a Case-chain analysis, nor an 'expletive replacement' analysis). That is, the sentence in (184) is predicted to be grammatical by CH4 as well. Under CH4, *there1* checks off the EPP feature on the matrix Infl, while *there2* checks off the EPP feature on the embedded Infl. The Case and phi-features of the matrix Infl are available to be checked off by these features of the associate at LF. The features of the associate can thus move in a successive fashion, first to the Infl of the embedded IP. Since the embedded Infl has no Case or phi-features for the associate's features to be checked against, the features continue to move up to be checked off in the matrix Infl. This derivation is the same one which holds for the grammatical derivation in (185b) above. In (185b), just as in (184), the (trace of) *there* checks off the EPP feature of both the embedded Infl and the matrix Infl. The Case and phi-features of the associate move in a successive fashion, first to the Infl of the embedded IP. Since the Embedded Infl has no Case or

[92]Lasnik's explanation for *there*'s need to get Case will be discussed immediately below (§5.2.1.2).

phi-features for the associate's features to be checked against, the features continue to move up to be checked off in the matrix Infl. Notice that the Case and phi-features must also move through an intermediate functional projection which does not contain the appropriate features in (186), too, confirming that (184) cannot be ruled out by claiming that the features of the associate cannot move through more than one head in search of the appropriate features:

(186) I believe [$_{IP}$ there to have arrived four women]

Under the CH4 analysis, in (186) the Case and phi-features of the associate would first have to move to the embedded Infl. Since this head does not contain the appropriate features, they would have to move up again to the Agro head dominating the embedded IP, which presumably contains the appropriate features to check off those of the associate.[93]

The second problem has to do with the following sentence, which again cannot be directly ruled out by the CH4 analysis (although see §5.2.1.2.2 for a discussion of Lasnik's (1995)/Chomsky's (1995) analysis of this sentence):

(187) **There seem four women to have arrived.* (cf. (185b))

[93]The derivation should be similar to that for the DP *them* in (i), where presumably the Case and phi-features of this DP move to Agro.

(i) I believe [$_{IP}$ them to have arrived]

This raises the question of how the Case and phi-features of the DP *them* are checked in (ii) under the CH4 analysis:

(ii) It is unnecessary [$_{CP}$ for [$_{IP}$ them to have arrived]]

Since only features move at LF, it is conceivable that these features can be checked off by adjoining directly to the complementizer *for*, which is traditionally taken to be the Case-assigner in such constructions.

As with the sentence in (184), (187) is predicted to be grammatical by CH4. The derivation of (187) involves the following structure, before the merging of *there*:

(188) __ seem [$_{IP}$ __ to have arrived [four women]]

Subsequent movement of *four women* to the Spec of the lower IP yields the following configuration:

(189) __ seem [$_{IP}$ [four women]$_i$ to have arrived t$_i$]

Subsequent application of 'Merge' to *there* in the matrix Spec, IP yields (187). If nothing else is said, the sentence in (187) is predicted to be grammatical, because the Case and phi-features of the associate can move at LF to be checked in the matrix Infl, just as in the derivation of (185b). The only difference between the derivation of (187) and that of (185b) is that in the former, movement of the associate obtains before the merging of *there*, whereas in the latter, the merging of *there* in the lower Spec, IP obtains before the movement of the associate (see §5.2.1.2.2 for a discussion of the economy difference between the two operations Merge and Move appealed to by Lasnik (1995)).

Thus, neither (184) nor (187) can be straightforwardly ruled out under the CH4 analysis. In what follows, I will review Lasnik's (1992; 1995) accounts of (184) and (187).

5.2.1.2 Lasnik (1992; 1995)

5.2.1.2.1 Lasnik (1992): Case marking the expletive

Lasnik's (1992) (and (1995)) approach to Case checking of the associate in sentences such as (178) does not fall within the tradition of Case-chain and expletive replacement analyses, which involve some form of linking between the associate and Spec, IP. Rather, following Belletti (1988) he claims that unaccusatives have the ability to (optionally) assign partitive Case to their d-structure objects. Thus, while he still assumes that the associate moves to the position of the expletive at LF, he claims that this movement does not obtain for Case reasons. Rather, the associate moves to the position of the expletive to "replace" it. *There* must be replaced because it is an illegitimate LF object, which as such must be deleted at LF. Thus, "replacement" involves obligatory movement of the associate to the position of the expletive, in order to satisfy the EPP.

In order to account for the ungrammaticality of (184), Lasnik (1992) proposes that the visibility condition be extended in scope such that it is a constraint not only on theta-marking, but on movement operations, as well. That is, he proposes that a particular position cannot be visible as the target of movement if that position is not assigned Case. Thus, because the position of *there2* in (184) is not marked for Case, the associate cannot move to that position at LF, and the derivation crashes.

In order to explain the ungrammaticality of (187), he also proposes that Case marking be an s-structure requirement, in addition to an LF requirement. Furthermore, he claims that partitive Case marking of the associate by the unaccusative verb obtains under government. Thus, the sentence in (185b) would be grammatical under Lasnik (1992) because the associate finds itself in the appropriate structural configuration at s-structure to be Case marked. In the sentence in (187), however, the associate is not governed by the verb at s-structure. This sentence thus violates his requirement that NPs be in a Case marked position at s-structure.

Note that while Lasnik's (1992) proposals do account for (184) and (187), these proposals are inconsistent with Minimalist principles. First, his "visibility condition on movement" can only be claimed to apply to LF movement. Sentences such as that in (190) demonstrate that a particular syntactic position does not have to be Case marked in order for it to be a visible target of overt movement:

(190) John$_i$ seems [$_{IP}$ t_i'' to be believed [$_{IP}$ t_i' to have been arrested t_i]]

That is, the two intermediate Spec, IP positions (those occupied by t_i' and t_i'') are not Case positions, yet are nevertheless available as positions to which (or through which) movement can obtain. Thus, in order to allow (190) but to exclude (184), Lasnik's extended visibility condition must be restricted such that it can only apply at LF. This restriction of application of a principle to just one level is inconsistent with a central Minimalist assumption, which does not allow the application of a particular principle to make reference to levels such as d-structure or s-structure. Similarly, the requirement that an NP be Case marked at s-structure in addition to LF (to account for (187)) is also

inconsistent with this Minimalist assumption (this problem is also noted in Lasnik (1995:footnote 12)).

In what follows, I review the analyses of (184) and (187) offered in Lasnik (1995), which eliminate the problems created in Lasnik (1992). It will be shown, however, that the Lasnik (1995) analyses raise other questions which, I claim, render these more current analyses likewise undesirable.

5.2.1.2.2 Lasnik (1995): alternative proposals

The analysis of (187) provided in Lasnik (1995) follows the analysis given in Chomsky (1995). In particular, Lasnik claims that a sentence such as that in (187) is blocked by the principle 'Procrastinate' in the following way.[94] At the stage in the derivation seen in (188), either the operation 'Merge' may apply to *there* in the embedded Spec, IP, or the associate can 'Move' to the embedded Spec, IP (as noted above). According to Lasnik, the latter operation involves a violation of Procrastinate, since under the former operation (i.e., merging of *there*), the movement of the associate would be unnecessary. In other words, insertion of *there* is less costly than movement of the associate, since the operation Merge does not violate any principles, while the movement operation violates Procrastinate. Thus, application of Merge to *there* blocks

[94]Again, (187) is an adaptation of the sentence given in Lasnik (1995) (*There is likely someone to be here*). For the purposes of this discussion, however, the two sentences are equivalent.

the movement of the associate at that point in the derivation, successfully ruling out the derivation that produces (187).

Whether or not this explanation can be maintained rests on the tenability of the claim that Merge must obtain before Move. It has been argued by Ura (1995), for example, that these operations do not compete with one another; according to Ura, two operations compete with one another only if they are both created by the application of 'Move'. Assuming that the question raised by Ura remains open, the question of the tenability of Lasnik's explanation for (187) likewise remains open.

If it indeed turns out that Merge and Move must be compared as operations, and that Merge is less costly than Move, we are still left with the question of Lasnik's (1995) explanation of the sentence in (184). To account for (184), Lasnik observes that *there* is not permitted with unergative verbs:

(191) a. **There laughed someone.*

b. **There someone laughed.*

As Lasnik notes, the assumption that *there* is an expletive is not enough to rule out the sentences in (191), for if *there* is inserted into Spec, IP simply to satisfy the EPP, there is no reason why (191) should not be possible. To explain (191), then, Lasnik takes advantage of the idea that 'expletive replacement' involves LF adjunction of the associate to *there*, which is claimed to be an 'LF-affix'. Such an LF-affix, he proposes, has the specific requirement that an NP marked with partitive Case be affixed to it. Since unergative verbs do not assign partitive Case to their (single external) arguments (in contrast with unaccusatives), (191) is ruled out by virtue of the fact that the NP

adjoined to *there* at LF is not marked with partitive Case; the requirement of *there* is thus not satisfied. Lasnik further suggests (footnote 10) that this morphological requirement of *there* allows us to rule out (184). In particular, in (184) the associate (which gets partitive Case from the unaccusative verb *arrive*) adjoins to *there2*, an LF-affix whose needs are satisfied by this adjunction process. However, the new complex [*four women - there2*], is "arguably not itself a partitive NP" (Lasnik (1995:footnote 10)). Thus, when the whole complex moves to adjoin to *there1*, the requirements of *there1* will not be satisfied.

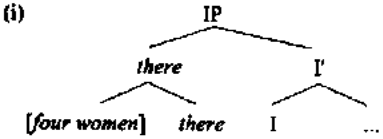
There are two objections to this analysis that I will consider. The first is a theory internal one: recall our discussion above concerning the problem with 'expletive replacement' analyses of *there*, which is eliminated once Chomsky's (1995) theory of LF feature movement (used in the CH4 analysis of *there*) is adopted. In particular, we saw that the claim that the entire associate moves to the position of the expletive leads to problems concerning scope and binding, exhibited in the examples in (181) and (182). Note that the LF-affix analysis adopted by Lasnik inherits this problem from previous expletive replacement analyses. Although under Lasnik the associate adjoins to the expletive (rather than fully replacing it), it is still in a position from which it can c-command everything dominated by IP.[95] This analysis thus makes incorrect

[95]There are two considerations which lead to this conclusion (den Dikken (1995)). The first simply has to do with the ECP: in order for the trace of the associate to be licit, it must be c-commanded by the associate. The second has to do with the definition of c-command. Under the assumption that adjunction of the associate to *there* creates the configuration seen in (i), we must assume that what counts as the first node dominating the associate cannot be *there*, since it is only a segment, not a category (Chomsky (1986b), Kayne (1995)):

predictions concerning the sentences in (181) and (182), in contrast with Chomsky's (1995) analysis, which assumes that only the features of the associate move at LF. Given that the latter makes correct predictions concerning (181) and (182) while the former does not, the latter must be favored over the former. As a consequence, Lasnik's proposal that *there* needs an NP with partitive Case affixed to it must also be abandoned, since under the feature movement analysis, the Case and phi-features adjoin to Infl at LF, and not to the expletive which occupies Spec, IP. Once this proposal is abandoned, Lasnik's explanation for the ungrammaticality of (184) is no longer tenable.

The second objection to Lasnik's analysis concerns the claim that *there* requires an NP with partitive Case affixed to it. This claim is motivated by the observation that unergatives cannot occur with *there*, while unaccusatives can. Note, however, that even if an LF-affix analysis could be maintained, we do not gain anything by claiming that *there* is licit only with an associate marked with partitive Case. Such an explanation amounts to an alternative way of describing the fact that *there* occurs with unaccusatives, but not with unergatives. Furthermore, this claim is in itself not empirically correct. As we shall discuss in §5.4, it is well known that *there* is not licit with all unaccusatives (e.g., Burzio (1986), Milsark (1974), Levin (1993)). In order for

(i)



The first full node dominating the associate, then, is IP. As such, under Lasnik's analysis the associate can c-command (and take scope over) any material dominated by IP, giving rise to the problems concerning (181) and (182).

Lasnik's analysis to be descriptively adequate, then, it would have to be revised such that the morphological requirement of *there* were stated in the following way: "*there* selects an NP which must be marked with partitive Case only by a subclass of unaccusatives."

I would like to suggest here that this revised claim could be easily paraphrased in the following way: "*there* is selected by a subclass of unaccusatives." Once the descriptive generalization is stated in this way, it seems less obvious that *there* is a semantically empty morpheme. For the moment, I will not address this conclusion, nor will I elaborate on the claim that the unaccusatives which select *there* form a semantically homogeneous class; I reserve a detailed discussion of these questions for §5.4.1.1. Rather, here I simply note that these are problems raised by an expletive analysis. I turn now instead to a discussion of Moro's (1997) analysis of *there*. As will be shown, Moro's proposal can directly provide a solution to the unsolved problems created by an expletive analysis.

5.3 Moro's analysis of *there* as a raised predicate

As we saw in §4.3.1.1.1, Moro (1997) provides several arguments in favor of analyzing Italian 'expletive' *ci* as a SC predicate. He shows that some of the arguments used for this analysis of *ci* apply directly to expletive *there* in English.[96] For

[96]Hoekstra & Mulder (1990), following Moro (1989), also analyze English *there* as a raised predicate.

example, as we saw in the Italian sentences in (145) (repeated here as (192)), the PP in a copular construction is obligatorily present:

(192) a. [Molte copie del libro]$_i$ erano [$_{SC}$ t$_i$ [nello studio]]
many copies of.the book were in.the studio

b. *[Molte copie del libro]$_i$ erano [$_{SC}$ t$_i$ [e]]
many copies of.the book were

It is well known that the same facts hold for English ((193a,b) correspond to Moro's (1997:119) (65a,b)):

(193) a. [Many copies of the book]$_i$ were [$_{SC}$ t$_i$ in the studio]

b. *[Many copies of the book]$_i$ were [$_{SC}$ t$_i$ e]]

Moro proposes that (193b) can receive the same explanation as (192b): given an analysis of the PP as the predicate of a SC, (193b) is excluded on the grounds that predicates are not deletable. As with Italian *ci*, however (seen in (146)), the presence of expletive *there* suddenly renders the presence of the PP optional ((194) corresponds to Moro's (1997:119) (65c-d)):

(194) *There were many copies of the book (in the studio).*

Why should the presence of an expletive, which is purportedly inserted in Spec, IP simply to satisfy the EPP, have this effect? As Moro notes, this fact is readily explained once *there*, like Italian *ci*, is taken to be the predicate of the SC, as in (195):

(195) __ were [$_{SC}$ [many copies of the book] [there]]

As such, the sentence in (194) (without the PP) does not involve a missing predicate. Rather, the predicate is *there*, which raises to subject position, while the SC subject

many copies of the book remains in situ. (194) is thus an instance of what Moro calls an 'inverse copular' sentence.

Similarly, Moro shows, the phenomenon seen in Italian in (147) (repeated here as (196a)) also holds in English (196b):

(196) a. *c' erano [$_{SC}$ [$_{DP}$ molte copie del libro] [$_{DP}$ la causa della rivolta]].
there were many copies of.the book the cause of.the riot

b. *There were [$_{SC}$ [$_{DP}$ many copies of the book] [$_{DP}$ the cause of the riot]]

Again, the fact seen in (196b) receives no explanation if *there* is taken to be a semantically null element inserted directly in Spec, IP. However, the hypothesis that *there* originates as the predicate of a SC complement of *be* readily explains the ungrammaticality of (196b): a SC cannot contain two predicates.[97]

Analogously to Italian (discussed in §4.3.1.1.2 above), Moro extends this analysis of *there* as a raised predicate to all unaccusatives. Thus, English *there* is

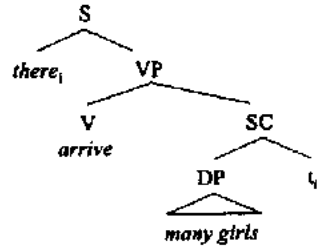
[97]This explanation requires the assumption that the only possible place for the NP *the cause of the riot* in (196b) is as the predicate of the SC. As Moro notes, this contrasts with a sentence such as that in (194), where the PP, which appears to act as a predicate in the absence of *there*, is also permissible in the presence of *there*. As Moro explains, this is possible under the hypothesis that in the presence of *there*, the PP is taken to be an adjunct, rather than a predicate. Moro offers the following data as evidence in favor of this hypothesis (corresponding to Moro's (1997:119) (66a-b)):

(i) *To whom does it seem that many people are indebted?*
(ii) **To whom does it seem that there are many people indebted?*
(cf.: *It seems that there are many people indebted to John*)

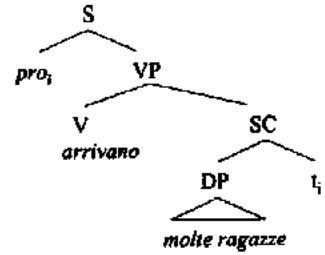
The idea is that (i-ii) are explained if the AP *indebted to whom* is taken to be a predicate in (i) but an adjunct in (ii), under the assumption that extraction from an adjunct leads to ungrammaticality (it is not clear to me, however, that (ii) merits a full '*'). It cannot be similarly shown that a PP co-occurring with *there* (as in (194)) is an adjunct, since (as is well known) extraction from a PP adjunct does not lead to ungrammaticality (e.g., *Which kitchen did he eat in?*). Moro notes that NPs can never be adjuncts.

analyzed as the phonologically overt counterpart to Italian's null locative predicate. This is seen in (197a) with the verb *arrive* (Moro's (1997:244) example (60); compare with the structure for Italian in (159) above, repeated here as (197b)):

(197) a.



b.



In the following section we will see the advantages Moro's analysis of *there* has over an expletive analysis.

5.3.1 The elimination of problems caused by an expletive analysis

As Moro shows, many problems created by analyses of *there* as an expletive are eliminated under his raised predicate analysis. Two of these were

discussed immediately above;[98] here I show that the problems which remain under CH4 (§5.2.1 above) are also readily explained under Moro's theory.

The two sentences which have not received an explanation under CH4 (nor under previous expletive replacement analyses) were (184) and (187), repeated here as (198) and (199):

(198) *There1$_i$ seem [$_{IP}$ there2$_i$ to have arrived [four women]$_i$].

(199) **There seem four women to have arrived.*

Note that the ungrammaticality of these sentences receives a ready explanation under Moro's analysis of *there* as a raised predicate.[99] The sentence in (198) is straightforwardly ruled out because the unaccusative verb selects a SC in which only

[98]Moro also notes that his analysis explains the ungrammaticality of the sentence in (i) (which Lasnik (1992) points out has never received an adequate explanation), which contrasts with the sentence in (ii):

(i) *I believe there *(to be) a picture of the wall in the room.*

(ii) *I believe John (to be) the cause of the riot.*

According to Moro, the fact that the copula is required in (i) follows from the more general fact that in inverse copular sentences, the predicate (in this case, *there*) can raise only if there is a landing site available. The copula must thus be present in order to provide the landing site. This would also explain (iii) (an inverse copular sentence):

(iii) *I believe the cause of the riot *(to be) John.* (cf. (i) and (ii))

Note, however, that this explanation incorrectly predicts (iv) (a canonical copular sentence) to be possible without the copula:

(iv) *I believe a picture of the wall *(to be) in the room.*

That is, (iv) should pattern with (ii). I cannot offer an explanation for the ungrammaticality of this sentence without the copula. However, if we take *there* to be a predicate, the descriptive generalization seems to be that the copula cannot be omitted when the predicate is a locative.

[99]Most of Moro's discussion of *there* as a raised predicate revolves around examples involving the copular verb *be*. In this section I have modified his examples by changing the verb to *arrive* (to make the examples directly relevant to the central discussion in this thesis). Since Moro (1997:Chapter 5) proposes that unaccusatives, like *be*, take a SC complement, nothing crucial will hinge on this change.

one predicate is admissible. Adding a second *there* to the sentence would simply involve adding an extra predicate. The sentence in (199), as Moro points out, is ruled out as a violation of locality conditions on movement. That is, the associate occupies the intermediate specifier position as a result of movement (seen in (189), re-elaborated here as (200)):

(200) __ seem [$_{IP}$ [four women]$_i$ to have arrived [$_{SC}$ t_i there]]

In order to derive (199), the SC predicate *there* must then move to the matrix Spec, IP, skipping the intermediate Spec position which is occupied by *four women* ((201) corresponds to Moro's (1997:121) (75b)):

(201) *There$_j$ seem [$_{IP}$ [four women]$_i$ to have arrived [$_{SC}$ t_i t_j]]

Note that (199) is thus analogous to the standard case of super-raising, seen in (202):

(202) *Mary$_j$ seems [$_{CP}$ that [$_{IP}$ it was believed [$_{IP}$ t_j to be intelligent]]]

Neither can the sentence in (199) be successfully derived by first raising *there*, because the trace of *there* would block movement of the NP into that position (also noted by Zwart (1992:footnote 5)):

(203) There$_j$ seem [$_{IP}$ t_j to have arrived [$_{SC}$ [four women] t_i]]

To conclude this section, we have seen that Moro's analysis of *there* as the predicate of a SC selected by the unaccusative allows for a straightforward explanation of data that have never been satisfactorily accounted for under an expletive analysis. As we shall see immediately, however, there are several questions raised by the predicate analysis which require explanation.

5.3.2 Questions raised by the predicate analysis

As we have seen, Moro's analysis of *there* as a raised predicate provides answers to the questions raised by the data seen in §5.3 above, and also allows for a straightforward explanation of the sentences in (198) and (199), a feat that expletive analyses seem to never have accomplished. However, as we shall see immediately below, the predicate analysis in turn raises several questions which need to be addressed. At the end of this section, I will conclude that the claim that *there* is a raised predicate of a SC selected by the unaccusative verb is not tenable. In §5.4 I will offer an alternative analysis of *there* which provides a solution to the problems raised by both the expletive analysis and the predicate analysis.

The first problem raised by Moro's analysis has already been touched upon in §4.3.2.2 above. That is, in the context of his discussion of English, one of Moro's many arguments in favor of analyzing *there* as a predicate instead of an expletive centers around the sentences in (193) and (194), repeated here as (204a,b):

(204) a. *Many copies of the book were *(in the studio).*

b. *There were many copies of the book (in the studio).*

Why should the presence of an expletive render the PP *in the studio* optional? The predicate analysis provides a ready explanation for this question: omitting the PP in (204a) "...would amount to omitting the predicate of the clause, and would thus be just as serious as omitting *come* from *John has come*, yielding **John has*." (Moro (1997:105)). A missing PP in (204b), however, does not involve a missing predicate,

because the predicate is *there*. While this analysis may be tenable for *there* as it occurs with the verb *be*, it runs into problems once we consider other unaccusative verbs, such as *arrive*. In particular, the contrast seen in (204) does not obtain with other unaccusatives:

(205) a. *Four women arrived (at the station).*

b. *There arrived four women (at the station).*

As can be seen in (205a), a missing PP with *arrive* still yields a grammatical sentence. Under an analysis which claims that unaccusatives such as *arrive* take a SC complement, this fact presents a problem, since (205a) without the PP (and without *there*) would necessarily involve a missing predicate. As we discussed in §4.3.2.2 above, there is no clear solution to this problem.

Another problem with the analysis of *there* as a predicate has to do with the question of Case assignment. Returning to the question of visibility (raised, for example, in Lasnik (1992); §5.2.1.2.1 above), it is not clear why a predicate (as a non-argument) would require Case. According to Moro (1997), the fact that *there* needs Case follows from his analysis. He states (p. 120), "...Case is assigned to *there* as to all raised DPs in copular sentences, irrespective of whether they are argumental or not. Assuming the analysis of *there* as a raised predicate, Case assignment to it is no longer surprising [, as it was under expletive analyses,] but rather exactly what we would now expect." This only follows, however, if Case assignment to a raised NP predicate (as in (141)) is likewise unsurprising. If the Visibility Condition holds (see footnote 89 above), then it should indeed be surprising that a predicate NP (a non-argument)

requires Case. Under visibility, then, it would follow that even a predicate analysis of *there* could not offer a ready explanation of Case assignment.[100]

A final question left unanswered by Moro's analysis of *there* is the very question that was left unanswered at the end of §5.2.1.2.2 in the discussion of Lasnik's expletive analysis of *there*. That is, *there* is only permitted with a small subclass of unaccusatives. It has been suggested by some (e.g., Freeze (1992) and Kimball (1973)), furthermore, that the verbs which can occur with *there* all entail some sort of 'locational' semantics. Of course, this observation is not without its problems; for instance, as we shall see below in §5.4.1, it is not true that all unaccusatives which have locational semantics can occur with *there*. On the other hand, it is clear that *there* is (in some yet to be determined way) linked to the semantics of the verb it occurs with. In contrast with expletive analyses, Moro also suggests (1997:278, footnote 14) that *there* has semantic content; he states that the "...content [of *there*] is to be derived from the discourse: by default, it denotes the whole world, ... alternatively, it can be restricted to

[100]If, on the other hand, we assume (along with Moro) that visibility is not a factor in Case assignment (i.e., to explain why an NP predicate, as a non-argument, needs Case), then a predicate analysis of *there* would have no advantage over an expletive analysis with respect to the issue of Case assignment; under both analyses, one could claim that *there* gets Case simply because it is an NP. The analysis I offer below would have the same lack of advantage; see §5.4.2.2.

a specific domain, when an adjunct PP is added... ."[101] However, an explanation for the lexical restriction of *there* is not given.

In the remainder of this chapter, I will motivate an alternative analysis of *there* which aims to provide an explanation for this semantic restriction. Specifically, I will show that *there*, like *pro-loc* in Borgomanerese and Italian, should be viewed as a *weak locative*, optionally selected by GOAL-entailing verbs. In other words, *there* is a *weak locative goal argument*. This analysis will also allow us to eliminate the problems raised by both the expletive analysis as well as the predicate analysis of *there*.

5.4 *There* is a weak locative goal argument

It has long been noted (e.g., Burzio (1986), Freeze (1992), Kimball (1973), Kuno (1971), Levin (1993), L&RH, and Milsark (1974), among many others) that expletive *there* can only occur with a subset of unaccusatives in English.[102] If it turns

[101]In line with the expletive view, however, Moro (1997:145) states that "...*there* does not add any 'lexical' content of its own [; as such,] we might call it a 'propredicate'. This offers us the possibility of remaining within the traditional terminology and considering *there* as an expletive, provided that the proper syntactic source of *there* is indicated. Specifically, *there* can be considered the expletive of the predicate of the small clause, rather than the expletive of the subject of predication."

[102]English contrasts with other Germanic languages (e.g., Dutch) which use a locative expletive analogous to English *there* with all classes of verbs (transitives, unergatives, and all unaccusatives; see, for example, Vikner (1995) and Zwart (1992)). The analysis provided here for English *there* thus cannot be directly extended to locative expletives in other languages. However, it should be noted that our analysis does not preclude the possibility of the use of a weak locative as a true expletive (i.e., a semantically null NP inserted into subject position to satisfy the EPP) in other languages. For our purposes, we can assume that Dutch *er* 'there', for example, differs from English *there* in that the former has entirely lost its semantic content, while the

out that the class of verbs that allows *there* is semantically homogeneous, then this fact should call into question the claim that *there* is a semantically empty NP, inserted in subject position simply to satisfy the EPP. However, it may not be immediately obvious what the verbs which occur in *there*-sentences have in common semantically (noted, for example, by Milsark (1974); see Appendix below for discussion of a discourse theoretic analysis). Freeze (1992) characterizes the class of verbs which occur with *there* as 'locative unaccusatives' (also used in Tortora (1996)). The term 'locative unaccusative', however, does not precisely characterize the group of verbs that occur with *there*. As we saw in Chapter 2, unaccusatives such as *leave, exit*, and *escape* entail the existence of a location (specifically, SOURCE). Nevertheless, these verbs do not occur in *there*-sentences. On the other hand, there is something to Freeze's intuition (also expressed in Hoekstra & Mulder (1990)) that the group of unaccusatives that occur with *there* entail a location of some sort. The question, then, is how to characterize the group of verbs which occur with *there* such that it includes some location denoting unaccusatives while excluding others.

Given the discussion of Borgomanerese and Italian in the previous chapters, I would like to suggest that *there*, just like *pro-loc*, is a *weak locative goal argument*. In

latter is still lexically specified as [locative] (see Cardinaletti (1990) and Vikner (1995) for a discussion of expletive constructions in the Germanic languages).

Note that Zwart (1992), adopting Moro's analysis of English *there* as a raised predicate, argues that Dutch *er* is ambiguous between an expletive and a raised predicate. In our terms, then, it is also possible that *er* is ambiguous between a truly semantically empty expletive and a WLGA (see Chapter 6); I consider this issue a matter for future research.

the following we will see that this hypothesis is supported by the fact that *there* is restricted to occurring with GOAL-entailing VIDMs.

5.4.1 The lexical restriction of *there*

Levin (1993) gives a list of the unaccusative verbs which occur in *there*-sentences. These verbs include some Verbs of Inherently Directed Motion (VIDMs) (206), Verbs of Appearance (VOAs) (207), Verbs of Manner of Motion (MOMs) (208), and Verbs of Existence (VOEs), Verbs of Spatial Configuration, and Meander Verbs (209a-c):[103]

(206) *arrive, ascend, come, descend, drop, enter, fall, go, pass, rise*

(207) *appear, arise, begin, develop, emerge, occur*, etc.

(208) *fly, jump, march, run, roll, walk*, etc.

(209) a. *exist, grow, remain, survive*, etc. (VOEs)

b. *hang, lie, sit, stand*, etc. (Verbs of Spatial Configuration)

c. *climb, meander, turn, wander*, etc. (Meander Verbs)

[103]I put aside the few transitive verbs and the small list of transitives used in the passive which Levin (1993:90) lists as occurring in *there*-sentences. It is possible, however, that the 'transitives' are actually covert unaccusatives; *enter* is included among these verbs, but as we have seen, in Italian and Borgomanerese this verb selects the auxiliary *be*, revealing its unaccusative status. As discussed in footnote 72, I thus take such verbs, even in their apparently transitive uses (e.g., *Mary entered the room*), to be unaccusative VIDMs. Other apparently transitive verbs listed in Levin, such as *take place*, are idiomatic, and may just be verbs of occurrence (in which case they should pattern with GOAL-entailing VIDMs; see below). The transitive verbs used in the passive mostly include verbs of creation and putting (e.g., *create, write, hang, place*), which have an 'appearance' sense (see discussion below on verbs of appearance).

The following verbs are not among the VIDMs listed in Levin (1993) as occurring in *there*-sentences:

(210) **depart*, **escape*, **exit*, **flee*, **leave*, **recede*

VODs also do not occur in *there*-sentences (noted, e.g., by Burzio (1986), Kimball (1973), and Milsark (1974), as well):

(211) **die*, **disappear*, **expire*, **lapse*, **perish*, **vanish*

Finally, Verbs of Change of State (COS) are listed as uniformly being excluded from *there*-sentences. For the purposes of exposition, I include only a handful of these verbs here, since the group which includes these verbs is large (see Levin (1993:240-248) for a complete list of COS verbs):

(212) **alter*, **break*, **bend*, **change*, **freeze*, **melt*, etc.

5.4.1.1 *There* is selected by GOAL-entailing VIDMs

Let us consider the verbs which can occur in *there*-sentences, putting aside for the moment the VOAs in (207) and the verbs in (209). This leaves us with a subclass of VIDMs in (206) and the MOMs in (208). Note that the VIDMs in (206) include the GOAL-entailing VIDMs *arrive*, *come*, and *enter*, and the α-telic VIDMs *ascend*, *descend*, *drop*, *fall*, *pass*, and *rise*. We can characterize all of these VIDMs as GOAL-entailing once we recognize that the fact that the α-telic VIDMs are only permitted in *there*-sentences in their GOAL-entailing sense. Furthermore, it is well known that this also holds for the MOMs in (208) (see, a.o., Burzio (1986) and

Hoekstra & Mulder (1990)). This can be seen by the following contrast (taken from Hoekstra & Mulder (1990:34)):

(213) a. *There walked a man into the room.*

b. **There walked a man with a dog.*

The analysis I would like to provide takes the α-telic VIDMs in (206) and the MOMs in (208) to be lexically GOAL-entailing VIDMs.[104] Once we can show that these verbs are lexically GOAL-entailing, we can claim that only GOAL-entailing VIDMs can occur in *there*-sentences. To show that these verbs are lexically GOAL-entailing, I will adopt the essentials of L&RH's analysis of MOMs.

It is well known that MOMs are basically unergative, but also systematically exhibit unaccusative behavior (see L&RH for references). This 'systematic polysemy' is very productive in English, and L&RH show that these verbs' status as both unergatives and as unaccusatives in English is attested by the fact that they occur in the unergative resultative pattern (with a fake reflexive object, for example, as in (214a)), as well as in the unaccusative resultative pattern, as in (214b) (examples adapted from L&RH):

(214) a. *They jumped their way clear of the vehicle.*

b. *They jumped clear of the vehicle.*

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[104]See footnote 15 in Chapter 2 for comments concerning *go*. It is clear that English go, which is GOAL-entailing in *there*-sentences, has a different use than Borgomanerese *nè* 'go', which is basically a SOURCE-entailing verb. As we saw in footnote 57, Italian *andare* 'go' is ambiguous between a GOAL-entailing and a non-GOAL-entailing VIDM.

They also note that when these verbs are used as unaccusatives, they are interpreted as verbs of directed motion. This difference in meaning can be detected in the examples in (214). Specifically, the referent of the NP that does the jumping in (214b) has reached a location-goal. Furthermore, this sentence describes an event which involves a single jump, and not several successive jumps. This is not true of (214a), which contains the unergative instance of the verb; this sentence can describe an event which involves several successive jumps.

To account for this systematic meaning shift, they propose a lexical rule which takes the 'constant' of the verb which appears in the unergative lexical semantic template (i.e., the basic form of the verb) and maps it onto the lexical semantic template that unaccusative verbs of directed motion appear in. The net effect of this mapping rule is that the lexicon contains both an unergative and an unaccusative instance of the verb. Note, however, that this is not equivalent to saying that the lexicon lists two different instances of this verb. Rather, the unaccusative instance of this verb is systematically derived from the unergative instance of the verb via the lexical mapping rule, eliminating redundancy and capturing the systematicity of the polysemy. The appeal of a lexical rule is that it captures the fact that the meaning of the unaccusative instance of a verb such as *jump* entails a directed change, involving a single jump which ends in a reached goal; it does not entail a process involving successive jumps. As L&RH note, all verbs which entail that their single argument undergoes a directed change project this argument internally (a fact which they capture in their 'Directed Change Linking Rule'). Thus, the lexical mapping rule they propose captures the fact

that when the verb describes a directed change, the verb is unaccusative. To put it differently, it captures the fact that when the verb is unaccusative, it describes a directed change.[105]

Note that L&RH's mapping rule states that MOMs are mapped onto the lexical semantic template of 'verbs of directed motion'. Let us make this mapping rule more specific, and claim that the verbs in question are mapped onto the lexical semantic

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[105]L&RH's proposal contrasts with other accounts in the literature which take the meaning shift discussed above to be derived compositionally by the syntactic presence of the resultative XP or a goal PP (see L&RH for references, which includes Dowty (1991) and Hoekstra & Mulder (1990), among others; see also Kizu (to appear)). I briefly note here two objections to this latter type of account. First, if the goal-entailed (or telic) meaning of the unaccusative instance of *jump* were derived compositionally through the syntactic presence of a PP, then we would predict (214b) to be interpretable as an event which involves reaching a goal through successive jumps (contrary to fact). The lexical account, on the other hand, neatly captures the fact that the unaccusative verb describes a directed change, rather than an event that involves a process of repeated events.

Second, it is widely held in the literature that in Italian, it is the presence of the PP which allows the unaccusative use of a verb of motion such as *correre* 'run'. This claim is sketched out in (i) and (ii):

(i) *Ho corso.*
(I)have run.
(ii) *Sono corsa *(a casa).*
(I)am run.fem *(to home)

The above data would be consistent with the claim that it is the syntactic presence of a PP which yields the goal-entailed meaning of the unaccusative instance of the verb. However, contrary to what is widely held in the literature, it turns out that the presence of the PP in (ii) is not obligatory; *sono corsa* is grammatical as long as the location-goal is interpretable from context. This is illustrated in the following sentence (which is given in English for ease of exposition): "I was sitting in the living room minding my own business, when suddenly I heard a huge crash in the kitchen; *sono corsa*, and what do I see but the whole pile of dishes on the floor." The eventuality *sono corsa* is obligatorily interpreted as entailing goal (in this case, 'the kitchen'). The point here is that the syntactic account of the meaning shift predicts *sono corsa* (without the syntactic presence of the PP) to be impossible, contrary to fact. Note that a lexical analysis such as L&RH's does not have a problem explaining this fact.

template of 'GOAL-entailing verbs of inherently directed motion'. I adapt this aspect of their mapping rule simply because the verbs in question specifically take on a GOAL-entailing meaning when used as unaccusatives. If we understand the mapping rule to work in this way, we can claim that the unaccusative instances of the MOMs and the GOAL-entailing instances of the α-telic VIDMs are lexically GOAL-entailing, making them lexically identical to GOAL-entailing VIDMs like *arrive*.[106]

Now that we have concluded that the MOMs and the α-telic VIDMs that occur in *there*-sentences are lexically GOAL-entailing (i.e., they are instances of arrive-type verbs as used in this construction), let us turn to VOAs. I would like to suggest that VOAs are GOAL-entailing VIDMs. To better understand this hypothesis, let us compare both VOAs and VODs with GOAL-entailing and SOURCE-entailing VIDMs, respectively. While VOAs and VODs are considered in the literature to be classes of verbs distinct from VIDMs, note that they exhibit no behavior that justifies this distinction. For example, as L&RH note, VOAs and VODs do not participate in the causative alternation (examples from L&RH:121):

(215) a. **The programmer appeared a picture (on the screen).*

b. **The thief disappeared the bicycle (from the garage).*

As noted in Chapter 2, however, neither do VIDMs:[107]

[106]As stated in footnote 11, let us assume that the lexical mapping rule applies to the atelic instance of α-telic VIDMs such as *descend*. Under this view, the mapping rule in question would target atelic verbs of motion in general, regardless of their basic unergative (e.g., *jump*) or basic unaccusative (e.g., *descend*) status.

[107]Some Italian dialects may use some VIDMs transitively (noted, for example, in Moro (1997:234); see also references cited therein). The two most common such uses are with *scendere* 'descend' and *salire* 'ascend' (examples from P. Benincà, personal communication; see also Benincà (1984)):

(i) *Ho sceso il gatto / la spazzatura.* (causative)
(I) have descended the cat / the garbage
"I brought the cat / the garbage down."

(ii) *Ho sceso le scale.* (non-causative)
(I) have descended the stairs
"I went down the stairs."

However, note that the phenomenon is very restricted. First, as pointed out to me by P. Benincà, the direct object in these cases can never be animate:

(iii) **Ho sceso Mario.* (causative; cf. (i))
(I) have descended Mario

Furthermore, this phenomenon is never attested with *arrive*, *come*, *return*, *leave*, *go*, *escape*, etc. (i.e., with the majority of VIDMs).

(216) a. **Mary arrived Sue (at the station).*

b. **Mary left Sue.* (≠ "Mary caused Sue to leave")

Furthermore, as L&RH claim, VIDMs cannot occur with resultative XPs (also noted by, among others, Simpson (1983)).[108] This is illustrated in the following examples ((217a) is taken from L&RH):

(217) a. **Willa arrived breathless.*

b. **Sue left sad.*

Note that VOAs and VODs are also restricted in the same way (the examples in (218) are ungrammatical under the intended interpretation):

(218) a. **Willa appeared worried.*

b. **Sue disappeared worried.*

Thus, VIDMs (both GOAL- and SOURCE-entailing) exhibit the same properties as VOAs and VODs. Further evidence which supports a unification of these verb classes comes from many Northern Italian dialects, such as Borgomanerese. Borgomanerese

[108]However, see Tortora (to appear) for arguments against the claim that VIDMs cannot occur with resultative XPs.

does not have translation equivalents of verbs such as 'disappear' and 'appear'. In order to express the notion of appearance, the GOAL-entailing VIDMs *rivè* 'arrive', *gni* 'come', and *gni fora* 'come out' must be used. Similarly, in order to express the notion of disappearance, the SOURCE-entailing VIDM *nè* 'go; leave' must be used. From these observations I conclude that there is no principled reason not to consider VOAs to be GOAL-entailing VIDMs, and VODs to be SOURCE-entailing VIDMs. This is consistent with the conclusion arrived at by L&RH (p. 241), who note, "...[o]ne could ask whether [the verb *come*] and possibly some of the other verbs of inherently directed motion are better viewed as verbs of appearance in all their uses." The hypothesis made here, however, changes the focus of the conclusion by reducing VOAs to GOAL-entailing VIDMs, rather than the other way around.

5.4.1.1.1 *There* is a WLGA

I have now argued that all of the verbs which occur in *there*-sentences are lexically GOAL-entailing VIDMs (continuing to momentarily put aside the verbs in (209)). Note, furthermore, that all of the verbs excluded from *there*-sentences are non-GOAL-entailing verbs. The verbs in (210) are all SOURCE-entailing VIDMs, as are the VODs in (211) (as concluded in the discussion immediately above). The COS unaccusatives in (212) do not entail a location of any sort. Given this conclusion, let us restate this generalization in terms of the basic hypothesis put forth in this dissertation: only GOAL-entailing VIDMs can select *there* as an optional second internal argument;

in other words, *there* is a WLGA, the English correlate of the WLGA *pro-loc* in Borgomanerese and Italian. Thus, just as was observed for *pro-loc* in Borgomanerese (and Italian), while SOURCE-entailing verbs may optionally project either a PP or a 'strong' locative as a second internal argument (219b,c), GOAL-entailing verbs may optionally project a PP, a strong locative (*here* or *there*), or 'weak' *there* (220b-d):

(219) a. *Four women left.*

b. *Four women left from the station.*

c. *Four women left there.*

(220) a. *Four women arrived.*

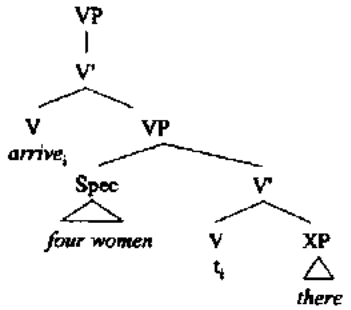
b. *Four women arrived at the station.*

c. *Four women arrived there$_{strong}$ / here.*

d. *There$_{weak}$ arrived four women.*

The d-structure of the sentence in (220d) is the following:

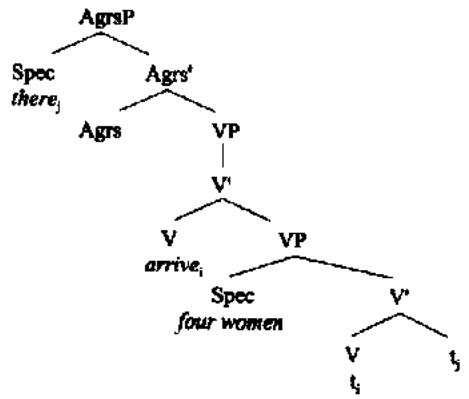
(221)



I shall illustrate immediately below in §5.4.2 why I take the morpheme *there* in (220d) to be a 'weak locative', like *pro-loc* in Borgomanerese and Italian, in contrast with 'strong' *there*. For the moment, however, note that as a weak XP, *there* in (221) cannot

stay in its base position (see §3.2.4.2.2 for a discussion). As such, it must move to subject position; (222) is thus the surface structure of the sentence in (220d):

(222)



Note that the hypothesis that *there* is a WLGA raises a question concerning the semantic effect its syntactic presence may have. It has long been noted that *there*-sentences involve a speaker-oriented interpretation of the location-goal, or as Kimball (1973:265) puts it, an interpretation of 'coming into being for the speaker'.[109] In the discussion of Borgomanerese and Italian, I demonstrated that the speaker-oriented interpretation of the location-goal was due to the syntactic presence of the WLGA, *pro-loc*. A natural hypothesis for English *there*-sentences which would capture a cross-linguistic generalization, then, would be the following: it is the syntactic presence of the WLGA *there* that forces this speaker-oriented interpretation of the location-goal, just like *pro-loc* in Borgomanerese and Italian. Note that the speaker-oriented

[109]Kimball (1973) claims that "...the existential *there* can appear with a sentence if it expresses coming into being of some object, where this coming into being can include coming into the perceptual field of the speaker."

interpretation cannot be attributed simply to the semantics of the verbs which may occur in *there*-sentences, because the use of these verbs in non-*there*-sentences (e.g., (220a)) does not necessarily involve such an interpretation.

Unfortunately, however, as can be seen by (220d), the post-verbal position of the subject directly correlates with the presence of the WLGA *there* in English (although see footnote 110 below for a brief discussion of locative inversion). As such, it is not immediately obvious whether it is the post-verbal position of the subject or the presence of the *there* which forces the speaker-oriented interpretation of the location-goal. In order to maintain that it is the presence/absence of *there* which counts, let us recall the facts of Borgomanerese (Chapter 3, §3.2.2.4), which can enlighten this discussion. Borgomanerese differs from English in that it allows 'free inversion' (like Italian), regardless of whether or not a locative occupies Spec, IP. As we saw, the absence of the weak locative in Borgomanerese correlates with the absence of a speaker-oriented interpretation of the location-goal; this is the case even when the subject is post-verbal (i.e., even in a normal 'free inversion' construction, as in (47)). Thus, the speaker-oriented interpretation obtains not due to the post-verbal position of the subject, but rather to the presence of the weak locative. I take these facts as indirect evidence that the speaker-oriented interpretation of the location-goal in English *there*-sentences derives from the presence of *there*, and not from the syntactic position of the subject.[110] Note that this conclusion serves as a piece of evidence against an expletive

[110]One could ask whether locative inversion constructions serve as evidence against the hypothesis in the text, since (like *there*-sentences) they involve a speaker-oriented interpretation of the location-goal, in spite of the fact that there is no *there*:

analysis of *there*: this morpheme cannot be semantically empty if its presence affects the semantic interpretation of the sentence.

(i) *Into the room walked four women.*

Locative inversion does not serve as a counter-example to our claim if we hypothesize the existence of a phonologically null locative which occupies Spec, IP in (i) (suggested to me by P. Benincà, personal communication). This analysis entails that the PP *into the room* does not occupy Spec, IP, but rather the Spec of a higher functional projection. This goes against Hoekstra & Mulder (1990), who claim that the PP occupies Spec, IP. However, I think certain facts point against this claim. First, note that subject-aux inversion is not possible in locative inversion sentences, suggesting that the PP (like sentential subjects) does not occupy Spec, IP:

(ii) **Did into the room walk four women?*

Second, locative inversion constructions are not easily embedded, again suggesting that the PP occupies a position higher than Spec, IP, (i.e., one which interferes with the 'Comp field'):

(iii) **John regretted / claimed / said that into the room walked four women.*

Further evidence that it is not the post-verbal position of the subject which yields the speaker-oriented interpretation of the location-goal comes from English sentences such as that in (iv) (pointed out to me by M. Enç; see also Faber (1987)):

(iv) *JOHN arrived.*

If the sentence in (iv) is used in an unmarked context, e.g., in answer to the question "What happened?" (with a rising intonation on *John*), the location-goal is necessarily interpreted as speaker-oriented. Thus, (iv) cannot be used to indicate that John arrived in China, if the speaker was not in China at the time of arrival (unless, of course, *John* is interpreted as contrastively focused). Note that this contrasts with the sentence in (v), which has a rising-falling intonation on *arrived*:

(v) *John ARRIVED.*

In contrast with (iv), (v) in an unmarked context does not necessarily yield a speaker-oriented interpretation (the following is an example context: A picks up a ringing phone; B is standing next to A, waiting to hear from A what the phone call is all about; B asks A "What happened?", and A says "John ARRIVED." In this context, John's arrival can be in China, even though A is not in China at the time of John's arrival). As was suggested to me by M. Enç, the intonation in (iv) (which correlates with the speaker-oriented interpretation) may indicate a low syntactic position of the NP *John*, leaving Spec, IP open to be occupied by a phonologically null locative (much as in the locative inversion sentence in (i)). Under this view, it is the presence of the phonologically null locative which forces the speaker-oriented interpretation of the location-goal. This interpretation does not obtain in (v) because *John* occupies Spec, IP (which yields the different intonation).

5.4.2 *There* is weak

In Chapter 3 (§3.2.4.2.2) I introduced Cardinaletti & Starke's (to appear) (C&S) theory of weak pronouns and adopted a weak pronoun analysis of *pro-loc*. Here I show that *there*, like *pro-loc*, must be analyzed as a weak XP. In order to show this, in what follows I will present additional particulars of C&S's analysis which were not discussed in Chapter 3.

C&S provide extensive cross-linguistic evidence which shows that pronouns divide into three distinct grammatical classes: 'strong pronouns', 'weak pronouns', and clitics. The first two types of pronouns, strong and weak, exhibit syntactic and semantic differences. In §3.2.4.2.2 we discussed two properties of weak pronouns which differentiate them from strong pronouns: (i) weak pronouns can refer to non-human entities, and (ii) weak pronouns must move overtly to a Case-related position. This was illustrated with the two morphologically distinct third person plural feminine nominative pronouns, *loro* and *esse*, in (73) and (74) (repeated here as (223) and (224) for convenience):[111]

(223) a. *Esse* *sono troppo alte.* (= the girls; the roses)
they-fem are very tall

b. *Loro* *sono troppo alte.* (= the girls; *the roses)
they-fem are very tall

---

[111] *Loro* is also used as the third person masculine pronoun, and is used as an accusative and dative, as well as a nominative.

(224) a. **Hanno mangiato esse.*
have eaten they-fem
(cf.: *Esse hanno mangiato.*)

b. *Hanno mangiato loro.*
have eaten they-fem
"They have eaten."

The sentence in (223) shows that *esse* can refer to [−human] entities, while *loro* is restricted to [+human] entities; (224) shows that *esse*, in contrast with *loro*, cannot remain in its base position (Spec, VP), but rather must move overtly to Spec, IP.

In addition to these facts discussed in Chapter 3, there are several other syntactic differences exhibited by these two pronouns. First, as can be seen in (225), *loro* can be coordinated with another NP, whereas *esse* cannot (examples all taken from C&S):

(225) a. *Loro e quelle accanto sono troppo alte.*
they-fem and those besides are too tall
"Those and the ones next to them are too tall."

b. **Esse e quelle accanto sono troppo alte.*
they-fem and those besides are too tall
"Those and the ones next to them are too tall."

Furthermore, *loro* can be modified, whereas *esse* cannot:

(226) a. *Anche loro sono troppo alte.*
also they-fem are too tall
"They are also too tall."

b. **Anche esse sono troppo alte.*
also they-fem are too tall
"They are also too tall."

Another syntactic difference between these two pronouns is that *loro* can occur in peripheral positions, such as in a cleft (227a), left dislocation (227b), right dislocation (227c), and in isolation (227d), while *esse* is allowed none of these options (228a-d):

(227) a. *Sono loro che sono belle.*
are they-fem that are beautiful
"It is them that are beautiful."

b. *Loro, loro sono belle.*
They-fem, they-fem are beautiful.

c. *Arriveranno presto, loro.*
will.arrive.3pl soon, they-fem

d. *Quali sono belle? Loro.*
which are beautiful? They-fem.

(228) a. **Sono esse che sono belle.*
are they-fem that are beautiful

b. **Esse, esse sono belle.*
They-fem, they-fem are beautiful.

c. **Arriveranno presto, esse.*
will.arrive.3pl soon they-fem

d. **Quali sono belle? Esse.*
which are beautiful? They-fem.

To summarize, *loro* and *esse* exhibit a semantic difference: *loro* can only refer to [+human] entities, while *esse* can refer to both human and non-human entities. This semantic difference correlates with a difference in syntactic behavior: *loro* has a free syntactic distribution, while *esse* can only occur in Spec, IP. This correlation suggests the following hypothesis: if a pronoun X can refer to both human and non-human entities, X must be weak; as such, we predict it to exhibit the syntactic behavior exhibited by the weak pronoun *esse*.

C&S note that in contrast to Italian, which has two morphologically distinct third person plural feminine nominative pronouns, French has the single morphological form *elles* 'they (fem)'. Like Italian *esse*, French *elles* can refer to both human and non-human entities. This fact suggests that *elles* is a weak pronoun, like *esse*. Yet unexpectedly, unlike *esse*, *elles* can be coordinated, thus exhibiting the syntactic behavior exhibited by the strong pronoun *loro*. However, C&S note the revealing fact that when *elles* is coordinated with another NP, it can only refer to a [+human] entity. This can be seen in (229):

(229) a. *Elles sont trop grands.* (= the girls; the roses)
they-fem are too big
"They are too big."

b. *Elles et celles d'à côté sont trop grands.* (= the girls; *the roses)
they-fem and those besides are too big.
"They and those besides are too big."

Thus, when *elles* is coordinated with another NP, it suddenly exhibits the semantic limitation exhibited by the strong pronoun *loro*. Why should coordination restrict the semantic interpretation of *elles* in this way? C&S propose that the behavior of *elles* can be understood in the context of Italian *esse* and *loro* if French, just like Italian, is analyzed as having two third person plural feminine nominative pronouns, one weak and one strong. Unlike Italian, however, the two pronouns in French are homophonous: $elles_{weak}$ and $elles_{strong}$. Note that the facts seen in (229) directly follow under this hypothesis: *elles* is disambiguated in a coordinate structure, since only strong pronouns can be coordinated (and as such, only the [+human] interpretation of the pronoun should be possible in such a context). In other words, the [-human] interpretation is

excluded in the coordinate structure, because $elles_{weak}$ is excluded from this structure. French thus provides an example of a pronoun which is ambiguous between strong and weak.

Now that we have seen the motivation for positing the existence of these two distinct grammatical classes, let us return to the question of *there* in English. It is well known that the morpheme *there* in *there*-sentences exhibits a distinct semantic and syntactic behavior from 'deictic' *there* (see, for example, Allan (1971; 1972)). In the context of the above discussion concerning $elles_{weak}$ and $elles_{strong}$, the hypothesis that English possesses a weak *there* and a strong *there* would allow us to capture a cross-linguistic generalization. In support of this hypothesis, note that the syntactic restrictions exhibited by the weak pronoun *esse* in Italian are exactly the same restrictions exhibited by weak *there* in English. That is, weak *there* cannot be coordinated (230a), modified (230b), clefted (230c), or used in isolation (230d) (cf. Allan (1971), who uses some of these tests also to show that this morpheme is different from strong 'deictic' *there*). This contrasts with the behavior of strong *there*, seen in (231) (note that (230c,d) are ungrammatical under the intended interpretation):

(230) a. **Here and there arrived four women.*

b. **Right there arrived four women.*

c. **It is there that arrived four women (at the station).*

d. *Where did four women arrive? *There.*

(231) a. *Four women arrived here and there.*

b. *Four women arrived right there.*

c. *It is there/at the station that four women arrived.*

d. *Where did four women arrive? There.*

Note, too, that as with Italian *esse*, these syntactic restrictions exhibited by weak *there* correlate with a semantic distinction: weak *there* does not have the same ability to refer to a contextual location as strong (deictic) *there*.[112] Furthermore, like the weak pronoun *esse*, *there* cannot remain in its base position:

(232) **Four women arrived there*$_{weak}$.

To put it differently, the syntactic behavior exhibited by a weak pronoun such as *esse* allows us to understand *there*'s obligatory occupation of Spec, IP within the greater context of a general cross-linguistic phenomenon. The obligatory overt movement of weak *there* to subject position is not an isolated fact about *there*, but rather a general cross-linguistic fact about weak pronouns that they cannot remain in their base positions.[113]

[112]How this semantic restriction relates to the ability of a weak pronoun such as *esse* to refer to a [−human] entity will be discussed below in §5.4.2.1

[113]Moro (1997:279, footnote 22) states that "...*there*...has the characteristics both of maximal projections and of heads, in that it occupies a spec-position but cannot contain either specifiers or complements." This observation is consistent with the analysis of *there* in (230b) as a weak XP. However, the fact that *there* can be modified by *right* in (231b) is evidence that there are two distinct morphemes in the English lexicon. This conclusion contrasts with that of Moro (1997:138-145), who claims that the 'expletive-like' behavior of *there* is derived syntactically, suggesting that the English lexicon contains only one *there*. It is not clear, however, how the syntactic process Moro proposes can account for the fact that *there* in (230b) cannot be modified while *there* in (231b) can. Furthermore, his proposal does not allow for a unification of these morphological facts and those exhibited by weak *esse* and strong *loro* in Italian, or weak *elles* and strong *elles* in French. Under the hypothesis that there are two different *there*s, however, the modification phenomena follow directly from a more general universal fact about weak and strong pronouns.

Note that the hypothesis offered here is reminiscent of Sampson's (1972)

5.4.2.1 The feature deficiency of weak XPs

As we saw above, the differences in syntactic behavior exhibited by strong pronouns vs. weak pronouns correlate with a semantic difference. This was illustrated with Italian's two morphologically distinct third person plural feminine nominative pronouns, strong *loro* and weak *esse*, as well as with *elles*$_{weak}$ and *elles*$_{strong}$ in French. We saw that *loro* is restricted to [+human] referents, while weak *esse* can refer to both [+human] and [−human] referents. In order to account for this pattern, C&S propose that the strong and weak pronouns differ in their feature composition. Strong pronouns, they argue, have a feature specification which is lacking in weak pronouns. Specifically, a strong pronoun such as *loro* is specified for the feature [+human], while a weak pronoun such as *esse* is not specified for a value of this feature.[114] This

conclusion that the English lexicon contains two *there*s: for him, one is underlyingly *at it* (our weak *there*) and the other is underlyingly *at that* (our strong *there*). This is consistent with C&S's observation that *it* is a weak pronoun (and that *that* is a strong pronoun).

[114]C&S (p. 33) actually claim that the weak pronoun's lack of [+human] specification is due to a missing functional head in its structure. This contrasts with the structure projected by a strong pronoun, which projects the functional head in which the feature resides. This is illustrated in (i) and (ii) (I use a DP for the purposes of exposition, although C&S use a CP; FP refers to a generic 'functional projection'):

'impoverishment' in the specification of the feature [human] is what enables the weak pronoun to refer to [+ or -human] referents: with no value for the feature specified, the pronoun is "free to corefer with any...antecedent" (C&S:33). The strong pronoun, on the other hand, is constrained by its feature specification to corefer with an antecedent that is [+human].

5.4.2.2 The feature deficiency of weak *there*

In what follows, I will show that this feature 'impoverishment' exhibited by weak pronouns has a correlate in the weak locative. The discussion will center around weak *there*, but the conclusions will be assumed for *pro-loc*, the weak locative in Borgomanerese and Italian. As we shall see in §5.4.2.1.1.1, the speaker-oriented interpretation which is forced by the syntactic presence of the weak locative can be

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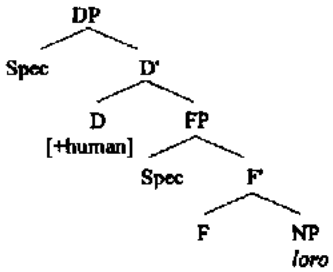
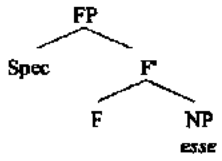
(i) strong pronoun:



(ii) weak pronoun:



C&S's analysis thus suggests that the entire [human] feature is missing in the weak pronoun. This contrasts with the analysis I provide in the text, which holds that the weak pronoun possesses the [human] feature, which however is not specified for a value. It will become clear below why I modify C&S's proposal in this way.

reduced to the more general phenomenon of feature impoverishment exhibited by weak XPs.

As we saw above, the semantic difference exhibited by strong vs. weak pronouns is captured by positing the existence of an impoverished feature specification for weak pronouns. Let us consider how this analysis of weak pronouns can bear on the analysis of the weak locative. It is well known that weak *there* and strong *there* differ semantically. The former has been characterized as 'non-referential' or 'non-deictic', and the latter has been characterized as 'deictic'. For example, while Freeze (1992) takes weak *there* to be lexically locative, he states that it is 'pleonastic', and "...must be distinguished from the deictic *there*, which is referential and for which *here* may be substituted" (footnote 15). He also states that "...establishing that the proform *there* is locative does NOT make it deictic: it has a [+LOC] feature, but it does not refer to a place within some utterance context" (footnote 11). Thus, weak *there* is semantically deficient with respect to strong *there*, much like Italian weak *esse* is semantically deficient with respect to strong *loro*.

Let us capture this distinction between weak *there* and strong *there* in the same way the distinction between *esse* and *loro* is captured. In order to do so, we must consider which features are needed to minimally distinguish strong *there* from *here* and from the demonstrative *that*. First, let us suppose that *there* has the feature [locative], which is what differentiates it from *that* (cf. Freeze's (1992:footnote 11) suggestion, noted in the preceding paragraph). Furthermore, as was noted in footnote 20 above, 'deictics' such as *here* and *there* employ the *speaker* as their reference point (Frawley

(1992)). To differentiate between the two, then, let us adopt this essential insight and assume the existence of a feature [speaker] (following Fillmore (1971), Cinque (1972), and Vanelli (1995), among others). Thus, the deictic locative *here* encodes a location near the speaker by means of a positive value for the feature (i.e., [+speaker]), while the deictic locative *there* encodes a location removed from the speaker by means of a negative value for the feature (i.e., [-speaker]). This gives us the following characterization of the two deictic locatives:

(233) a. strong *there*: [+locative], [-speaker]

b. strong *here*: [+locative], [+speaker]

We saw above that the semantics of weak *esse* in Italian can be accounted for by positing the loss of the value for the feature [human]. Let us take this analysis of weak *esse* as a key to the appropriate analysis of weak *there*. That is, in order to account for the semantics of weak *there*, let us posit the loss of the value for the feature [speaker]. This gives us the following lexical characterization of weak *there*:

(234) weak *there*: [+locative], [speaker]

Given this analysis, the difference between weak *there* and strong *there* parallels the difference between weak *esse* and strong *loro* in Italian, or weak *elles* and strong *elles* in French (see §5.4.2): the weak instance of the pair is missing a value for the relevant feature, while the strong instance of the pair has a value specified for the relevant feature:

(235) a. weak *there*: [speaker] strong *there*: [-speaker]

b. weak *esse*: [human] strong *loro*: [+human]

c. weak *elles*: [human] strong *elles*: [+human]

Note that this analysis of weak *there* captures the widely held intuition that this morpheme is semantically locative, yet at the same time is semantically impoverished with respect to deictic *there*.

5.4.2.2.1 The speaker-oriented interpretation

As was demonstrated in the previous chapters (§3.2.2.4, §4.2.1.2) and above (§5.4.1.1.1), it is the syntactic presence of the weak locative which yields the speaker-oriented interpretation of the location-goal. Now that I have provided an analysis of the weak locative in terms of features, I will offer an explanation for this phenomenon. I would like to suggest that the speaker-oriented interpretation of the location-goal obtains as a result of the fact that the feature [speaker] is not specified for a value (see (234) above).

Let us suppose that, although the feature [speaker] is lexically unspecified for a value, there is a grammatical constraint such that it must ultimately be specified. There are two possible ways in which this feature can be assigned a value: (i) by referring to a location in the linguistic or spatial context, or (ii) through 'default' assignment. Let us first discuss the former possibility. Until now, we have addressed the interpretation of the WLGA in the absence of any linguistic context. Note,

however, that if the syntactic context provides a location, the WLGA refers to it. Concerning English, Kimball (1973:265) notes that "[the] restriction on speaker placement [in *there*-sentences] can be relaxed to the extent that the speaker can be replaced by some point of reference, with respect to which the moving object is coming into being. Thus, we might have, 'Sherry was sitting in the house when there entered a white dove,' so with respect to Sherry the dove is coming into being." Thus, the matrix sentence *Sherry was sitting in the house* provides a location that weak *there* can refer to. In Italian, we can see that the syntactic context need not contain an explicit PP (such as *in the house* in Kimball's English example) in order to serve as a deictic anchor for the WLGA. Recall (Chapter 4) that the location-goal in (118) (repeated here as (236)) must get a speaker-oriented interpretation:

(236) pro-loc *arriva Maria.*
pro-loc arrives Maria
"Mary is arriving." (i-subject unmarked; GOAL is speaker-oriented)

However, once such a sentence is embedded under another sentence, as in (237), the location-goal is no longer speaker-oriented:

(237) *Erano tutti contenti perché arrivava Maria.*
(they)were all happy because arrived Maria.
"They were all happy because Maria was arriving."

Although the location-goal is not speaker-oriented in (237), note that its interpretation is still restricted. In particular, the location of Maria's arrival can only be that of the happy people (thanks to P. Benincà for pointing this out to me). This is the case in spite of the fact that there is no PP in the matrix sentence denoting a location. It is important to note that this restricted interpretation is not a logical necessity; an imaginable

(although non-existent) interpretation of (237) is that the people (who were not in China) were happy because Maria arrived in China.[115] This fact illustrates that the WLGA refers to the deictic coordinates of the sentence, and not just any location that may have been previously mentioned in the discourse. Thus, even if the discourse which precedes the sentence in (237) includes a discussion of China, China cannot serve as the location that the WLGA gets its reference from (if the happy people were not in China).[116] The WLGA thus behaves like an anaphor, in that it is an NP which does not have any inherent reference of its own, and so must get its reference from something in a syntactic domain.

In the absence of any syntactic context from which the WLGA can derive its reference, the feature [speaker] is assigned the default value '+' (possibility (ii) above). The question arises as to why the default value is not '–' instead. While I do not offer a principled answer to this question, let us note that from a conceptual standpoint, it is simpler if the default value is '+', rather than '–'. If the latter were the default value, the number of locations that *there* could refer to would be unrestricted, since there are an indefinite number of locations which are removed from the speaker (pointed out to me by both A. Cardinaletti and M. Enç). The former value, on the other

[115]This, in fact, is a possible interpretation if *Maria* is contrastively focused (which is expected, given our discussion in Chapter 4). It is important to keep in mind, however, that we are concerned with the interpretation of the location-goal under the unmarked interpretation of the embedded sentence (i.e., the case in which *pro-loc* is present).

[116]Thus, the feature [speaker] differs from the feature [human] in that the latter can take its value from a referent in the context (cf. the referential possibilities exhibited by *esse*).

hand, restricts the number of locations to one.[117] It is important to note that the interpretation of the location-goal is obligatorily speaker-oriented in the absence of syntactic context, even if a location is provided in the discourse. Thus, if the person who utters (236) is not in China at the time of Maria's arrival, the location-goal cannot be China, even if it has been previously mentioned in the discourse.

One final comment must be made concerning the assignment of the default value '+'. If nothing else is said, this process ultimately renders weak *there* indistinguishable from *here* (seen in (233b) above). This is problematic, since sentences which contain the weak locative do not require that the location-goal be interpreted as 'here'. What is required to remedy this problem is a modification of our analysis of *here* in (233b). To do this, let us note that there is another difference between *here* and strong *there* that has not yet been mentioned, and which is not encoded in (233). In particular, *here* (in contrast with strong *there*) uses the *moment of speech* as a reference point; in other words, *here* can only refer to the location the

[117]A question which comes to mind is the following: if the speaker-oriented interpretation of the location-goal is derived through the presence of the weak locative, then why doesn't the existential (which also uses weak *there*) get a speaker-oriented interpretation? I cannot offer a principled answer to this question here. However, note that a location-goal differs conceptually from a state at a location. The former is taken to be a single spatial point at the end of a path; this is conceptualized, for example, by an arrow →, the point of which indicates a single spatial point as the goal). A state at a location, on the other hand, can conceptually involve extended space. How these distinct conceptualizations are to be encoded in the grammar is beyond the scope of the present discussion. However, for the present purposes I will assume that they relate to the above question. The speaker-oriented interpretation of the location goal might be derived compositionally through both the syntactic presence of the weak locative plus this spatial conceptualization of a location-goal (thanks to Y. Li for helpful discussion here; he is not, however, responsible for the inconclusiveness of this point).

speaker is in at the moment of speech. Thus, *here* is anchored to the speech act in a way that *there* is not.[118] Given this distinction, let us change our analysis of *here* in (233b) to that in (238b):

(238) a. strong *there*: [+locative], [-speaker]

b. strong *here*: [+locative], [+speaker], [+speech act]

Thus, weak *there* (after it has been assigned a positive value for the feature [speaker]) and strong *here* differ in that only the latter contains the feature [+speech act]:

(239) a. weak *there*: [+locative], [+speaker]

b. strong *here*: [+locative], [+speaker], [+speech act]

The lack of the feature [+speech act] for weak *there* captures the fact that when weak *there* is used, the speaker does not have to be in the location goal at the moment of speech in order for the sentence to be true, in contrast with *here*.

[118]As Cinque (1972:581) points out, "...there exists no word that specifies the place of the Speaker in a time different from the present, an equivalent of "here" in the past tense, so to speak." He notes that in contrast, the deictic element entailed by the verb *come*, for example, is not anchored to the time of utterance. Under our analysis, weak *there* and *pro-loc* (as WLGAs) are words which specify the place of the speaker at a time different from the present (i.e., a "here" with no anchor to the time of utterance). Even given our analysis, however, Cinque's statement that there exists no such word still seems correct, since the WLGA is not *lexically* specified for [+speaker].

Also note that under our analysis, weak *there* must be taken to be 'deictic' (since ultimately it specifies [+speaker]), contrary to its characterization in the literature. Again, however, the traditional intuition that this morpheme is not deictic is captured by our claim that it is not lexically specified for a value for the feature [speaker].

5.4.2.3 Other Advantages of the WLGA Analysis

Here I would like to show that there are several other advantages to the analysis of *there* as a WLGA, in addition to those noted above. To consider these advantages, let us return to the questions raised by both the expletive and predicate analyses of *there*, discussed in §5.2.1 and §5.3.2 above.

As we saw in §5.2.1, there are two sentences discussed in Lasnik (1992; 1995) that do not receive an explanation under an expletive analysis of *there*. These are repeated here for convenience:

(240) *There1$_i$ seem [$_{IP}$ there2$_j$ to have arrived [four women]$_k$].

(241) **There seem four women to have arrived.*

In §5.3.1 we saw that the ungrammaticality of these sentences receives a ready explanation under Moro's analysis of *there* as a raised predicate. The sentence in (240) is straightforwardly ruled out because the unaccusative verb selects a SC in which only one predicate is admissible; the second *there* would simply have no source. The sentence in (241) is straightforwardly ruled out as a violation of locality conditions on movement. That is, in order to derive this sentence, the SC predicate *there* must move to the matrix Spec, IP, skipping the intermediate Spec position which is occupied by *four women*; this is illustrated again here:

(242) *There$_j$ seem [$_{IP}$ [four women]$_k$ to have arrived [$_{SC}$ t_i t_j]]

Thus, (241) is analogous to the standard cases of super-raising.

These advantages of Moro's analysis can be extended to the analysis of *there* as a WLGA. Under the WLGA analysis, the sentence in (240) is ruled out because adding a second *there* would amount to having two indirect object arguments, violating the theta-criterion. The sentence in (241) is ruled out as an instance of super-raising under our analysis as well, since the WLGA *there* undergoes NP raising from its d-structure position as an indirect object to its s-structure position in Spec, IP. With respect to these questions, then, our analysis is in spirit more like Moro's analysis, and adopts his important insight which allows for a straightforward explanation of the data: *there* is base generated VP-internally, not inserted in Spec, IP to satisfy the EPP.

In addition to providing a straightforward account for the sentences in (240) and (241) (which have always been problematic under expletive analyses), the hypothesis that *there* is a WLGA allows us to eliminate the problems raised under the predicate analysis. First, recall from §5.3.2 that the analysis of *there* as the predicate of a SC complement of unaccusative verbs such as *arrive* predicts that the presence of *there* is obligatory in the absence of a PP. As we saw, this is an incorrect prediction; the example is repeated here for convenience:

(243) a. *There arrived four women.*

b. *Four women arrived.*

That is, (243b) necessarily involves a missing predicate under Moro's analysis (see §4.3.2.3 and §5.3.2 for a discussion of why this state of affairs is problematic). Under the hypothesis that *there* is a WLGA, however, (243b) is expected; as we have seen, VIDMs project their second internal argument optionally. Second, note that the

question which was left unanswered at the end of §5.2.1.2.2 (in the discussion of Lasnik's expletive analysis of *there*) is also left unanswered by Moro's analysis: why is *there* only permitted with a small subclass of unaccusatives? The analysis of *there* as a WLGA not only provides an answer to this question, but also allows for a unification of the English facts with those exhibited by Italian (Chapter 4) and Borgomanerese (Chapter 3). Third, the analysis of *there* as the predicate of a SC raises a question concerning Case assignment. If the concept of 'visibility' is maintained as an explanation for Case assignment, it is not clear why a predicate (as a non-argument) would require Case (see §5.2 and §5.3.2 for a discussion). However, under the analysis offered here, the need for *there* to get Case is straightforward: *there* is an argument, and as such needs Case in order to be visible for theta-marking. In what follows, I will discuss the issue of Case assignment in more detail.

5.4.2.3.1 The WLGA and Case assignment

The analysis of weak *there* as an argument allows us to explain in a straightforward way why Case is assigned to this morpheme. Here I show how, exactly, Case assignment works under this analysis. We shall see that there are good reasons for claiming that *there* and the i-subject are assigned Case by one and the same Case assigner (namely, Infl). After I provide evidence which shows that nominative is assigned to both arguments, I will suggest a modification of Chomsky's (1995:Chapter

4) analysis of Case checking; in particular, I will propose that the nominative Case feature in Infl survives (i.e., is not deleted) if it is checked off by a weak NP.[119]

There are at least two possible analyses of Case assignment of *there*. One analysis can take advantage of *there*'s status as a second internal argument, and simply stipulate that it is assigned inherent dative Case by the unaccusative verb that selects it. Under such an analysis, we can continue to assume that the (Case feature of the) i-subject checks nominative in Infl (at LF). Such an analysis might be desirable because it would involve no additional complications to the system. However, this analysis would cause us to miss an important cross-linguistic generalization concerning i-subjects and agreement. In order to understand the nature of this generalization, let us turn to *ghi*-sentences in Borgomanerese.

As we noted in §3.2.4.2, *ghi*-sentences involve obligatory third person singular agreement on the verb, even when the i-subject is third person plural. This was illustrated in (61a), repeated here as (244):

(244) *Ngh è rivà-gghi do mati.*
SLOC is arrived-LOC two.fem girls

We concluded from this fact that *pro-loc* (which occupies Spec, IP) triggers (singular) agreement on the verb (i.e., *pro-loc* checks the phi-features in Infl).[120] Assuming that

[119]The development of this section has benefitted greatly from a discussion with L. Burzio, although he is in no way responsible for any of its flaws.

[120]In the discussion which follows, "triggering agreement on the verb" should be understood as "checking phi-features in Infl." Similarly, "assignment of nominative Case" should be understood as "checking the nominative Case feature in Infl."
On the basis of the behavior of expletives in several Romance and Germanic languages, Cardinaletti (1997) concludes that expletives which are unambiguously marked for nominative Case (e.g., French *il*) trigger agreement with the verb. If we

Case and agreement go together (an assumption traditionally made in the analysis of *there*-sentences),[121] the example in (244) would suggest that in addition to checking the phi-features on Infl, *pro-loc* also checks the (nominative) Case feature on this head. Keeping this conclusion in mind, let us now turn to the question of how the i-subject gets Case.

A concern which immediately comes to mind regarding Case assignment of the i-subject is the Case filter. The claim that *pro-loc* checks nominative Case in (244) would seem to suggest that the i-subject cannot also be assigned nominative. Lasnik's (1992; 1995) analysis of Case assignment in *there*-sentences could provide a solution to this problem. As we saw in §5.2.1.2.1, he claims (following Belletti (1988)) that unaccusatives have the ability to (optionally) assign partitive Case to their d-structure objects. He instantiates this idea by claiming that the i-subject checks partitive Case in Spec, Agro at LF. In spite of the dictates of the Case filter, however, there are at least two pieces of evidence which lead to the conclusion that the i-subject is assigned nominative Case, rather than some other Case assigned in Agro. First, as is illustrated in Burzio (1986; to appear), subject inversion with pronouns in Italian (which are

relax this generalization to encompass all weak morphemes which are unambiguously marked for Case (not necessarily for nominative), the Borgomanerese example is consistent with this generalization; as we saw in (51) in Chapter 3, *ghi* is unambiguously marked for dative Case.

[121]That the i-subject triggers verb-agreement in *there*-sentences has always been the principle factor driving the assumption that the i-subject raises (at LF) to get nominative Case (although see Lasnik (1992; 1995)).

morphologically marked for Case) reveals that the Case of the i-subject is nominative:[122]

(245) *Arriverò io / *me.*
will-arrive I / *me

The second piece of evidence which suggests that the i-subject is assigned nominative Case is somewhat more complicated, requiring a discussion of agreement in *ghi*-sentences. Let us anticipate the conclusion of the discussion: contrary to appearances, the i-subject agrees with the verb in (244). This means that both the *pro-loc* in Spec, IP and the i-subject check off the phi-features in Infl. Under the assumption that Case and agreement go together, it will follow that the i-subject (in addition to *pro-loc*) is assigned nominative Case.

The apparent lack of agreement between a third person plural i-subject and the verb exhibited in (244) is common in Romance. Let us refer to languages which exhibit this type of agreement pattern as '3SG-3PL' languages. Both Cardinaletti (1997) and Chomsky (1995:Chapter 4) conclude on the basis of this type of agreement

[122]As far as I know, it is impossible to show in Romance that a post-verbal *third person* pronoun gets nominative Case, because such pronouns (i.e., the 'strong' pronouns; see §3.2.4.2.2) are all ambiguous between nominative and accusative (e.g., Italian *lui* 'he/him', *lei* 'she/her', *loro* 'they/them'; also pointed out by Saccon (1993:132)). The third person pronouns which are unambiguously nominative are all weak (e.g., Italian *egli* 'he', *esse* 'they-fem'), and as such cannot occur post-verbally.

I note here that Benincà (1995) discusses some data on exclamatives which may call into question the use of examples such as that in (245) as evidence for the nominative status of i-subjects. As Benincà shows, pronouns with nominative morphology are used in contexts in which there is no nominative Case assigning head:

(i) *Furbo, io (ad accettare)!*
sly, I (to accept)

P. Benincà suggests (personal communication) that pronouns such as *io* may not necessarily be marked for nominative. I leave this matter open.

pattern in French that (the phi-features of) such i-subjects do not move at LF to check the phi-features in Infl. Note that this claim predicts the following: any i-subject should be possible with a verb that exhibits 3SG morphology. This is an incorrect prediction; it is well known that only third person (singular and) plural i-subjects are permitted with third person singular verbal morphology in 3SG-3PL languages. This can be seen, for example, in Borgomanerese, which does not allow first and second person i-subjects in the *ghi*-construction:

(246) a. **Ngh è rivà-gghi té / vjau.*
SLOC is arrived-LOC you.sg you.pl

b. **Ngh è rivà-gghi mé / njau.*
SLOC is arrived-LOC I / we

The dialect of Conegliano (Saccon (1992;1993)) also exhibits apparent lack of agreement between the verb and the i-subject. This can be seen in (247) (taken from Saccon (1993:133)), where a non-agreeing subject clitic (*el*) occurs with a third person feminine i-subject:

(247) *El e ndat ela.*
SCL(-agr) is gone she

Nevertheless, the apparently non-agreeing i-subject can only be third person, and not first or second, as can be seen in (248):

(248) **El e ndat ti.* Saccon (1993:133)
SCL(-agr) is gone you

It is important to note that the ungrammaticality of the sentences in (246) and (248) is not due to a general ban on first and second person i-subjects. Such subjects are possible, as long as they agree with the verb. This can be seen in the Italian example in

(245) above, as well as in the following examples from Borgomanerese (249a,b) and Coneglianese (249c):

(249) a. *I summa rivà njau.*
SCL be.1pl arrived we

b. *I sôn rivà mé.*
SCL be.1sg arrived I

c. *Te sè ndat ti.* Coneglianese (Saccon (1993:133)
SCL(+agr) are gone you

Again, as far as I know, the agreement pattern seen in (249a-c) is found in all 3SG-3PL languages. The ungrammaticality of (246) thus casts doubt on the claim that the phi-features of the i-subject in 3SG-3PL languages do not raise to check off the phi-features in Infl; if they did, we would expect (246) to be grammatical, contrary to fact.

The above set of facts thus suggest that the third person plural i-subject in 3SG-3PL languages does in fact agree with the verb, contrary to appearances. In support of this conclusion, let us turn to Burzio (1991; to appear), who argues for the notion of 'pseudo-agreement' in order to account for an apparently independent set of facts concerning impersonal/reflexive *si* in Romance. As can be seen in (250), impersonal *si* can occur with a third person singular i-subject:

(250) *Si inviterà anche lui.*
SI will-invite.3sg also he
"He will be invited as well."

Burzio shows that *si* can also occur with a third person plural i-subject (251a); however, it cannot occur with a first or second person i-subject (251b):

(251) a. *Si inviteranno anche loro.*
SI will-invite.3pl also they
"They will be invited as well."

b. **Si inviteremo anche noi.*
SI will-invite.1pl also we

He argues that the ungrammaticality of (251b) can be explained (i) if we take both the i-subject and the impersonal subject *si* to be connected to Infl, and (ii) if agreement is defined as follows:

(252) α agrees with β if: (Burzio (1991))

(a) (Strict Agreement) α and β have identical ϕ-features, or

(b) (Pseudo-Agreement):

(i) β has no gender, no number, no person

(ii) α is third person

The featureless element *si* (pseudo-)agrees with the third person verb in (250) and (251a); it cannot, however, (pseudo-)agree with the non-third person verb in (251b). The above cases are thus unified with the case of reflexive *si*, which occurs with both singular and plural third person antecedents (253a,b), but not first or second person antecedents, as in (253c):

(253) a. *Lui si inviterà.*
he SI will-invite.3sg
"He will invite himself."

b. *Loro si inviteranno.*
they SI will-invite.3pl
"They will invite themselves."

c. **Noi si inviteremo.*
we SI will-invite.1pl

As Burzio (to appear) points out, the phenomenon of pseudo-agreement is again found in 'quirky subject' (QS) constructions in Icelandic. He notes that QSs in Icelandic apparently do not trigger verb agreement:

(254) *Strákunum var bjargað.*
the boys.dat was.3sg rescued
"The boys were rescued."

To account for this, he proposes that the QS has both a 'quirky Case' and a nominative Case assigned to it, such that nominative is 'stacked' onto the QS:

(255) [[[NP] Q-Case] Nom] (Burzio (to appear))

According to Burzio, the agreement features in Infl are blocked by the Q-Case shell, and as such cannot see into the inner NP; the plural feature of the NP thus does not reach Infl. He further proposes that the outer shell has no agreement features, resulting in default (i.e., 3SG) agreement between the QS and the verb. To support this analysis, he notes (citing Sigurðsson (1991)) yet another property of QS sentences in Icelandic, namely that they cannot occur with first and second person nominative objects; rather, they are limited to third person nominative objects, as in (256):

(256) *Henni voru sýndir bílarnir.*
her.dat were shown the-cars.nom

Under the assumption that the QS is connected to Infl (in spite of the apparent lack of agreement between QS and verb in sentences such as that in (254)), this fact is accounted for under the (independently needed) notion of pseudo-agreement. In particular, note that the nominative object triggers agreement on the verb. If the nominative object were first or second person, then the QS *henni* 'her.dat' (the outer shell of which is featureless) could not pseudo-agree with the first or second person

features in Infl, and as such, would not be licit. In other words, the hypothesis that the (featureless outer shell of the) QS pseudo-agrees with the verb, and the fact that the nominative object also checks agreement in Infl accounts for the obligatoriness of a third person nominative object.

To sum up, then, the fact that (apparently non-agreeing) i-subjects in Romance can only be third person is part of a more general cross-linguistic phenomenon. This restriction of objects to third person (regardless of number) in the presence of third person verbal morphology is captured under Burzio's formulation of the notion of pseudo-agreement, which covers the apparently independent phenomena concerning impersonal/reflexive *si* and quirky subjects in Icelandic. I conclude, then, that the third person plural i-subject in 3SG-3PL languages does in fact (pseudo-)agree with the verb (as in, e.g., (244) above). Furthermore, under the assumption that Case and agreement go together, I conclude that the verb assigns nominative Case to the i-subject. Our earlier conclusion that the verb also assigns nominative to *pro-loc* in (244) results in the claim that the verb assigns nominative to two different arguments. As we discussed earlier, concern over the Case filter might lead us to prefer an alternative solution to Case assignment of the WLGA and the i-subject. However, any solution which involves Case assignment of these two arguments by distinct Case assigning heads would not allow us to explain the obligatoriness of third person i-subjects in the WLGA-construction, and it would not allow us to unify this fact with the similar facts revolving around impersonal/reflexive *si* and QSs in Icelandic.

Let us see how the above discussion bears on the analysis of the WLGA in English. In apparent contrast with languages like Borgomanerese (see (244)), in English it is the (plural) i-subject in *there*-sentences that triggers (plural) agreement with the verb, rather than the WLGA:

(257) *There have arrived four women.*

(257) seems to indicate, then, that *there*, unlike *pro-loc*, does not trigger verb agreement (this is assumed by both Chomsky (1995:Chapter 4) and Cardinaletti (1997)). However, as we saw for QS sentences in Icelandic, there are good reasons to hypothesize that *there* does in fact (pseudo-)agree with the verb. Under such a hypothesis, we predict that the i-subject can only be third person; note that this is a correct prediction:

(258) **There am I.*[123] (intended interpretation)

Like the case of QSs in Icelandic, the ungrammaticality of (258) is explained if we assume that both the WLGA and the i-subject are connected to Infl; since the (featureless) WLGA (pseudo-)agrees with the third person verb, the i-subject must also

[123]The ungrammaticality of (258) cannot be due to a ban on first and second person (=definite) i-subjects in *there*-sentences. As Milsark (1974) and Belletti (1988) note, definite i-subjects are permitted under a list reading:

(i) *Who was there at the party? Well, there was Sue, there was Bill...*

First and second person i-subjects are permitted in such a context:

(ii) *Who was there at the party? Well, there was you, there was me...*

Note that in (ii), there is no agreement between the first / second person i-subject and the verb. This indicates that in contrast with sentences such as that in (257), there is no link between Infl and the i-subject in (ii). This is confirmed by the fact that such i-subjects cannot be nominative:

(iii) **Well, there was I/he/they...*

Thus, sentences such as that in (ii) do not serve as a counter-evidence to the claim being made in the text.

be third person. The hypothesis that *there* is an argument base-generated in complement position which moves to subject position and (pseudo-)agrees with the verb suggests that *there* is in fact a quirky subject. If so, then we should not be surprised that *there*-sentences in English exhibit the same characteristics as QS sentences in Icelandic.

To summarize, we have shown that the obligatoriness of third person i-subjects in WLGA constructions in both Borgomanerese and English can be explained if we adopt Burzio's notion of pseudo-agreement, which is independently needed to account for the facts surrounding impersonal/reflexive *si* and QS sentences in Icelandic. Thus, both the WLGA (*pro-loc* and *there*) and the i-subject agree with the verb. Since nominative Case and agreement go together, I conclude that both the i-subject and the WLGA are assigned nominative by Infl.

The evidence which shows that both the WLGA and the i-subject check nominative Case in Infl suggests a modification of Chomsky's (1995:Chapter 4) analysis of nominative Case assignment which (i) accounts for the data discussed above, and (ii) eliminates an undesirable aspect of his analysis. Chomsky claims that the nominative Case feature on Infl is [-interpretable], and as such must be checked-off; once this feature is checked-off, it is deleted. Under this theory, then, Case checking in the WLGA construction would work in the following way: when the *pro-loc/there* argument checks off the nominative Case feature in Infl (via spec-head agreement), this feature is deleted; as such, the nominative Case feature in Infl is no longer an available target for checking of the nominative Case feature of the i-subject at LF. Chomsky

(1995:274) and Cardinaletti (1997) both argue for such an analysis of Case checking in French expletive constructions such as the following (see footnote 90):

(259) *Il est entré trois hommes.*
it is entered three men

Note that this analysis entails that the Case feature of the i-subject is never checked off. In other words, under this analysis the i-subject is never assigned Case (in violation of the Case filter), an undesirable consequence.

To eliminate this consequence of Chomsky's and Cardinaletti's analysis, I propose the following: if the nominative Case feature in Infl is checked off by a weak NP (i.e., either a weak argument or an expletive), this feature is not deleted from Infl.[124] As such, it is available to be checked off again by the i-subject. This analysis allows us to render Chomsky's and Cardinaletti's analysis of French-type expletive constructions unproblematic from the point of view of the Case filter, which requires that every NP be assigned Case. Furthermore, it allows us to account for the fact that both the WLGA and the i-subject check nominative Case in Infl.

Recall that Chomsky and Cardinaletti assume that *there* is an expletive, and claim that unlike French *il*, it does not check off the Case and phi-features in Infl; rather, it is the (Case and phi-) features of the i-subject which raise at LF to check off these features. Note that this hypothesis incorrectly predicts the sentence in (258) to be grammatical. Thus, the hypothesis that *there* is an expletive cannot explain the above set of facts concerning i-subjects in *there*-sentences, and cannot unify them with the

[124]We might assume that one of the properties of weak NPs is that they are not 'strong' enough to delete the Case feature they check off.

similar set of facts exhibited by QS sentences in Icelandic and impersonal/reflexive *si* constructions in Italian.

5.4.3 Verbs of Existence

Now let us return to the verbs in (209). As we saw, *there* can occur with VOEs, Verbs of Spatial Configuration, and Meander Verbs, in addition to GOAL-entailing VIDMs. The fact that *there* can occur with VOEs is consistent with the facts of Borgomanerese and Italian, and the hypothesis put forth in Chapter 3 (§3.3): the weak locative can be used as the morpho-syntactic instantiation of the lexical semantic category LOCATION. If it can be shown that Verbs of Spatial Configuration and Meander Verbs as used in *there*-sentences have an 'existence' meaning, then we can claim that these verbs are VOEs as well. The hypothesis that weak *there* is used as a LOCATION argument can thus apply to all three classes of verbs in (209).

In fact, putting aside GOAL-entailing VIDMs, it is well known that when non-*be* verbs are used in *there*-sentences, they function as VOEs. This is noted, for example, by Milsark (1974:156), who demonstrates that the verb *grow* has two meanings: "increase in size or maturity" and "live rootedly." Note that the latter is arguably an 'existence' reading, while the former is a 'change of state' reading. As Milsark notes, when *grow* occurs in a *there*-sentence, only its existence reading is possible:

(260) *There grew some corn in our garden last year.*

L&RH show that Verbs of Spatial Configuration (as in (209b)) have multiple meanings (much like *grow*). The verb *sit*, for example, has a 'simple position' reading, a 'maintain position' reading, and an 'assume position' reading, seen in (261a-c) (adapted from L&RH, p. 239):

(261) a. *The book was sitting on the table.*

b. *Mary was sitting on the chair.*

c. *Mary sat as quickly as she could.* (= 'sit down')

Like with the verb *grow*, when the verb *sit* occurs in a *there*-sentence, only one reading, the 'simple position' reading in this case, becomes available:

(262) *There sat four women in the back of the room.*

L&RH argue that Verbs of Spatial Configuration in their 'simple position' sense are VOEs. Thus, the verb in (262), which describes the location of the NP *four women*, is a VOE. We can conclude, then, that Verbs of Spatial Configuration, as used in *there*-sentences, are lexically VOEs.

Finally, the same argument can be made for Meander Verbs. Like Verbs of Spatial Configuration, Meander Verbs have multiple senses. This can be seen, for example, with the verb *wander*:

(263) a. *Four women wandered through the forest.*

b. *A beautiful river wandered through the forest.*

In (263a), the verb *wander* describes spatial displacement of the NP *four women*; in (263b), it mainly describes the location of the NP it is predicated of. Note that when *wander* is used in a *there*-sentence, only the latter sense is possible:

(264) a. **There wandered four women through the forest.*

b. *There wandered a beautiful river through the forest.*

Just like the verb *sit*, then, *wander* has an existence sense when it is used in a *there*-sentence. In other words, Meander Verbs as they occur in *there*-sentences are VOEs.

We can conclude, then, that the two types of verbs that occur with *there* are GOAL-entailing VIDMs and VOEs (which entail the conceptual category LOCATION). Thus, as was demonstrated for the weak locative morpheme (*pro-loc*) in Borgomanerese and Italian (see §3.3 and §4.3.3), the weak locative *there* is optionally selected by both GOAL- and LOCATION-entailing unaccusatives as a second internal argument.

5.5 Conclusions

The analysis of *there* as a WLGA captures the intuition that this morpheme is both expletive-like and at the same time has semantic content. It explains the restriction of *there* to GOAL-entailing VIDMs and VOEs (capturing the traditional intuition, expressed, for example, by Kimball (1993) that *there*-sentences are possible with VOAs and VOEs). It also explains why the presence of *there* has an effect on the semantic interpretation of the sentence it appears in, and why the syntactic presence of *there* entails that the subject of the sentence must be post-verbal. The particular properties of this morpheme, that it is 'non-deictic', that it cannot be modified, coordinated, used in isolation, or remain in its base position, were shown to follow from

the fact that it is weak. Thus, the properties exhibited by *there* are not unique, but rather can be understood in the general context of weak pronouns. Like other weak pronouns, *there* has an impoverished set of features, but is not wholly deprived of a feature composition; it still has the feature [locative] and the feature [speaker], rendering it non-semantically null. This analysis of *there*, which is extended to *pro-loc*, also allows us to better understand why the presence of this morpheme forces a speaker-oriented interpretation of the location-goal. The WLGA analysis of *there* also has the advantage of eliminating several problems raised by an expletive analysis. As a modification and extension of Moro's theory, it also allows us to eliminate the problems created by a predicate analysis. *There* gets Case because as an argument it is subject to the visibility requirement; the claim that both *there* and the i-subject are assigned nominative Case by Infl is supported by the fact that *there*-sentences are restricted to third person i-subjects.

Chapter 6

CONCLUSIONS

The central hypothesis in this dissertation raises many questions which are beyond the scope of this thesis. Here I briefly conclude this work by touching upon some of these questions, with the hope that they will serve as points for future research into the nature of weak and expletive morphemes.

One question raised by the theory put forth here concerns languages which use a weak locative morpheme with all classes of verbs. Putting the facts of Borgomanerese and Italian aside, the hypothesis that weak *there* in English is not an expletive is supported by the fact that it only occurs with GOAL-entailing unaccusatives, and that its presence forces a speaker-oriented interpretation of the location-goal. Note, however, that the claim that *there* is an argument in English does not preclude the possibility that the weak locative in other languages is a 'pure expletive'. Our hypothesis, then, leaves open the question of the status of Dutch *er*, for example (see Zwart (1991)), which occurs with all classes of verbs. As stated in footnote 102 above, it is possible that Dutch *er* is ambiguous between an expletive and a WLGA. Zwart, who adopts Moro's analysis of English existential *there* as a raised

predicate, argues that *er* is ambiguous between a semantically empty expletive and a raised predicate. Whether Zwart's tests (which show that existential *er* is base generated in complement position) will reveal that *er* is also base generated as a complement of GOAL-entailing VIDMs remains to be seen.

'Pleonastic' *ye* in Piedmontese is a case which is intermediate between English *there* / Borgomanerese *ghi*, on the one hand, and Dutch *er* on the other. Unlike the former, it occurs with all unaccusatives, but unlike the latter it cannot occur with unergatives and transitives. Given that *ye* occurs with all unaccusatives, it cannot be a GOAL argument. At the same time, however, the question arises as to why it is restricted to unaccusatives. If *ye* were a pure expletive, we would expect to find it with transitives and unergatives, contrary to fact. Piedmontese unergatives such as *telefuné* allow i-subjects just like unaccusatives do, so the restriction of *ye* to unaccusatives cannot be due to the lack of availability of the subject position. Calabrese (1992:111) claims (following DeVincenzi (1988) and Kratzer (1987)) that all unaccusatives in Italian take a (null) spatio-temporal argument. Considering this suggestion, a possibility which comes to mind concerning Piedmontese *ye* is that it is the overt morpho-syntactic instantiation of this argument. As with Dutch *er*, however, these questions concerning *ye* remain open.

A question raised by the claim that existential *there* is a LOCATION argument concerns languages which use a weak non-locative morpheme (*it*) for the existential, such as Black English (e.g., Wolfram (1991): *It's a picture on TV* 'There's a picture on TV'), Norwegian, and Swedish (see, a.o., den Dikken (1995) and Vikner

(1995)). At first glance, such languages would seem to call into question the claim (suggested also by Freeze (1992)) that there is a connection between the locative morphology of weak *there* and the locational semantics of existentials. However, the claim that weak *there* in English is a LOCATION argument does not necessarily preclude the possibility of languages which select a weak non-locative as a second internal argument. Perhaps Black English does not have a weak locative in its morphological inventory. I leave this question open as a matter for further investigation.

A final question I would like to address here is how the claim that weak *there* is an argument bears on L&RH's (Chapter 6) discourse theoretic explanation for the restriction of *there*-sentences to a subclass of unaccusatives. I would like to show that although my analysis does not preclude a discourse theoretic analysis of *there*-sentences, discourse theory is not enough to explain the lexical restriction of *there*, nor does it allow for a unification of the facts of English with those of Borgomanerese and Italian.

It has been argued (see, for example, Rochemont (1986) and Rochemont & Culicover (1990)) that *there*-sentences allow for presentational focus of the post-verbal subject, such that the subject is interpreted as being "introduced on the scene." Birner (1992; 1994) argues for a more fine-grained analysis of the information status of the post-verbal subject. Specifically, she claims that the post-verbal subject must be interpreted as relatively unfamiliar with respect to the material that precedes the subject. L&RH (Chapter 6), adopting the essentials of Birner's account of the discourse function

of inversion constructions, argue that the fact that inversion constructions are restricted to certain types of verbs follows from this requirement. Specifically, since the post-verbal subject must be relatively unfamiliar, a verb is licit in such constructions only if it is 'informationally light', rendering it relatively more familiar than the post-verbal subject. As L&RH state, "...if a verb in the locative inversion construction did contribute information that was not predictable from context, it would detract from the newness of the information conveyed by the post-verbal NP." Their analysis makes specific reference to the locative inversion construction (see footnote 110 above). However, they take their analysis of locative inversion to be applicable to *there*-sentences; in the discussion which follows, then, I use L&RH's examples of locative inversion to illustrate certain points, keeping in mind that the conclusions they draw from the locative inversion examples are applied to *there*-sentences.

L&RH note that locative inversion does not permit the large class of Change of State (COS) unaccusatives (see in (212) above). They claim that this is due to the fact that COS verbs are not informationally light. They note: "by predicating an externally caused, and therefore unpredictable, change of state of their argument, these verbs themselves contribute discourse-new information and hence are not eligible for the construction." As evidence in favor of this view, they discuss the verbs *break* and *open*, both of which have (at least) two different senses. One is the core change of state meaning (e.g., *the vase broke*; *the door opened*), and the other is the 'appearance' meaning (e.g., *the war broke*). They demonstrate that the locative inversion

construction only allows the latter meaning ((265) is adapted from L&RH, p. 234, example (33)):

(265) a. *Then broke the war...*

b. *Underneath him opened a cavity...*

L&RH note that such cases of multiple senses of verbs which are basically COS verbs are sporadic, and as such probably do not result from any systematic meaning shift. However, they claim that in the attested cases, such as those above, "the shift in meaning is accompanied by a 'bleaching' of the verb's meaning so that little more than the notion of appearance is left" (p. 234). In other words, the verbs become informationally light, allowing them to occur in the locative inversion construction.

Two observations can be made concerning this explanation for the restricted distribution of *there*. First, the task of defining 'informational lightness' may not be so straightforward. Note that if what is required of the verb is informational lightness, then we would predict the COS verbs *alter* and *change*, which express a pure change of state (with no additional information as to how the change of state comes about), to be possible in *there*-sentences. As can be seen by the following sentence, however, this prediction is not borne out:

(266) **There changed / altered the sky from purple to blue.*
(cf.: *The sky changed / altered from purple to blue.*)

It is difficult to see how *change* and *alter* are not sufficiently informationally light, with respect to the COS verbs *break* or *melt*, for example. As noted above, L&RH point out that all COS verbs predicate an externally caused (and therefore unpredictable) change of state of their argument; under their view, this is sufficient to render these verbs non-

informationally light. However, while it is true that the entailment of an externally caused (and hence unpredictable) change of state may count as contributing discourse new information, it is not clear how such information is any more 'heavy' than, say, the information entailed by verbs like *walk* vs. *run*, which are found in abundance in *there*-sentences and locative inversion constructions. That is, like *alter* and *change*, *walk* and *run* are not entirely deplete of discourse new information (yet the former are banned from *there*-sentences, while the latter not). Walking entails a different manner of motion than running, so these verbs do involve extra information which goes beyond the notion of appearance. Recall that L&RH suggest that *break* is possible in (265a) because the verb's meaning has been 'bleached', leaving little more than the notion of appearance. But if such bleaching (to the point of yielding a verb which has no more than a pure appearance sense) were required to make the verb sufficiently informationally light, we would expect all motion verbs in *there*-sentences to have little more than an appearance sense (i.e., we would expect no difference in meaning between two different appearance verbs). However, as we just saw with *walk* and *run*, this is not the case. Similarly, *enter* and *arrive* (also found in *there*-sentences) involve information that goes beyond the appearance sense. Entering is a very specific type of arriving; the meaning of *enter* entails passing through a threshold (in contrast with the meaning of *arrive*). Without a way to distinguish this additional information furnished by *enter* (specifics of crossing a threshold) from that furnished by *change* (existence of an externally caused change of state), it is difficult to establish that the former is informationally light, while the latter is not. Given the extra (i.e., discourse new)

information furnished by *enter* or *run*, we would expect these to be ineligible for the *there*-construction, contrary to fact. Thus, the verbs *enter*, *run*, *walk*, etc. show that *there*-sentences allow verbs which have some discourse new information. Given this state of affairs, it is not clear how *alter* and *change* can be excluded from *there*-sentences by virtue of their not being informationally light, while at the same time including the other verbs.

The second observation regarding L&RH's explanation for the restricted distribution of *there* is that it cannot be adopted for Borgomanerese and Italian. As we saw, *pro-loc* (the weak locative) is restricted to GOAL-entailing verbs, just like *there*. However, neither the *ghi*-construction in Borgomanerese nor sentences with *pro-loc* in Italian have the same discourse function as *there*-sentences in English. As we noted in Chapters 3 and 4, the *pro-loc* sentences in Borgomanerese and Italian do not involve narrow focus (neither presentational nor contrastive) of the i-subject. Rather, the whole sentence is interpreted as new information, such that there is no requirement that the post-verbal subject be interpreted as relatively unfamiliar with respect to the material that precedes the subject (in contrast with *there*-sentences in English). Given this state of affairs, the restriction of *pro-loc* to GOAL-entailing VIDMs cannot be given the same explanation as the restriction of *there* to the same verbs. The WLGA hypothesis, however, allows a unified account of the English phenomenon with the Borgomanerese and Italian phenomena.

It is important to note that this proposal does not preclude a discourse analysis of *there*-sentences. It may be that the semantics of a *there*-sentence is such that

the construction 'lends' itself to the specific discourse function it has (to "introduce the referent of the NP onto the scene," with the requirement that the NP be relatively unfamiliar with respect to the material that precedes it). The semantics of the sentence compositionally obtains as a result of various independent semantic and syntactic factors. For example, the fact that *there* is a weak XP means that it must overtly move from its d-structure position to Spec, IP (see (222) above). The net result of this syntactic operation is that the 'subject' NP remains post-verbal. Furthermore, the syntactic presence of the weak locative forces the speaker-oriented interpretation of the location-goal. In other words, the view here is that "the compositional semantics of the construction allows the construction to have the discourse function that it does," rather than "the discourse function of the construction is what makes the construction select the types of verbs it does."

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