

**A Comparative Analysis of Verb-movement Effects in English and Spanish:
Pollock and the Minimalist Approach**

M.A.Thesis

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Abstract

Recent developments in linguistic theory carried out within the Principles and Parameter Model and the Minimalist Program provide an excellent framework for the comparison of languages. In this thesis we use said framework to analyze the Verb-movement phenomena of English and Spanish. We specifically concentrate on the Null Subject parameter and the Verb-movement parameter in order to provide a comparative account of word order differences and similarities between English, Spanish and French. We show that the [+/- strong] agreement differences are responsible for: 1) the relationship between auxiliary verbs and participles in compound verbal constructions; 2) the placement of adverbs in these constructions, and 3) the movement relationships established in existential constructions and other constructions with auxiliaries.

To Marisa and Paco, to Ismael, Marta, Elisa and Ana

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INTRODUCTION

The recent development of Generative Grammar has seen a strong tendency towards comparative approaches. The main goal of the comparative approach in the generative tradition is to account for the knowledge of language. In order to achieve this, two main issues have to be considered: the first being the properties that are universal and the second those that are language-specific,--which may be shared by different languages--, together with their relationship with the parameters of Universal Grammar (UG). Thus, generative linguistics is, by definition, comparative; since one needs to compare the language under analysis with other languages to discover, from among the entire set of characteristics defining that language, what is universal and what are language-specific choices determined by UG. Therefore, it provides the necessary tools for this comparative work which is a goal in itself.

Under the framework of Generative Grammar and the Theory of Principles and Parameters, Pollock (1989¹, 1993) establishes a correlation of differences between English and French regarding both tensed and infinitival clauses. Taking Pollock's (1989²) analysis as a starting point, both for the theory and the study of language, we will try to apply its comparative value and method to some specifics of word order in Spanish. Taking into account new developments in the field, we will then proceed, to place Pollock's (1989) proposal within the

¹Pollock (1989) is basing his analysis on the previous work by Emonds (1978, 1985) who had already observed these differences between English and French.

²We are going to concentrate our analysis on Pollock (1989), although we will make some references to Pollock (1993), since our two key proposals are Pollock's (1989) and Chomsky's (1993) Minimalist Program; Pollock (1993) constituting an analysis between both proposals.

framework of Chomsky's (1991) Minimalist Program. This will be done in order to investigate the different contributions of both proposals for the comparative analysis we will try to carry out among English, Spanish and French. More specifically, we will analyze the consequences of both Pollock's (1989) and the Minimalist proposal when applying them to Spanish as a French-type language. According to Pollock's (1989) notion of weak and strong verbal agreement, French and Spanish, both being strong agreement languages, should behave in the same way with respect to the consequences of Verb-movement. Nevertheless, important differences appear when comparing them, thus revealing a contrast among the three languages (English, Spanish and French) which requires a series of adjustments. We will investigate whether the Minimalist Program provides the tools to carry out the necessary adjustments to Pollock's (1989) proposal.

Within the overall framework of Generative Grammar, Government and Binding Theory, and specifically the Theory of Principles and Parameters, and the Minimalist approach constitute the theoretical basis of this work. Although it is mainly based on the research by Pollock (1989) and Chomsky (1995), it also takes into account relevant literature on the various topics. This literature specifically includes previous work dealing with the topic under analysis (Emonds' and Belletti's, among others) in order to provide for the theoretical background, as well as other authors' proposals dealing with more specific issues in our comparative analysis (Zagona 1982, Huang 1984, Speas 1986, Jaeggli and Safir 1989, Ouhalla 1990, Koopman and Sportiche 1991, Contreras 1991, Zubizarreta 1994, etc.). Our intention is to present work of both theoretical and empirical value. In this respect, the comparative perspective adopted may be relevant not only for the grammatical description but also for the underlying theory of a more applied tendency ranging from text books to translation, including automatic translation and even computer

programming.

Among the range of possibilities available for analysis on these specific proposals, we would like to concentrate on the following two:

1) Whether Spanish can be considered a French-type language. The second chapter of this thesis deals with the fact that Pollock's (1989) proposal does not account for the problem of auxiliary verbs and participles in compound verbal forms. This problem is related to the subject/participle agreement, to the licensing of null subjects and to the position of adverbs. The total lack of agreement between participles and subjects in English and Spanish contrasts with the agreement that exists in French. Thus, Spanish differs from French in Aux + V compounds.

The presence of null subjects in Spanish but not in French is another fact that calls for a distinction between the two languages (Perlmutter 1971, Rizzi 1986, Sánchez López 1993). Because of this, we will review Pollock's (1989) proposal along the lines of the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1991-1995, Webelhuth 1995).

The different position of adverbs in compound verbal constructions is a further issue which Pollock (1989) does not address in his analysis. While French and English do not seem to impose any restrictions on the placement of adverbs between auxiliaries and their participle, Spanish does. In fact, due to the so-called cliticization of Spanish auxiliaries to their participle, it is supposed that no element will intervene between them (Suñer 1987, 1994). Furthermore, since the placement of adverbs is not a fixed issue and is related to the specific type of adverb, an adverbial typology is needed. Consequently, we incorporate in our comparative analysis an adverbial typology (Jackendoff 1977, 1987) that would account for the different types of adverbs and their positions in the sentence.

2) Auxiliaries and existential there constructions. The third chapter of this thesis concentrates on those auxiliaries that are closely related to location (more specifically English have and its Spanish counterpart tener). Auxiliaries and the question of Theta-theory are brought together under Pollock's (1989) proposal of 'Loc' (locative) as a Theta-role assigner. In this respect, we will explore whether English and Spanish display similar behaviour, in terms of the correlation between tener/have and haber/there is-are; we will try to determine whether both sets of verbs are differentiated by means of the either covert or overt presence of a 'Loc' predicate (Kayne 1985, 1989). Again, the Minimalist Program, which provides a thorough discussion of existential there constructions, could prove to be a crucial tool for our comparative analysis.

The main body of the thesis is organized as follows. In chapter one we state the theoretical basis on which this analysis is founded. The chapter presents an overall perspective of the gradual progressive change and development in Generative Grammar, especially from the Principles and Parameters Theory to the Minimalist Program. Once this theoretical framework is delimited, we will focus on our analysis and offer a comparative study of different issues in English and Spanish, in which French will also be included. On the one hand, chapter two deals with morphological differences in participial constructions and phi-features, including participle agreement and the placement of adverbs in such constructions and, on the other hand, it deals with phi-features and the licensing of null subjects. Chapter three concentrates on the analysis of there constructions, including both semantic and syntactic properties once an expletive typology has been provided.

CHAPTER ONE

1.1. Government and Binding Theory and the Principles and Parameters Model

In contrast with the main goal of the XIXth century comparative grammar which was mainly historical in its approaches (i.e. establishing relations of parenthood between languages), the goal of comparative approach in the generative tradition is to account for knowledge of language, and therefore to determine what is universal and what is language-specific.

The early implications of the Principles and Parameters model¹ (Chomsky 1981) already defend the existence of universal principles together with a finite display of options which specify how these principles are to be applied. The previous traditional concepts of language particular rules are here replaced with the two concepts of Principles and Parameters of variation. In Chomsky's (1995) own words "[a] language is not, then, a system of rules, but a set of specifications for parameters in an invariant system of principles of Universal Grammar" (129). Nevertheless, there is still room for language-specific rules, even though these might not be part of the core.

Principles are grouped into modules of language (Binding Theory, Theta-theory, Case Theory, etc.) with certain unifying concepts among modules. There are also certain general ideas common to them, as the principles of economy stating that there can be no superfluous symbols in representations (the Principle of Full Interpretation) or superfluous steps in derivations.

For instance, let's take the Extended Projection Principle. According to this principle of

¹Chomsky (1991) himself expresses reservations about the label "Government and Binding Theory" (or its abbreviation GB Theory) and refers to the theory we are concerned with here as the "Principles and Parameters Theory".

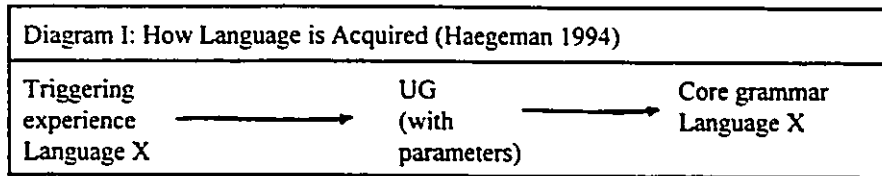
UG, all sentences must have a subject. Nevertheless and at the same time, the pro-drop parameter (Rizzi 1982-1986; Jaeggli and Safir 1989) allows those languages that select it to drop their subject pronoun, having *pro*, a non-overt NP with the features [-anaphor, +pronominal], in its place. *Pro* subjects are not a universal property of all human languages. Thus, while Spanish allows a pronominal subject to be left unexpressed, English and French do not. To provide a simplistic but straightforward definition, we can say that this cross-linguistic variation is a parameter, which is fixed by the person learning a language according to the data they are exposed to².

(1)	Spanish: Manuel/él ha cantado	pro ha cantado
	English: Manuel/he has sung	*pro has sung
	French: Manuel/il a chanté	*pro a chanté

Thus, on the one hand, those properties which are shared by all languages are taken to be part of UG; and, on the other hand, the properties that vary from language to language will be learned by the speaker as a result of exposure to some specific linguistic data. For instance, the fact that Spanish allows for an absent subject pronoun can be learned through exposure to this language. Speakers who are confronted with subjectless sentences such as the Spanish sentence in (1) will be able to infer that in the language they are exposed to the subject can be omitted. The entire process could be summed up in diagram I, taken from Haegeman (1994), even though it represents a highly abstract and idealized view of how language is acquired and it deals only with

²Although a more detailed account of parameters can be provided, for the present analysis we simply refer to the issues that are relevant for our comparative analysis. The definition of parameter is far from being fixed, although lately there seems to be some agreement with respect to defining parameters as [+/-] features of functional categories (Borer 1984, Chomsky 1991).

those core aspects that Chomsky places within I-language³:



We should not forget about language specific-phenomena which may be shared by different languages but which do not constitute parameters in themselves. For example, cliticization is a general phenomenon which in fact occurs in English, French and Spanish, but, as a specific characteristic of Spanish auxiliary verb haber, it makes Spanish different from both English and French. As will be seen later on, different material can come between the auxiliary verb have/avoir and the main verb in English and French. On the contrary, such constructions are not allowed in Spanish. Therefore, it is necessary to also concentrate on language-specific phenomena in order to provide a more precise comparison of the various languages.

1.2. Application of the Principles and Parameters Model: Preliminaries to Pollock's (1989) Analysis

The Theory of Principles and Parameters serves as the basis for Pollock's (1989) comparative analysis. From this theory Pollock makes use of three principles which act as the framework for his work when analyzing and enunciating his proposal: Empty Category Principle, Theta-theory and C-command. At the same time and in view of these principles, Pollock (1989) proposes a new parameter of variation, the opaqueness/transparency of Agreement Phrases which

³I-language, in the sense of Chomsky (1986), where "I" stands for implications such as "internal", "individual" and "intensional".

we will analyze in further detail later in the chapter. The parameter of the opacity/transparency of AgrP also distinguishes among languages as any other parameter (null-subject parameter, word-order parameter, etc.) will do.

According to Haegeman (1994), the Empty Category Principle, as indicated in (2), is to be defined as the licensing condition which specifies that all traces must be properly governed:

- (2) A properly governs B if and only if A theta-governs B or A antecedent-governs B.
 A theta-governs B if and only if A governs B and A theta-marks B.
 A antecedent-governs B if and only if A governs B and A is coindexed with B.

Consider the sentence in (3) as an example of NP movement within alpha movement:

- (3) [Joseph_i [seems [t_i to have written this book]]]

The moved element, Joseph_i, is an NP, an R-expression⁴ which cannot be Case-marked in its initial position. Therefore, NP movement is Case-driven and is obligatory in order for the sentence to comply with Case theory. When it moves, it leaves a trace, t_i, which is, by definition, a non-pronominal anaphor, therefore falling under Principle A⁵ of the Binding Theory. The trace, being [- pronominal], is subject to the ECP: Joseph_i antecedent-governs t_i, since Joseph_i governs t_i and since it is coindexed with t_i. Thus the ECP holds in sentence (3).

Dealing now with the second principle Pollock (1989) includes in his proposal, we turn

⁴R-expressions or Referential expressions, as opposed to pronominals or anaphors, are those NP's which are inherently referential and which, therefore, do not need an antecedent.

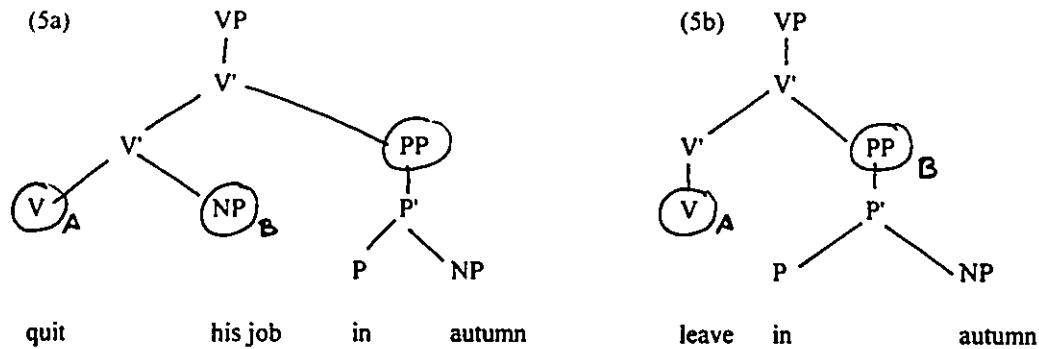
⁵The principle regulating the interpretation of those elements that are referentially dependent is Principle A. According to this principle, an NP with the feature [+ anaphor] must be bound in its governing category by another NP in A-position.

to Theta-theory which is the component of grammar that regulates the assignment of thematic roles. According to the Theta Criterion, each argument is assigned no more than one theta-role and vice versa, each theta-role is assigned to only one argument, as in the examples in (4):

- (4a) Amy wrote the letter
- (4b) *Amy wrote
- (4c) *Amy wrote the letter the poem

Example (4a) complies with the Theta Criterion since there are two arguments (Amy and the letter) and two theta-roles (agent and patient). Therefore, each argument receives one theta-role (Amy/agent; the letter/patient). There is no argument non-theta-marked and no theta-role with no argument to be attached to. Nevertheless, in (4b) and (4c) the situation is different; in (4b) the verb to write still needs two arguments with two theta-roles but only one is present even though the patient thematic role must be assigned to an argument. Since it is left with no argument, the resulting sentence is ungrammatical. In (4c) the opposite situation is created since two theta-roles cannot be attached to three arguments, so that one argument must be left unmarked. According to the Theta Criterion, there must be no argument lacking a thematic role and therefore, since (4b) and (4c) do not comply with the Theta Criterion, the sentences are ungrammatical, while in (4a) the assignment of thematic roles is properly achieved.

Regarding the third principle in Pollock (1989), the notion of C-command refers to the relationship that is established between two nodes, A and B, as in the examples in (5):



When enunciating the Principle of C-command, Haegeman (1994) proceeds as follows: A c-commands B if and only if A does not dominate B and every X that dominates A also dominates B; when X is equated with the first branching node, A c-commands B and when X is interpreted as a maximal projection, A m-commands B (147). Thus, in the examples in (5), quit c-commands the NP his job, but not the PP in autumn and it m-commands both phrases. Leave both c-commands and m-commands the PP in autumn. The difference between the examples in (5) is, therefore, that in (5b) V c-commands the PP, but in (5a) it does not do so.

All three principles will be crucial for the application of Pollock's (1989) framework to our comparative analysis.

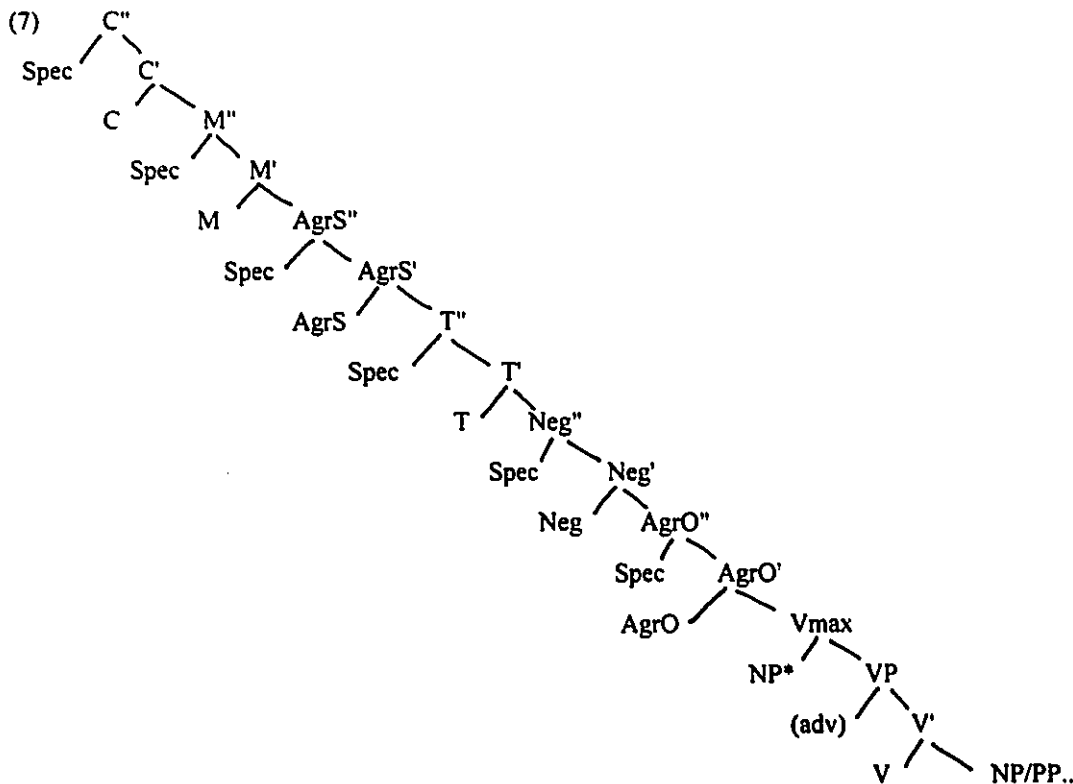
1.3. Pollock's (1989) Proposal and Other Developments in the Theory

Aside from the comparative value of the parameter of variation proposed by Pollock (1989), the opacity/transparency of AgrP, one of Pollock's (1989) contributions is the Split Inflection Hypothesis. This hypothesis states that the Inflection node is made up of two different and independent constituents which he calls Tense Phrase and Agreement Phrase (TP and

AgrP)⁶; a third one was added to these in Pollock (1993), Mood⁷. The importance of these three nodes lies in their potential to become barriers to certain types of movements.

The entire combined proposal with the new nodes is shown in brackets (6) and tree diagram (7):

$$6) \left[e \left[\underset{mP}{M} (\text{Neg } P) \left[\underset{AgrSP}{AgrS} \left[\underset{TP}{T} \left[\underset{AgrOP}{AgrO} \left[\underset{VmaxP}{NP^*} [(\text{adv}) V NP...] \right] \right] \right] \right] \right] \right]$$

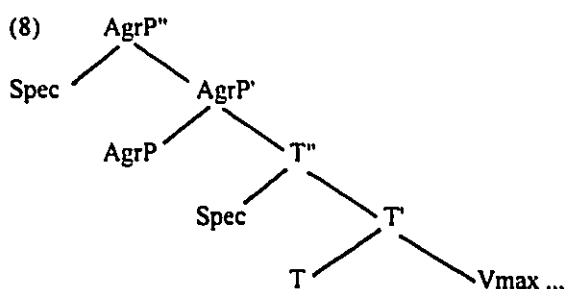


⁶Pollock (1989) proposes the Split Inflection Hypothesis in order to justify the need of Short Verb Movement both in French and in English, that is, of a double movement from VP position to Infl (from VP to Agr and from Agr to T), since a direct movement will result in a violation of the ECP, as he demonstrates.

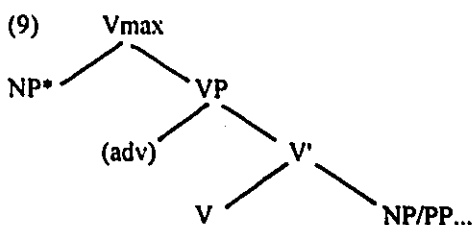
⁷Pollock (1993) argues that the present and past tense morphology associated with "light" verbs like modals be, have and do are realized as indicative mood markers.

In the elaboration of the brackets in (6) and the tree diagram in (7), which include the three new nodes, a combination of four different proposals is presented. Thus, while remaining faithful to Pollock's (1989) Split Inflection Hypothesis, it also includes Ouhalla's (1990) Agr-T order⁸, Koopman and Sportiche's (1985) VP internal hypothesis⁹ and Chomsky's (1991) AgrS-AgrO proposal.

Ouhalla (1990) states that AgrP should be higher in the tree than Tense, as shown in (8). For this assumption, Ouhalla (1988) draws his conclusions from the evidence in languages where Agr and T are morphologically distinct, as, for example, in Turkish.



For the placement of the subject in the tree, the VP internal hypothesis proposed by Koopman and Sportiche (1985-1991) is being followed, as shown in (9):



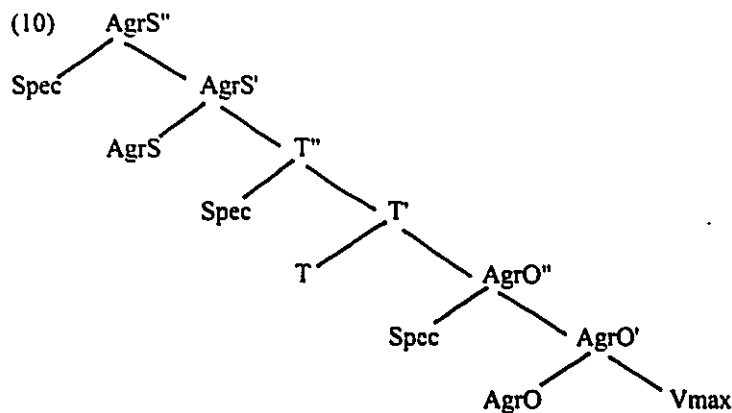
According to these authors, the canonical position of the subject acts as an external argument to

⁸Along with Belletti (1988), who also suggests the same conclusion, providing morphological evidence; Chomsky (1988) and Ouhalla (1988).

⁹Previously proposed by Zagana (1982) and, for Spanish, by Contreras (1987).

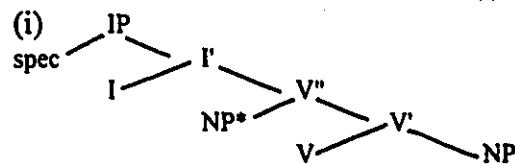
the VP. Therefore, NP* is in the subject position of a small clause (Vmax) with VP predicate: that is, NP* is generated external to VP¹⁰.

The split of Agr into AgrS and AgrO is proposed by Chomsky (1991). He argues that there are two kinds of verb-NP agreement, one with the subject NP and one with the object NP. Following this assumption and in the line with Pollock's (1989) reasoning, two Agr elements appear: subject Agreement and object Agreement. Regarding the placement of both nodes in the tree diagram, AgrO should be close to V, while AgrS should be near S¹¹. This is illustrated in (10):



We will base our analysis on the new arrangement of constituents which is reflected in the tree diagram in (7). Nevertheless, depending on the topic under discussion, and in order to

¹⁰Other proposals (Kitagawa 1986, Kuroda 1988, Speas 1986, etc.) differ from Koopman and Sportiche's proposal in that the NP* is generated in the specifier position of the VP headed by the main verb; that is, it is a sister to V', as in the tree in (i):



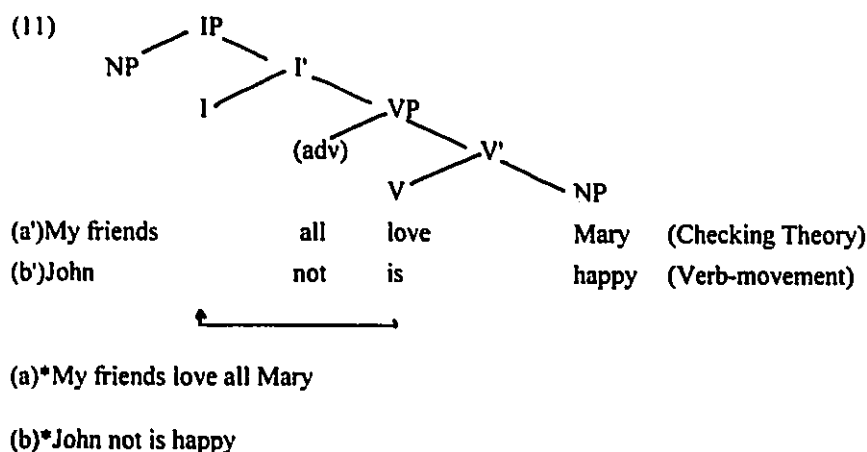
¹¹As we will see later, this split of Agr into two nodes will affect the analysis of agreement in participle constructions, as defended by Kayne (1989a).

simplify the analysis in favour of clarity, not all the nodes will be presented in every tree diagram. Those that are not pertinent for the punctual analysis will not be represented.

Since Pollock's (1989) proposal for Verb-movement differentiates between tensed and infinitival clauses, we will deal with them separately.

1.3.1. Tensed Clauses

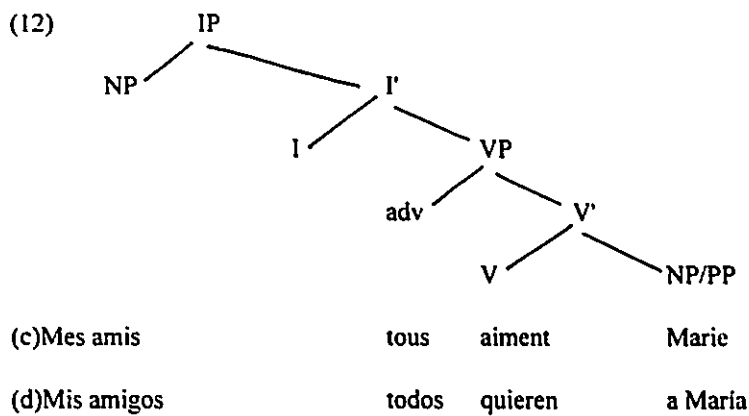
Regarding tensed clauses, Verb-movement is restricted in English to the auxiliary verbs be and have, as shown in (11). For the remainder of lexical verbs, Checking Theory (Chomsky 1991; Pollock 1993¹²) has to apply. This lexical restriction is more clearly seen at surface structure when there is an adverb in the sentence as indicated in (11):



In example (a') above and in the tree in (11), no Verb-movement can occur because love is a lexical verb and therefore it appears to the right of the adverb. If movement takes place, the verb appears to the left of the adverb and therefore yields an ungrammatical sentence such as (a).

¹²Even though Pollock (1989) considers lowering rules in these cases, Pollock (1993) already accepts Chomsky's (1991) Checking Theory by means of which lowering movement is no longer needed, as we will see later on.

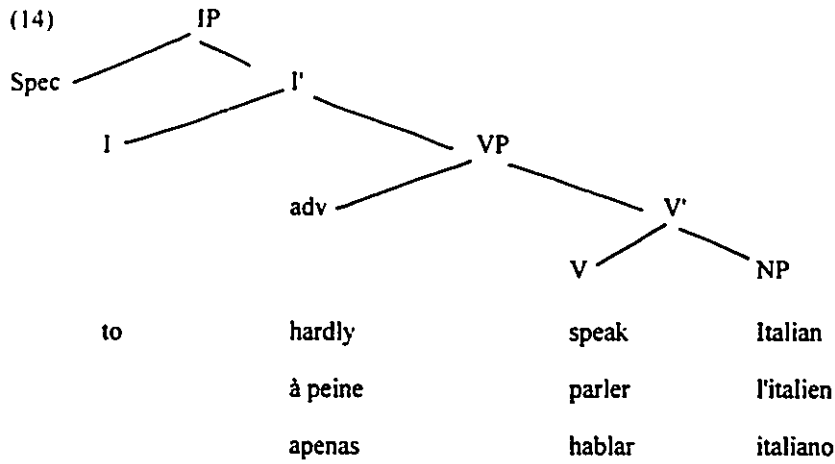
Nevertheless, in the case of auxiliary verbs, Verb-movement takes place and so the verb is found to the left of the negative adverb not in (b'). This is always the case in French and Spanish, both of which present no lexical restrictions as indicated in (12):



1.3.2. Infinitival Clauses

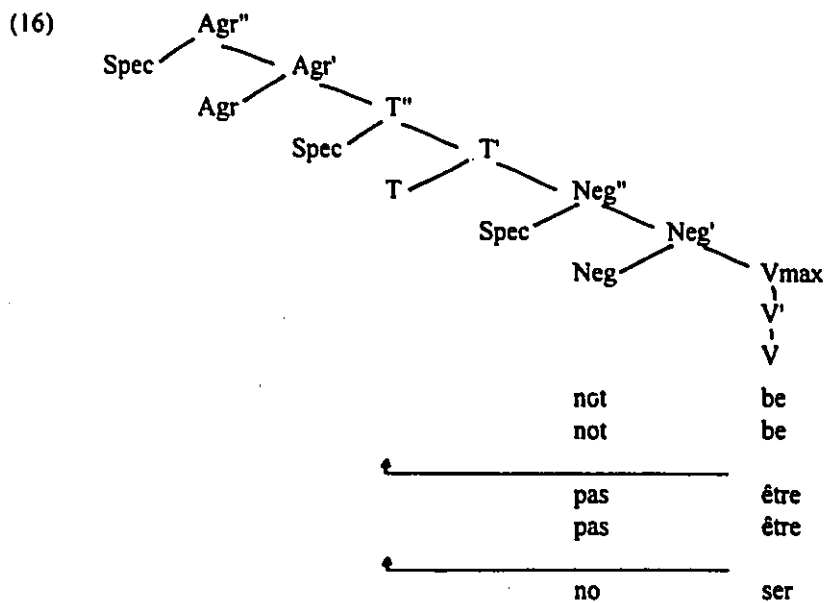
As far as infinitival clauses are concerned, in this case the same lexical restrictions seem to affect the three languages, so that Verb-movement affects only auxiliaries. Thus, in the first set of examples (13e,f,g), the verbs speak/parler/hablar appear to the right of the adverb, as in the respective tree diagram in (14):

- (13)
- | | | |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| (e) To hardly speak Italian ... | (f) À peine parler l'italien ... | (g) Apenas hablar italiano ... |
| (e')*To speak hardly Italian ... | (f') [Parler à peine l'italien ...] | (g') [Hablar apenas italiano...] |



Auxiliaries, on the contrary, can optionally undergo Verb-movement, hence the double possibilities in this last set of examples with be/être/ser (15h,i,j). The tree diagram which corresponds to these examples is reflected in (16). In order to explain the double possibility available, the Split Inflection Hypothesis in this case is going to be included:

- (15) (h) Not to be happy... (i) Ne pas être heureux... (j) No ser feliz...
- (h') ?To be not happy... (i') N'être pas heureux...



At this point, Pollock's (1989) proposal for Verb-movement could be summed up by using the following diagram:

Diagram II: Pollock's (1989) Agreement Parameter: English, French (... and Spanish)		
Verbal typology	WEAK AGREEMENT	STRONG AGREEMENT
	English	French and Spanish
Tensed	be, have	all verbs
clauses (obligatory)	(a)*My friends love all Mary (a') My friends all love Mary (b) *John not is happy (b') John is not happy	(c) Mes amis aiment tous Marie (d) Mis amigos quieren todos a María
Infinitival	be, have	être, avoir/ ser-estar, haber
clauses (optional)	(e) To hardly speak Italian ... (e')*To speak hardly Italian ... (h) Not to be happy... (h') ?To be not happy...	(f) À peine parler l'italien ... (f') [Parler à peine l'italien ...] ¹³ (g) Apenas hablar italiano ... (g') [Hablar apenas italiano...] (i) Ne pas être heureux... (i') N'être pas heureux... (j) No ser feliz...

Initially, this analysis seems to work nicely for Spanish, but some problems appear when considering Spanish systematically as a French-style language. Thus, from the comparison of previous examples of English and French/Spanish, Pollock (1989) derives his conclusions which seem to be accurate in the grouping of both Spanish and French under the same label as opposed to English: in both languages all verbs in tensed clauses undergo Verb-movement, and,

¹³Pollock (1989) explains the constructions in (f') and (g') (Spanish pairing French again) as derived from a rule that moves the object to the right, adjoining it to VP, so that no Verb-movement is, in fact, taking place:

[NP Infl [[V e adv] NP]]

regarding infinitival clauses, être, avoir/ ser-estar, haber are the only ones which allow such movement. We expect this division to hold up in all cases, but according to examples such as the ones in (17) and (18), the previous assumptions fall short at least partially:

- | | | | |
|------|--|-------|---------------------------------|
| (17) | I have <u>often</u> sung this song | (18) | She/Mary has come to the party |
| | J'ai <u>souvent</u> chanté cette chanson | | Elle/Marie est venue à la fête |
| | *he <u>a menudo</u> cantado esta canción | | pro/María ha venido a la fiesta |

(17) reflects the placement of adverbs in compound verbal constructions. Although one expects the Spanish pattern to echo the French pattern, no such pairing is achieved. While French and English display similar behaviour in that they allow the adverb to be placed between the auxiliary and the verb, such structure is ungrammatical in Spanish. There exist at least two other cases in which Spanish seems to depart from French-type languages. They are illustrated in (18) and they make reference to the null-subject parameter (only present in Spanish but not in English or in French), as well as to participial agreement (found only in French).

A re-definition of Pollock's (1989) proposal is required in order to account for cases such as the ones in (17) and (18). We will try to demonstrate that the presence of other phenomena as well as the new approach provided by the Minimalist Program as the new development of GB Theory will be required in this attempt to formalize an overall proposal that includes the previously mentioned stranded cases.

In spite of all these parametric differences between English, Spanish and French, common ground can also be drawn from Pollock's (1989) analysis. Thus, his proposal of 'Loc' as a predicate assigning theta-role holds up not only for English and French, but also for Spanish, as shown in (19) and (20):

(19) This city has 10 million inhabitants Loc covert Loc

Esta ciudad tiene 10 millones de habitantes Loc

Cette ville a 10 millions d'habitants Loc

(20) There are 10 million inhabitants in this city overt Loc

Hay 10 millones de habitantes en esta ciudad

Il y a 10 millions d'habitants dans cette ville

A covert 'Loc' seems to be present in the three languages in the examples in (19), and these are paired with the corresponding examples in (20) where the 'Loc' is overtly expressed. All three languages, English, Spanish and French, seem to follow the same pattern as far as 'Loc' is concerned.

1.4. The Minimalist Approach

By breaking with the early Generative Grammar concept of a language as a rich and complex system of rules that were both construction-particular and language-particular, the Principles and Parameters approach leads to the Minimalist Program. According to this, Universal Grammar provides a fixed system of Principles and a finite set of finitely valued parameters, therefore reducing the language-particular rules to a choice of values for these parameters. In this way, the tendency is to bring languages together and to discover common ground existing among them, without at the same time denying their individual special features.

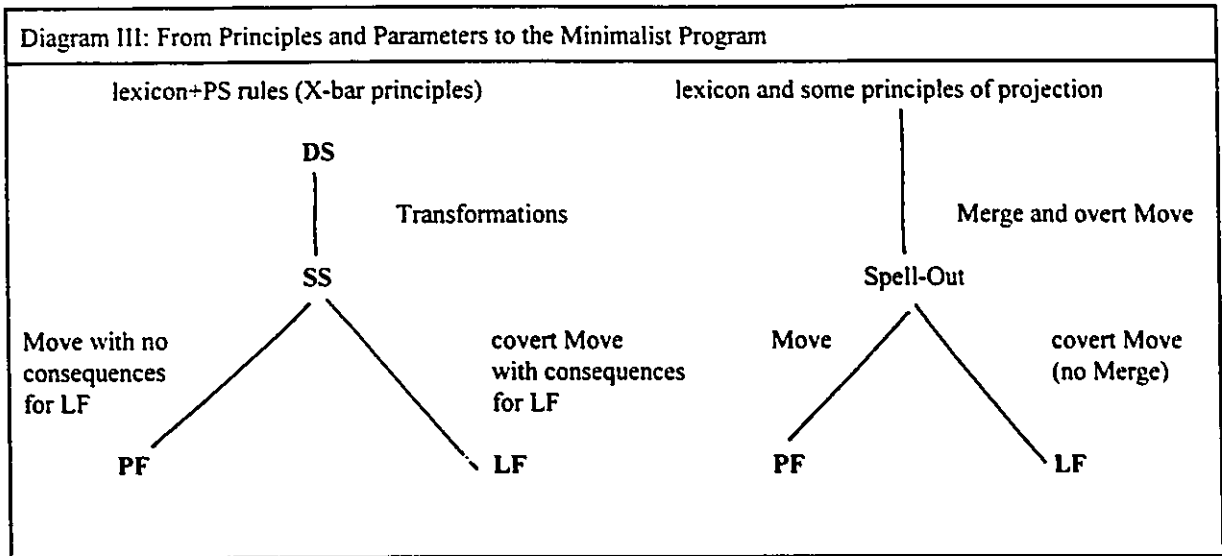
Within the concepts of Principles and Parameters, the Principles of Economy are going to become more and more relevant and it will be mainly on the basis of these principles that the previous Principles and Parameters approach will be turned into the Minimalist Program.

Therefore, the Minimalist Program comes to underline principles such as Greed, Procrastination, etc., dealing with several aspects of Verb-movement. Although, at the same time, the Minimalist Program does not forget principles such as Subjacency, Government, C-command, etc., that will still hold up, it means a change of perspective.

In this change of approach, the different levels of analysis to be considered are perhaps the first ones to be altered, since they are at the basis of the entire theory and further consequences develop from them. Thus, in contrast with the four distinct levels¹⁴ from the previous proposal, each one with its own properties, the Minimalist Program defends the existence of just two minimal and indispensable levels: PF level with phonological properties (that ensure the well-formedness as far as sound is concerned, which accounts for speech perception and pronunciation); and LF level with semantic properties (that ensure meaning providing as well a net of concepts which are interpreted and conveyed). This reduction to two interface levels¹⁵ is based on the assumption that DS and SS levels are no longer needed since they do not interface directly with the final result. An attempt to capture the transition from one model to the other is reflected in diagram III:

¹⁴These four levels are Deep Structure (DS), Surface Structure (SS), Phonological Form (PF) and Logical Form (LF).

¹⁵PF is assumed to be the structure that interfaces with the perceptual system in speech recognition and with the articulatory system in speech production. LF interfaces with a speaker's general knowledge and with extralinguistic cognitive systems (the systems involved in relating an LF to "meaning" in the intuitive sense).



Looking at diagram III, several changes appear when comparing the two proposals. As a first outline of some of them, the following changes are presented.

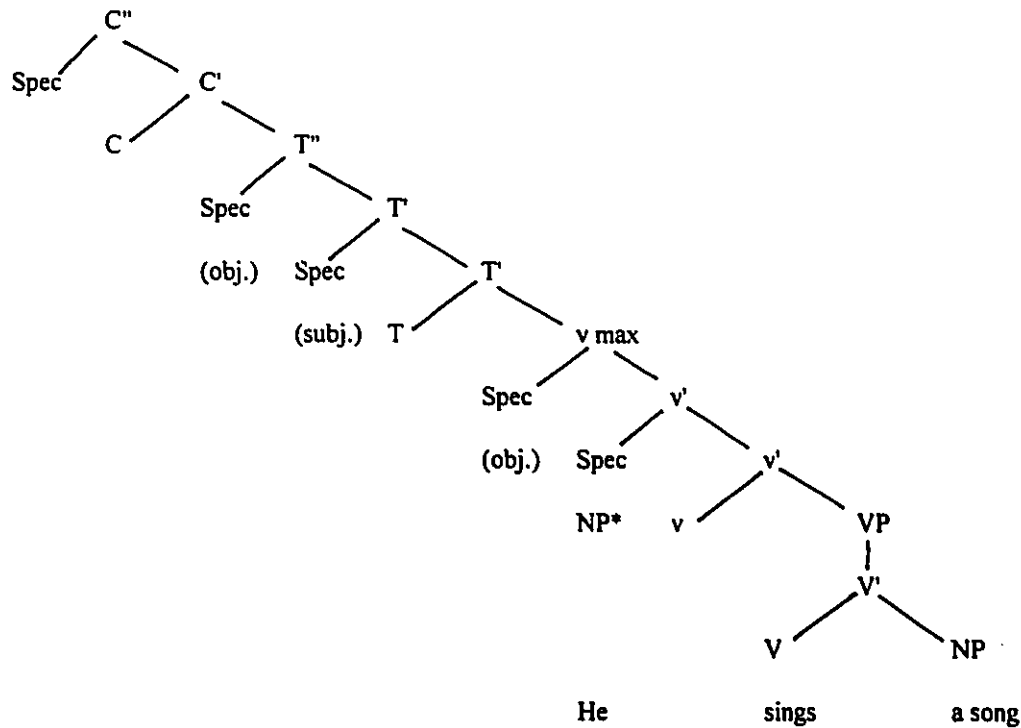
In the Minimalist Program, PF and LF are the only interface levels to be considered, providing the instructions for the articulatory-perceptual and the conceptual-intentional systems respectively. The derivations will no longer be considered grammatical/ungrammatical, but rather, following the new terminology¹⁶, they will have to *converge* both at LF and PF in order to be accepted. Otherwise, they will *crash* and will not be accepted. Besides, S-structure conditions on raising and lowering are eliminated in favour of morphological properties of lexical items and, by doing this, two types of operations appear: Merge and Move.

The operations involved in the process of constructing a sentence could be presented as follows:

¹⁶In this change from one proposal to another, some concepts may replace the previous ones without any consequence; while others have several implications. A note to clarify these late cases will be included.

creation, the tree diagram in (22) reflects the processes of Merge and Move, this last process taking place both before and after Spell-out (overt and covert move respectively):

(22)



Even if verbs come fully inflected from the lexicon, the nodes must be kept in the tree because they are needed for checking purposes. Nevertheless, some changes have been introduced under the Minimalist approach in the tree diagram in (22): the elimination of AgrS, the elimination of AgrO as external to V; and the subsequent introduction of the "light" verb v and the presence of two specifiers for some of the heads (this will all be discussed later on).

Once Select and Merge apply, the structure is built. The next step is Move or, as

Chomsky maintains, the "displacement property"¹⁷; both terms refer to the same phenomenon. However, before dealing with movement operations, one has to bear in mind certain conditions that must hold up during these operations.

Even though movement is triggered by functional categories in order for a computation to be optimal, it has to follow Economy Principles which constrain movement in order to minimize derivation¹⁸. The main idea is that derivations must be as economical as possible without any superfluous or redundant steps¹⁹. This movement towards minimizing the steps is captured by the Principles of Economy. The three main Principles of Economy considered in the Minimalist Program are the following:

1. Minimal Link Condition, (previously called Shortest Move²⁰): it deals with the length of the derivation. Chomsky (1995) defines it in the following words: "a longer link from α to K cannot be formed if there is a shorter legitimate link from β to K" (295), so that, " α can raise to target K only if there is no legitimate operation move β targeting K, where β is closer to K" (296). The application of this principle involves a global comparison of possible different

¹⁷Items appear in positions "displaced" from those in which they are interpreted. The displacement property clearly reflects the disparity --in fact complementarity-- between morphology (checking of features) and Theta-theory (assignment of thematic roles), something which is stressed more and more in the Minimalist Program.

¹⁸Even though Chomsky considers both Select and Merge irrelevant with regards to economy concerns and states that only Move is constrained by them, it is necessary to add that Kitahara (1995) applies economy principles not only to Move but also to Merge.

¹⁹As we will see in due course, such steps are actually blocked by the Principle of Full Interpretation (FI).

²⁰We will always refer to the last version of the Principles of Economy.

derivations, instead of a local application of a principle at one point in a derivation²¹.

2. Procrastination: since overt movement is more costly than covert movement, the former should operate as late as possible, ideally at LF²².

3. Last Resort, (previously called Greed²³): when a constituent moves, it does so in order to satisfy its own needs. If there are no requirements to fulfil, there must be no movement since movement is nothing short of a last resort. As Marantz (1995) puts it, this principle implies the exhaustion of other possible resorts a derivation may have for avoiding the violation of some principle or filter. Therefore, this last Economy Principle bans, for example, super-raising, as illustrated in (23):

(23) *John_i seems [that [IT is certain [t_i to fix the car]]

The use of Economy Principles leads to an implicit comparison of derivations in the sense that we always have to look for the most economic derivation in terms of length, cost and requirements, respectively. This may also be related to a comparison of derivations not only within a language, but also among different languages. This implies that when comparing different constructions in various languages, we should say which one is more economical.

²¹According to Marantz (1995), the Minimal Link Condition includes a reflection and rephrasing of subadjacency, Rizzi's Relativized Minimality and the Head Movement Constraint. We will not pursue this issue here since such an outlined approach already serves our purpose.

²²This Economy Principle proposed by Chomsky in the Minimalist Program contrasts sharply with the opposite principle proposed by Pesetsky (1989) and Pollock (1993) which they call the Earliness Principle. Following this principle, one should move as early as possible, before Spell Out if possible rather than after it. We will not pursue this issue any further, since it completely departs from the general trend of the Minimalist Principles of Economy. For further reference see Brody (1993).

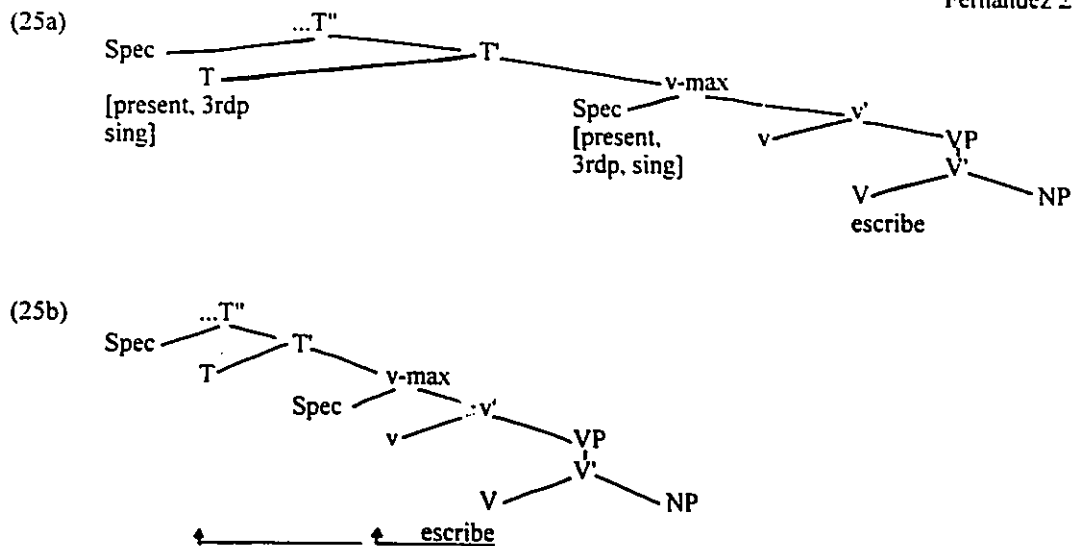
²³As we will see in due course, Lasnik (1995) proposes a weak version of Greed which he calls "Enlightened Self-Interest" principle.

The last requirement for a derivation to be optimal is to comply with Checking Theory²⁴ (remember that checking relations are created by movement only and not by Merge). The item comes fully inflected from the lexicon. This item is then affected by Checking Theory in such a way that it confronts the corresponding abstract features in T and v. Therefore, the information contained in T and v is no longer in the form of affixes that attach to items, but is rather a collection of features that must coincide with those features of the item. If the features from the item and from T/v match, then T and v disappear and the derivation enters the PF component under Spell-Out. If the features do not match, then T and v remain and the derivation crashes at PF.

In a sentence like the one in (24), for example, the head of the VP, the verb escribe, has to check its features (present tense, third person singular) in v and T. In this way, the features contained in v and T have to be "present tense, third person singular" too in order for the derivation not to crash. In order to check such features, the features in V raise to v and then to T. So it is not the entire verb that moves, but rather just the features that need to be checked, as indicated in (25a). Here lies the difference between alpha-move (movement of categories) and F-move (movement of features), which is intimately related to the economy principle of Procrastination.

(24) Marta escribe una carta

²⁴Checking Theory, Chomsky's (1993) proposal remarkably replaces the initial "inflection lowering" hypothesis, which, if nothing else, meant a violation of the C-command. The C-command requirement on antecedent-trace pairs bans any lowering rules.



If there is any pairing of "present tense, third person singular" features, then these features, once checked, disappear and the derivation is legitimate. If, on the contrary, the features do not coincide, *v* and *T* are not deleted and, as they are not legitimate LF objects, the derivation crashes. This is a completely Minimalist approach to the building of well-formed constructions, which contrasts with previous approaches. These approaches are based on the movement of entire categories and subsequent cyclic movements to pick up all affixes necessary to complete the bare-item. With the reduction of operations and the straightforwardness achieved by the Minimalist Program, all processes have been simplified.

Under the Minimalist maxim of getting rid of unnecessary levels, some nodes in the tree diagram, as seen in (25), (Tense and specially AgrS and AgrO) are to be re-defined together with the information these nodes were supposed to contain. This will give way to a new organization in the tree diagram as it is partially indicated in (25), which will be dealt with later on.

Both Tense and Agr nodes were considered to be affixes, an analysis reflected in Emonds (1980), Pollock (1989,1993) and Chomsky (1991), among others. That is why Pollock's (1989)

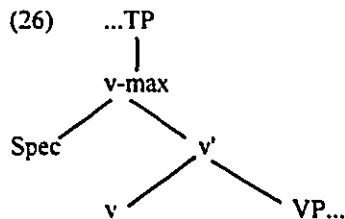
proposal deals with the raising of verbs to Tense to get the affix or the lowering of the affix in Tense to mix with the verb (what is called Affix-hopping). Nevertheless, the Minimalist approach presents a completely new approach to movement which is very different from the approach to movement in the Principles and Parameters approach. The information present in layers such as T and v is not considered an affix but rather an abstract feature. In this way, lexical items come fully inflected from the lexicon and their features are checked with the abstract features contained in those nodes according to Checking Theory. Therefore, Agr plays only a mediating role: when it has performed its role, it disappears, and the same is true of Tense.

The Minimalist reformulation not only affects the information internal to those nodes but also the nodes themselves. Nevertheless, going back to Chomsky's (1991) split of AgrP, we are to consider AgrS and AgrO as informal notations to distinguish the two functional roles of Agr: subject-verb agreement (associated with nominative Case and determined by the relation of the Spec of VP to AgrS) and object-verb agreement (associated with accusative Case and determined by the relation of the NP to AgrO). In this way, we are in fact talking only about one element, Agr, as a collection of phi-features. Under Minimalist assumptions, Agr has no semantic properties of any kind (since every item comes fully inflected from the lexicon), although it is structurally motivated since a position is needed to check the subject/object either overtly or covertly, among other things.

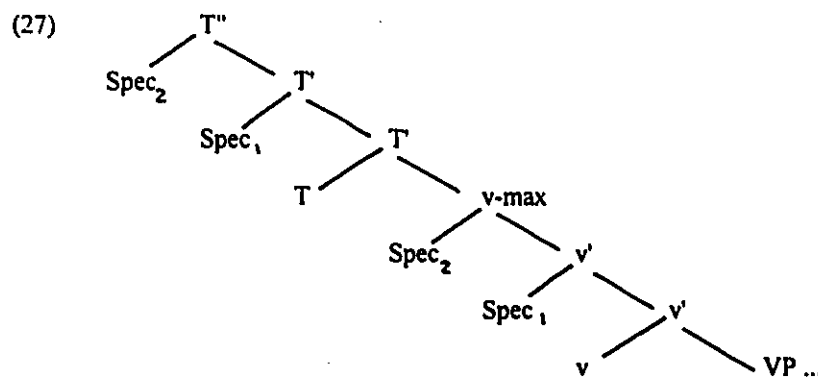
The new position for AgrO is to be found in a reformulation of the VP which is now made up of two layers²⁵: the upper layer (small v or "light" verb) would correspond to the

²⁵Here Chomsky (1995) is following ideas by Hale and Keyser (1991-1993) and Speas (1986) on the two-VP-layers proposal.

previous AgrO. As opposed to AgrO, the "light" verb v^{26} is required on the basis of structure since it has lexical content. Besides, being within the VP as shown in the tree diagram in (22), which we partially repeat in (26), and, as opposed to AgrO (which was outside), the movement is kept within the VP (no more concepts of domain or barriers or equidistance intervene, and no violation of any Economy Principle occurs):



As far as AgrS is concerned, it blends with Tense, a category with meaning, so that it will be in this node where nominative case as well as tense are to be checked. In this new reorganization of Agr nodes, another important modification is the allowance for more than one specifier per head²⁷. This is clearly seen in the tree diagram in (27), where both T and v-max are equipped with two spec positions each:



²⁶Larson's (1988) proposal.

²⁷As we will see later on, this new Minimalist analysis of the possibility of more than one specifier will have consequences for the analysis of there constructions, as constructions with a so-called double subject.

Each of those double positions constitutes a slot in which both subject and object will rise to check their features, the inner Spec (Spec₁) for the subject and the outer Spec (Spec₂) for the object. That is why, as Chomsky (1995) maintains, the entire transition from one proposal to the other can be summed up saying that "the main change is a change from Agr-based to a multiple-spec theory" (355) because the roles these Specs play corresponds, in fact, to the one played by AgrS/O.

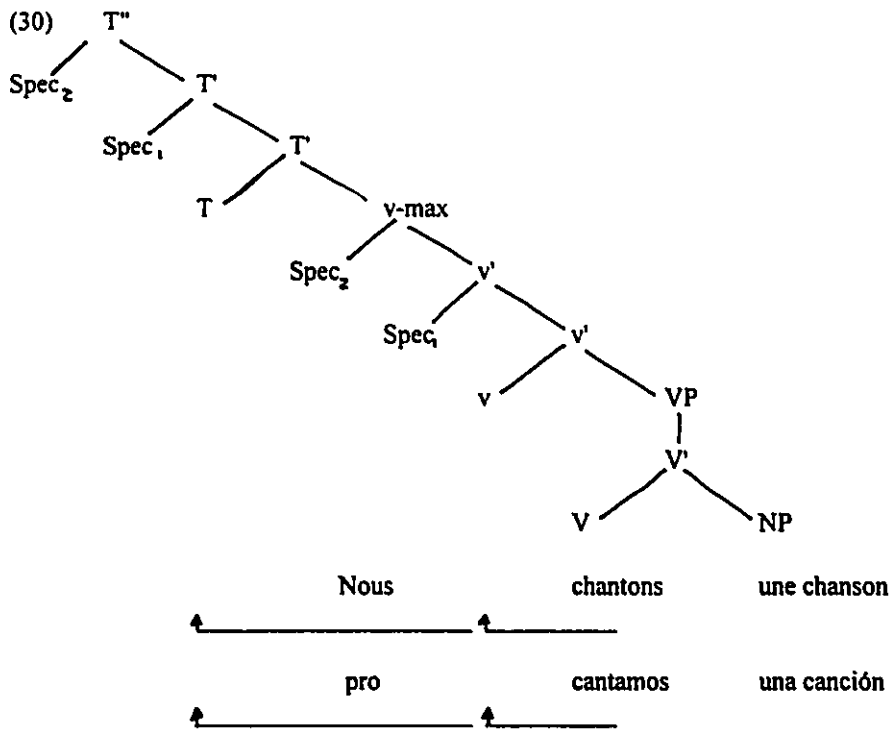
Pollock's (1989) Split Inflection Hypothesis has helped to point out the necessary distinction among the different features contained in Infl. Once this split has been accepted and analyzed, a reorganization of such features has led to a more accurate perception of how sentences are built. And even if Pollock's (1989) proposal is not followed word for word, the idea behind it is still maintained: the importance of the split of the features constituting the node Infl for the comparison among languages, specifically between English-type languages and French-type languages. When confronting a comparative analysis, these individual features are going to provide ground for parametric differences among the languages under analysis, as we will see throughout the corpus of this work. This is exemplified in the following sentences in (28):

(28) We sing a song Nous chantons une chanson pro cantamos una canción

Once the processes of Select, Project and Merge have occurred, movements take place. Languages are fully inflected when they are taken from the lexicon. The differences between languages have to be attributed to differences between the features of lexical items in those languages; and these are the features that need to be checked through movement. In the Minimalist framework syntactic structures are built step by step, starting from the lexical projection and extending the projection upwards by means of functional projections. Thus, we

Since the V-features are weak in English, there is no need for the verb to raise and check them before Spell Out (thus complying with the economy principle of Procrastinate).

The movement may also be overt as in the Spanish and French example in (28) and the corresponding tree diagram in (30):



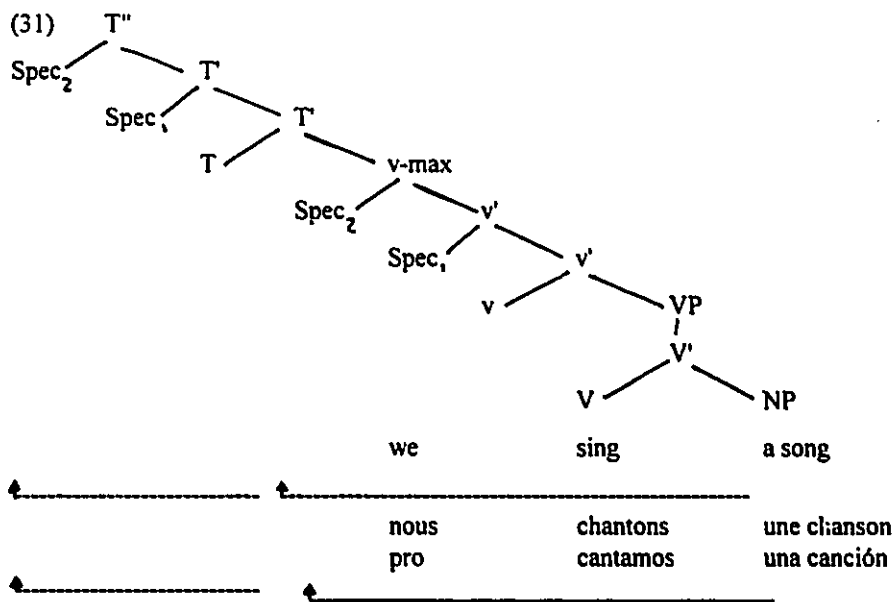
As an overt movement, it takes place before Spell Out and the movement carries along a full category with the subsequent formation of an A-chain.

The second checking relation affects the subject NP moving from Spec, v' to Spec, T. The subject has Nom Case from the lexicon which will be checked by the N-features of T in Spec, T. This movement is always overt. Even when we deal with a pro-drop language such as Spanish, *pro* also raises to Spec, T.

The last checking relation in the examples in (28) deals with the object. The object has

Acc Case from the lexicon which will be checked by the N-features of T in Spec₂. Again the movement may be overt or covert, in which the object moves from its original position as sister to V. It undergoes a double movement, first to Spec₂ v-max, and then to Spec₂T, as shown in

(31):



Since v, heading the transitive verb construction, is [-strong] in English, object movement is covert. In Spanish and French, on the contrary, object movement from NP to Spec₂ v-max is overt. The reason for the covert object movement from Spec₂ v-max to Spec₂T is to be found in the effects of subject movement: the trace of the subject in Spec₁ v-max does not prevent the raising of the object, but the subject itself placed in Spec₁ T does.

The features in the functional heads T and V have to be eliminated in the course of the derivation. Feature checking is a matching of the features and is done by adjoining the inflected V to the relevant functional head (the same analysis applies to subject and object). Checking eliminates abstract features.

Therefore, we can say that the significant parametric differences between languages are limited to lexical differences, specifically to differences in the features of lexical elements. These features may be either weak --invisible at PF even if unchecked-- or strong --visible at PF if unchecked--.

According to Marantz (1995), we can conclude by saying that the major changes in the movement towards the Minimalist Program are the following: constituents move for a reason, not arbitrarily; "grammaticality" depends on a comparison of derivations, not on the evaluation of a particular derivation in isolation; principles apply only at the interface levels of PF and LF or everywhere --DS and SS do not figure into the system--.

CHAPTER TWO

2.1. Introduction

In this chapter we will analyze the differences between Spanish, French and English in terms of the [+/- strong] Agreement differences and auxiliaries.

Based on the Split Inflection Hypothesis (Pollock 1989), which proposes that *Intl* is decomposed at least into two separate functional heads, each with its own projection, *Agr* and *T'*, we concentrate our analysis on two main issues: the presence or absence of agreement between the participle and the subject in compound constructions; and the possible licensing of null subjects.

We show that there is no total correspondence between Spanish and French as French-type languages, because of the fact that at least in these two respects each language has distinct behaviour. With regards to subject-participle agreement, Spanish behaves in the same way as English, rather than French. Thus, while such agreement is found in French compound constructions, English and Spanish forms lack it entirely. In this respect, Spanish differs from French in *Aux + V* compounds, diverging from French-type languages.

Null subjects constitute another fact which argues for the distinction between Spanish and French. It is French in this case which behaves in the same way as English, and does not allow the superficial presence of null subjects. Spanish, on the other hand, is in fact a pro-drop language.

¹We will not include Mood (Pollock 1993) in order to make the analysis simpler, since this projection is not relevant to our study.

We will first deal with participle agreement, analyzing the different consequences that it may have for the position of adverbs in the sentence. Then, we will focus on the null-subject parameter or pro-drop parameter, dealing, as a preliminary analysis, with the presence of null elements, phi-features and the empty category *pro*.

2.2. Morphological Differences in Participial Constructions and Phi-features

2.2.1. Auxiliaries in Compound Verbal Constructions

Pollock presents the difference between French and English in terms of weak versus strong inflection, English being weak and French (and, therefore, Spanish as a French-type language) strong. Thus, in English no agreement is found between subject and participle, echoing in a way the poor morphology that does not establish any agreement even between subject and auxiliary. While one expects it to fit the French-type, in Spanish at least two crucial divergences appear regarding participle agreement and the placement of adverbs.

2.2.2. Participle Agreement

Participles in Spanish have lost all traces of agreement, which existed in Latin and survived still in old Spanish; whereas in French, participles with *être*² (the inaccusative participles) agree with the subject both in number and in gender³ as shown in (1):

²In the case of participles with *avoir*, the agreement is made with the direct object (and not with the subject) when it appears in pronominal form in pre-verbal position (Koopman and Sportiche 1991).

³This will have consequences on adverb placement in Spanish, analyzed in the next section.

(1)	Mary has come	Marie est venue	María ha venido
	They have come	Marie et Pierre sont venus	María y Pedro han venido

- *Kayne's (1989) Analysis of Participle Agreement*

As we have seen before, in sentences such as the ones in (2), in both Spanish and French, the auxiliary verb agrees with the subject (in terms of person and number):

(2a)	<u>Marie</u> est venue	<u>María</u> ha venido
	<u>Nous</u> sommes venus	<u>(Nosotros)</u> hemos venido
(2b)	J'ai reçu <u>la lettre</u>	He recibido <u>la carta</u>
	Je <u>l'</u> ai reçue	<u>La</u> he recibido

The difference between these two sets of sentences lies in the presence or absence of agreement between subject and participle, as in (2a), or object-clitic and participle, as in (2b). As the examples in (2a) reveal, while French has e as a mark for feminine and s as a mark for plural, Spanish form venido remains constant regardless of subject gender and number. Even when we find agreement between object clitic and participle in French, as in (2b), no such agreement is present in Spanish. In Spanish no matter whether the form of the object is an R-expression or a clitic, the form of the participle does not change.

As Kayne (1989a) maintains⁴, there is a clear difference between the subject-auxiliary agreement and the clitic-participle agreement⁵, which he captures in terms of direct agreement in the first case and indirect agreement in the second case.

⁴Previously mentioned in Kayne (1985).

⁵The same is true of wh-phrases such as the one in (i):
 (i) Les lettres que j'ai reçues

2.2.3. Compound Verbal Constructions and Adverbs

2.2.3.1. Placement of Adverbs in Compound Verbal Constructions

The position of adverbs in compound verbal constructions (auxiliary verb + participle of main verb) also presents differences between English/French and Spanish. Analyzing the examples in (6), one realizes that adverbs in English and French can be placed between the auxiliary and the main verb without producing ungrammatical results:

- (6) I have never been to Italy Pierre n'a rien mangé Pedro no ha comido nada
 John has completely lost his mind Pierre a à peine vu Marie Pedro apenas ha visto a María

In principle Spanish differs somewhat in that no adverb can come between auxiliary haber (to have) and the past participle of the main verb. In other words, the cluster they create cannot be broken by placing any other word between them. This can be explained in terms of the tendency of Spanish auxiliary verbs to turn into clitics with respect to their main verb (ex: ha entendido bien la pregunta, '[he] has understood well the question).

Bosque (1990)⁷ establishes a division between grammatical categories on the basis of their syntactic independence. Two groups appear: the clitic and the non-clitic grammatical categories. The clitic grammatical categories must rely on another stressed form since they have no phonological independence, while the non-clitic grammatical categories have independence.

When talking about clitic grammatical categories, not only unstressed pronouns (which rely on verbs) are included, but also certain auxiliaries, among other units. The idea that the monosyllabic forms of haber are included within the group of clitics (Suñer 1987) provides an explanation for the contrast between the two examples in (7) and (8):

⁷See also Zwicky (1977) for special reference to English.

- (7) Lo que hubieras tú disfrutado ('What had you enjoyed')
- (8) *Lo que has tú disfrutado ('What have you enjoyed')

If it is assumed that has and he (2nd and 1st person singular respectively of the Spanish verb haber, to have) are clitic forms to the Spanish participle, then it can be easily explained that they cannot be separated from this participle⁸.

Suñer's (1987) re-analysis on the "inseparable unit" hypothesis -- the haber- past participle cluster--, contrasts the following sets of examples (9-10):

- (9) *Ya ha Pepe terminado el libro
- (10) Ya estará Pepe terminando/a punto de terminar el libro

The first example is an haber + past participle cluster and the sentence is not grammatically correct since there is an element intervening between the two forms. Unlike (9), other verbal complexes such as (10) do not present this type of constraint. Suñer contributes with a series of clarifications regarding the "inseparable unit" hypothesis:

1. Lexical material, and not just subjects, (such as adverbs) may occur between the two parts of the V complex as shown in (11)⁹:

- (11) ¿Podría usted mostrarme la salida?
Platero me había ya saludado con su rebuzno

⁸In the same way, it is easier to coordinate two non-monosyllabic forms of the auxiliary verb haber, as in (i), than to coordinate two monosyllabic forms, as in (ii), (Bosque 1985, 1990):

- (i) Habías o habíais prometido que ...
(ii) *He o has elegido mal.

⁹The possibility of inserting a subject between haber and the participle seems to be linked not only to monosyllabic forms of haber, but also to tense and the type of subject, namely, whether it is a noun or a pronoun.

2. The placement of elements between haber and the participle is more common with longer forms of the auxiliary than with monosyllabic forms (Suñer 1987). This suggests that monosyllabic forms of haber cliticize to the past participle, which therefore acts as a "host". Consequently, compare the previous ungrammatical example (9) with the grammatically correct (12):

- (12) Esto habría indudablemente acelerado el proceso
Se había casi convertido a la religión de su novia

3. Finally, Suñer suggests the operation of the productive rule of V-fronting in many cases, which also replaces the "inseparable unit" hypothesis, as shown in the examples in (13):

- (13) Al haber Paco cerrado la puerta, ...
Hizo Miguel un gesto resignado

Therefore, there is no clear-cut division among the three languages as regards the placement of adverbs in compound verbal constructions. In Spanish, only under certain circumstances are adverbs allowed to occupy the intermediate position between the auxiliary and the main verb, which happens to be the norm in both English and French.

2.2.3.2. An Adverbial Typology

When dealing with the position of adverbs, it is necessary to determine an adverbial typology and at the same time to define those sets of adverbs that will be considered in the analysis.

There seem to be different proposals regarding the classification of adverbs and, as Licerias (1994) mentions, it is not only that they cannot be grouped together but also that they

may even have mixed properties.

Regarding compound verbal constructions, it is important to determine the difference in movement affecting main versus auxiliary verbs. This is going to have certain consequences on the positions of adverbs in the sentences. In this respect, Suñer (1994) argues for a crucial difference between adverbs in English and Spanish, taking into consideration the different behaviour that both languages display in the position in which the verb (both main and auxiliary) is generated and/or is moved. Thus, while in Spanish V stays within IP, in English either Aux or the support V do moves to C" leaving the adverb behind. If we are to follow Suñer's proposal, this distinction has to be considered when comparing the two languages.

Pollock establishes a certain adverbial typology in his 1993 article and by doing so qualifies Iatridou's (1990) criticism, so that the theory will either work or will not work, depending on the set of adverbs we select. As Haegeman (1994) points out, English and French differ with respect to the order of verbs and adverbials of the type often/souvent, as reflected in (14):

(14)	Il arrive souvent en retard	*He arrives often late	V + Adv
	*Il souvent arrive en retard	He often arrives late	Adv + V

But this cannot be taken as a fixed rule extended to all types of adverbs, as the examples in (15) reveal:

(15)	Il n'est pas ici	He is not here	V + Adv
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Included in a brief classification of adverbs are the following:

1. Adverbs derived via movement (location: VP initial position): *presque, à peine...*
2. Adverbs derived by moving the NP to the right (location: VP final position): *demain, hier...*

3. Pre-aux and post-aux adverbs in English: merely, truly...
4. Negative adverbs (preverbal adverbs; generated in V' adjunct position): not, seldom, hardly¹⁰...
5. Pre-inflection adverbial position (ability of English and Spanish to productively use α movement for focalization purposes) as in (16):

- (16) the child hardly walks
 el niño apenas camina...
 Juan rara vez está deprimido

Ouhalla's proposal (1990) as to the place where adverbs can adjoin distinguishes between English and French in the following terms¹¹: in English VP adverbs can adjoin either to VP, as in example (17a), and/or to TP, as in (17b). Both possible positions for adverbs are indicated in (17c):

¹⁰We will not analyze negative adverbs here in detail. For developed analysis see Bosque (1980), Chomsky (1988), Pollock (1989), Lema and Rivero (1989; 1991), Ouhalla (1990), Baker (1991) and Suñer (1994), among others.

¹¹Following Ouhalla (1990), auxiliaries in English differ from main verbs in that they can appear preceding the Neg element as in (i):

- (i) a. John has not lost his mind
 b. The thief was not arrested

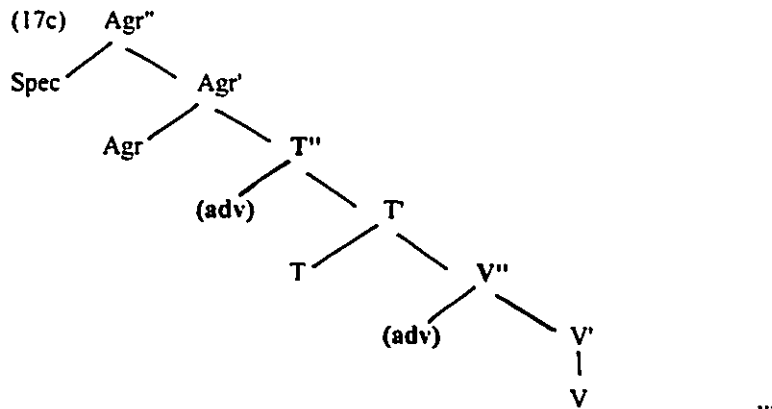
In order not to violate Rizzi's (1990) Relativized Minimality, Ouhalla proposes that auxiliaries originate outside the VP in a position which precedes Neg, that is why they surface preceding Neg. French auxiliaries are on a par with their English counterparts. The fact that they appear to behave like main verbs with respect to the NegP elements follows from independent properties of negative clauses in French. Thus, Ouhalla concludes, in contrast to Bošković's (1995) proposal, that the differences in word order between English and similar languages, as well as French and similar languages, can be explained without having to resort to lowering movements in the syntax.

(17a) John rarely visits his mother

(17b) Bill knocked recently on it.....Bill recently knocked on it

She looked carefully at him.....She carefully looked at him

Harry relies frequently on it.....Harry frequently relies on it



The Verb-movement that is operating in examples (17b) is not a movement to Agr since English is a weak agreement language, but rather a movement to Tense. In the case of French, VP adverbs can adjoin not only to VP or TP as in English, but also to NegP as indicated in examples (18):

(18) Marie n'a certainement pas perdu la tête

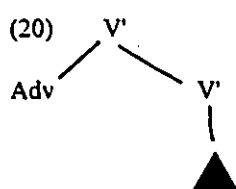
Jean n'a évidemment pas lu Franz Fanon

When dealing with a strong Agr language, Verb-movement goes up to Agr.

In Spanish, however, a clear difference appears: French word order in examples (18) contrasts with Spanish grammatical word order in (19) where nothing can intervene between negation and the auxiliary because the result would be ungrammatical:

- (19) Marie n'a évidemment pas perdu la tête
 Adv + Aux + Adv + Neg + Participle
- Adv + Neg + Aux + Adv + Participle
 Maria evidentemente no ha perdido la cabeza

As to the way in which adverbs are generated and according to Baker (1991), a preverbal adverb can attach to a V' as a left sister, yielding a larger V', which is eligible to attach itself to another preverbal adverb, as shown in (20):



Except for minor (chiefly semantic) restrictions, these adverbs occur randomly with respect to one another with the expected differences in scope. An example of an unaccepted adverbial configuration is provided by (22), which contrast with the well-formed (21):

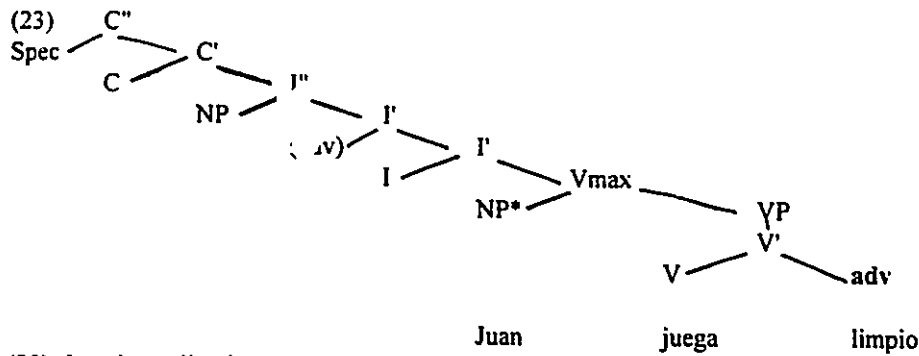
- (21) Vera probably never heard the whistle
 Vera probablemente nunca oyó el silbido
- (22) *Vera never probably heard the whistle
 *Vera nunca probablemente oyó el silbido

Another group can be included in this adverbial typology. According to Suñer (1994)¹², a distinction has to be made in Spanish between VP internal adverb position¹³, appearing in V'

¹²Suñer (1994) uses the analysis of the position of adverbs (as well as the VP internal subject hypothesis) as a support for her proposal that verbs in Spanish have an obligation to raise through the functional projections of IP (to check the morphemes that signal aspect, tense, person and number agreement), but they do not continue to C.

¹³Among the VP internal adverbial adverbs, Bosque (1990) cites jugar limpio/sucio (to play fair/unfair), trabajar duro (work hard). Although these adverbials are not obligatory, they are selected

projection, as in example (23), and VP external adverb position, appearing in I' projection, as in example (24):

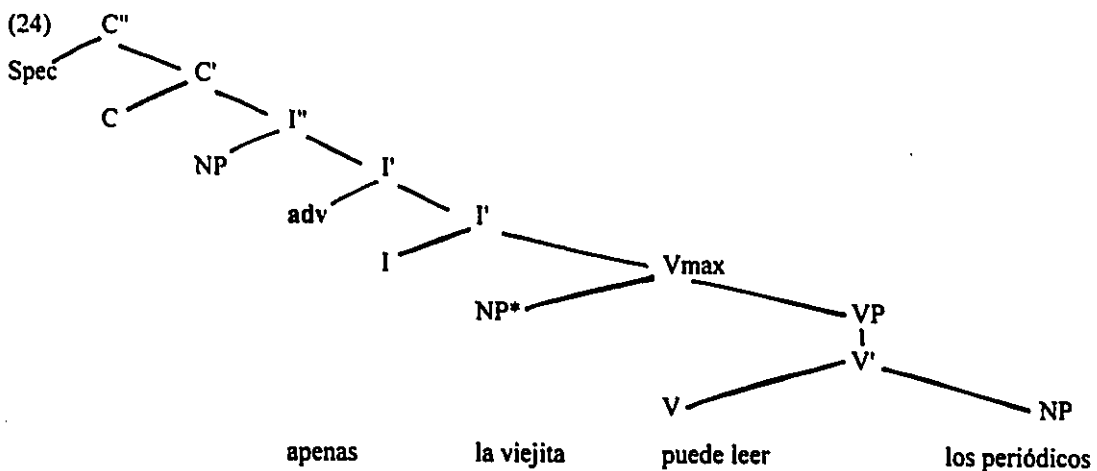


(23) Juan juega limpio

Subject + V + adverb order

Subject + adverb + V order

(24) La viejita apenas puede leer los periódicos



As (23) and (24) reflect, V + adverb/ adverb + V order constitute the two adverb positions.

selected by specific predicates as a lexical property and they form a "set phrase" of some kind with it (Suñer 1994). It is in these terms that one could explain their restriction of movement and the fact that the complex cannot be interrupted by another adverbial (although in some cases, quantifiers may appear between the complex: juega así de limpio --"he really plays fair"--, J.M. Liceras, personal communication).

Whitley (1986) provides a more traditional classification of Spanish adverbs based on the following criteria:

I. Classification by meaning: it includes manner (despacio), time (siempre), place (alli), reason (por eso) and extent (tanto).

II. Classification by formation: it includes simple and derived adverbs. Simple adverbs consist of a single morpheme and constitute a fairly limited set. Derived adverbs¹⁴, on the contrary, are formed from several morphemes and are more abundant both in English and in Spanish.

III. Classification by position and function: it includes sentence adverbs, VP adverbials, intensifiers and focus attractors --following Suñer's (1982a) terminology-- or distinguishing adverbs --following Keniston's (1937)--.¹⁵

In Spanish, there seems to be a wider range of possibilities in the placement of adverbs and floating quantifiers, because they are endowed with a greater degree of mobility. The main causes for such freedom of position may be due to the nature of adverbs as adjuncts and not as complements, independently of the language one is dealing with, together with the rich morphology that characterizes the Spanish language. This freedom of the placement of adverbs is exemplified in (25):

¹⁴These adverbs are formed by adding -mente in Spanish and -ment in French to the feminine adjective form. In English the corresponding form would be -ly.

¹⁵For further information, see Whitley (1986) and Keniston (1937).

- (25) Juan nunca parece estar contento ('Juan never seems to be happy')
- Juan no parece estar contento nunca
- Juan parece no estar contento nunca
- Juan parece nunca estar contento ('Juan seems never to be happy')

At the same time, there exists a certain scale of intuitive preferences among all these possibilities and even maybe different meanings related to the scope of negation, for instance. That is why one can also say that they are, in fact, different types of adjunctions that would not be part of the basic tree diagram. Furthermore, when actually reaching the phonetic form, pauses seem to be inserted on both sides of the adverb and at least in some cases focalization takes place¹⁶. Nevertheless, the position of adverbs remains a rather difficult field to fix¹⁷.

2.3. Phi-features and the Licensing of Null Subjects

2.3.1. Null Elements in Grammar

Haegeman (1994) offers a typology of null elements based on the features [+/- anaphor] and [+/- pronominal], as indicated in (26):

¹⁶Focalization adverbs fall outside the scope of this study. For further reference see Torrego (1983, 1985), Gundel (1988) and Zubizarreta (1995).

¹⁷For a more traditional adverbial typology, see Stiehm's (1978). Following Stiehm, English and Spanish sentences and clauses share fixed-order characteristics that are related to the necessity for beginning paradigmatic focus. Spanish subordinates the influence of surface grammar to free order conditioned by syntagmatic contrast, while English does the opposite, determining sentence order by surface grammar values, with syntagmatic contrast conditioning order only where surface grammar values have no decisive effect.

(26) FEATURE TYPES	NULL ELEMENTS
[+ pronominal, - anaphor]	pro
[+ pronominal, + anaphor]	PRO
[- pronominal, + anaphor]	NP trace
[- pronominal, - anaphor]	Wh trace

In the same way that overt categories cannot be generated randomly, no null category can appear anywhere either. As a component of the grammar of natural languages, null elements must be formally licensed via the Empty Category Principle (ECP). The ECP is a formulation in which one condition has to be satisfied. Thus, *pro* is subject to the following requirement: the formal licensing condition of traces which is achieved by head-government.

Apart from being formally licensed, the content of null elements must also be identified. Therefore, the content of *pro* is recovered through the rich agreement specification.

2.3.2. Phi-features

An interesting case emerges when dealing with person agreement markers (phi-features), which have direct bearing on the *pro*-drop parameter. In fact, one immediately observes that the possibility of omitting a pronoun subject correlates with the other property of the languages examined, especially if comparing English on the one hand, with Spanish and French on the other, as in (27):

(27)	English	Spanish	French
1sg	I speak	(yo) hablo ¹⁸	(moi,) je parle ¹⁹
2sg	You speak	(tú) hablas	(toi,) tu parles
3sg	He speaks	(él) habla	(lui,) il parle
1pl	We speak	(nosotros)hablamos	(nous,) nous parlons
2pl	You speak	(vosotros)habláis	(vous,) vous parlez
3pl	They speak	(ellos) hablan	(ils,) ils parlent
	2 forms	6 forms	5 forms (3 phonetical)

In the cases of both Spanish and French, almost every number/person combination has a different ending. As a result, the inflectional paradigm distinguishes all six persons uniquely, especially in Spanish. There is no possibility of confusion: the ending of the verb immediately identifies the subject. This type of inflectional systems are generally considered to be rich²⁰.

In contrast, the English system has only one distinctive form: third person singular. All other persons are unmarked morphologically, resulting in a bare system, (which is also identical to the imperative and the infinitive).

In the literature, an attempt is made to correlate the inflectional paradigm of the language

¹⁸For an analysis on the contrast between the presence and the absence of pronouns in Spanish as a pro-drop language, see Fernández Soriano (1989).

¹⁹Subject personal pronouns are not clitics in Spanish but they may be so in French: je is a pro-clitic, while moi is not (Kayne 1975, Bosque 1990).

²⁰As we will mention later on, under Hoekstra and Hyams (1995) analysis, English, like Dutch, presents Number distinctions, while Spanish, in the same way as Italian, displays Person distinctions.

with the pro-drop parameter (Perlmutter 1970, Taraldsen 1980, Rizzi 1986, Jaeggli and Safir 1989). Languages which have rich inflection are often pro-drop languages²¹. This correlation is expected: when the verb inflection is rich, the content of the subject can be recovered by virtue of the inflection and the pronoun supposedly adds no information. In languages which have poor inflection, the verb inflection does not suffice to recover the content of the subject and, thus, a pronoun is needed.

A rich Infl can identify an empty category in the subject position while a poor Infl fails to do so. In other words, the grammatical features of the subject can be recovered from those of Infl, specifically from Agr, in languages with rich verb inflection. The identification of the subject features via Agr is represented by coindexation. In English, these features are not recoverable because its Agr is too poor.

2.3.3. The Empty Category *Pro*

The empty element *pro* has definite reference: its interpretation is like that of an overt pronoun. Like a pronoun it may refer to an entity in the non-linguistic context (28), or it may be coindexed with an element in the linguistic context.

- (28) e Ha hablado
has (3sg) spoken

In languages such as Spanish and Italian, the empty category *pro*, characterized by the features [-anaphor, +pronominal], complies with the Extended Projection Principle (EPP): there is always

²¹Gilligan (1987) studies a sample of 100 languages from various language families and reports that there are 76 languages with agreement which allow for the subject pronoun to be absent. The remaining 17 languages without agreement allow the subject to be absent.

a subject position but it is not always phonetically realized. Therefore, any pronominal subject in Spanish, as well as in Italian, may remain unexpressed since the understood subject is syntactically represented by the non-overt pronominal *pro*, as indicated in (29):

(29)	Gianni ha parlato	Ha parlato	Gianni ha detto che ha parlato
	Gianni ha hablado	Ha hablado	Gianni ha dicho que ha hablado
	Gianni has spoken	*Has spoken	*Gianni has said that has spoken
	Gianni a parlé	*A parlé	*Gianni a dit qui a parlé

The subject pronoun will only be overtly expressed when it is emphasized; *pro*, being a null element, can obviously not be stressed.

2.3.4. The Pro-drop Parameter

The pro-drop parameter is related to Pollock's (1989) parameter of the opacity/transparency of AgrP. This type of relationship is established through the division between the languages which have a strong/rich inflection, such as Spanish, and the languages which have a weak/poor inflection, such as English.

The analysis of the pro-drop parameter, which was originally developed on the basis of Romance languages in the late 1970's, has led to what we now refer to as the new comparative syntax.

The most salient characteristic of pro-drop languages is reflected in what Jaeggli (1981) called Avoid Pronoun Principle²². The pro-drop parameter distinguishes between languages depending on whether they can or cannot have null subjects. Thus, it differentiates

²²For an analysis on the Avoid Pronoun Principle in Spanish see Fernández Soriano (1989).

languages such as English and French, which must have a pronoun with phonetic realization, from Spanish and Italian, which do allow null subjects. Being a weak language as far as inflexion is concerned, English does not allow, as a consequence, any licensing of null subjects. On the contrary, Spanish, as a strong inflection language, is a null subject language which licenses the empty category *pro* in subject position: its recoverability is guaranteed by the rich verbal inflection²³.

This dichotomy does not however fully explain the case of French. Even though French is a strong inflection language, it does not have null subjects. Here we are confronted with a peculiar situation and its roots are to be found in the phonological component: French, having strong inflection, does license null subjects. Nevertheless, when Checking Theory applies, it cannot check them due to the phonological convergence of French inflections. This loss of phonological differentiation or, as one may call it, this loss of inflection in the phonetic form, is what prevents French from having null surface subjects.

Regarding the literature, Perlmutter (1970) was the first to differentiate between two types of languages on the basis of the obligatory presence of the subject in surface structure.

²³Nevertheless, some languages such as Irish, Chinese and Japanese, even though they do not have a rich inflection, allow the appearance of null subjects (Jaeggli and Safir 1989). The opposite situation is also found in French, for instance, which, being a [+ strong] language, does not allow null subjects, as will be shown later on.

Jaeggli and Safir's (1989) proposal argues that only languages with homogeneous paradigms allow null subjects: either fully inflected languages, such as Spanish or Italian, or those with no inflection at all, such as Chinese. On the contrary, those languages with a heterogeneous paradigm, with a mixture of pure roots and inflected forms, such as English and French, are not allowed to have null subjects. This UG principle is referred to as Principle of Morphological Uniformity.

Under Perlmutter's analysis, English and French were grouped together.

Rizzi (1986) proposes that for a language to have null subjects, it has to both license them and, at the same time, identify them: recoverability requires identification. Therefore, Spanish, since it both licenses (because of its strong Agr) and identifies its subjects (because of its rich morphology), has null subjects; whereas French does not because, even though it licenses them, it cannot identify them.

Consequently, the link that could be established between Rizzi's (1986) proposal and Pollock's (1989) [weak/strong] Agr parameter has to be adjusted: weak agreement languages, such as English, can neither license nor identify their subjects and therefore no null subject is accepted. Strong agreement languages, such as French and Spanish, should license and identify their subjects, thus, allowing null subjects. Nevertheless, at this point the [+/- phonological] dimension has to be included and combined with the two previous dimensions; so that, only in the case of strong agreement [+phonological] languages, will null subjects be allowed²⁴ as shown in (30):

(30)	They play the piano	(Ils,) Ils jouent du piano	(Ellos) Tocab el piano
	I play the piano	(Moi,) Je joue du piano	(Yo) Toco el piano
	You play the piano	(Toi,) Tu joues du piano	(Tú) Tocas el piano

²⁴As it was already mentioned, languages such as Chinese or Japanese cannot be analyzed exactly in the same way in terms of licensing and identification (Huang 1984; Jaeggli and Safir 1989). Regarding the case of subjects in these languages, a different proposal considers them not as empty or null subjects but rather as empty operators whose content could be recovered from the context. Thus, Chinese *pro*, for instance, is licensed by a discourse-bound operator in the specifier of CP and identified by null topics (Liceras and Díaz 1995).

This analysis of French is based on Authier's (1992) and Roberge's (1986, 1990) proposals concerning present-day French. Roberts (1993) argues in his diachronic analysis of French, that Old French allowed null subjects. The null subjects were subject to more restricted conditions than their Modern Italian and Spanish counterparts. For instance, null subjects in Old French were more widely attested in root clauses than in embedded clauses. At the beginning of the Old French period, the verbal paradigm had six distinct person inflections like Spanish, as shown in (31):

(31)	chant	chantons
	chantes	chantez
	chante(t)	chantent

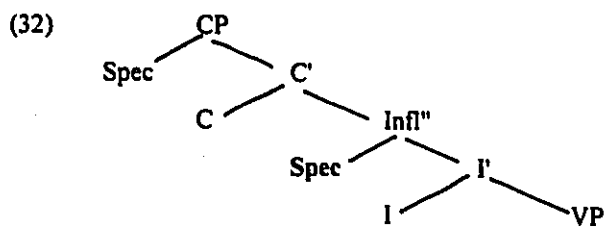
Nevertheless, this paradigm was already reduced to three in spoken Old French. According to Roberts (1993), this phenomenon is the result of two processes: 1) phonetic erosion of final consonants and 2) an operation of analogy which added -e in the first person singular. Even though he specifically says that he is not suggesting that there is a direct relationship between the identification of *pro* and morphophonemics, we think that phonology may not be totally excluded.

At this point, Roberge's (1986, 1990) and Liceras and Díaz's (1995) proposals can be included²⁵, as shown in diagram I:

²⁵Authier (1992) argues as well that French is a pro-drop language on the basis of Det.

Diagram I: Null Subject Parameter: Rizzi (1986), Roberge (1986, 1990), Liceras and Díaz (1995)			
	ENGLISH	FRENCH	SPANISH
Licensing	NO [-strong]	YES in Spec IP [+strong]	YES in Spec IP [+strong]
Identification	NO	YES via subject clitic pronouns	YES via f-features in Agr
Category	Overt pronoun	Overt pronoun	pro

According to these authors, English does not license (due to its [- strong] feature) nor identify null subjects, while both French and Spanish do. The licensing in both Spanish and French occurs at the level of Spec Infl (as in 32). The difference between French and Spanish lies in the fact that in Spanish identification takes place through the f-features in Agr, while in French it does so via the subject clitic pronouns.



The English examples in (30) reveal a weak agreement language both lexically and phonologically: the information provided by the verb fails to discriminate among the three sentences so that the subject can only be identified via lexical realization. Notice that the very same verbal form corresponds to three different pronominal subjects: 3rd person plural, 1st

person singular and 2nd person singular²⁶. Both French and Spanish, on the contrary, present a lexical variety of endings for each Person, which in the case of Spanish is paired with a phonological variety. This is what allows for null subjects in Spanish sentences since the person/number information can be traced in the verbal endings. The pronouns in parenthesis could be used for emphatic or contrastive purposes, in this way pairing the French tonic ones (moi, toi...).

The importance of morphology and specifically the degree of contrastive value, which gives saliency to the various functional categories, has been formalized by Johnson (1990). He proposes a hierarchical arrangement of functional categories, as shown in (33), where number and person had their own projections:

(33) PerP NumP TnsP VP

Assuming Johnson's (1990) hierarchy, Hoekstra, Hyams and Becker (1996) propose three language-types according to a variation in the degree of morphosyntactic specification, as indicated in (34):

(34)	Language type	Pers	Num	Tense	
	a-type	m	0	Ø	(Spanish, Italian)
	b-type	Ø	m	0	(English, Dutch)
	c-type	Ø	Ø	m	(Japanese)

[m = marked in the morphosyntax 0 = not marked Ø = N/A]

In this proposal, the English third person s is a specification of the functional head Number²⁷,

²⁶The only residual case of verbal endings left in the English paradigm is found in the simple present 3rd person singular -s: he/she plays the piano.

²⁷This idea was first suggested by Kayne (1989b).

so that, like Dutch, English is a b-type language. As these authors maintain, Spanish is an a-type language since it displays person distinctions as previously shown in (30). Within this analysis, as we have already mentioned, the case of French presents a somewhat different behaviour, reflected in (35):

(35)	Parler	
	[je parl]	[nu parlø]
	[tu parl]	[vu parle]
	[il parl]	[il parl]

According to Hoekstra, Hyams and Becker's (1996) typology presented in (34), the non-pro-drop property of French is explained in terms of a paradigm that marks person distinction in the plural but not in the singular. Consequently, this implies that French is not simply a straightforward a-type or b-type language.

Turning now to Checking Theory, it has to apply regardless of whether one is dealing with a pro-drop language or with a non pro-drop one. According to the Checking Theory, verbs which are taken from the lexicon are already fully inflected. The inflectional morphological features must be checked against the abstract features of the functional heads (Mood, Tense and Agreement). These abstract features must then be eliminated in the course of derivation if derivation is to converge, that is, if it is to be accepted. As indicated in diagram II, Checking Theory can apply overtly, as it occurs in Spanish and French, or covertly, as it occurs in English. Even when it is overt, a difference still exists between the type of identification with which each language is associated (Spanish and phi-features in Agr; French and subject clitic pronouns):

Diagram II: The application of Checking Theory		
English	French	Spanish
α adjoins to I after spell out, that is, the checking is overt	α adjoins to I before spell out, that is, covertly at LF	
I always eat apples ²⁸	Je mange toujours des pommes ²⁹	pro Como sicmpre manzanas
[e [M [1st sing [pres [always eat apples]]]]]		
	[e [Indicative [1st sing [pres [toujours mange des pommes]]]]]	

Because of this, Spanish emerges as a strongly inflected language but with a greater degree of lexical visibility than French, since a different and separate phonological realization corresponds to each lexical form (verbal inflection in Spanish consists of the combination of three persons and two numbers, Sánchez López 1993). Thus, as shown in diagram III, a kind of progressive gradation among the three languages could be established instead of a clear-cut division between English-type versus French-type languages, which comes to complement the distinction proposed by Roberge (1986, 1990) and Liceras and Díaz (1995):

²⁸Pollock's (1993) principle states that only morphologically identified (strong) functional heads can be checked overtly. Therefore no main verb in English can be raised to Mood overtly. In our opinion, the phonological component that is proven to be of great contrastive value between Spanish and French also has to be taken into consideration.

²⁹Pollock (1989) assumes that there are principles of UG that ban insertion of adverbs between a verb and its complements. This may be true of English in some cases, but not of French and certainly not of Spanish:

*John seems seldom happy
 Mes amis aiment tous Marie
 Juan abraza a menudo a María

In Spanish, the preposition *a* works as a marker of accusative which endows the complement with a greater degree of independence from the verb in terms of adjoinment.

Diagram III: Comparative Agreement features		
English	French	Spanish
WEAK	STRONG	STRONG
[- lexical]	[+ lexical]	[+ lexical]
[- phonological]	[- phonological]	[+ phonological]

Contreras (1991) adds to Pollock's [+/- strong] Agr the [+/- lexical] Agr, Spanish Agr being [+lexical] and English and French being [-lexical]. Nevertheless, at least in the cases under this analysis, the [+/- lexical] dimension is not enough and not even completely true as far as the [-lexical] feature attributed to French: French does have lexically distinctive features even though they are not phonologically realized. That is why the [+/- phonological] feature is included. Thus, although it has to be further formalized, this set of features accurately captures the differences.

Therefore, neither the weak/strong dimension nor the [+/- lexical] dimension is enough, since there are important differences between the two [+ strong] Agr languages, Spanish and French, that require other processes intervening in order to be accounted for.

2.3.5. More on Identification Requirements: The Case of the Spanish Form Usted

The Spanish form usted is closely related to the identification requirement. It is a rather interesting case since it presents an anomaly in the Spanish pronominal system. According to Sánchez López (1993), the syntactic singularity of usted can be explained in terms of the constrictions imposed by its morphological combinatory: even though usted is a second person

"personal noun"³⁰, it requires a third person agreement with the verb, as indicated in (36):

(36) ¿Puede usted abrir la puerta?

Él puede abrir la puerta

A conflict is then created: as opposed to the univocal correspondence in informal use between personal pronoun (tú/vosotros) and personal morpheme, in formal use the third person endings present an ambiguity since they can correspond both to the third person (él/ellos) and to the second person (usted/ustedes). Because of that combination of features (second and third person), the presence of usted in the sentence is practically obligatory in order to destroy the ambiguity created by the verbal inflection.

Therefore, even though agreement in Spanish can identify a null subject, in the case of usted it is necessary to resort to another grammatical mechanism: the presence of usted for a complete identification of the null element in subject position.

The importance of identification is reflected in other languages such as Italian, Arabic and Portuguese, which present similar cases to the Spanish case with the form usted.

Kenstowicz (1989) analyzes certain Arabic dialects and he maintains that person inflection appears to be a necessary property for licensing null subjects. One of these Arabic dialects, Bani-Hassan Arabic, has a participial verbal form which fails to inflect for person, showing only tense distinction. This form does not permit subject pronouns to be omitted, in contrast with the perfect form of the verb, which does inflect for person and which does allow null subjects, as shown in the examples in (37):

³⁰Sánchez López (1993) echoes Sánchez de las Brozas' (1975) precision.

- (37) Fariid gaal *innu/inn-ha mištarya al-libaas ('Fariid said that/that-she has bought the dress')
 Fariid gaal innu istarat al-libaas ('Fariid said that (she) bought the dress')

According to Kenstowicz (1989), a similar paradigm appears with the verb to be in all dialects of Arabic.

In European Portuguese, Raposo's (1989) analysis reveals that certain structures do not allow *pro* in subject position even though they show person and number agreement with their subjects.

Finally, Brandi and Cordin (1989) analyze two Italian dialects, Trentino and Fiorentino. As opposed to standard Italian where null subjects in tensed clauses are freely allowed, these two dialects may require the phonetic realization of subject clitics, as shown in (38) with the Italian equivalents of you speak/tu parles/tú hablas:

- (38) parli (Standard Italian)
 parli (Trentino, Fiorentino) Te parli (T) Tu parli (F)

When taking a look at the entire paradigm of the verb in Trentino and Fiorentino, some gaps appear, as shown in (39):

- | | | | |
|------|---------------|------------------|-------------------------------|
| (39) | Trentino | Fiorentino | |
| | Parlo | (E) parlo | (I speak) |
| | Te parli | Tu parli | (You-singular speak) |
| | E parla | E parla | (he speaks) |
| | La parla | La parla | (she speaks) |
| | Parlem | Si parla | (We speak) |
| | Parlé | Vu parlate | (You-plural speak) |
| | I parla | E parlano | (They-masculine speak) |
| | Le parla | Le parlano | (They-feminine speak) |

Fiorentino, on the one hand, has obligatory subject clitics for all persons except for the first person singular, in which case the subject pronoun seems to be optional. In Trentino, on the other hand, the paradigm lacks three pronominal subjects in the first person singular and plural and in the second person plural, respectively.

What happens in Spanish with the form usted parallels other languages³¹. Even though a detailed analysis is required, a common base seems to exist in all cases and this can probably be found in the importance of identification.

³¹Parallel structures in English can be found in the null subjects present in the English of diaries --analyzed by Haegeman (1990)--, as shown in (i), and in the English child language --analyzed by Rizzi (1994)--, as shown in (ii). In the case of diaries identification is linked to discourse and is very much connected with pragmatics.

- (i) _____ want more
 (ii) _____ went to the market to buy some flowers

CHAPTER THREE

3.1. Introduction

Pollock's (1989) analysis on auxiliary verbs and the predicate 'Loc', together with Travis' (1984) insight on pleonastic elements and Belletti's (1983) proposal on unaccusatives licensing Case, provides the working bases for the Minimalist approach to expletives. According to such bases, Minimalist proposals unify and redefine certain properties of expletive constructions and provide an analysis which adapts itself to pre-Minimalist approaches and to Minimalists maxims themselves.

According to the framework of the Minimalist Program, and more specifically when following one of the economy principles proposed by Chomsky (1993), Lasnik (1995) offers an analysis of expletive constructions which concentrates on two main ideas: the driving force for the movement of the expletive's associate and the licensing of the associate's Case. We will take Lasnik's (1995) analysis as well as Travis' (1984), Belletti's (1988) and Pollock's (1989), among others, as both Minimalist and pre-Minimalist starting points in the study of expletive constructions in English and Spanish/French, taking into consideration both syntactic and semantic criteria.

Following Travis' (1984) typology of constructions using pleonastic elements, a double division can be established. On the one hand, lexical pleonastics and empty pleonastics involve a feature of specification of Infl. And, on the other hand, the it-type (I-type) versus the there-type (T-type) also reveal differences with regards to the [+ Case], [+ #]¹ features of the former and the

¹In Travis' (1984) terminology, [#] implies that the item with this feature is either singular or plural, but at least carries a feature for number.

[+ Case] feature of the latter. In this respect, three types of pleonastic elements can be distinguished, (there, it, *pro*), as exemplified in (1):

(1)	There is a man in the garden	lexical [+ Case]
	It is likely that he will come	lexical [+ Case] [+ #]
	<i>pro</i> aparece de repente un hombre en el jardín	empty

The presence of anyone of these pleonastic elements can, in its turn, be correlated with a greater or lesser degree of richness of the inflection in a language, and, consequently, can be very much related to the Null-subject parameter.

We would like to concentrate on there existential constructions in English and their Spanish and French counterparts. From a syntactic perspective, we will focus on issues such as agreement features, the question of Case in such constructions, etc. From a semantic point of view, we will include Chomsky's Principle of Full Interpretation and the choosing of lexical forms for each interpretation (including the presence of "doublets"), among other questions.

As background for the analysis, we will first present a very general typology of pleonastic elements, providing as clear as possible a distinction between there and it constructions in English as well as between expletive there (including the locative features it is endowed with) and adjunct there. Once this is achieved, we will concentrate on the construction there is-are itself, taking into consideration mainly Travis's (1984), Pollock's (1989) and Lasnik's (1995) views. In order to attain a complete analysis of there constructions, we will examine their behaviour as far as Verb-movement and their status regarding Case and agreement; always under a comparative perspective and taking into account word order differences between English, Spanish and French. More specifically, we will concentrate on how each language presents

different patterns, even though common ground can also be found.

3.2. Pleonastic Elements

3.2.1. An Expletive Typology

Pleonastic elements or expletives are elements in NP positions which are not arguments and to which no theta-role is assigned. The examples in (2) illustrate the different cases of English, Spanish and French respectively:

- (2a) The dog/It is Victor's
 It is raining outside
 It surprises me that he is coming to visit us
 There appeared out of the shadows a large dog
 There are 10 million inhabitants in this city
- (2b) El perro/pro es de Victor
 pro está lloviendo
 pro me sorprende que él vaya a venir a visitarnos
 pro apareció por entre las sombras un perro enorme
 Hay 10 millones de habitantes en esta ciudad
- (2c) Le chien/Il est à Victor
 Il est en train de pleuvoir
 Il est surprenant qu'il vienne pour nous rendre visite
 Il est apparu parmi les ombrages un gros chien
 Il y a 10 millions d'habitants dans cette ville

According to the Extended Projection Principle (EPP), all sentences must have a subject.

Nevertheless, this subject can either be a lexical subject, as is the case in both English and French, or a null element, as occurs in Spanish. Thus, in the examples in both (2a) and (2c),

The different forms used in the three languages can be summed up in diagram I:

Diagram I: The Extended Projection Principle: English, French and Spanish			
	ENGLISH	FRENCH	SPANISH ²
Referential	it	il	pro
Weather V	it	il	pro
V(raising)-S	it	il	pro
V(unaccusative)-NP	there	il	pro
	[lexical]	[lexical]	[empty]
existential constructions			
singular	there is	il y a	hay
plural	there are	il y a	hay

[partially taken from Travis, 218]

French and Spanish are both rich languages as far as their morphology is concerned, but as Taraldsen (1978) asserts, Infl can be "rich" to different extents. In fact, taking as a starting point Taraldsen's statement, Travis (1984) elaborates on it to propose the following hierarchy in (4):

- (4) I) if Infl is very rich, referential pronouns may drop,
 II) if Infl is quite rich, all pleonastics drop,
 III) if Infl is only slightly rich, only T-type pleonastics can drop.

²Although *it* constructions and the equivalent constructions in Spanish fall outside of the scope of this thesis, it is necessary to add that, according to Suñer (1982b), Spanish pleonastic *pro* is not really *pro*, but rather \emptyset , since it can never be realized as a pronominal or nominal alternative.

This is illustrated in the following examples in (5) from Spanish, English and French:

- (5) *pro*³come todo *pro* llueve *pro* llegó un hombre
 it eats everything it is raining there arrived a man
 il mange tout il pleut il est arrivé un homme

Thus, Travis' (1984) proposal can be summarized as in diagram II:

Diagram II: Inventory of referential and pleonastic elements in Spanish, English and French			
REFERENTIAL	PLEONASTIC ELEMENTS		
	I-type	T-type	
∅	0	0	Spanish
I	1	1	English
I	1 →		French

[partially taken from Travis (24)]

In view of the Spanish examples and in order to account for the Spanish facts, pleonastic *pro*, which is absent from both English and French, has to be introduced. This is correlated with the null-subject parameter since Spanish is a *pro*-drop language, while English and French are not.

Pleonastic *pro* differs from referential *pro* in that the former is obligatory, a fact already stated by Chomsky (1982). Referential pronouns can be used for emphasis or to establish contrast, as in example (6); in the case of pleonastics no such double possibility is available, and therefore the pronominal alternative is ungrammatical, as shown in (7):

³Spanish subject pronouns, as indicated by different Spanish grammarians (Fernández Ramírez 1986, Gili Gaya 1973, etc), are only used for specific purposes, for instance, in order to convey emphasis or contrast, thus somehow serving as the counterparts for the French tonic pronouns (*moi*, *toi*, etc.), or the emphatic use of the English pronouns (YOU versus you; SHE versus she, etc.) .

- (6) *pro* come mucho ('___ [he] eats a lot')
él come mucho, pero yo no ('he eats a lot but I don't')
- (7) *pro/Ø*⁴ llueve mucho ('__ rains a lot') **ello* llueve mucho ('it rains a lot')

A typology of expletives has to include both overt (there, it, il) --following the EPP--; and covert or vacuous expletives (*pro*) --following the null-subject parameter--; all of them being nothing more than targets for movement.

The above comparison of pleonastic constructions in English, Spanish and French leads us to conclude that a relationship can be established between the type of pleonastic element/s a language selects and the type of subjects it allows, together with the type of inflection (+/- strong) that characterizes it. Thus, in Spanish, inflection must be rich enough to identify referential NPs as well as both I and T-type pleonastics⁵. In English and French, inflection identifies no NP's whatsoever⁶.

3.2.2. There/it Contrast

In English there is a clear contrast between there and it, which exemplifies the two types of pleonastic elements, I-type and T-type, as in (8):

- (8) It / *there seems [that she cannot do it]
 There / *it was found under the tree [a great treasure]

As shown in (8), the first striking difference lies in the fact that it can be in a chain

⁴Following Suñer (1982b).

⁵Travis (1984) argues the same for Italian.

⁶However there is no one to one correspondence between the Null Subject parameter and the presence of null pleonastic *pro* in a language, since, for instance, both Icelandic and German have null expletives, but Icelandic is a null subject language and German is not. These languages possess two forms of expletives, null and overt, which are in complementary distribution.

relationship with sentences⁷, while there can only be in a chain relationship with NP's⁸. But Travis (1984) disagrees with any theory relying on chains, and she proposes an interpretation of Case assignment to the postverbal NP and agreement of the verb with the NP. In that sense, she is offering an alternative analysis differing from Pollock's (1982), Safir's (1982) and Reuland's (1982) analyses; in fact, as we will see, Lasnik's (1995) analysis is based on Travis' (1984) analysis on Case assignment.

It is necessary to emphasize that a very interesting connection is made between the abilities of the specific verb and the distribution of pleonastics, obviously taking into account, as well, the parametric differences that exist between the three languages under analysis (English, Spanish and French). It is not whether *v* requires an NP or an S, but also whether other type of phenomena may intervene in characterizing each particular structure. In this way, issues such as the Theta-criterion, Case Theory or agreement properties⁹, should also be taken into consideration in order to accurately account for the idiosyncracies of each language. This ties in with the analysis of Verb-movement and proposals such as Pollock's (1989) verbal typology (more specifically the third group within this typology --auxiliaries and the predicate 'Loc'-); and Chomsky's (1986-1993), Lasnik's (1995) and Boskovic's (1995) and proposals regarding the economy principles affecting such movement, as will

⁷Subjects may be extraposed only if they are sentential. Logical NP subjects that are found post-verbally are actually base-generated within the VP as objects either to passive verbs or unaccusative verbs (Travis 1984).

⁸Thus, Reuland (1983), among others, maintains that the division I-type/T-type depends on the sort of chain that is created, that is, on whether the pleonastic is coindexed with an S' or with an NP.

⁹Both substitution and affixation analyses are intimately connected to the agreement properties in there constructions.

be seen later.

Regarding the features they carry, these properties also reveal a second contrast between there and it. It, being an I-type pleonastic element, is the spell-out of the features [+ #], [+ Case]; while there, being a T-type one, is simply the spell-out of [+ Case]¹⁰.

A third characteristic deals with the fact that, according to Pollock's (1982) and Reuland's (1983) assumptions, the I-type is the strong pleonastic, while the T-type is the weak pleonastic, as indicated in diagram III:

Diagram III: Pollock's (1982) and Reuland's (1982) pleonastic classification		
	Strong pleonastic	Weak pleonastic
characteristics	It is an NP	It is an S (Reuland)
of the element	It has [+/-number] and Nominative Case (Pollock) ¹¹	
lexical choice	<u>It</u>	<u>There</u>

The basic idea is that Infl, or better Agr --following Pollock's (1989) Split Inflection Hypothesis--, must be linked to something stronger than just a T-type pleonastic. In other words, the pleonastic must be sufficiently strong to bear the index of Agr¹².

Apart from this, and as Chomsky (1995) suggests, a distinction has to be made between expletives that have Case and phi-features --their relevant features are erased, such as English it--;

¹⁰As Groat (1993) maintains as well, it is an NP that checks Case features and phi-features, while there lacks phi-features, this being the only morphosyntactic difference between them.

¹¹According to Pollock's notation, [+ number] stands for plural and [- number] for singular.

¹²Travis (1984), though disagreeing with the overall theory, admits that it can well be applied to French.

and the "pure expletives" that lack these features and that do not erase the interpretable features (in English, there). As a consequence, the expletive construction will manifest verbal agreement with the associate precisely when the expletive lacks Case and phi-features (English there, Spanish *pro*), but not when the expletive has a full complement of features (English it, French il).

3.3. There Pleonastics

3.3.1. Semantic Properties

3.3.1.1. Adjunct/ Expletive/ Locative There

Before dealing with expletive there, the distinction between expletive and adjunct there has to be recalled. Nevertheless, it is also necessary to underline that expletive there has different properties from locative there. In fact, as Chomsky (1995) points out, in examples such as the one in (9) the expletive interpretation is blocked:

- (9) over there is a man in the room

Another distinction has to be made between expletive there and adjunct of place there. Such a confluence of different properties in the same lexical form neither finds any parallels in Spanish nor in French, since in these two languages different and distinct lexical items correspond to each property (il y a/là-bas; hay/allí). The differences between these two forms are captured in diagram IV:

Diagram IV: Expletive <u>there</u> vs adjunct <u>there</u>	
EXPLETIVE <u>THERE</u>	ADJUNCT OF PLACE <u>THERE</u>
- it cannot be questioned	it can be questioned
three pigs are escaping there are three pigs escaping -*where are three pigs escaping? -there	I saw Bill there last week -where did you see Bill last week? -there
- it cannot be freely omitted in declaratives	it can be freely omitted in declaratives
*are three pigs escaping	I saw Bill last week
- it does not really contribute to the meaning of the sentence. Rather it is required for structural reasons, filling up the subject position (EPP)	
three pigs are escapin, ¹³ there are 3 pigs escaping	
- it cannot receive focal stress	it can receive focal stress
* <i>there</i> are three pigs escaping	I saw him (right) <i>there</i>

¹³This is an alternative sentence pattern in which the subject position may be occupied by the expletive element there --a non-argument element which fills an NP position and which, therefore, is required for structural reasons--. More examples include sentences such as the ones in (i), offered by Haegeman (1994):

- (i) three accidents occurred after lunch
there occurred three accidents after lunch
- no medical help was available on the premises
there was no medical help available on the premises
- three more accidents occurred without there being any medical help available on the premises
there occurred three more accidents without there being any medical help available on the premises

3.3.1.2. There Constructions and the Full Interpretation Principle

Since Chomsky (1980), the analysis of expletive constructions has been based on a movement relation between the expletive and its associate. The type of relation and the different characteristics associated with it change depending on the proposal, but the movement view always remains.

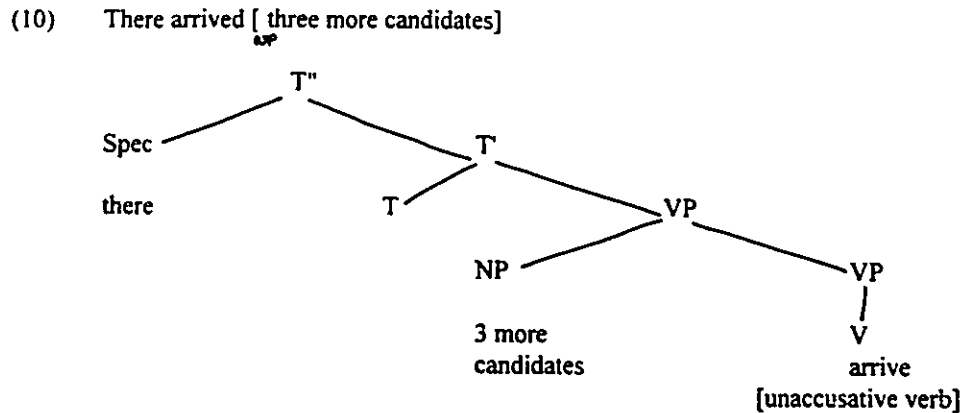
This relationship between Verb-movement and expletives appears when a contradiction between the nature of expletives and an economy principle (the Full Interpretation Principle) is pointed out.

The Principle of Full Interpretation (FI) (Chomsky 1995) constitutes one of the principles of economy¹⁴ which are crucial within the Minimalist Program --this type of economy principles apply to both representations and derivations--. The Principle of Full Interpretation bans any superfluous symbols in representations and any superfluous steps in derivations. According to FI, the legitimacy of an element at LF derives from the fact that it receives an appropriate interpretation at that level. So that by FI, elements which do not receive an interpretation should be absent at LF. As Marantz (1995) explains, on the LF side, FI might rule out the presence of too many superfluous constituents in a structure, such as unbound variables or NP's without Theta-roles. On the PF side, FI might reject representations containing symbols which have no phonetic realization.

When analyzing the existential construction in (10) and concentrating on the semantic representation of the sentence, the presence of there becomes problematic. Expletives do not contribute to the meaning of the sentence, and therefore, as Haegeman (1994) points out, it is not

¹⁴As we have seen before, some of these principles are: Procrastinate, Last Resort, Greed, Shortest Link.

clear what role the expletive plays in the LF representation of the sentence¹⁵.



Taking into account the FI principle and applying it to there constructions, the first conflict surfaces. Expletives, which are not arguments because they lack a Theta-role, must be removed at LF: they do not receive any interpretation and therefore are not licensed as legitimate LF objects. As Chomsky (1995) points out, one possibility may be to simply delete the expletive. The result, however, would not be acceptable since it would go against the EPP: with the deletion of there, no subject would be present at LF. Therefore, there must be eliminated in order to conform to FI. It, however, cannot be deleted.

Two solutions have been proposed in order to solve this problem: Groat's (1993) option constitute a semantic solution, while Chomsky's (1991) concentrates on syntax.

Groat (1993) offers an alternative analysis to the one proposed by Chomsky in 1991.

According to Groat (1993), expletives are in fact legitimate LF objects with an LF interpretation of

¹⁵Chomsky (1986) proposes that LF should only contain elements that are legitimate at that level, that is, elements which contribute to the semantic interpretation.

"null"; therefore, there does have a semantic interpretation¹⁶. His proposal is based on the idea that LF does not see "inside" there because it completely ignores there. Therefore, although there can still be interpreted as an LF affix, it can also be said that it has a "null" interpretation at LF as a defective NP.

For Chomsky (1991), this apparent contradiction in the properties of the expletive is solved by taking a more syntactic approach to the definition of there, an approach which has to do with its syntactic properties. This approach focuses on the concept of there as an LF affix and on an analysis of there constructions based on movement, as will be seen later on.

3.3.1.3. There Constructions and the Predicate 'Loc'

As part of the semantic properties of there constructions, it is necessary to mention the possible relationship that could be established between these constructions and Theta-theory. We will present an analysis based on Pollock's (1989) verbal typology, which is closely related to Verb-movement, in order to put in perspective the role that Theta-theory plays in existential constructions.

- Pollock's (1989) Verbal Typology

Pollock (1989) establishes a close connection between Theta-theory and the theory of Verb-movement. He proposes the parameter of the opacity/transparency of AgrP, which accounts for the variation between languages such as English and French. These languages which have a rich morphology (such as French, Spanish and Italian) will have a transparent AgrP, which means that this

¹⁶As will be seen later on, Groat's (1993) proposal of "null" interpretation offers as well an explanation for the definiteness/indefiniteness of the NP's entering in there constructions. (See also Diesing 1992).

transparent node allows the Theta-role to be assigned by the verb to its constituents. Nevertheless, in languages such as English, AgrP will be opaque to Theta-role assignment due to their poor morphology. It will be in opaque Agr languages where restrictions are found as to the type of verbs that can really undergo Verb-movement without producing any violation of the Theta-criterion and, thus, resulting in ungrammatical sentences. Together with the different type of morphology in every language, the [+/- finite] dimension is added to complete the table of restrictions on V-mov as shown in diagram V:

Diagram V: Relationship between Agr and Theta-role assignment	
Transparent AgrP	rich morphology, [+ finite]Spanish/French-type
Opaque AgrP	poor morphology, [+ finite]English-type
	[- finite]Spanish/French/English-type

According to Pollock's (1989) proposal, there could be three different types of verbs:

1. Verbs that assign Theta-role and that, as a consequence, cannot undergo Verb-movement when AgrP is opaque (otherwise, they would violate the Theta-criterion). Examples belonging to this group are presented in (11) both in English and in French/Spanish:

- (11) V-mov: Jean embrasse souvent Marie
 [NP₂ [[embrasse] [t_i] [souvent t_i Marie]]
- Juan abraza a menudo a María
- No V-mov: John often kisses Mary [NP [often kiss Mary]]
 *John kisses often Mary
 Juan a menudo abraza a María

No V-mov: Ne pas sembler heureux...
 No parecer feliz...¹⁷
 Not to seem happy...

2. The second group consists of those verbs that do not assign Theta-role and therefore can always move without causing any violation of the Theta-criterion (aspectual be/être and have/avoir, and "passive" be/être), as the examples in (12) reflect:

- (12) V-mov: John is always happy
 Juan está siempre contento
 John est toujours heureux
- V-mov: Not to be happy...
 No parecer/estar siempre contento ...
 Ne pas sembler heureux...

3. A third group would include certain uses of auxiliary verbs such as existential be/être and lexical have/avoir. According to Pollock (1989), these verbs can undergo Verb-movement even though their complements must be Theta-marked. The corresponding examples are indicated in (13):

- (13) to be there or not to be there Être là ou ne pas être là Estar allí o no estar allí
 ...[PRO (ne) T pas v-max être; [e; là]]...

John has a car Loc

Jean a une voiture Loc

Juan tiene un coche Loc

¹⁷Spanish, as well as Italian, does not have any such contrast between the order of negative adverbs in finite clauses and their order in infinitives, as indicated in examples (i-ii):

- (i) Juan no come mucho
 (ii) No comer mucho...

It is there that Pollock introduces the overt/covert locative predicate 'Loc', which will be responsible for the assignment of Theta-roles. A connection exists between this third group of verbs and a locative value, a connection that is reflected in English, in Spanish and French¹⁸.

- Location and Auxiliaries Have/Tener/Avoir

It is clear that the R-expressions contained in the sentences in (13) must be Theta-marked by predicates other than the moved verbs. It is possible to find a relationship between some verbs and the concept of location (whether overt or covertly expressed), as in the following pairs (14a-b-c)¹⁹:

- (14a) This city has 10 million inhabitants Locovert Loc
 There are 10 million inhabitants in this cityovert Loc
- (14b) Esta ciudad tiene 10 millones de habitantes Loccovert Loc
 Hay 10 millones de habitantes en esta ciudad^dovert Loc
- (14c) Cette ville a 10 millions d'habitants Loccovert Loc
 Il y a 10 millions d'habitants dans cette villeovert Loc

The presence of such a covert locative 'Loc' may find syntactic and semantic support in the correlation between tener/haber in Spanish and have/there is-are in English. In that sense one perceives a connection between have/tener and location. This relationship may in some cases be overtly paralleled with the corresponding pair haber/there is-are which reveals the actual lexical

¹⁸As Lyons (1967) maintains, existential and possessive (to have) constructions derive (both synchronically and diachronically) from locatives. The connection between existential and locative sentences is reflected in the occurrence of an originally deictic particle in existential constructions. See also Lyons (1977) and Bresnan (1988).

¹⁹Torrego (1989) analyzes this double possibility by arguing that ordinary unaccusative must, in fact, have a hidden locative which corresponds to the overt locative subject.

locative. This presents a successfully valid semantic doublet²⁰; since, even though they have different syntactic representations, their semantic interpretations are similar.

In the case of French, apart from maintaining the locative predicate, the same auxiliary verb is present in both structures, thus the verb avoir appears in sentences with overt locative and in sentences with covert 'Loc'. On the contrary, as already mentioned, English and Spanish present two different kinds of verbs.

Kuno (1971) maintains that existential sentences have locatives in the sentence-initial position so that the basic word order is the one in (15). He provides evidence for this hypothesis in English, French, Spanish, Russian, Chinese and Turkish:

(15) Locative + V_{exist} + NP_{ind_{def}}.²¹

²⁰We are conscious of the fact that tener is not an auxiliary verb in Spanish as have is in English. There are two main reasons for the treatment it receives in this section: it is the direct translation of the English counterpart and have and tener display similar syntactic behaviour. When substituting the complement by a pronoun, as in example (i), the accusative los appears. One tends to think that the accusative Case is assigned by the verb tener. Nevertheless, when turning the sentence into the passive voice the result is ungrammatical, as in example (ii). It could be explained in the following terms: in this case, accusative is not assigned by the verb tener, but by 'Loc'.

- (i) Esta ciudad los tiene ('this city them has')
 (ii) *son tenidos ('___ [they] are had')

Therefore, even though a more formalized analysis is needed, not only semantic but also syntactic similarities can be drawn between tener and have. As already mentioned by Bello (1988), haber (have) in Spanish still maintains its original meaning of tener (have, possession), exemplified in sentences such as the ones in (iii):

- (iii) Hubo fiestas ('there were parties')
 la ciudad tuvo fiestas ('the city had parties')
 Hay animales maravillosos la naturaleza tiene animales maravillosos

²¹In a continuous discourse, there is a strong tendency to start sentences with old information, i.e. with something already known, and to introduce new information towards the end of the sentence. In most existential sentences, locatives are definite and subjects are, by definition, indefinite. Therefore, the natural word order is locative before subject (Kuno 1971).

When analyzing the examples in (16), --the basic word order being (16a)--, (16b) comes from a locative-postposing rule (Kuno 1971) which moves locatives to the sentence-final position. As any movement, it leaves a trace in its original position²² which in this case is in the form of there:

(16a) On the table are two books²³

(16b) There are two books on the table

(16c) On the table, there are two books

Locatives, postponed by the locative-postposing rule, can be placed in the sentence-initial position by the adverb-preposing rule, as in (16c) in which there is retained.

For there sentences lacking locatives, Kuno's (1971) solution is a dummy item locative with no semantic content, which is what Pollock (1989) proposes with the predicate 'Loc'.

3.3.1.4. Lexical "Doublets"

Sometimes a double possibility is presented, as shown in (17), so that either raising or expletive insertion can occur, and in the case of expletive insertion, this can be either overt (as in English, French, and Spanish) or covert (as in Spanish). These cases present semantic

²²Kuno's (1971) analysis explains why there and not it or any other grammatical formative, appears sentence-initially: the postponed locative leaves its copy in the original position in the form of the locative pronoun there, just as the postponed sentential complement leaves its copy in the form of the pronoun it.

²³Kuno (1971) explains the ungrammaticality in (ia) by saying that non existential sentences such as (ib) do not have locatives in the sentence initial position; they have subjects instead, their structure being NP + be + Locative, so that locative-postposing *does* not apply to them:

(ia) *There are the two books on the table

(ib) The two books are on the table

"doublets", as in the case of 'Loc':

- (17) hay dos hombres sentados en el jardín (expletive insertion, overt)
 pro están dos hombres sentados en el jardín (" " , covert)²⁴
 dos hombres están sentados en el jardín (raising)

il y a deux hommes assis dans le jardin (expletive insertion, overt)
 deux hommes sont assis dans le jardin (raising)

there are two men seated in the garden (expletive insertion, overt)
 two men are seated in the garden (raising)

Nevertheless, and as Groat (1993) maintains²⁵, the sentences in (17) are not synonymous since in the expletive-insertion sentences, the associate is endowed with a non-specific reading, while the sentences in which the expletive undergoes raising also allow a specific referential reading²⁶. As argued by Groat (1993), in sentences such as the ones in (18), a double possibility is presented but is not of identical meaning, although:

(18a) There is [[a man] in the room]

(18b) [A man]_i is [t_i in the room]

In (18a), a man adjoins to there at LF to check its phi-features. However, LF does not interpret

²⁴Due to the type of cliticization in Spanish lexical existential constructions (hay), when they are replaced by their corresponding empty form (*pro*), the copular verb has to appear, thus causing what we may call a split of the features within the construction hay since only the expletive features are substituted by *pro*. As previously mentioned, Suñer (1982b) maintains the presence of \emptyset , defending that *pro* can be referential but not pleonastic.

²⁵Previously pointed out by Milsark (1977) who provides examples such as the ones in (i) whose derived sentences are in fact ungrammatical [see also Kuno (1971)]:

- (i) There are no unicorns
 *No unicorns are

 *There are many linguists intelligent
 Many linguists are intelligent

²⁶This is one of the reasons why Chomsky (1991) favours an adjunction analysis rather than a substitution analysis in there constructions.

the NP in that position since it interprets the expletive as "null"²⁷. Thus, only the trace in Spec VP is visible to interpretive rules, and, as a consequence, a man has a non-specific reading. But when turning to (18b), ambiguity is created since, apart from the previous interpretation, a second one is also possible: LF sees both the head of the NP chain a man and its tail. Thus, ambiguity is explained in those terms.

3.3.2. Syntactic Properties

3.3.2.1. Background Theory and the Minimalist Program

In order to provide a complete syntactic analysis of there expletives and before dealing with their syntactic properties, it is necessary to outline the theory which will serve as framework for this analysis. Thus, not only Chomsky's (1991) Minimalist Program, but other proposals that also involve a clarification of different aspects should be considered. Travis' (1984) analysis of unaccusative is directly related to there constructions; this type of analysis is formalized by Belletti (1988). We will concentrate here on Travis' (1984) proposal by providing a sketch of Belletti's (1988) and Chomsky's (1991-1993) which will be dealt with later on when analyzing movement in there constructions.

- Travis (1984): *There* Constructions as a Manifestation of Case Assignment

According to Travis (1984), T-type pleonastics are nothing more than a manifestation of Case assignment. Besides, they cannot be assigned Theta-roles since they lack the feature

²⁷Following Groat's (1993) proposal of there as a legitimate LF object with "null" interpretation.

[+ person]. These two characteristics then define the type of position in which T-type pleonastics occur: it has to be a non-Theta-role position but rather a Case-marked position. According to the Extended Projection Principle, the type of position can be restricted even further if one thinks that non-Theta-role positions will always be subject positions. Therefore T-type pleonastics are defined as elements which appear in some structural position, as subject NP's, and whose near complementary distribution will be determined by the Theta-assigning abilities of the VP.

In any case, in English, Spanish and French, postverbal NP's must be indefinite²⁸, as indicated in the examples in (19):

(19) Il est arrivé un/*l' homme

There arrived a/*the man

pro Ha llegado un/*el hombre²⁹

In the example in (20), while the NP a great treasure receives Theta-role since it is in the object position of the verb discover, the pleonastic element there which cannot bear a Theta-role is assigned Case on its turn:

(20) There was discovered under the tree a great treasure.

(20) A great treasure was discovered under the tree

²⁸Following Belletti's (1988) account of partitive Case in pleonastic constructions, the NP must be indefinite, since partitive Case will convey the meaning "some".

Another explanation for the indefiniteness property of the associate NP is offered by Diesing (1992), according to whom non-specific indefinites must stay within the "domain" of VP while definites and specific indefinites must be outside of VP at LF.

For further information on the Definiteness Restriction (DR), the Predicate Restriction (PR) and on the NP Restriction, see Milsark (1977), Stowell (1978), Safir (1987) and Groat (1993).

²⁹The definite NP is only possible in certain contexts under a pragmatic analysis.

Therefore, both elements, the referential a great treasure and the pleonastic there, complement each other so that they are in a complementary distribution. In fact, this type of complementary distribution can cause both elements to mix into one another, and therefore create one single element by means of a movement of the referential element to the subject position, which will have both Case and Theta-role assigned. It is while confronting these types of examples that T-type pleonastics simply become a manifestation of Case assignment, and maybe even a late spell-out rule of the feature [+ Case]. (Travis 1984).

In this way, the substitution analysis³⁰ previously applied to there constructions, -- Chomsky (1980, 1986), among others-- based on the chain-like property of the relationship between the expletive and its associate, is to be abandoned in favour of an analysis based on the assignment of Case both to the expletive and to its associate, in terms of an affixation analysis (Chomsky 1991). Besides, as pointed out by Lasnik and Saito (1991), the substitution analysis causes some difficulties for the application of Binding conditions³¹.

- Belletti (1988): Case Assignment and Unaccusatives

From this point and since the chain analysis is to be rejected on the light of a Case assignment analysis, the next problem that needs to be solved is the question of which element will assign Case.

Belletti (1988) defends the existence of a parameter that allows unaccusative and passive

³⁰For the there insertion analysis see Emonds (1970), Milsark (1977) and Williams (1984).

³¹Nevertheless, Bošković's (1994) and Lasnik's (1995) analysis reveal that these problems are not entirely solved in the new affixation analysis.

verbs to assign Case of some sort to their internal arguments. If the internal argument is assigned Case, there is no need for it to form a chain with the pleonastic element in subject position³². In this way, there will have its own Case and the referential NP its own Case, too. Under such circumstances, no chain will be possible since the result will be a chain with two Cases, thus creating a violation of Case Theory.

- Chomsky (1991-1993): *Affixation-clitization Analysis*

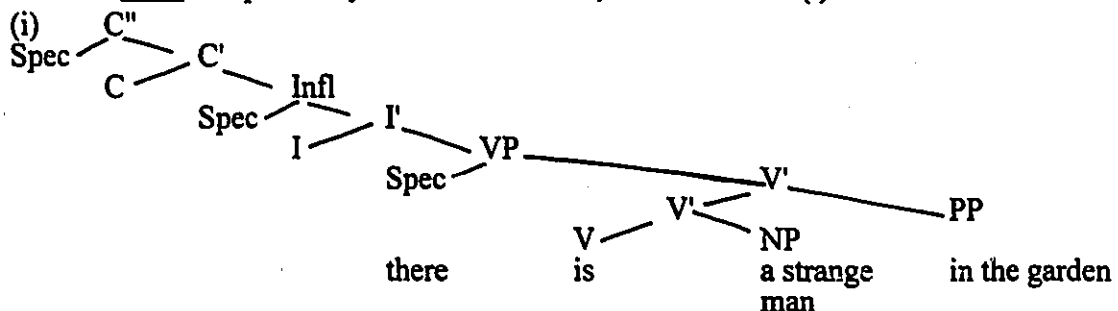
In light of the Minimalist Program, Chomsky (1991-1993) abandons³³ his own proposal regarding expletive constructions based on Case transmission³⁴ in order to adopt

³²Expletives appear only in subject positions since it is there that they are assigned Case and it is the only position to which no Theta-role is assigned since the complement has no semantic role. Nevertheless, in subject position the expletive can bear nominative Case, as in (i), or accusative Case, as in (ii):

- (i) I believe [there is a man here]
- (ii) I believe [there to be a man here]

³³The substitution analysis is abandoned since there has specific features which cannot be deleted due to the condition on recoverability of deletion.

³⁴The basic idea under Chomsky's Case transmission analysis is that both the expletive and its associate need Case. But, due to the Case requirement of the associate, which is not satisfied in its original position, a relation of association is established between the expletive and the associate, so that the Case requirement of the latter is satisfied via its association with there. As a result, a chain-like property for such a relation appears. This association is achieved through substitution by means of which there is replaced by its associate in LF, as indicated in (i):



the strong feature of I (EPP) but must lack either Case or phi-features, or else all features of I will be checked and the associate will not raise.

Chomsky's (1991-1993) analysis of there constructions is based on movement. Within the Minimalist framework, movement has to conform to two main conditions: 1) it has to be driven by morphological requirements and 2) there has to be a driving force for such movement. This last assumption is what leads Chomsky (1993) to propose that the driving force for the movement of the associate of there (alpha) to the position of there in LF component is Greed, a proposal which is backed up by Bošković (1995). As in previous analyses, Chomsky maintains that the associate moves to the position of there in LF component since alpha is not in a position where Case can be licensed and, therefore, its Case cannot be licensed without movement to subject position.

3.3.2.2. There and its Spanish and French counterparts

The syntactic properties of there refer both to the there element itself and to the entire there construction in terms of its formal features (different forms, agreement, etc.).

3.3.2.2.a. There

Under the affixation-clitization analysis, there is considered an LF affix. Apart from this, according to Chomsky (1995), the expletive there has three salient properties: first, an NP must appear in a certain formal relation to there in the construction, the element that is called the associate of the expletive by means of which the expletive is licensed; second, number agreement is not with there but rather with the associate; and third, there is an alternate form

with the associate actually in the subject position after overt raising. These characteristics are illustrated in (23):

- (23) there is a man in the room
 there are men in the room
 a man is in the room
- *there was decided to travel by plane
 *there is unlikely that anyone will agree

Apart from these three characteristics, the expletive there is endowed, as stated before, with a series of properties which include: 1) its occurrence in NP positions for which it is not subcategorized³⁶, that is, in the subject position of a sentence; 2) the presence of an indefinite NP and 3) the presence of a restrictive type of verb in this type of constructions (for instance, no transitives are allowed).

Within the Minimalist Program, there bears Case but lacks agreement features. Groat (1993) offers a definition of the expletive there by saying that this category is a defective NP which lacks the phi-features for person and number but bears Case features³⁷. As Groat's (1993) argues, this analysis supports the Minimalist theory since it provides an example of the split between Case checking and Agreement checking.

³⁶The positions a verb subcategorizes for are determined by the thematic structure of the verb. Whenever a verb requires a complement NP, it is because the verb has a Theta-role to assign to the NP. Inserting an expletive NP in an object position would defeat the purpose, because the expletive element would not be able to receive the Theta-role (Haegeman 1994).

³⁷This offers support for Pollock's (1989) Split Inflection Hypothesis since phi-features are checked by AgrS and Case features by T.

As one of the characteristics of there constructions and from the examples in (24), it is clear that the existential pattern cannot be used with every verb:

- (24) three men bought a book
 *there bought three men a book
- trois hommes ont acheté un livre
 *il y ont acheté trois hommes un livre
- tres hombres han comprado un libro
 * (Ø ha)-y han comprado tres hombres un libro³⁸

Therefore, and following Haegeman (1994) --based on Belletti (1988) and Moro (1989)--, only a subset of one-argument verbs allows this type of construction, and this subset is represented by verbs of movement and (change) of state³⁹. These verbs are called unaccusatives since they fail to assign accusative Case and they lack an external Theta-role.

3.3.2.2.b. There Constructions

- *English/Spanish/French Forms*

The analysis previously outlined can be applied to English, Spanish and French there constructions and their corresponding counterparts. Thus, in examples such as those in (25), where the underlined words are the expletives and those in bold type are the associates, the Case analysis is to be justified, although in slightly different ways for each language.

³⁸Following Suñer's (1982b) proposal of Ø instead of *pro* and considering the different features within the Spanish form hay, in this example the only part that remains is -y (locative features), the verbal features (ha-) being substituted by han.

³⁹Burzio (1986) offers a list of such verbs, among which he includes the following: arrive, arise, emerge, begin, exist, occur...

(25) There is a book on the table
are books

Hay un libro en la mesa
 libros

Il y a un livre sur la table
 des livres

In English, the expletive construction clearly reveals its three constituents: the expletive itself with its locative value (there); the verb to be acting as the licenser of the associate's Case; and the associate, a book. The agreement between the verb to be and its associate is overt; so that, as a general rule, when alpha (the associate) is singular, the third person singular form of the verb is used; while, when it is plural, the corresponding plural form applies.

In French, the expletive constructions present the same elements as they do in English but for the locative features of the expletive element y, which in French constitute an independent lexical item on its own. As there, il represents the syntactic subject; and avoir the unaccusative verb licensing Case to the associate deux livres.

The case of Spanish is somewhat different, since all the features seem to cluster into one form, hay: expletive features, locative features, agreement⁴⁰.

As Kuno (1971) explains, hay is a crystallized verbal expression, uninflected with respect to grammatical number, which etymologically speaking, consists of ha (third person singular present of haber, to have,⁴¹) and y (locative proform), which is parallel to French il y a.

Following Belletti's (1988) account on partitive Case, we can argue that the examples in

⁴⁰One could propose that the Extended Projection Principle (the need for all sentences to have a subject at all levels in the derivation) is satisfied by the [- Agr] features of hay.

⁴¹Haber in modern Spanish is used only as an auxiliary verb, and is not used as a transitive verb meaning to have (something) (Kuno 1971).

(26) reflect this type of Case, not only in French but also in Spanish:

(26)	Hay libros	los hay (clitic + hay)	*ellos hay
	Il y a des livres	il y en a (locative + clitic)	

In French there is a clear distinction between partitive and accusative forms of pronouns, so that it presents two different sets: en as the partitive pronoun, and le, la, etc. as part of the paradigm of accusative pronouns. Thus, in the French examples in (26), the clearly partitive pronoun en is used. The case of Spanish is different since no such dichotomy of forms is present. The confluence of accusative and partitive forms in the Spanish paradigm provides no distinction of such Cases. It seems quite revealing that the substitution of libros by the nominative pronoun ellos is ungrammatical, while the substitution by the so-called accusative one los is the grammatically correct option. We can deduce that, following Case marking in French and other languages, one can also talk about the assignment of "partitive Case" in this type of Spanish constructions.

The examples in (26) reveal that Kuno's (1971) basic word order for existential constructions --Locative + NR_{NP}-- is disrupted when applied to the corresponding examples with clitics. According to him, in existential constructions in which the locative occupies a subject-like position and the indefinite NP an object-like position, the locative has to precede the NP, as in (26). Nevertheless, as shown in (26) when the NP is substituted by a clitic, this type of order is not maintained in Spanish, although it is maintained in French.

To summarize, in contrast to what happens in Spanish and French, existential constructions in English are made up of two elements: the expletive and the verb (be or unaccusative). Even though the two elements constitute a single unit, there seems to be a certain

degree of independence, or at least of division, between them so that while the expletive remains unchanged, the verb may change depending on the [+/- #] features of the associate. This neither happens in French nor in Spanish. In French, even though we are confronted with a structure similar to English (expletive + verb), there is no independence of the elements in the construction. Regardless of the [+/- #] features of the associate, the entire construction remains intact, including the verbal form. In the case of Spanish, the entire the existential construction is reduced to one word which contains both the affix/expletive and the verb, so that, as a fixed form, no overt agreement with the associate is shown.

As far as verb/associate agreement is concerned, and in contrast with English, both Spanish and French present a more crystallized expletive in that the verb does not overtly reveal an independent form for singular and plural.

- Agreement in *There* Constructions

Following Chomsky's affixal analysis, since there lacks inherent phi-features (including number), these features have to come from its associate. In that sense, the associate dictates these features for the entire "amalgamated expletive", following Chomsky's notation. So that, if the associate is singular, as in (27), this will ensure singular features to the expletive; while, if it is plural, as in (28), it will cause the expletive to have plural form, accordingly:

(27) There is a man in the room

(28) There are flowers in the garden

In order to solve this contradiction of rules, Chomsky (1995) proposes that the expletive may be the target of a movement operation: the associate of the expletive moves to the position

of the expletive in LF, thus combining the relevant features of the expletive and its associate⁴² -- whether this movement is expletive replacement or expletive adjoinment--.

It is by means of this association as well that the agreement between the expletive and its associate is to be explained, an agreement that is somehow unusual since it is an agreement to the right, as in examples (29):

- (29) There is a man in the room
 There are men in the room

Even though, and precisely because, there must be "replaced" by a man/men, the features of both elements cannot be different. So, in the case in (30), both the expletive and the associate are marked with [+ singular]:

- (30) [There, a man_z] is t_z in the room

The difference between the three languages under analysis, as far as agreement is concerned, is that in English the agreement between the expletive and its associate is overt, while in both Spanish and French it is covert, as reflected in (31). That is why when analyzing these constructions, English examples are the most revealing:

- | | | |
|------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| (31) | There is a man in the room | There are men in the room |
| | Hay un hombre en la habitación | Hay hombres en la habitación |
| | Il y a un homme dans la chambre | Il y a des hommes dans la chambre |

Nevertheless, agreement in there constructions is not as straightforward an issue as it may seem. It is also necessary to account for cases of apparent mismatches in the agreement between the verb and the associate.

⁴²This is what Chomsky (1995) calls "amalgamated expletive".

One of the foremost consequences of the Case assignment hypothesis for there constructions is that it provides an account for cases such as the one in (32), in which there is a clear lack of agreement. If Case is assigned to the internal argument (the associate of there, following Chomsky's terminology), and the chain between both elements is no longer created, then agreement will coindex only with the NP's position, that is, with the pleonastic element⁴³; as an immediate consequence, then, the verb will not agree with the [NP, VP]. The lack of agreement, then, is crucially linked, as Travis (1984) argues, with the fact that the NP can get Case independently of the subject position.

- (32) Il est arrivé trois femmes
 There's a lot of books in the room
 ?? There's three people in the room

In these three examples the verb is singular (est arrivé, there's) and, therefore, does not agree with the corresponding [NP's, VP's] (trois femmes, a lot of books, three people). But according to the analysis outlined above, this surface mismatch does not reveal any ungrammaticality. It only reflects the fact that the agreement is between the pleonastic element in subject position (il, there) and the verb (est arrivé, is), since the [NP subject] and [NP, VP] are assigned Case independently and they are not connected in any other way⁴⁴.

⁴³Following the schema in diagram (VI).

⁴⁴Nevertheless, Chomsky (1995) simply considers the form there's in examples (i) and (ii) a frozen option, a superficial phenomenon in which the agreement with the associate is overridden:

- (i) there's three books on the table
 (ii) there's a dog and cat in the room

This was previously mentioned by Morgan (1972), Milsark (1974) and Gazdar and Pullum (1980); and by Runner (1989) and Aissen and Runner (1989) for some varieties of Spanish.

Notice that, as already pointed out by Pollock (1982), this analysis affects copular verb to be, an analysis that is further formalized by Belletti's (1988) theory of inherent Case and her proposal that be and other unaccusatives license Case.

As a compilation and following Travis' (1984) words, if the verb agrees only with the NP in subject position, that is, the pleonastic, it is because Infl is coindexed only with this position; and the pleonastic, in turn, within that S' is coindexed only with Infl. This means that either 1) there will always be assigned Case through coindexation, and, therefore, there is no need to say that there can have inherent Case; or 2) if there is an NP which appears to be the logical subject, it is assigned Case by some element within the VP. This may either be the V itself or a preposition. The T-type of pleonastic appears in constructions both with and without agreement with this logical subject, which, according to Travis (1984), means that the T-type pleonastic may or may not be in a chain. Its purpose is simply to spell-out Case.

When dealing with those cases of post-verbal NP's, Pollock (1982) argues that Agr must be coindexed with an NP which is [+/- number] and [+ nominative]. Thus, Pollock (1982) tries to capture the differences which exist between English and French. The corresponding examples are indicated in (33):

- (33) there are/??is three people in the room
 there is/*are a cat in the room
 ...then there comes/*come into the room an enormous dog
 ...then there come/*comes into the room three enormous dogs
 Il y a/*ont trois personnes dans la chambre
 Il y a/*ont un chat dans la chambre
 Il est/*sont arrivé trois femmes
 Il est/*sont arrivé une femme

Some of the assumptions in Pollock's analysis already deal with the types of verbs present in the constructions under analysis. Two of them are especially relevant for our work since they are directly linked to Lasnik's (1995) and Belietti's (1988) proposals. Pollock (1982) argues that French unaccusatives assign case to the NP's, which they govern in the VP. At the same time, he also says that English copulas assign Case to the NP within the VP.

In this sense, Pollock (1982), in order to account for cases such as the ones in (34), defends the possible existence of two indexations in there constructions,

(34a) ?? there's three people in the room⁴⁵

(34b) there are three people in the room

In (34a) Agr is coindexed with there. As a consequence, an NP governed by Agr may be assigned the feature [- number], that is, singular. In (34b), on the contrary, Agr is coindexed with the nominative NP inside the VP, which is marked [+ plural].

The two possible indexations in there constructions are exemplified by Travis (1984) as reflected in diagram VI:

Diagram VI: Pollock's (1989) and Travis' (1984) double indexation			
	There	Agr	be three people in the room
(a)	i	i	j
(b)	i	j	j

The double indexation may offer an explanation of sentences that, while not conforming to the general pattern, cannot be considered fully ungrammatical in a categorical way.

⁴⁵It is necessary to recall here Chomsky's (1995) proposal of there's in constructions such as this one as a frozen option.

A case of mismatch in Spanish may also be added⁴⁶. In principle, Spanish there constructions present a crystallized expletive form since no different form is provided for singular or plural verb-associate agreement. A residual case in some varieties of Spanish displays an overt verb-associate agreement in the past tense (pretérito imperfecto, había/habían) as shown in examples (35):

- (35) Había un perro en el jardín ('there-was a dog in the garden')
 ?Habían perros por la calle⁴⁷ ('there-were dogs in the street')

Nevertheless, one has to bear in mind that the grammaticality and acceptance of such plural forms is not uniform but is rather restricted to certain contexts and varieties of Spanish.

3.3.3. Movement in There Constructions

The following analysis concentrates on the movement which takes place within there constructions; a movement that, within the Minimalist Program, is directly related to Case and economy principles. Thus, the question of the Case properties of the associate and the driving force for LF replacement of the expletive will be analyzed, both of which are important issues when dealing with an analysis of movement in there constructions. The framework for the movement in there constructions includes both Minimalist and pre-Minimalist proposals, as has been previously mentioned. Taking as a starting point the Minimalist proposals, we will gradually include the pre-Minimalist approaches during the moments in which they are relevant

⁴⁶For further information see Runner (1989) and Aissen and Runner (1989).

⁴⁷As mentioned before, Spanish hay constructions lie between the \emptyset analysis (Suñer 1982b) and the presence of a pleonastic *pro*. Whether we are dealing with pleonastic *pro* or \emptyset is a pending issue in the literature.

to the analysis.

3.3.3.1. Introduction: Lasnik (1995)

Lasnik's (1995) analysis concentrates on the affixal nature of there. According to the framework which underlines Chomsky's (1991) proposal, Lasnik (1995) concurs on the movement of alpha to the position of the expletive, but he departs from Chomsky's idea by saying that this type of movement cannot be motivated by any Case requirement of the associate. Therefore, the associate does not move for Case reasons, so that its Case must be licensed independently from the Case of there. In this respect Lasnik (1995) adopts Belletti's (1988) proposal of Inherent Case by defending that be and unaccusatives can license Case.

Consequently, Lasnik's view also differs from Chomsky's in the reason for the movement of the associate, so while Chomsky (1993) proposes that movement conforms to Greed --items move only to satisfy their own requirements--, Lasnik (1995) argues that items move to satisfy either their own requirements or those of the position they move to. This new principle is referred to as Enlightened Self-Interest.

Even though they share common framework (the Minimalist Program) and common starting point (the movement relationship between the expletive and alpha), two basic and crucial differences exist between these two proposals: the reason for the movement of alpha (Greed versus Enlightened Self-Interest) and the licensing of alpha's Case (either linked or not to the expletive's).

3.3.3.2. Case Theory and the Licensing of Alpha's Case

Chomsky's proposals, that of the Case transmission (1980-1986) and that of the

affixation-cliticization (1991-1993), assume that the Case of the associate is licensed via its association with the expletive, with there.

Lasnik (1995) is the first, using Belletti's (1988) analysis as a basic framework, to formally defend that both expletive and associate must have Case, even though their corresponding Cases are independently licensed. Regarding the Case of the associate, Lasnik takes Belletti's (1988) analysis of inherent partitive Case⁴⁸ licensed by be and other unaccusatives as a starting point.

Belletti's (1988) proposal has its origins in the unaccusative hypothesis --Perlmutter (1978) and Burzio (1986)--, according to which verbs of this class do not assign the characteristic Case of objects, namely, accusative, to their object. Nevertheless, only the capacity of these verbs to assign accusative Case is suspended, as Belletti maintains, whereas their capacity to assign partitive Case is not.

Adopting Chomsky's (1986) theory of syntactic Case, Belletti (1988) proposes that partitive Case is an inherent Case. According to this theory, two kinds of syntactic Case are distinguished, structural and inherent, as reflected in diagram VII:

⁴⁸Belletti (1988) considers partitive Case to be inherent and this has a series of consequences. Among others, the most relevant consequences are: first, that inherent partitive Case is checked *in situ* under the head-complement relation with the verb; and second, that, being inherent, the Case licenser must assign a Theta-role to the Case licensee. This Theta-marking requirement is going to have important consequences for the 'light' verb analysis (a 'light' verb being a verb that has no Theta-role of its own to assign), as we will see later on.

On the contrary, Lasnik (1992) proposes that partitive Case is structural and, therefore, no Theta-marking requirement is present. Such Case is checked in LF in [Spec AgrO].

Diagram VII: Inherent Case vs structural Case	
INHERENT CASE	STRUCTURAL CASE
it is assigned at DS	it is assigned at SS
it is assigned by a lexical head to the NP it governs	it is checked in LF in [SpecAgro]
Case licenser must assign a Theta-role to the Case licensee	there is no Theta-marking requirement

The most relevant difference between the two types is the Theta-marking requirement⁴⁹ since, working within the Minimalist Program, the difference between DS and SS is no longer applicable, and the configurational difference, as Lasnik (1995) analyzes, tends to disappear.

Belletti (1988) concludes that verbs of the unaccusative class, though unaccusative, preserve the capacity of inherently assigning *partitive* Case to their thematic object. It is also important to underline here that Partitive Case always selects an indefinite meaning for the NP that carries it, equivalent in meaning to that of a lexical quantifier like 'some'. Furthermore, she argues that the fact that unaccusatives are inherent Case assigners provides a straightforward reason for the existence of the *Definiteness Effect*⁵⁰ (DE) in many languages⁵¹. According to Burzio's (1986) notation, the DE consists of imposing an indefiniteness requirement on the *i*-subject (inverted-subject) of unaccusative verbs as indicated in the examples in (36):

⁴⁹This Theta-marking requirement is going to have important consequences on the 'light' verb analysis (a 'light' verb is a verb that has no Theta-role of its own to assign).

⁵⁰The DE is a property of the object position of the relevant class of verbs due to their Case properties. For further references see Milsark (1974), Safir (1982, 1985), Pollock (1983, 1984), Diesing (1992).

⁵¹Belletti presumes that it is so in all languages.

- (36) there arose a storm here
 *there arose the storm here

As Milsark (1974) points out, this construction can also occur with a particular set of verbs that he refers to as "inside verbals", which includes items such as arise, develop and happen.

3.3.3.3. Principles of Economy and the Reason for the Movement

In order to account for the principle of economy which rules the movement in this type of constructions and under the Last Resort Condition⁵² on movement, Chomsky (1993) proposes that movement conforms to Greed. Within the Minimalist Program and according to the economy principle of Greed, items move only to satisfy their own requirements.

It is in this way that Chomsky explains the ungrammaticality in examples such as the one in (37):

- (37) *There seems to [a strange man] [that it is raining outside]

Since the Case requirements of the associate are already satisfied via the preposition to, no movement is needed, thus, rendering the sentence ungrammatical.

Bošković (1995) agrees with Chomsky by providing further evidence for choosing Chomsky's Greed rather than Lasnik's (1995) Enlightened Self-Interest. He addresses the question of what drives the application of the operation move-alpha and also the issue of whether or not lowering operations are allowed. He agrees with Lasnik (1995) in considering be as a partitive Case assigner since, as he points out, in examples such as the ones in (38) be is

⁵²According to the Last Resort Condition, "derivations are driven by the narrow mechanical requirement of feature checking only, not by a 'search of intelligibility' or the like" (Chomsky 1993, 33).

apparently the only source of Case-marking for the indefinite NP's; otherwise the constructions, which are in fact correct, are analyzed as strongly ungrammatical:

- (38) He alleged there to be stolen documents in the drawer
 John wagered there to have been a stranger in that haunted house
 I want there to be someone in the garden at 6 o'clock
 *I want there someone in the garden at 6 o'clock
 I want someone in the garden at 6 o'clock

In order to reconcile Greed⁵³ with the NP Case-marked by be prior to the LF adjunction to the expletive, Bošković (1995) proposes that instead of the associate raising to adjoin to there, there lowers and adjoins to the associate. The affix hopping analysis of there constructions is licensed, according to him, since one is dealing with expletives which, while being semantically empty, do not affect Theta-role assignment.

Lasnik's (1995) proposal⁵⁴ takes as a starting point the expletive's affixal property, something that Chomsky (1991-1993) had already pointed out. Once it is assumed that the Case of the associate is not driven by its own Case requirements, a reason for the movement of the associate is required. Among the morphological properties of there, the one Lasnik concentrates on most is its affixal property. Bearing this in mind, he proposes the Stranded Affix Constraint (Lasnik 1981), according to which "underlying freestanding affixes have to ultimately be

⁵³Through the analysis of verbs of the believe-class, together with their infinitival complements, passive forms and nominalization, Bošković (1995) arrives at the conclusion that the movement is in accordance with Greed; since Greed is the only one ruling out A-movement from Case-checking to non-Case-checking positions.

⁵⁴We have focused on Lasnik's (1995) proposal, adopting then the Enlightened Self-Interest principle as the economy principle which rules movement in there constructions.

attached to an appropriate host" (Lasnik 1995, 619). So, in an example such as (39), the LF affix there/hay is attached to an NP which bears partitive Case (a man/un hombre):

- (39) there is a man in the garden
hay un hombre en el jardín

So in order for the derivation not to crash at LF, the associate of there has to adjoin to the affix, thus satisfying the requirements of the affix. The associate of there with its own inherent partitive Case, gains no individual benefit from moving to there. The movement benefits only the target element, there itself. In this way, Lasnik postulates that Greed is too strong a constraint and that it should be relaxed to what he calls Enlightened Self-Interest in order to include not only the requirements of the moved element but also those of the position it is moved to.

A synopsis of the different proposals involved in this discussion is shown in diagram

VIII:

Diagram VIII: <u>There</u> constructions and V-mov: Chomsky (1986-1991-1993), Lasnik (1995) and Bosković (1995)			
Chomsky 1986	Chomsky 1991-1993	Lasnik 1995 ⁵⁵	Bosković 1995
indefinite NP raises to Spec IP replacing the expletive	associate raises and adjoins to the expletive at LF ⁵⁶	associate is Case-marked by <u>be</u> before its adjunction to the expletive	expletive lowers to the indefinite NP
	<u>There</u> is an LF affix	<u>There</u> is an LF affix that needs an appropriate host, an NP with partitive Case	<u>There</u> is an LF affix
replacement analysis	adjunction analysis		
	Motivation: strong version of Greed	Motivation: relaxed version of Greed, Enlightened Self-Interest	Motivation: strong version of Greed
Assumption: <u>Be</u> is not a Case assigner		Assumption: <u>Be</u> is a partitive Case assigner	

3.3.3.4. Representation of There Constructions: Tree Diagrams⁵⁷

In keeping with the Minimalist perspective, the operations involved in the process of constructing a sentence include Select, Project, Merge and Move. In the examples in (40), the verbs is/hay/a are selected from the lexicon already fully inflected and, while being heads, they project according to X-bar structure, as in (41):

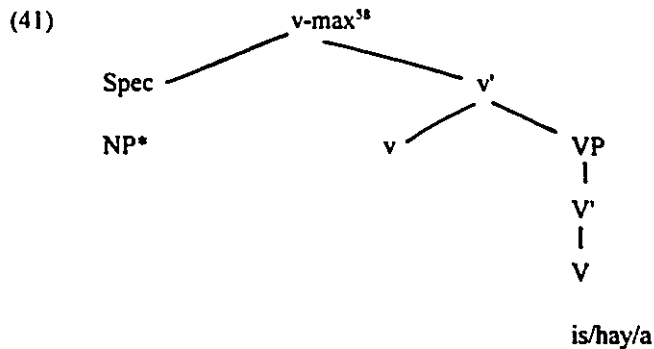
⁵⁵Following Belletti (1988) and Lasnik (1992).

⁵⁶Following this proposal, the same LF corresponds to both (i) and (ii):

- (i) There is likely to be someone in the garden
- (ii) Someone is likely to be in the garden

⁵⁷The organization of the tree diagrams complies with the Minimalist theory (Chomsky 1995).

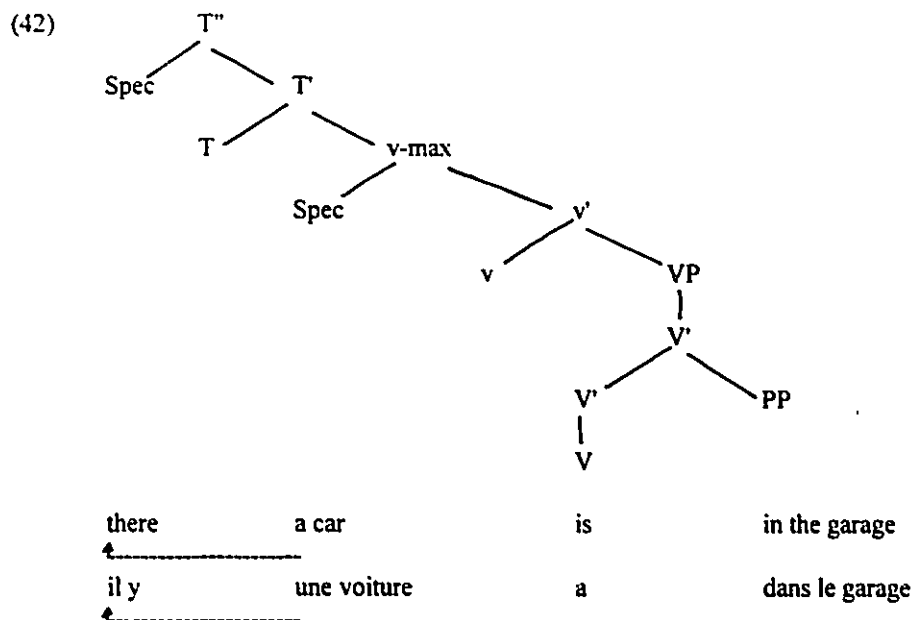
- (40) There is a car in the garage
 Hay un coche en el garaje
 Il y a une voiture dans le garage



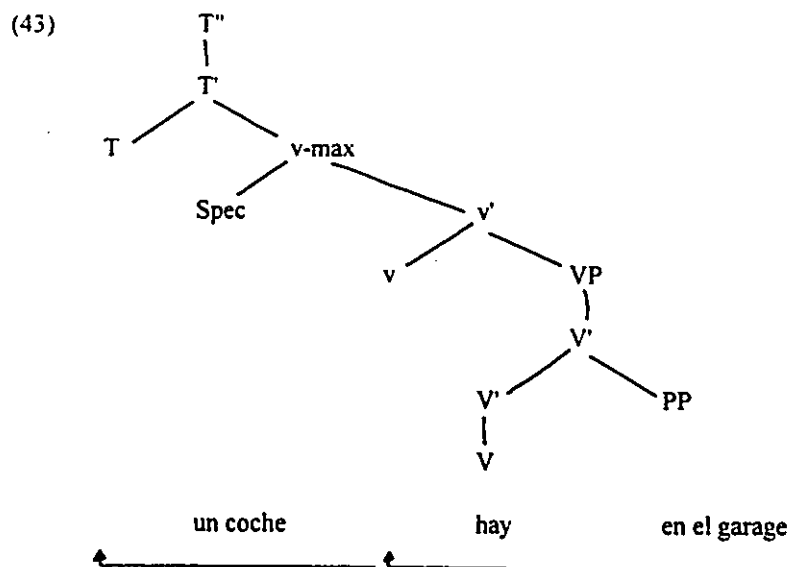
Then, the items a car/un coche/une voiture are merged with the previous items in order to fill the slots created by the projection, also in (41). The expletive elements there/il y are to be located in Spec T, not through Move but through Merge, something that, as Chomsky (1995) points out, is limited to expletives. In a normal expletive construction, the strong D-feature of T is satisfied by an expletive rather than by the raised subject. The NP* subject in Spec v-max remains *in situ*, although it has to undergo a covert raising movement to check features⁵⁹, as in (42):

⁵⁸v is a 'light' verb, that is, a verb that has no Theta-role of its own to assign. Following the inherent partitive Case analysis (Belletti 1988), no Case will be present in this case, either.

⁵⁹As Chomsky (1995) interprets it, it could be considered a residue of the earlier adjunction-to-expletive analysis.



As previously mentioned, the confluence of features in the Spanish expletive form hay makes it difficult to locate in the tree diagram. The analysis proposed in (43) locates hay in V and then raises it through Move to v and then to T, all existential and verbal features present in this node. One has to bear in mind that in Spanish locative features and existential-verbal features are included within the same item. Thus, Spanish, unlike English and French, will lack Spec T; nevertheless, as shown in (40), it complies, as well as English and French, with Kuno's (1971) basic word order in there constructions: Locative + $V_{\text{exist}} + NP_{\text{indef}}$:



The consequences of Lasnik's (1995) proposal for the Spanish counterparts of English existential constructions seem to remain in the same line as for the English and French constructions. In Spanish the expletive construction consists of the indefinite NP which receives its partitive Case from hay; and hay, a sole form that contains the verbal features together with the expletive features and the affixal features. Due to this convergence of forms, and assuming that the associate must still be the host of the expletive-affixal features in hay, the same motivation for movement applies. Thus, according to Lasnik (1995), the associate moves covertly to satisfy the affixal properties contained in the expletive hay, in this way complying with the Enlightened Self-Interest Principle (Lasnik 1995). Therefore, even though a more formalized analysis is needed, it can be said that in the case of Spanish, one is dealing not with different lexical forms, but rather with different features within the same form: the three languages share those features. What they do not share is the way the different features are framed in the syntax.

3.4. Conclusion

In the present analysis of expletive constructions, I have tried to provide a description of pleonastic elements, and more specifically of there and there constructions. This type of description has involved a comparative analysis and has included differences and similarities among English, Spanish and French.

Parts of the theoretical bases for the analysis predate the Minimalist approach, but they have been reformulated within it. All of them constitute the theoretical framework under which the comparative study has been carried out. Besides, to conduct the analysis, an initial typology of expletive elements has been provided in order to determine the specific nature of there constructions.

Among the different issues touched upon in this chapter, the basic analysis deal with the discussion of the semantic and syntactic properties of there constructions. These can be summed up as follows:

1. The proposals in this chapter are related in one way or another to the Minimalist approach. They include not only Minimalist analyses, such as Chomsky's (1991-1993), Lasnik's (1995), Boskovic's (1995); but also other proposals, such as Travis' (1984), Belletti's (1988), Pollock's (1989), which, nonetheless, constitute very interesting analyses and whose consequences and achievements can well be included and adapted within the Minimalist Program. Phenomena such as movement and those related to it such as the Theta-Criterion, the FI principle, Case Theory, agreement properties and economy principles, are relevant to the analysis.
2. In the analysis of expletive constructions, English, Spanish and French seem to present a series of similarities with regards to the Case assignment of the associate; the economy

principles which affect the covert movement of the associate; and the presence of an either implied or lexically expressed locative meaning in such constructions.

3. The three languages also present specific characteristics which bring about differences between them. For instance, the confluence of adjunct and expletive in one form in English is not present either in Spanish or in French in which each of them is realized by a different lexical item. Differences also appear in the distribution of verbal and locative-existential features. There seems to exist a gradation with regards to the syntactic visibility of those features in each language: thus, English presents both overt agreement and a split of both features; French presents no overt agreement but it does present the split of verbal/locative features; while Spanish lacks both overt agreement and the split of features.

The analysis of there constructions is not conclusive, especially viewing it from a Minimalist perspective since, in itself, the Minimalist Program is still developing. Thus, the main goal in this study is to explore what these constructions share in the three languages and what makes them different, that is, the specific properties that provide a detailed account and an accurate description of the behaviour of each of the three languages.

CONCLUSIONS

In this thesis we have carried out a comparative analysis of English and Spanish as a French-type language. Specifically, we have concentrated our study on aspects of word order which are intimately linked to parameters of variation.

The framework for this analysis is made up of both Minimalist and pre-Minimalist proposals which, although closely related, represent different conceptual approaches to the understanding of the issues that have been analyzed.

In this sense, in the new arrangement of constituents and categories, Pollock's (1989) Split Inflection Hypothesis serves as the basis for the subsequent modification into a more complex, but at the same time minimal, reformulation. Such reformulation, while maintaining in a certain way the pre-Minimalist order, has an effect on the inner characteristics of these constituents and on the way they are moved. The analysis of movement and its consequences for implicit and explicit word order has concentrated on the question of participles in compound verbal constructions and on expletive constructions.

Making use of different parameters such as the opacity/transparency of AgrP (Pollock 1989), the Pro-drop parameter (Perlmutter 1970) or Belletti's (1988) insight on unaccusatives, we have tried to define the characteristics and the behaviour of the three languages under analysis, pointing both at the universal properties as well as language-specific properties.

In chapter one, we have presented the theoretical framework of this thesis. Government and Binding Theory and the Principles and Parameters Model serve as the background for Pollock (1989) and Belletti (1988), while the Minimalist Program constitutes the basis for analyses such as those of Chomsky (1995) and Lasnik (1995). The works of other authors

have also been included in order to clearly specify certain punctual aspects in the course of the analysis, such as the pro-drop parameter (Perlmutter 1970, Taraldsen 1980, Rizzi 1986, Jaeggli and Safir 1989), the classification of expletive constructions (Travis 1984), the original position of subjects (Koopman and Sportiche 1985), adverb analysis (Whitley 1986, Ouhalla 1990, Baker 1991, Suñer 1994), cliticization in compound verbal constructions (Suñer 1987, Bosque 1990), participle agreement (Kayne 1989) and the assignment of Case in expletive constructions (Lasnik 1995, Bosković 1995), among others.

Chapter two concentrates on parametric differences between the three languages with regards to word order in Verb-movement in participial constructions. The effects of participle agreement and the different restrictions on the placement of adverbs in such constructions are specifically analyzed. The behaviour of each language with respect to these issues is then related to the Null Subject parameter or pro-drop parameter. This parametric analysis does not obviate language-specific properties and, therefore, it is also accompanied by the special relationship that could be established between identification and the Null Subject parameter affecting different languages.

Chapter three applies the theory of movement, framed mainly by Pollock's (1989) Split Inflection Hypothesis and Chomsky's (1991-1995) Minimalist Program, to there constructions. Before dealing with movement, these constructions are defined in themselves within the general perspective of pleonastic elements. The analysis of movement in there constructions involves issues such as Case Theory and principles of economy, and it unveils both similarities and differences among the three languages.

We are conscious of the fact that many of the topics included in this thesis need further

analysis and elaboration. Nevertheless, we hope that we have pointed out the connections that may be established among several aspects of the theory and that we have been able to open the door for a comparative analysis that may limit the relations between languages but, that, enriches our view of their specific differences and enhances our knowledge of languages.

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