

Chapter 3

IS *THERE* A PURE EXPLETIVE?

3.1. Introduction

We mentioned in the previous chapter that present-day English is classified as a language disallowing TECs. *There*-constructions with transitive verbs are generally excluded, as shown in (1).

TECs

- (1) a. *There saw three children the pigs.
b. *There some students read the book.
c. *There have many trolls eaten our pudding.

(a. Haegeman (1991: 55), b-c. Jonas and Bobaljik (1993:75))

Furthermore, there is a severe restriction on the position of subjects. The sentences

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in (2) and (3) indicate that the subjects must stay *in-situ* in UECs, and must appear between *be* and passive participles in PECs.

UECs

- (2) a. *There will many men come here today.
b. There will come many men here today.

PECs

- (3) a. *There will some cakes be cooked for the party.
b. There will be some cakes cooked for the party.
c. *There will be cooked some cakes for the party.

However, Jacobsson (1951) and Breivik (1983) closely examine the distribution of ECs in the history of English, and find that TECs and ECs with a raised subject were observed in early stages of English. Some examples are given in (4)-(6).

TEC

- (4) Ther may no man clepen it cowardye.
there may no man call it cowardice

(Chaucer *The Knight's Tale* 2730, Kobayashi (1993: 63))

UEC with a raised subject

- (5) there shall no man dar appere in þe place.
there shall no man dare appear in the place

(*Paston Letters* 204. 16)

PEC with a raised subject

- (6) there nys no thing doon for cause of yvel, ...
there is not nothing done for the sake of evil

(Chaucer *Boece* IV. Prosa 6. 171, Breivik (1983: 301))

Interestingly enough, these constructions disappeared during the same period. According to Jacobsson (1951), Visser (1963) and Breivik (1983), TECs were attested from the 14th to the 17th century (see note 7 in chapter 1). As for UECs and PECs with a raised subject, they can be observed with some frequency during ME and had gradually declined from the 14th to the 17th century (see Jonas (1996), Tanaka (1999), among others).

The questions which arise here are why these three types of ECs were permitted during ME and eModE, and why they became obsolete in the course of eModE. It has been argued in the previous chapter that (i) '*there*' is a dummy topic, rather than a syntactic subject, in the languages with TECs, and that (ii) *there*-insertion into [Spec, CP] is prerequisite for overt subject raising in ECs. This might lead to the prediction that English *there*, as well as the counterparts in modern Icelandic and German, functioned as an expletive topic and was

inserted into the sentence initial position to satisfy V2 constraint during the period where TECs and ECs with a raised subject were attested. Bearing this expectation in mind, I will shed lights on the historical development of *there* in this chapter and offer a new approach to English ECs. It will be specifically argued that *there* in *there+be* ECs has not been an expletive in all historical stages of English; rather, it participates in the interpretation of ECs as an existential operator. On the other hand, *there* in presentational ECs functioned as a discourse sequencing linking word during OE and ME, but was reanalyzed as an expletive element in the course of eModE.

The organization of this chapter is as follows. Section 3.2 reviews previous analyses of *there*-insertion and points out their problems. Sections 3.3 and 3.4 are dedicated to existential *there+be* constructions and presentational *there*-constructions, respectively. I will take a closer look at basic facts about the history of these ECs, focusing on syntactic properties and the structural position of *there*. Section 3.5 addresses the derivation of the sentence *there seems to be a man in the room*. I will show that our analysis of ECs straightforwardly accounts for the word order contrast between English and Icelandic without attributing it to the cost of *Merge* and *Move/Attract*. Section 3.6 is a conclusion of this chapter.

3.2. The Distribution of *There*

3.2.1. Previous Analyses

3.2.1.1. *There* in [Spec, TP]

English ECs have received a considerable attention in the literature (Aissen (1975), Jenkins (1975), Milsark (1979), Belletti (1988), Bošković (1997), Chomsky (1993, 1995, 1998, 1999), Lasnik (1992, 1995), Moro (1997), *inter alia*). In particular, various kinds of study have so far been put forth about syntactic properties of *there*. It is generally agreed in the theory of generative grammar that *there* is an expletive and occupies the canonical subject position ([Spec, TP] or [Spec, AgrSP]) to satisfy the EPP. There are some pieces of evidence in support of this claim. For example, let us consider the interrogative *yes-or-no* questions in (7).

- (7) a. Is **there** nobody living there?
b. Are **there** several patients waiting to see the doctor?

(Radford (1997: 316))

(8) *Subject-auxiliary inversion*

[_{CP} AUX [_{TP} Subj [_T ... *t*_{AUX} ...]]]?

a. Will Memories fade away?

b. Is it raining?

(a. *op.cit.*, p.13, b. *op.cit.*, p.294)

In (7), subject-auxiliary inversion takes place with *there* and *is/are*. On the standard assumption that an auxiliary verb is raised to C passing over a subject

in [Spec, TP] in interrogative sentences, (7) clearly shows that *there* is located in the subject position.

The subject status of *there* receives further support from raising constructions, which are also considered to be a diagnostic of subjecthood. (9) below indicates that *there* can be a syntactic subject of such raising verbs as *seem* and *be certain*.

- (9) a. **There** seemed to be nothing we could do about the fire.
b. **There** is certain to be a sparkling blonde coming to the party.

(a. Hannay (1985: 14-15))

(10) *Subject-to-subject raising*

[_{TP} Subj raising V [_{TP} *t*_{Subj} to ...]]

- a. He seems to understand her.
b. She happened to come across an old love-letter.

In (9), *there* originates as a syntactic subject of the embedded verbs, and is subsequently raised up to the matrix subject position by the application of subject-to-subject raising. Comparing (9) with (10), we conclude that *there* behaves syntactically as a subject in present-day English.

The early English *there*, however, has provoked a great deal of controversy about its syntactic status and the motivation for its insertion. Ingham (2000), Jonas (1996), Kishida (1997) and Tanaka (2000a, 2000b, 2000c) argue, for example,

that *there* has been subject-like and thus occupied the canonical subject position in all historical stages of English. An advantage of their claim is that it successfully captures the occurrence of *there* in adverbial clauses or in subordinate clauses with overt complementizer *that*. Let us consider the examples below.¹

(11) a. ..., so that **there** ne be amonges hem no difference.

so that there not is among them no difference

(Chaucer *Boece* III. Prosa 9. 67-68)

b. Gif **ðær** beoð fiftig wera wunigende on þam earde. ...

if there be fifty men dwelling in the place

(*Æfric's Lives of Saints* XIII. 196, Breivik (1983: 281))²

In (11a), *there* appears in an adverbial clause. In (11b), it occupies a position following *if* which is supposed to be located in the position of C. Given that CP-recursion is impossible in adverbial clauses and embedded clauses selected by non-bridge verbs, it might be concluded that *there* occurs in some TP-internal position in these examples.

The claim that *there* has been a syntactic subject throughout the history of English is not without problems, however. If it was really the case, then we would expect that *there* exhibited subject-like behaviors even in OE and ME. Unfortunately, however, this prediction is not borne out. According to Breivik (1983), Hosaka (1999) and Nagashima (1992), *there* gained subjecthood in the

16th century. This claim is empirically supported from the fact that interrogative *there*-sentences like (12) were first observed in the second half of the 13th century and rapidly increased during the 16th century (Breivik (1983), Nagashima (1992), among others).

(12) a. Is **there** anythyng more precyous to the than thiself?

is there anything more precious to you than yourself

(Chaucer *Boece* II. Prosa 4. 132-133, Breivik (1983: 352))

b. 'Is **there** no remedy,' seyde sir Marhaute, but that I muste have

is there no remedy said Sir Marhaute, but that I must have

ado with you and your six sunnes at onys?

ado with you and your six sons at once

(Malory *Le Morte Darthur* 105. 27-28, Nagashima (1992: 88))

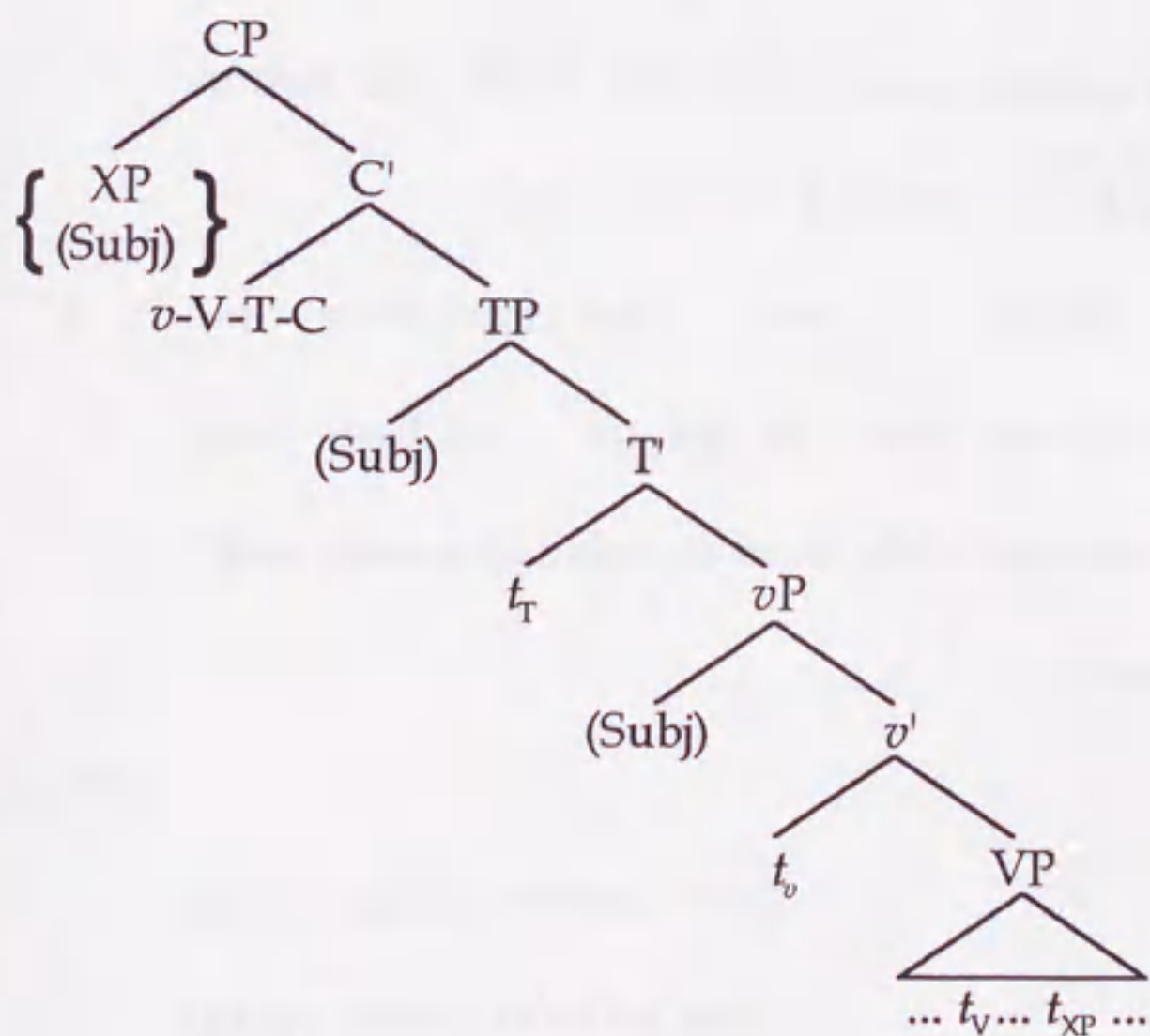
This obviously show that *there* came to be recognized as a subject and established its subject status during the 16th century. Therefore, it seems inadequate to fix *there* in the canonical subject position at least in the pre-16th centuries.³

3.2.1.2. *There* in [Spec, CP]

Breivik (1983, 1991) argues instead that *there*-insertion is attributable to V2 constraint in earlier English, as is the case with modern V2 languages like Icelandic and German. This claim is based on the observation that ECs obligatorily

required *there*-insertion when no other constituent was preposed in V2 sentences. Kemenade (1987) and Roberts (1993) argue that English exhibited V2 effect in main clauses until the 15th century.⁴ Given the analysis of V2 proposed in section 2.2, I assume that English had a specification of predicational C, which bears the strong V feature and the strong EPP feature, and kept the clause structure in (13) until the loss of V2 phenomenon.

(13) V2 structure



Assuming this V2 structure, let us consider the following sentences.

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(14) a. **þer** beoð nihene englene weoredes.

there are nine angels' orders (Ancrene Riwele 64. 19-20)

b. **þer** is any maner of þing þat þei do, ...

there is any manner of thing that they do

(The Cloud of Unknowing 131. 12-13)

(15) OE

a. On ðam timan wæron eac wurð-fulle bisceopas.

at that time were also worthy bishops

'At that time there were also worthy bishops'

(Æfrie's Lives of Saints XXI. 457, Nagashima (1992: 16))⁵

b. Nu sceal beon æfre on Ii abbod, ...

now shall be always in Iona an abbot

'Now there must always be an abbot in Iona.'

(Anglo-Saxon Chronicle A 565)⁶

(16) ME

a. Moni cunne riwlen beoð

many kinds of rules are

'There are many kinds of rules'

(Ancrene Riwele I. 42. 5, Williams (2000: 15))

b. þa com þer an helendis Mon.

then came there a foreign man

'Then there came a foreign man.'

(*Lambeth Homilies* 79. 496, op.cit., p. 9)

In (14), *there* appears in the sentence initial position and satisfy V2 constraint. On the other hand, as (15) and (16) indicate, *there* was often missing in OE and early ME ECs even in a context where present-day English requires the presence of *there*. As is obvious from the translations, present-day English obligatorily requires *there*-insertion in these sentences. However, (15) and (16) do not involve *there*-insertion because the sentence initial position is already occupied by some other constituents. This would lead us to conclude that *there* was inserted into the sentence initial [Spec, CP] position merely to obtain V2 order, just like Icelandic *það* and German *es*.

This analysis is faced with some serious empirical difficulties, however. Consider the examples below.

(17) OE

[_{CP} On ðæm dagum þær wæron [_{TP} twa cwena]]

in these days there were two queens

'In these days there were two queens.'

(*Orosius* 46. 36, Schmidt (1980: 133))

(18) *ME*

- a. [_{CP} In Egypt þere ben [_{TP} V prouynces]]

In Egypt there are five provinces

(*Mandeville's Travels* 29. 22-23, Williams (2000: 6))

- b. Hir over-lippe wyped she so clene that [_{CP} in hir coppe

her upper lip wiped she so cleanly that in her cup

ther was [_{TP} no ferthyng sene of grece]], ...

there was no speck seen of grease

(Chaucer *General Prologue* I (A). 133-135)

(19) *Icelandic*

- a. Það voru blöð, blek, og pennar á borðinu.

There were papers, ink and pens on the table

- b. Á borðinu voru (*það) blöð, blek, og pennar.

On the table were there papers, ink and pens

(Breivik (1983: 373))

In (17) and (18), *þær/þere* 'there' appears between the preposed constituents and the finite verbs. Compared with the Icelandic examples in (19), the grammaticality of (17) and (18) indicates that *there*-insertion was not sensitive to V2 constraint and that *there* was not an expletive topic in early stages of English.

It is noteworthy, furthermore, that there is a time-lag between the demise of *there*-less ECs and the loss of V2 phenomenon. Breivik (1983) and Williams

(2000) report that *there*-less ECs were the predominant pattern during OE but rapidly declined after 1250, much earlier than the loss of V2 in the 15th century. If *there*-insertion had been motivated by V2 constraint in early English, then it would be expected that *there*-less ECs had been frequently observed until the 15th century. It is concluded, therefore, that *there*-insertion was not affected by V2 constraint in early English.⁷

In order to solve these problems with previous analyses, we will reexamine the distribution of *there* in the next section. I will demonstrate that (i) *there* has both X^0 and XP status in the history of English, and that (ii) three positions were available for *there* in early English: [Spec, CP], the C-adjoined position and [Spec, TP].

3.2.2. *Categorial Status of There*

3.2.2.1. Three Positions of *There*

A close examination of the distribution of *there* reveals that three word order patterns were observed in early English ECs: the *there*-V order in (20), the XP-*there*-V order in (21), and the XP-V-*there* order in (22). (The following examples are all from ME.)⁸

There-V

(20) a. þer beoð nihene englene weoredes.

there are nine angels' orders (Ancrene Riwele 64. 19-20)

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- b. þer is any maner of þing þat þei do, ...
there is any manner of thing that they do

(*The Cloud of Unknowing* 131. 12-13)

XP-there-V

- (21) a. Nihe wordes þer beoð.

nine words there are (Sawles Warde 180. 228)

- b. In Egypt also þere ben dyuerse languages dyuerse lettres
in Egypt also there are diverse languages and diverse letters
of oþer manere condicioun þan þere ben in oþer partes.
of other manner condition than there are in other parts

(*Mandeville's Travels* 34. 21)

XP-V-there

- (22) a. In that tyme was ther a Baron a good man and a right
in that time was there a baron a good man and a right
good knyght...
good knight

(*Caxton Knight of the Tower* 83. 16-18, Breivik (1983: 308))

- b. Thus ben **there** 6 degres of the zodiak on that oo syde
thus are there six degrees of the zodiac on the one side
of the lyne and 6 degrees on that othir.
of the line and six degrees on the other

(Chaucer *Astrolabe* 668. 42-44)

The *there-V* order in (20) has been the predominant pattern both in matrix and in subordinate clauses. The *XP-there-V* order in (21) was rare during OE but steady increased during late ME (see Hosaka (1999: 12-13)). The *XP-V-there* order in (22) was usually found in the sentences introduced by such discourse sequencing adverbs as *then, now, thus* or *yet* (Breivik (1983), among others).

The sentences in (20)-(22) all contain the existential verb *be*, but the same orders were also attested in presentational ECs, *there*-constructions with verbs other than the existential *be*. Some examples are given in (23)-(25). (The following examples are all from ME.)⁹

There-V

- (23) a. **þere** bigon bituene ham a grete debate, ...

there began between them a great debate

(*The Brut of the Chronicles of England* 3,21.120)

- b. **þer** apperid not suffycient inquest to delyuer hym.

there appeared not sufficient inquest to deliver him

(*Paston Letters* 46. 42-43, Breivik (1983: 310))

XP-there-V

- (24) a. And sodenly **there** appierid before hym a fayre chelde in
and suddenly there appeared before him a fair child in
whyte clothyng.

white clothing (The Life of St. Edmund 165.40)

- b. Estward **ther** stood a gate of marbul whit, ...

Eastward there stood a gate of marble white

(Chaucer *The Knight's Tale* 1893, Breivik (1983: 298))

XP-V-there

- (25) Now fell **there** mischiefs thick.

now fell there mischiefs thick

(More *The History of King Richard the Third* 73. 28, Bækken (1998: 47))

Unlike *there+be* ECs, we hardly find the *XP-V-there* order in presentational ECs. Actually, there are no examples with this order in the Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English. This poses the question why the relevant order was productive in *there+be* ECs, but not in presentational ECs. I will show in sections 3.3 and 3.4 that my analysis of ECs straightforwardly capture this distributional contrast between existential *there* and presentational *there*.

Assuming the V2 structure in (13), we claim that the surface structures of (20)-(25) might be as in (26).

- (26) a. [_{CP} **there** [_C Vfn [_{TP} ...]]]
 [_{TP} **there** [_T Vfn [_{VP} ...]]] (=(20), (23))
 b. [_{CP} XP [_C **there** Vfn [_{TP} ...]]] (=(21), (24))
 c. [_{CP} XP [_C Vfn [_{TP} **there** ...]]] (=(22), (25))

An interesting point here is that *there* can occupy an X^0 -position, in addition to an XP-position. It is noteworthy that *there* shared this intriguing property with subject pronouns which are usually analyzed as syntactic clitics just like weak pronouns in modern Germanic languages (Breivik (1983), Kemenade (1987), Kobayashi (1991) and Williams (2000), among others). Let us first consider the example below.

- (27) þonne beoð eowere eagan geopenede, ...
 then are your eyes opened
 'your eyes will then be opened'

(*The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church* I. 18. 3, Kemenade (1987: 19))¹⁰

(27) indicates that the full DP subject must follow the finite V in C when some constituent is preposed to the sentence initial [Spec, CP] position. However, the position of finite verbs differs with nominal and pronominal subjects. (28) shows that subject pronouns like *he* precede the finite V in main clauses introduced by topic elements.

- (28) *æfter his gebede he ahof þæt cild up ge-edcucod and ansund.*
after his prayer he lifted the child up quickened and sound
'after his prayer he raised the child up quickened and sound.'

(The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church II 28. 8-9, op.cit., p. 110)

The only case where subject pronouns are inverted with the finite V is when the first constituent is an interrogative *wh*-phrase, a discourse sequencing adverb (e.g. *then, now, thus, yet*), or a negative particle *ne* 'not', as exemplified below.

- (29) a. *Hwæt sægest þu, yrþlincg? Hu begæst þu weorc þin?*
what say you ploughman? how do you work your?
'What do you say, ploughman? How do you do your work?'

(Æfric's Colloquy 22, op.cit., p. 111)

- b. *Þa began he to modigenne ...*
then began he to grow proud
'Then he began to wax proud'

(The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church I. 10. 22, ibid.)

- c. *Ne sceal he noht unalyfedes don.*
nor shall he not what is forbidden do
'he shall not do what is forbidden' *(Cura Pastoralis 60. 15, ibid.)*

Given the V2 structure in (13), the surface structures of (28) and (29) can be illustrated as follows.

- (30) a. $[_{CP} \text{he/þu } [_C \text{Vfn } [_{TP} \dots]]]$
 $[_{TP} \text{he/þu } [_T \text{Vfn } [_{VP} \dots]]]$ (= (28a))
- b. $[_{CP} \text{XP } [_C \text{he/þu Vfn } [_{TP} \dots]]]$ (= (28b))
- c. $[_{CP} \text{hwæt/þa/ne } [_C \text{Vfn } [_{TP} \text{he/þu } \dots]]]$ (= (29))

(30) indicates that these pronominal subjects, as well as *there*, could occupy three syntactic positions: [Spec, CP], the C-adjoined position, and [Spec, TP].

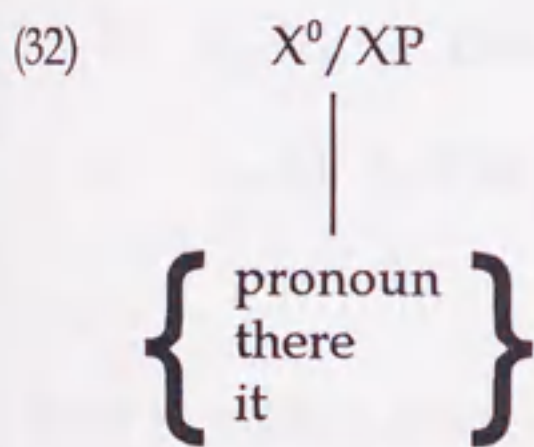
A question immediately arises about why the early English *there* exhibited the same distribution as pronominal subjects. I will argue in sections 3.3 and 3.4 that (i) *there* is a grammaticalized form of the locative adverb *there*, and that (ii) it was first reanalyzed as a pronoun and then gradually obtained the nominal status in the process of grammaticalization. Given this much, it is not surprising that *there* behaved pronominal-like during OE and ME.

3.2.2.2. D^0 and DP Status of *There*

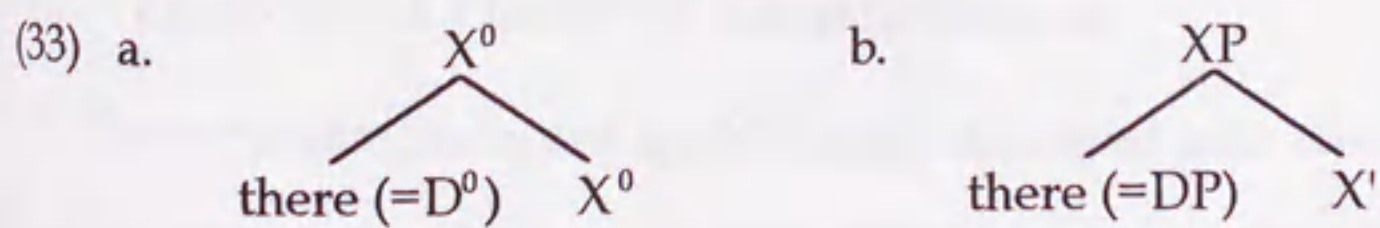
The issue here is why the position immediately following a topicalized XP, which is taken to be a C-adjoined position under V2 structure (13) adopted here, was available to *there* and subject pronouns, but not to full DP subjects.

- (31) a. $[_{CP} XP [_C \text{there} Vfn [_{TP} \dots]]]$
 b. $[_{CP} XP [_C \text{he/}\text{hu} Vfn [_{TP} \dots]]]$
 c. $*[_{CP} XP [_C DP Vfn [_{TP} \dots]]]$

Bošković (1997) argues that pronouns, referential or non-referential, are nonbranching and belong to the class of elements which have both X^0 and XP properties at the same time in the sense of Chomsky (1995).



Extending Bošković's analysis to the early English *there*, we hypothesize that it was an X^{0max} element and that *there*-insertion yields either of the two structures, (33a) or (33b).



The label D^0/DP is determined relationally. If *there* is merged with X^0 , it is

recognized as D^0 and we obtain the structure in (33a) with *there*-cliticization onto X^0 . On the other hand, when it is merged with XP, it is recognized as DP and we obtain the structure in (33b) with *there*-insertion into [Spec, XP].

Now, the question is what is X in (33). Is *there* directly inserted into the four positions illustrated in (34)?

- (34) a. $[_{CP} \text{there } [_C \text{Vfn } [_{TP} \dots]]]$
 $[_{TP} \text{there } [_T \text{Vfn } [_{VP} \dots]]]$
- b. $[_{CP} \text{XP } [_C \text{there Vfn } [_{TP} \dots]]]$
- c. $[_{CP} \text{XP } [_C \text{Vfn } [_{TP} \text{there } \dots]]]$

In order to make explicit about what mechanism is involved in *there*-constructions, we will reexamine the diachronic change of these ECs more closely in the following sections, which will give us a clue to the long-standing questions concerning the syntactic status and the structural position of *there*.¹¹

3.3. Existential *There+Be* Constructions

There-constructions are traditionally classified into two groups: existential *there+be* sentences and presentational *there*-sentences. Among them, this section deals with the former type of ECs. First of all, we will make a brief examination of the *Definiteness Effect* (DE) observed in the constructions, which will be a key

to elaborate the structure of *there+be* ECs.

3.3.1. *Definiteness Effect*

It is a well-known fact that *there*-sentences usually take indefinite subjects with 'weak' determiners, as in (35).

- (35) a. There is/are a/some/a few/ many/three fly (flies) in my soup.
b. *There is/are the/every/all/most fly (flies) in my soup.

(Diesing (1992: 59))

The lists in (36) give some of the most common determiners classified according to weak/strong distinction in Milsark (1974).

(36) *Milsark's (1974) classification of weak/strong determiners*

a. Strong determiners

all, every, each, both, neither, the, this, ...

b. Weak determiners

some, many, few, one, two, three, no, a, ...

Ever since the first effort by Milsark (1974), various proposals have been put forth to explain this phenomenon (Belletti (1988), Bošković (1997), Chierchia (1995), Chomsky (1986a), Diesing (1992), Eguzkitza and Kaiser (1999), Hornstein

(1991), Lasnik (1992, 1995), Safir (1982), Yang (1999), inter alia). This section shortly reviews one of the most familiar analyses, *Partitive Case Analysis* advocated by Belletti (1988), Bošković (1997) and Lasnik (1992, 1995), and points out some theoretical and empirical problems with their approach.

Their proposal aims to account for the distribution of indefinite subjects in ECs in terms of partitive Case marking. Let us consider the following examples from Finnish.

(37) *Finnish*

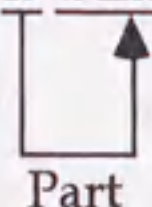
- a. Hän pani kiriat pöydälle.
he put the books.ACC on the table
- b. Hän pani kirjoja pöydälle.
he put (some) books.PART on the table (Belletti (1988: 1))

The sentences of (37) show that, in certain languages with a morphologically rich Case system, objects can be marked with either the accusative Case or the partitive Case depending on the reading associated with them. The object *kiriat* 'the book' is in accusative and gains specific interpretation, whereas the object *kirjoja* '(some) books' is marked with the partitive Case and have indefinite/partitive interpretation in (37b). Belletti (1988) and Lasnik (1992, 1995) extend this correlation between indefinite reading and partitive Case marking crosslinguistically, and propose that indefinite subjects in *there*-sentences are assigned (or checked) the partitive Case by unaccusative verbs and receive

indefinite (partitive) reading.

(38) *Partitive Case Analysis*

There is a man in the garden. \Rightarrow indefinite/ partitive interpretation



However, there are a number of theoretical and empirical difficulties with their approach. Firstly, this analysis does not provide a systematic explanation for the question what causes the correlation between indefinite reading and the partitive Case. Secondly, it seems implausible to extend this analysis to the languages which lack the partitive Case morphology. Thirdly, the DE is less strict in languages like German, Icelandic and Yiddish than in English. For example, (39) and (40) show that the subjects with strong determiners are sometimes allowed in Icelandic and German ECs, which patterns with English EC in (35b) (Rosengren (2000), Sigurðsson (2000), Vangsnes (1995, 2000), Vikner (1995), and the references cited therein).

(39) *Icelandic*

- a. Það hefa báðir kettirnir étið mýsna.
- there has both the cats eaten the mice

- b. Það skin alltaf blessuð sólin.
there shines always blessed the sun

(a. Vangsnes (1995: 92), Vangsnes (2000: fn. 4))

(40) *German*

- a. Es spielten die Wiener Philharmoniker.
there played the Wiener Philharmoniker
- b. Es hat die Stadt eine neue Tiefgarage gebaut.
there has the town a new deepgarage built

(Rosengren (2000: 13-14))

Therefore, it seems problematic to assume the current analysis universally.¹² Finally, as we examined in the previous chapter, some Germanic languages allow any kind of verbs in ECs, e.g. transitive verbs and eargative verbs, which Belletti (1988) assumes are incapable to assign (or check) the partitive Case. Hence, we cannot satisfactorily explain the indefiniteness of the subjects in all types of ECs under the partitive Case analysis.

Alternatively, I will propose an alternative analysis of the DE in terms of *Local Licensing Approach* developed by Chierchia (1995) in the next section.

3.3.2. *There as an Existential Operator*

3.3.2.1. Syntax-Semantics Mapping Approach

Chierchia (1995), Diesing (1992) and Fox (2000) suggest that indefinites with weak determiners have no quantificational force of their own, and hence must receive quantificational force by being bound by some quantificational element. For example, Diesing (1992) assigns the logical representations in (b) for the (a) examples in (41)-(43). ((42b) is the logical representation of the underlined part of (42a).)

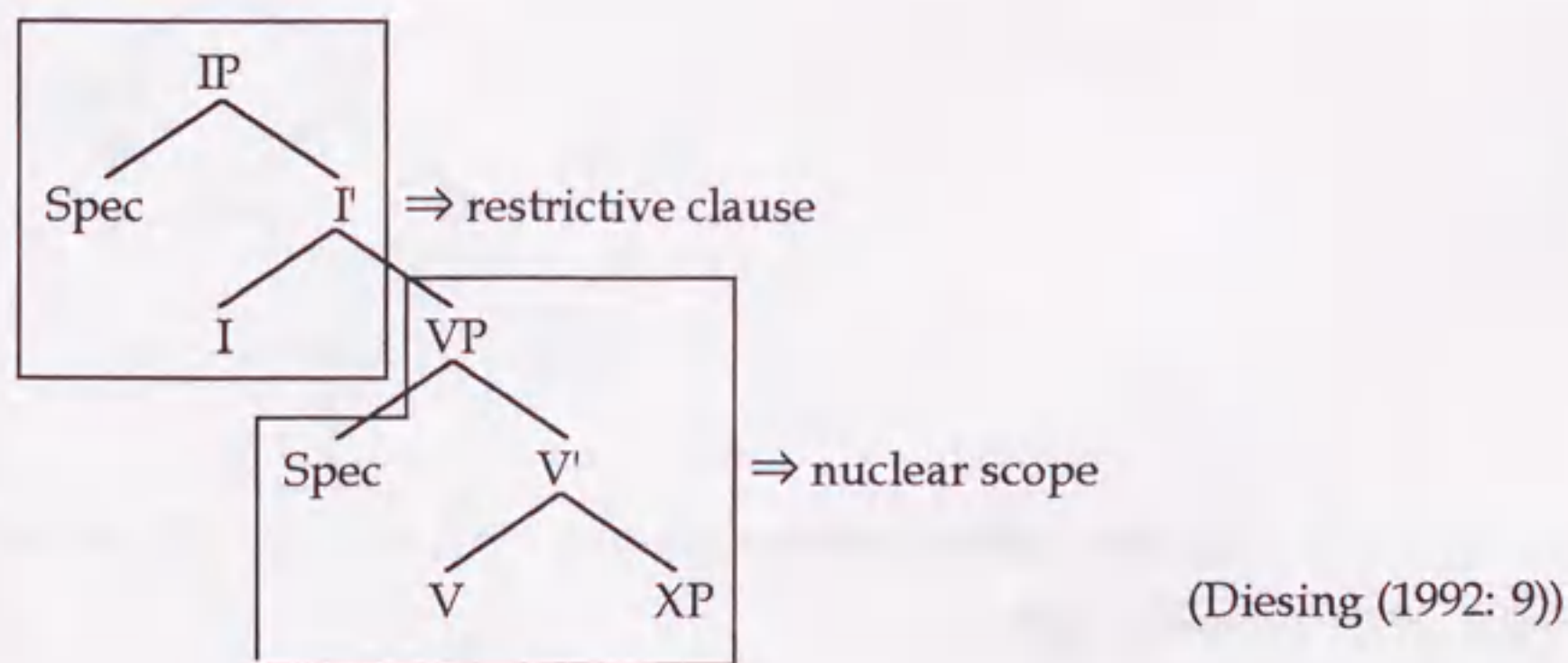
- (41) a. A man owns a llama.
 b. $(\exists_{x,y}) [x \text{ is a man} \wedge y \text{ is a llama} \wedge x \text{ owns } y]$ (Diesing (1992: 6))
- (42) *Dutch*
 a. Fred denkt dat er koeien op het dak liggen.
 Fred thinks that there cows on the roof lie
 'Fred thinks that there are cows lying on the roof.'
 b. $[er]\exists_x x \text{ is a cow} \wedge x \text{ is on the roof}$ (op.cit., p.81-82)
- (43) a. A conrabassoonist usually plays too loudly.
 b. $\text{Usually}_x [x \text{ is a conrabassoonist}] x \text{ plays loudly}$ (op.cit., p.5-8)

The interpretation of indefinite nominals is crucially dependent on what kind of operator binds them. In (41) and (42), for example, *a man* and *koeien* 'cows' are bound by the existential operators \exists and $[er]\exists$, respectively, and receive

existential reading. In (43), on the other hand, *a contrabassoonist* is bound by the quantificational adverb *usually* and gains generic interpretation.

There have appeared various intriguing ideas to derive such logical representations from syntactic representations of sentences. For example, Diesing (1992) explores the relationship between syntactic and semantic representations, and propose *Mapping Hypothesis*. Under this approach, VP is assumed to be the scope of existential closure for indefinites and is mapped into the nuclear scope, while IP is mapped into the restrictive clause, as illustrated in (44).

(44) *Mapping Hypothesis*

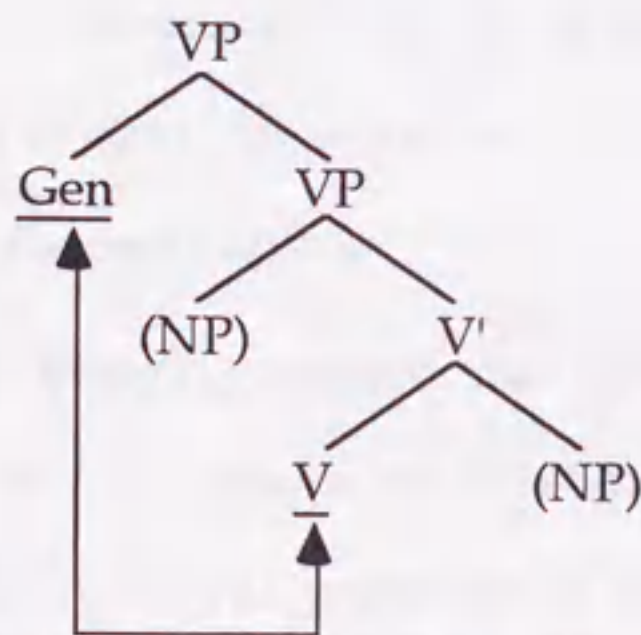


Given this, the interpretation of indefinites is determined according to their syntactic positions at LF; they obtain generic reading within the IP-domain, and existential reading within the VP-domain.

Chierchia (1995) proposes a more elaborated syntax-semantics mapping analysis, *Local Licensing Approach*, within the minimalist framework. As is well

known, i(ndividual)-level predicates (e.g. *know*, *be a man*, *intelligent*, *tall*) always have habitual interpretation and hence take indefinite subjects with generic reading. In order to capture this interpretative property of i-level predicates, Chierchia (1995) argues that they intrinsically have a [+Q(quantificational)] feature which must be checked by a null generic operator *Gen* within their checking domain. As a result of this feature checking, i-level predicates are licensed their habitual property and consequently derive generic reading of indefinites.

(45) *Local Licensing Approach*



checking (*Local License*) \Rightarrow generic/habitual interpretation

(see Chierchia (1995: 202))

The [+Q] feature of i-level predicates can also be checked by quantificational adverbs like *usually*. If these predicates do not find the generic operator *Gen* or a quantificational adverb in their checking domain, the derivation crashes due to the unchecked [+Q] feature of i-level predicates.

Unfortunately, Chierchia (1995) makes few reference to existential reading

of indefinites, but his analysis implies two possibilities. First, there might be an existential operator to license existential interpretation of indefinites. Second, there might be realized generic/existential operators corresponding to the null counterparts. With these possibilities in mind, we will provide a systematic account of the DE in terms of *Local Licensing Approach* in the next section.

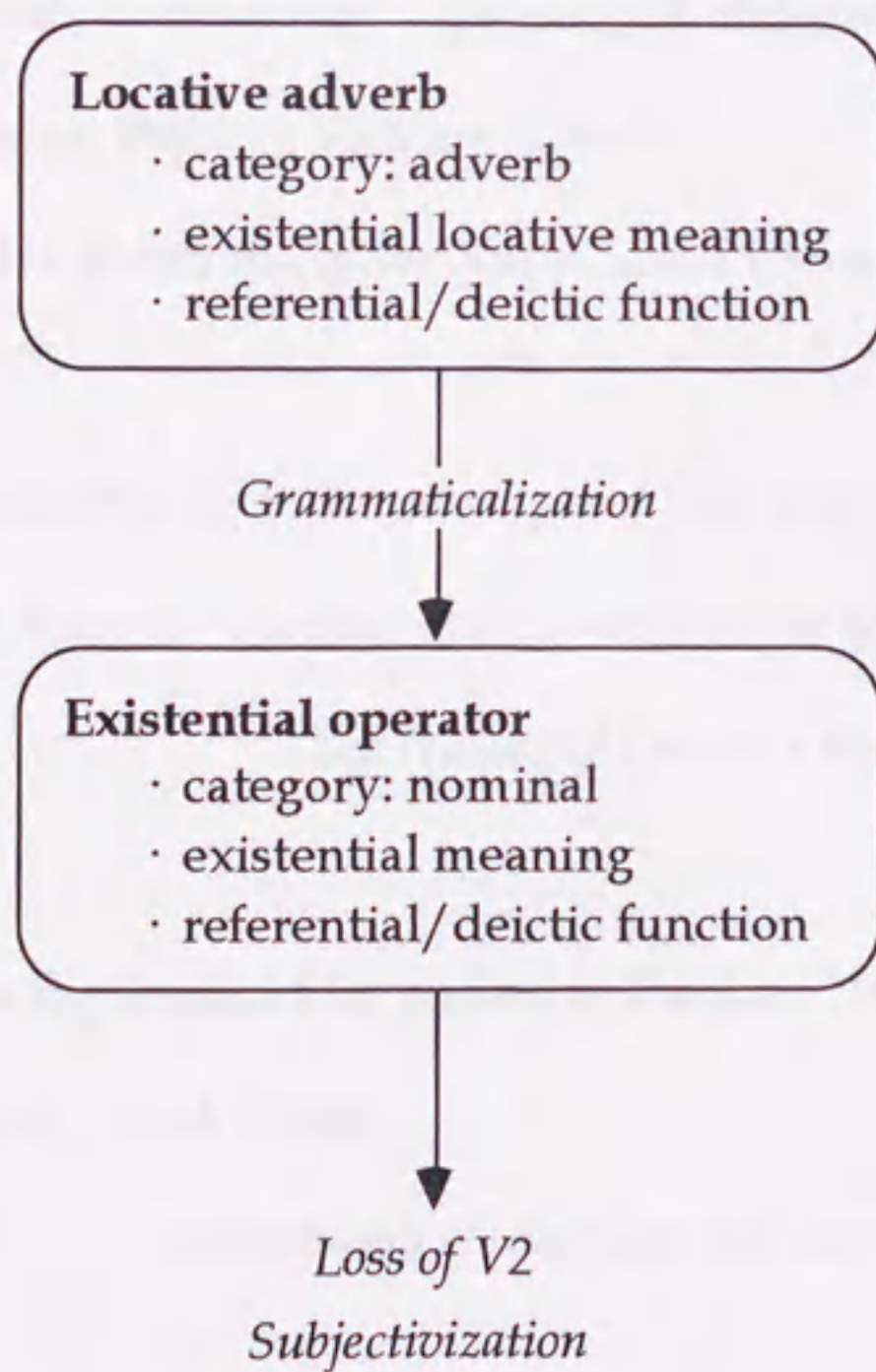
3.3.2.2. Historical Development of Existential *There*

Building on Chierchia's *Local Licensing Approach*, I will propose that *there* is a realized existential operator and binds an indefinite nominal within its local domain (cf. Hornstein (1991)). Before going into the detailed discussion of the licensing system, let us begin by considering the historical background of the existential operator *there*.

It is generally argued that *there* was originally derived from the locative adverb *there* via grammaticalization. Grammaticalization usually involves the reanalysis of lexical materials as functional materials. Hopper and Traugott (1993) and Ziegeler (1997) suggest, however, that some traces of its original lexical meanings tend to adhere to a grammaticalized item even after grammaticalization. This phenomenon is referred to as *Persistence* in Hopper and Traugott (1993), and as *Retention* in Ziegeler (1997). Based on their observations, I will propose (46) with respect to the historical development of *there* in *there+be* ECs.

(46) Diachronic change of *there* in *there+be* ECs

- a. Grammaticalization of *there* has considerably restricted its use as an adverb.
- b. *There* lost the original locative meaning in the process of grammaticalization, but is not yet completely devoid of existential meaning and referential/deictic function even in present-day English.
- c. The existential operator *there* cannot be topicalized; therefore, it cannot enter into a checking relation with the strong EPP feature of predicational C.



We claim that the categorial status of *there* changed from adverb to nominal in the process of grammaticalization, and that it consequently obtained the ability to satisfy the EPP of T. It is quite difficult to determine when *there* came to be recognized as a nominal expression. It actually exhibited a positional overlap with the locative *there* (see (47)), and was ambiguous between adverb and nominal in some cases (see (48) and (49)) (Breivik (1983), Bækken (1998), Jacobsson (1951), among others).

(47) OE

þær wearþ se cyning Bagsecg ofslægen.

there was the king Bagsecg murdered

'there king Bagsecg was murdered'

(*The Parker ms. of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* 871, Kemenade (1987: 19))

(48) ME

And therefore in a fair green place that was afore the hermitage, there was a chair bought, wherein Oliver set him for to take his refection.

(*The History of Oliver of Castile* 610. 4, Bækken (1998: 47))

(49) eModE

And so for Scotland he passed in the year 1657, and there went him Robert Widders, ... and others.

(*Testimony of Margaret Fox concerning George Fox* 516. 9, *ibid.*)

Note, however, that *there* frequently appeared in combination with suffixed prepositions: *þæræfter*, *ðærbig*, *ðærbufa*, *þæron*, *þærto* (see Hosaka (1999), Nagashima (1992), among others). Hosaka's (1999) statistical research reveals that such compounds were already attested in OE and rapidly increased from the 12th to the 14th century. Based on this fact, I follow Hosaka (1999), Kato (2000) and Nagashima (1992) in assuming that *there* had first attained a pronominal character during OE and completely established the nominal status during ME, more precisely, from the 12th to the 14th century.

(50) Categorical status of the existential operator *there*

adverb \Rightarrow adverb/nominal: OE

adverb/nomina \Rightarrow nominal: ME (12C-14C)

The claim that *there* gained the nominal status during ME is supported from the fact that interrogative *there*-sentences first appeared in the second half of the 13th century and rapidly increased during the 16th century (see 3.2.1.1). This shows that *there* was already recognized as a nominal expression in the 13th century and gradually established the subject status during ME.

Another crucial point of the proposed analysis is that the existential operator *there* inherited existential meaning and referential/deictic function from the locative adverb *there*. Retention of existential meaning is reflected in the fact that *there+be* ECs obligatorily have a strong existential import (see Arimoto (1999), Chomsky (1995), Hannay (1985), Hoekstra and Mulder (1990)). We can

say that existential interpretation of the existential verb *be* is strengthened by combining with *there* containing existential meaning.

As for persistence of referential/deictic function, we claim that it is reflected in the operator function of *there*. As is well known, the locative adverb *there* is a deictic expression and has the ability to assign a specific interpretation to indefinite nominals. In (51), for example, the indefinite object *a man* can refer to a specific person in the presence of *there*.

(51) I saw a man there.

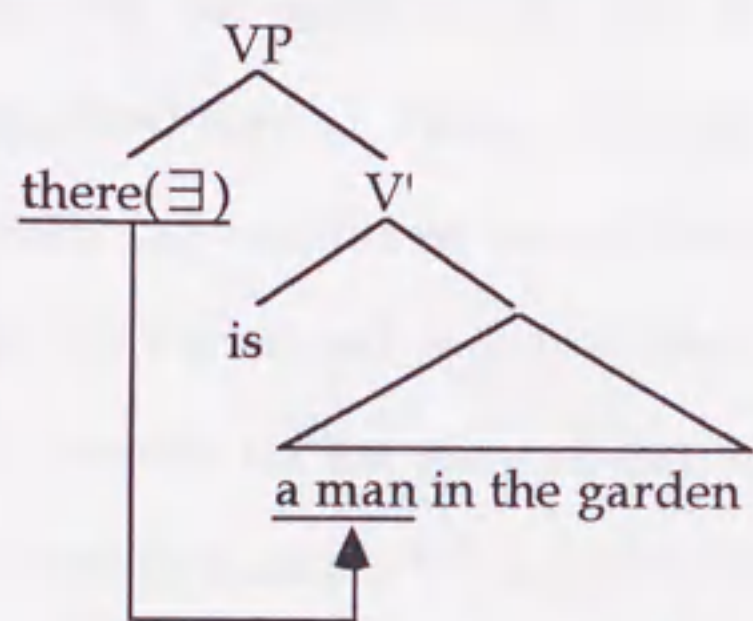
Based on this, I argue that *there* inherited this deictic property from the locative adverb *there*, with the result that it came to function as the existential operator which assigns existential reading to an indefinite subject in its local domain. According to Breivik (1983) and Williams (2000), *there*-constructions rapidly increased and outnumbered *there*-less ECs during the 13th century. We thus claim that *there* established its operator status by the 13th century and came to be frequently used as the existential operator thereafter. This successfully captures the fact that the DE was already observed in early stages of English, though not strictly (Kiparsky (1997), Schmidt (1980), Nakao (1972), among others).

Let us next turn to the mechanism of the proposed licensing system. The existential operator *there* obligatorily requires an indefinite nominal in its local domain to avoid vacuous quantification, and guarantees existential reading of this nominal via local licensing. Given that *there* is an $X^{0\max}$ element, I assume

that *there*-insertion forms either of the following two configurations, (52a) or (52b).¹³

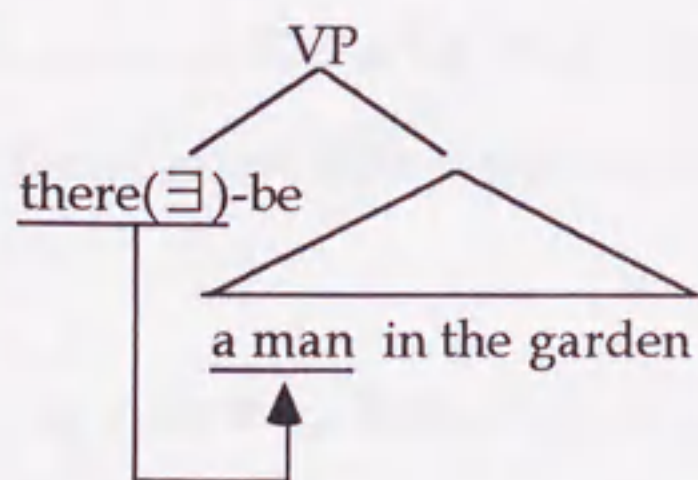
(52) There is a man in the garden.

a.



Local License ⇒ existential interpretation

b.



Local License ⇒ existential interpretation

In these configurations, the existential operator *there* is merged into the V-domain ([Spec, VP] in (52a) and the V-adjoined position in (52b)), and locally binds the indefinite subject. Note that, unlike the generic operator *Gen* in Chierchia (1995), the presence of *there* is not required by some intrinsic properties of the existential

verb *be*. Accordingly, I assume that *there* does not have any FFs to be checked against *be*, that is, merger of the existential operator *there* is not feature-driven. Then, what triggers *there*-insertion into the V-domain? Hopper and Traugott (1993) and Ziegeler (1997) suggest that persistence of meanings or functions associated with the original uses may have an effect on the distribution of the grammaticalized forms. Hence, it seems plausible to assume that the original locative meaning continues to constraint the distribution of *there*. We thus claim that the existential operator *there* is inserted within VP headed by the existential verb *be*, on the ground that it is originally a locative adverb that is located somewhere inside VP, a projection semantically compatible with it.

If this line of argument is on the right track, it follows that indefinite subjects receive existential reading inside VP and hence are not required to be within the scope of *there* at LF (cf. Fox (2000)). This assumption straightforwardly explains interrogative *there*-sentences like (53).

- (53) a. $[_{CP} \text{Who is } [_{TP} \text{there } t'_V [_{VP} t_{\text{there}} t_V t_{WH} \text{ in the room }]]]$
 b. $[_{CP} \text{How many animals are } [_{TP} \text{there } t'_V [_{VP} t_{\text{there}} t_V t_{WH} \text{ in the zoo}]]]$
 (Ura (1993: 88))

In these sentences, *wh*-phrases undergo A'-movement passing over *there* which has moved to the T-domain for the requirement of the EPP. The present analysis assumes that existential reading in ECs is guaranteed within VP. Given this much, these *wh*-phrases successfully obtain existential interpretation prior to

A'-movement to [Spec, CP].

In addition, our analysis provides a straightforward account of the fact that *there*-constructions are incompatible with i-level predicates, as in (54).

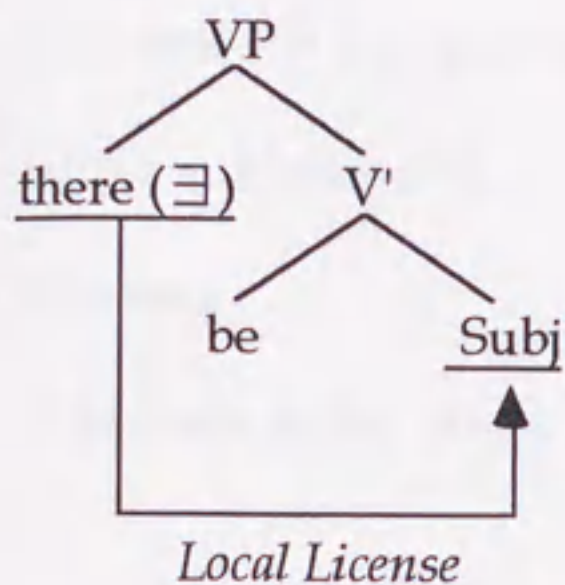
(54) ??There is a man tall. (Chierchia (1995: 210))

Given Chierchia's (1995) analysis that i-level predicates obligatorily require the generic operator *Gen* in their local environment, it will follow that (54) includes two operators, *there* and *Gen*, for one indefinite nominal. Needless to say, however, this violates the constraint on vacuous quantification. This is why i-level predicates are excluded in *there*-sentences.

3.3.2.3. The Derivation of *There+Be* Constructions in Early English

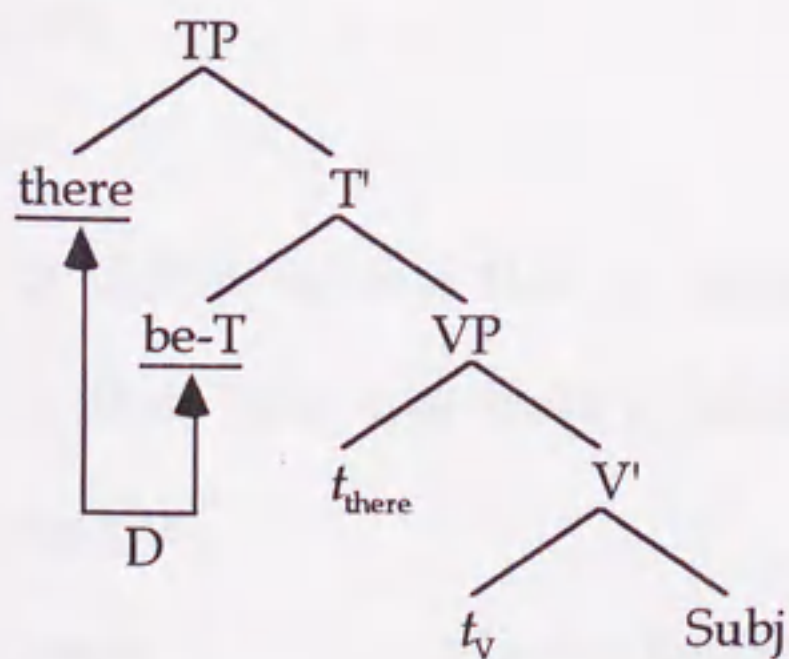
Assuming that the arguments above are basically correct, let us consider the derivation of *there+be* ECs in early stages of English. (55) below represents the stage in the derivation where *there* is inserted into [Spec, VP]. At this point of its merger, *there* locally binds the indefinite subject.

(55) [Overt 1]



The existential verb *be* is then attracted to T by T's strong V feature. The head T further attracts *there* to its specifier position, and has its strong D feature checked off against the categorial D feature of *there*. The step in (56) is thereby derived.

(56) [Overt 2]



In this case, *there* is the only candidate for attraction under the definitions of *Attract F* and *closeness*, because it is in a closer position to the target T than the subject.

(57) *Attract F*

K attracts F if *F* is the closest feature that can enter into a checking relation with a sublabel of *K*. (Chomsky (1995: 297))

(58) *Closeness*

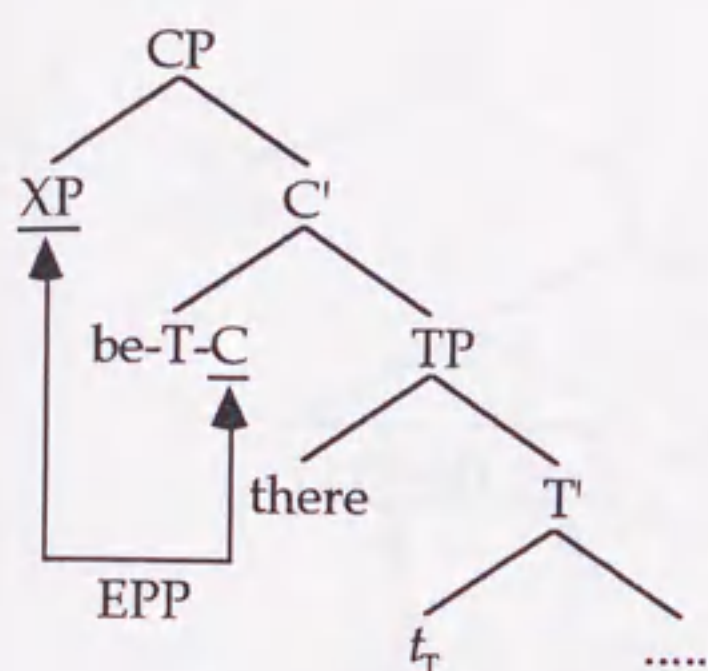
β is *closer* to the target *K* than α if β c-commands α . (op. cit., p. 358)

The existential operator *there*, unlike the expletive topic '*there*' in modern Icelandic and German, does not undergo further movement to the C-domain for its own requirement, because it is not a dummy topic to obtain V2 word order. Hence, when the sentence does not have a topicalized constituent, the operation Spell-Out is applied at the step in (56). This yields the *there-be* order. On the other hand, if the sentence contains some topic XP as in (59), the derivation further proceeds as in (60).

(59) In that tyme was **ther** a Baron a good man and a right good
in that time was there a baron a good man and a right good
knyght ...

knight (Caxton *Knight of the Tower* 83. 16-18, Breivik (1983: 308))

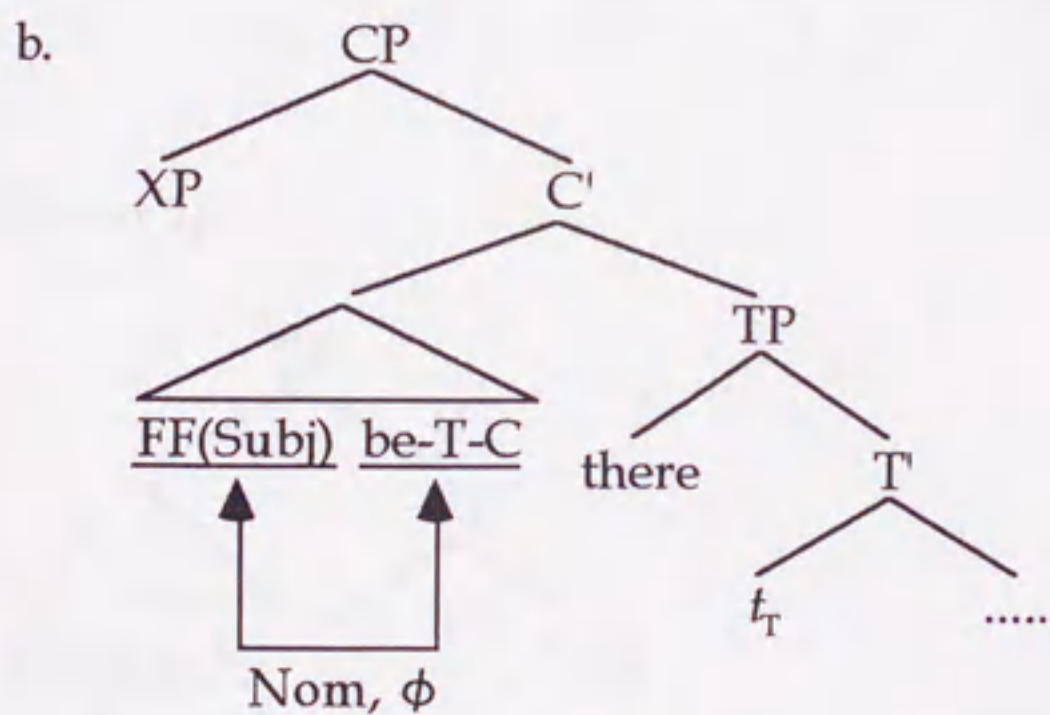
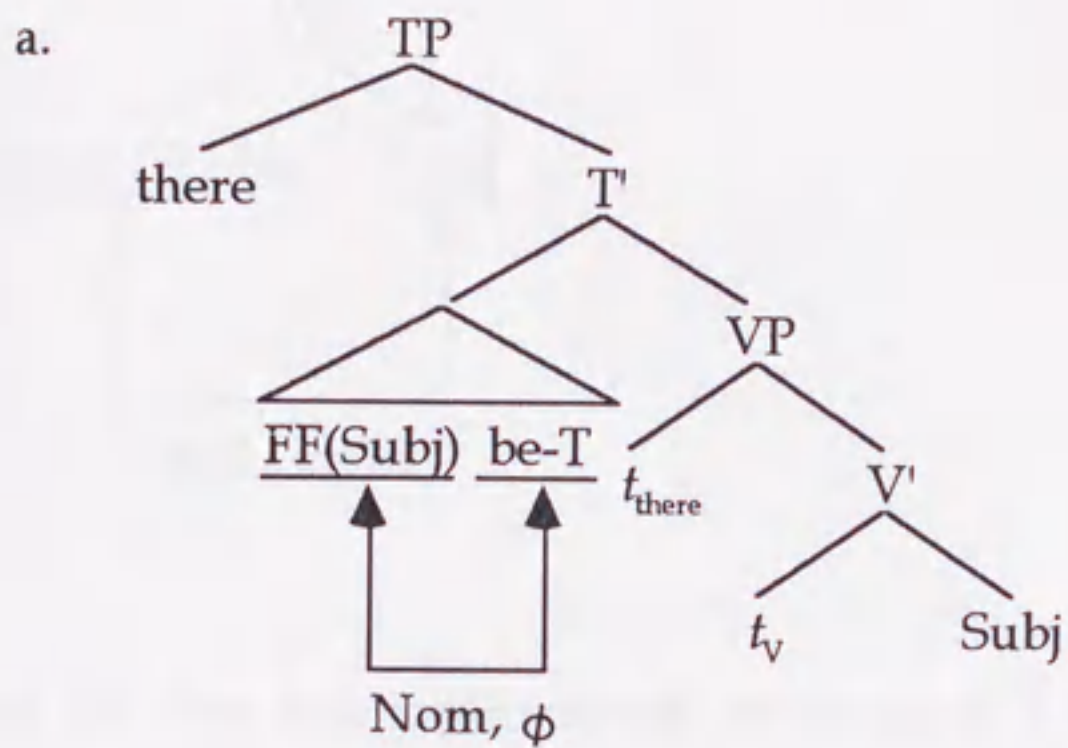
(60) [Overt 3]



Here, predicational C is merged at the root. It was assumed in section 2.2 that predicational C has two strong features to be eliminated prior to Spell-Out: the V feature and the EPP feature. As (60) shows, checking of these features is executed by T-to-C raising and XP-fronting, respectively. In this case, the existential operator *there* does not prevent attraction of the topic XP though it intervenes between the attractor C and the attractee XP, because it cannot be topicalized and thus is invisible to this feature attraction.

(61) below represents the derivation at LF. The FFs of the subject are adjoined to a head containing V and T for the nominative Case feature and ϕ -feature checking.

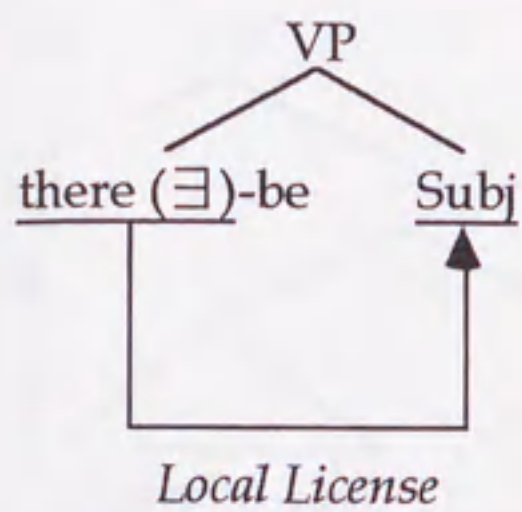
(61) [LF]



Consequently, all the residual FFs that need checking can be successfully checked off by LF, and the derivation converges as a result.

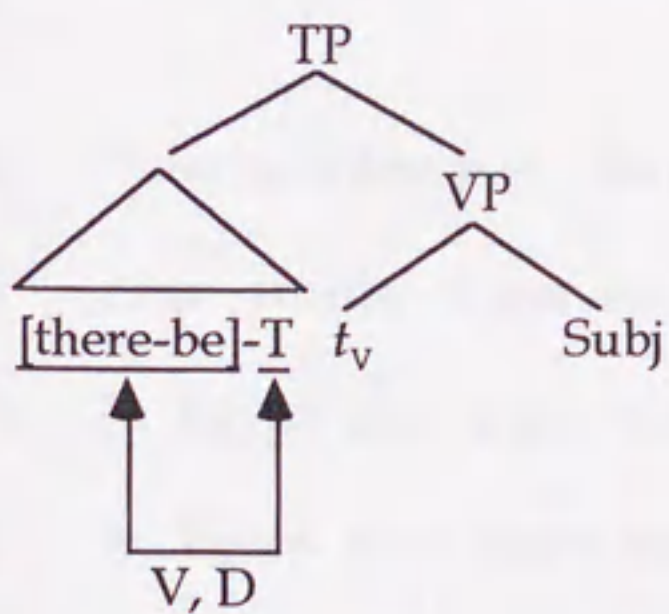
Let us next turn to the derivation in which *there* is recognized as D^0 . First, the existential operator *there* is merged onto V, where it locally licenses the indefinite subject.

(62) [Overt 1]



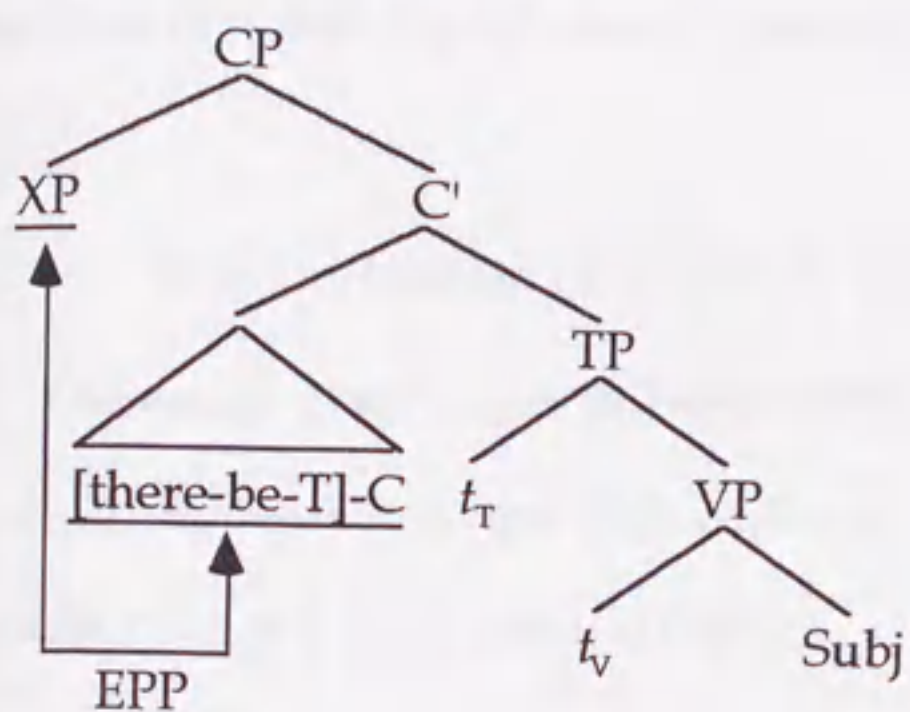
Second, the *there-be* complex overtly moves up to T, resulting in the simultaneous deletion of the strong V feature and the strong D feature of T, as in (63).

(63) [Overt 2]



Third, when the sentence contains some topic XP, predicational C is introduced by merger, as in (64).

(64) [Overt 3]



The strong V feature and the strong EPP feature of this C trigger overt T-to-C movement and XP-movement, respectively. This yields the XP-*there-be* order as in (65), which is specific to clitic-like elements.

(65) a. Nihe wordes þer beoð.

nine words there are

(*Sawles Warde* 180. 228)

b. In Egypt also þere ben dyuerse languages dyuerse lettres

in Egypt also there are diverse languages and diverse letters

of oþer manere condicioun þan þere ben in oþer partes.

of other manner condition than there are in other parts

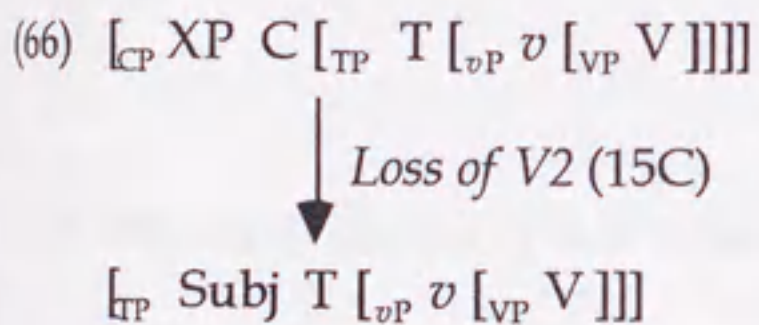
(*Mandeville's Travels* 34. 21)

Finally, the FFs of the subject are attracted to a head containing T and *v* to have its nominative Case feature and ϕ -features checked. As a consequence, the

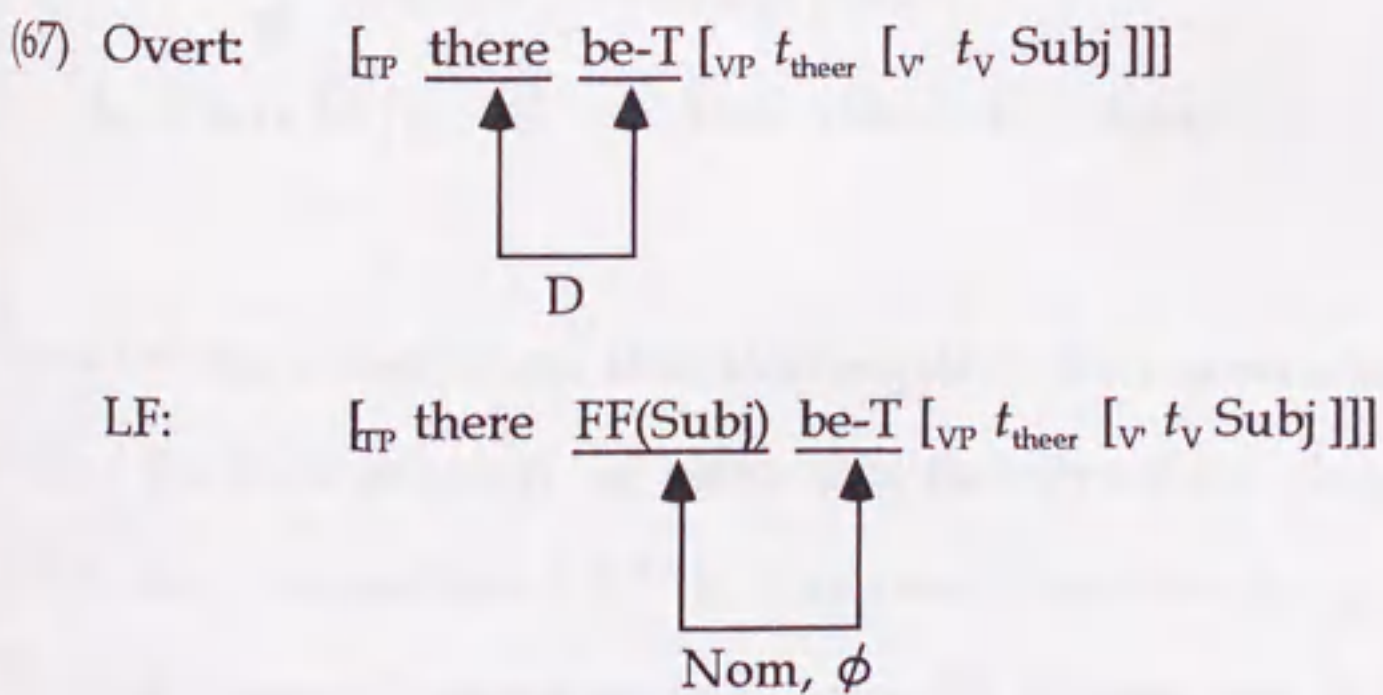
derivation converges with all –Interpretable FFs checked, deriving the *there-be* order from (63) and the *XP-there-be* order from (64).

3.3.2.4. The Derivation of *There+Be* Constructions after the Loss of V2

Kemenade (1987) and Roberts (1993) argue that V2 word order in main clauses disappeared in the 15th century, with the result that the basic clause structure changed from (66a) to (66b).



(67) below shows the derivation of *there+be* ECs after the loss of V2 structure.



Under the proposal here, the existential operator *there* is merged into the *v-/V-* domain and is subsequently raised up to the T-domain due to the strong D features of T. In this case, T automatically attracts *there*, rather than the subject, since the former is in the closest position to the target T. The FFs of the subject covertly move onto the complex [*be-T*], which is formed by overt *be*-raising to T, and have its Case feature and ϕ -features checked against those of [*be-T*].¹⁴

As a result of the loss of V2, *there* was fixed in the T-domain, the T-adjoined position or [Spec, TP], and consequently came to be recognized as a syntactic subject.

(68) *Structural change of there+be ECs*

[_{TP} **there** [_T *be* [_{VP} ...]]]

[_{CP} XP [_C **there** *be* [_{TP} ...]]]

[_{CP} XP [_C *be* [_{TP} **there** ...]]]

↓ *Loss of V2 Structure (16C)*

[_{TP} **There** *be* [_{VP} ...]] ⇒ *Subjectivization of there*

Based on the observation that interrogative *there*-sentences rapidly increased during the 16th century, we claim that this structural change occurred in the 16th century (see section 3.2.1.1). However, this raises the question why *there+be* ECs could keep V2 structure even after the general loss of V2 phenomenon in the 15th century. This matter will be discussed in section section 4.3, where I

will argue that eModE was the transitional period where some constructions including ECs still maintained V2 structure.

Summarizing the discussion so far, it has been argued in this section that *there* in *there+be* ECs has served as a local licenser of indefinite subjects owing to its deictic function in the history of English. Furthermore, we explained three word order patterns attested in early English ECs by hypothesizing that *there* can be recognized as D^0 and DP at the same time. In particular, it was claimed that the otherwise problematic order *XP-there-be*, which is specific to clitic-like elements, straightforwardly follows from the assumption that *there* keeps its clitic status throughout the derivation when it is recognized as D^0 at the point of its merger.

3.4. Presentational *There*-Constructions

3.4.1. *Semantic Constraints on Verbs and Subjects*

Let us next turn to presentational ECs, *there*-constructions with verbs other than the existential *be*. As briefly mentioned in section 1.1, presentational *there*-sentences follow a strict semantic condition on verbal selection. Only the verbs of existence (e.g. *exist, live, remain, sit*) or the verbs of appearance (e.g. *appear, arise, arrive, begin, come, occur*) are allowed in the constructions (Aissen (1975), Bolinger (1977), Breivik (1983), Hannay (1985), Hoekstra and Mulder (1990), Jenkins (1975), Lumsden (1988), Milsark (1979), Safir (1985, 1987), Takami and Kuno (1999), *inter alia*). Some examples are given in (69).

- (69) a. There appeared a ship on the horizon.
b. There exists a solution to that problem.
c. There hangs a picture of George Washington on his wall.
d. There ensued a bloodletting.
e. There occurred a catastrophe (in that century).
f. There still seem to remain some problems (in this regard).
g. There walked a man into the room.
h. There jumped a horse over the fence.

(a-b. Levin and Rappaprot (1996: 121), c. Aissen (1975: 2),
d. Milsark (1974: 9), e-h. Hoekstra and Mulder (1990: 34))

It should be further mentioned that these ECs are subject to another semantic constraint: the non-agentivity constraint on subjects. The prohibition of agentive subjects is evident from the ungrammaticality of (71).

(70) There waved a tattered banner from the flagpole.

(71) *There waved a bearded student from the roof. (Lumsden (1988: 37))

(70) with a non-agentive subject is acceptable whereas (71) with an agentive one is not. Furthermore, (72) below shows that adverbs denoting intentional behavior are not allowed in presentational ECs.

(72) *There stepped an old man into the bus cautiously.

(73) An old man stepped into the bus cautiously.

The contrast between (72) and (73) obviously shows that the agentivity of the subject is weakened or lost in these constructions.

It is widely assumed in the theory of generative grammar that the presentational *there* is not responsible for these semantic restrictions owing to its expletive status. This claim is faced with some empirical problems, however. First, the contrast between (74) and (75) indicates that *there*-sentences with non-existential verbs are completely excluded in English, but not in Icelandic.

(74) *There melted a lot of snow on the streets of Chicago.

cf. A lot of snow melted on the streets of Chicago. (Levin (1993: 90))

(75) *Icelandic*

Það bráðnaði mikið af snjó á götum Chicago

There melted a lot of snow on the streets of Chicago.

In addition, (76) indicates that the counterpart of (72) is more or less acceptable in Icelandic ECs.

(76) *Icelandic*

??Það hefur stigið gamall maður varlega inn í strætisvagninn.

there has stepped an old man cautiously into the bus

(Vikner (1995: 221))

A question which immediately arises here is why the semantic constraints attested in English ECs are not operative in all languages. It was claimed in 2.3.1 that *'there'* functions as a dummy topic in languages like Icelandic and German; it is required merely to obtain V2 order. If this is on the right track, it seems plausible that these languages have no semantic restrictions on verbal selection and the interpretation of the subjects in ECs. Then, why is English *there* incompatible with non-existential verbs and agentive subjects?

Second, as we saw above, presentational ECs must take existential or appearance verbs in present-day English ECs. The same is applied to early English ECs; verbs like *appear, begin, come, grow, hand, remain, lie, live, stand, sit, stay* were attested in the majority of cases (Araki and Ukaji (1984), Breivik (1983), Kobayashi (1991), Nakao (1972), among others). Araki and Ukaji (1984), Nagashima (1992) and Schmidt (1980) suggest, however, that non-existential verbs like *die, miscarry, perish* and *want* were observed in early stages of English, especially, in ME. Some examples are given in (77).

Chapter 3. Is *There* a Pure Expletive?

- (77) a. There are yet **missing** of your company Some few odd lads
there are yet missing of your company some few odd lads
that you remember not.
that you remember not
(Shakespeare *The Tempest* V. i. 254-255, Araki and Ukaji (1984: 516))
- b. There **wanteth** now our brother Gloucester here to make the
there lacks now our brother Gloucester here to make the
blessed period of this peace.
blessed period of this peace
(Shakespeare *Richard III* II. i. 43, *ibid.*)
- c. there may no man **doute** that ther nys som blisfulnesse ...
there may no man doubt that there is not some happiness
(Chaucer *Boece* III Prosa 10. 33-34)
- d. Ther **loved** no wight hotter in his lyve.
there loved no one hotter during his lifetime
(Chaucer *The Legend of Good Women* (F) 59, Nagashima (1992: 71))
- e. there shal no thyng **hyde**.
there shall nothing hide
(Chaucer *The Squire's Tale* V(F) 141, *op. cit.*, p. 78)
- f. Ther may nothing as tyme **endure**, ...
there may nothing as time endure
(Chaucer *The Romaunt of the Rose* 385, *op. cit.*, p. 61)

A close inspection of ECs based on the Diachronic Part of the Helsinki Corpus reveals that presentational ECs with non-existential verbs were observed with some frequency during ME, but they were already rare in eModE. This poses the question why the selectional restriction on verbs came to be so rigid in the course of ModE.

In what follows, I will account for these phenomena in terms of syntactic properties of presentational *there*, together with the change of clause structures.

3.4.2. *There* as a Discourse Sequencing Linking Word

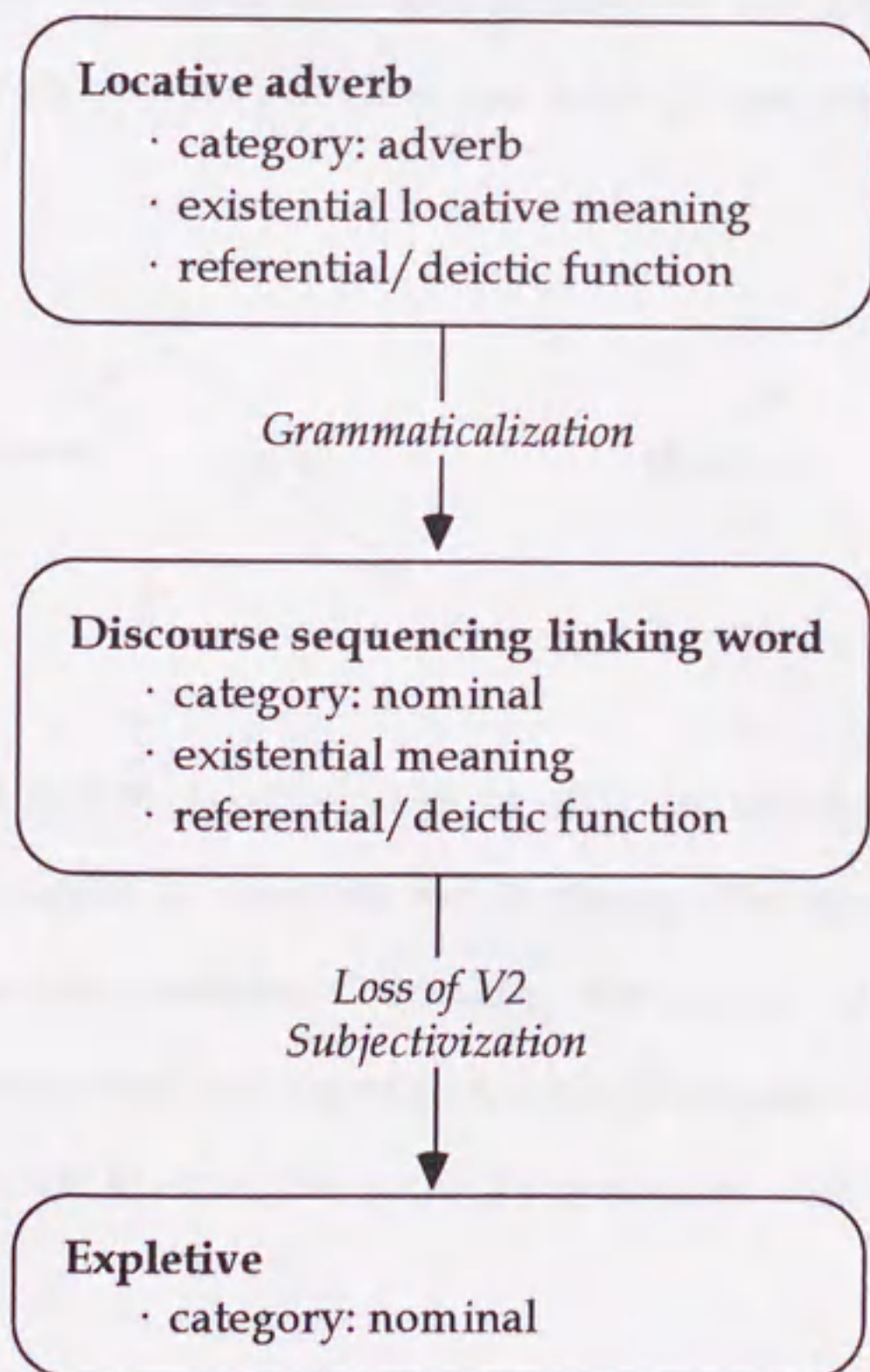
3.4.2.1. Historical Development of Presentational *There*

It was argued in section 3.3 that *there* in *there+be* ECs is the existential operator and retains existential meaning and referential function abstracted from the locative adverb *there*. In this section, we will deal with presentational *there* differentiated from the existential operator *there*, though they were in the same origin. Main proposals are the followings.¹⁵

(78) Diachronic change of *there* in presentational *there*-constructions

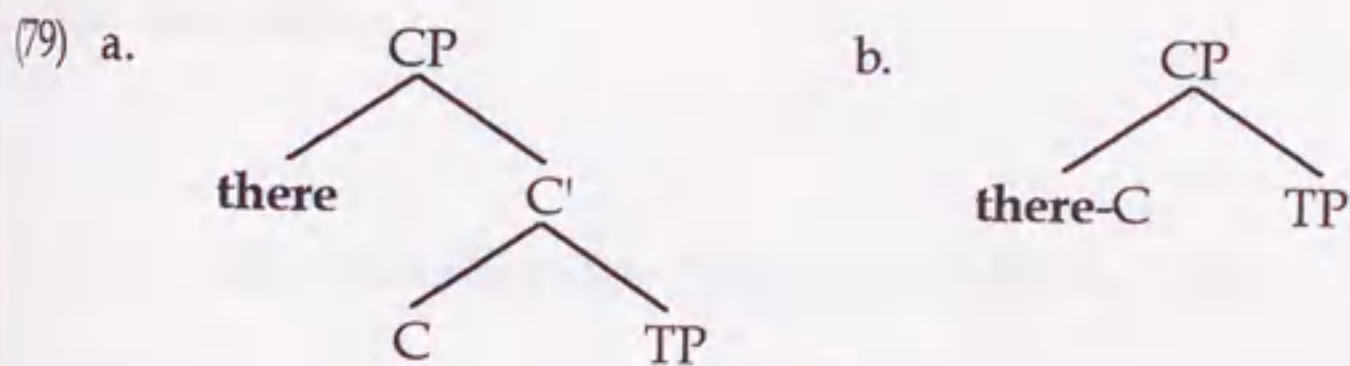
- a. Presentational *there* was originally derived from the locative adverb *there* via grammaticalization.
- b. It was still ambiguous in its categorial status even after grammaticalization; it was taken to be either as adverb or as nominal during OE and ME.

- c. It lost the original locative meaning in the process of grammaticalization, but inherited referential/deictic function from the deictic adverb *there*.
- d. It functioned as a discourse sequencing linking word because of its referential/deictic property.
- e. It gradually lost its referential/deictic function and came to be expletive-like after the loss of V2 structure.



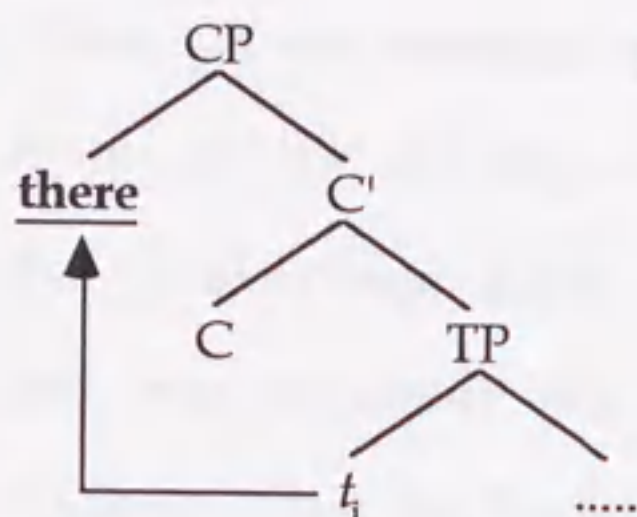
Nagashima (1992) observes that *there* had a far stronger demonstrative-evocative force in OE and ME than it may have in present-day English, and mainly functioned as a linking word. I suggest that this behavior of presentational *there* is most plausibly due to retention of referential/deictic property abstracted from the deictic locative adverb *there*.

Being a discourse-related word, presentational *there* must appear within the projection of C, the discourse-related domain. Assuming this, *there*-insertion takes place in either of the following two ways. The first one is the direct insertion into the C-domain; *there* is inserted into [Spec, CP] or the C-adjoined position for its own requirement as a linking word, as in (79).

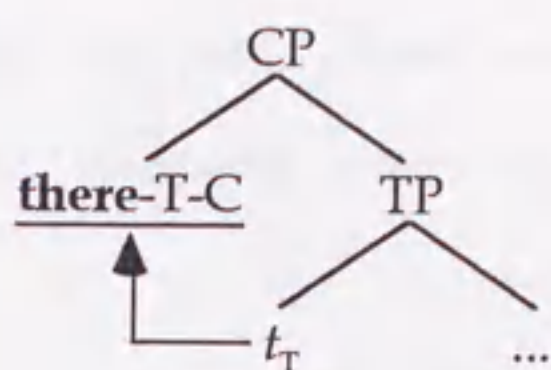


The second option is illustrated by (80), in which *there* is inserted into the T-domain in order to eliminate the T's strong D feature and subsequently moves up to the discourse-related C-domain. We assume in (78) that *there* came to be recognized as a nominal expression after grammaticalization. Therefore, it can be the candidate to enter into a checking relation with the D feature of T.

(80) a.



b.



The claim that *there* must appear in the C-domain in overt syntax is empirically supported from the fact that presentational ECs, unlike *there+be* ECs, did not exhibit the XP-V-*there* order with *there* in the T-domain (see 3.2.2.1). Additionally, I will demonstrate in chapter 4 that *there*-insertion into the C- or the T-domain plays an important role in the discussion of overt subject movement in TECs, UECs and PECs.

3.4.2.2. Explanation for Semantic Restrictions

Assuming that the arguments above are basically correct, let us consider the semantic restrictions on verbal selection and the interpretation of the subjects. As we saw above, we frequently observe presentational *there*-sentences with non-existential verbs in early stages of English, especially, in ME. The relevant examples are repeated below.

Chapter 3. Is *There* a Pure Expletive?

- (81) a. There are yet **missing** of your company Some few odd lads
there are yet missing of your company some few odd lads
that you remember not.

that you remember not

(Shakespeare *The Tempest* V. i. 254-255, Araki and Ukaji (1984: 516))

- b. There **wanteth** now our brother Gloucester here to make the
there lacks now our brother Gloucester here to make the
blessed period of this peace.

blessed period of this peace

(Shakespeare *Richard III* II. i. 43, *ibid.*)

- c. there may no man **doute** that ther nys som blisfulnesse ...
there may no man doubt that there is not some happiness

(Chaucer *Boece* III Prosa 10. 33-34)

- d. Ther **loved** no wight hotter in his lyve.
there loved no one hotter during his lifetime

(Chaucer *The Legend of Good Women* (F) 59, Nagashima (1992: 71))

- e. there shal no thyng **hyde**.

there shall nothing hide

(Chaucer *The Squire's Tale* V(F) 141, *op. cit.*, p. 78)

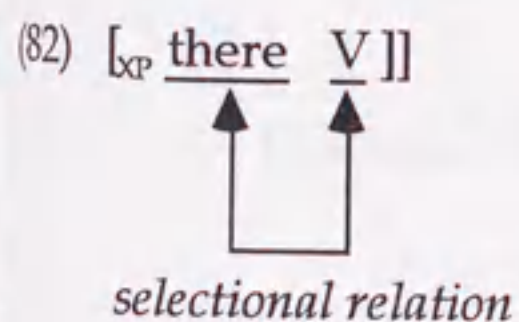
- f. Ther may nothing as tyme **endure**, ...

there may nothing as time endure

(Chaucer *The Romaunt of the Rose* 385, *op. cit.*, p. 61)

I assume in (78) that presentational *there* was ambiguous in its categorial status, adverb or nominal, and mainly functioned as a linking word until around the 17th century. Given this much, it is naturally expected that the early English *there* could appear with any types of verbs as in (81).

Now, the question is why the selectional restriction on verbs came to be so rigid in the course of ModE. A key point here is that, as Nagashima (1992) points out, referential/deictic function of *there* had been gradually bleaching in the course of eModE, and consequently it failed to function as a deictic expression by itself. We thus assume that *there* must establish a local relation with deictic predicates like *come* at the point of its merger, as in (82), in order to reinforce its referential function in combination with these verbs.



Then, what is X in (82)? Note that the surface position of finite verbs has shifted from C to T and finally to *v/V*, with the structural change illustrated in (83).

(83) [_{CP} (XP) **Vfn** [_{TP} Subj T [_{vP} v [_{VP} V]]]]

↓
Loss of V2

[_{TP} Subj **Vfn** [_{vP} ...]]

↓
Loss of V-to-T

[_{TP} Subj T [_{vP} **Vfn** [_{VP} ...]]]

Thus, under the proposal here, it will follow that the position of *there*-insertion also changed from the T-domain to the *v*-/V-domain. For example, (85) below represents the derivation of UECs and PECs in present-day English.

(84) [_{TP} there T [_{VP} t_{there} V ...]]



D selectional relation

The presentational *there* is merged into the V-domain and then moves into the T-domain to enter into a checking relation with the strong D feature of T.

If V is a non-deictic verb in (84), the constructions will be ruled out as a kind of violation of selectional restriction. Thus, the ungrammaticality of (85) is ascribed to the violation of the selectional restriction between *there* and the verbs (see Lasnik (1995)).

- (85) a. *There melted a lot of snow on the streets of Chicago.
b. *There danced a young girl in the ballroom.
c. *There sang a tall middle-aged woman on the stage.
d. *There someone laughed.
e. *There someone kissed Mary.
- (a. Levin and Rappaport (1996: 19), b-c. Takami and Kuno (1999: 589),
d. Bošković (1997: 100), e. Iwakura (1999: 3))

In addition, given that the verbs of existences and those of appearance lack the ability to assign Agent θ -role, the ungrammatical examples in (86) and (87) are automatically ruled out.

- (86) *There waved a bearded student from the roof.
(87) *There stepped an old man into the bus cautiously.

If the selectional relation between *there* and *V* ends up with semantically mismatch as in (85)-(87), the sentences will be ruled out as a violation of selectional restriction.

To sum up the discussion, it has been argued in this section that, in early English, presentational *there* functioned as a discourse sequencing linking word because of its referential/deictic function abstracted from the locative adverb *there*. Therefore, it must appear in the discourse-related C-domain ([Spec, CP] or the C-adjoined position) to express the intersentential connection. Furthermore,

I argued that the semantic restrictions on verbs and the subject interpretation are naturally explained in terms of selectional relation between *there* and the deictic verbs.

However, there still remain two questions concerning the relevant ECs; when did presentational ECs lose the V2 structure, and when did presentational *there* undergo subjectivization? In chapter 4, I will show that the occurrence and the demise of these ECs give us a clue to understand the change of clause structures of presentational ECs during ME and eModE, and propose that these ECs lost V2 structure in the 17th century and this promoted subjectivization of *there*.

3.5. *Merge vs. Move Revisited*

Finally, this section demonstrates that the ungrammaticality of (88b) can readily be accounted for under the analysis proposed in this chapter.

- (88) a. There seems to be a man in the room.
b. *There seems a man to be in the room.

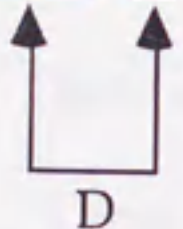
It has been argued so far that present-day English *there*, existential or presentational, is inserted into the V-domain, viz. [Spec, VP] or the V-adjoined position. Suppose that the derivation has reached the stage of (89) where *there*

is inserted within VP.

(89) [_{VP} there be a man in the room]

The next step is merger of the embedded T headed by *to*. T has the strong D feature to be checked off prior to Spell-Out, therefore attracts *there* in accordance with the definition of *closeness*. This yields the structure in (90).

(90) [_{TP} there to [_{VP} *t*_{there} be a man in the room]]



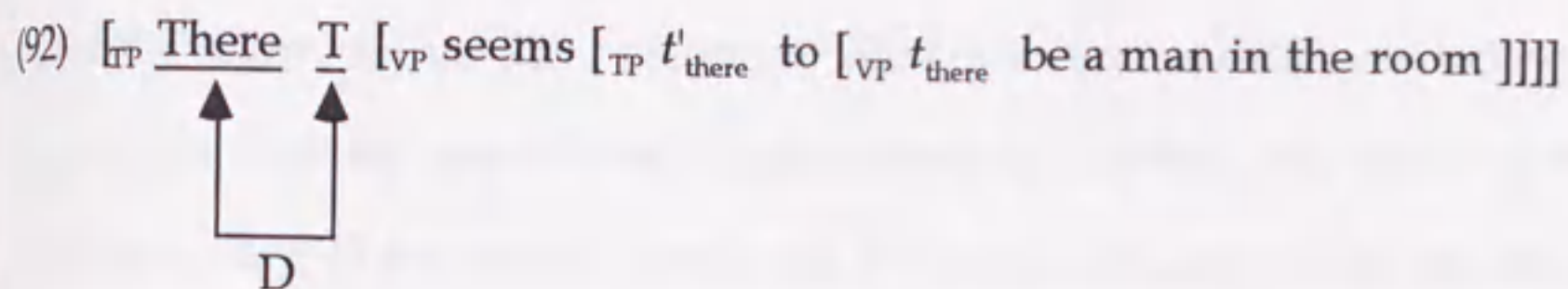
D

(91) *Closeness*

β is closer to the target K than α if β c-commands α .

(Chomsky (1995: 358))

Then, the matrix T is merged at the root and attracts *there* to its specifier position for the D feature checking.



Consequently, we can automatically derive the order in (88a).

Given the discussion above, it follows that the parametric difference between English (93) and Icelandic (94) can be naturally accounted for in terms of the syntactic difference of *there* and *það*.

- (93) a. There seems to be a man in the room.
 b. *There seems a man to be in the room.

(94) *Icelandic*

- a. $[_{CP} \text{Það} \text{mund} [_{TP} \text{margir menn} \text{virðast} [_{TP} \text{hafa} \text{verið hér}]]]]$
 there would many men seem have.INF been here
 'There would seem to have been many men here.'
- b. $[_{CP} \text{Það} \text{mund} [_{TP} \text{virðast} [_{TP} \text{margir menn hafa} \text{verið hér}]]]]$
 there would seem many men have.INF been here
- c. $[_{CP} \text{Það} \text{mund} [_{TP} \text{virðast} [_{TP} \text{hafa} \text{verið margir menn hér}]]]]$
 there would seem have.INF been many men here

(a, b. Jonas (1996: 79))

A crucial point is that the position of *there*-insertion is different between these languages. As we saw above, English *there* is inserted into the V-domain, so that the strong D feature of embedded T always attracts it. On the other hand, Icelandic *það* is well analyzed as the expletive topic which can be inserted either into the T-domain or the C-domain. Given that '*there*'-insertion is equal to overt subject movement in cost, the embedded EPP can be satisfied either by *það* or the raised subject in Icelandic ECs.

3.6. Conclusion

In this chapter, we investigated two types of *there*-constructions, *there+be* ECs and presentational ECs, and proposed that *there* in these ECs underwent a totally different historical development though they were in the same origin. It was specifically argued that *there* in *there+be* EC serves as a local licenser of indefinite subjects due to its deictic function inherited from the locative adverb *there*. It is inserted into the V-domain ([Spec, VP] or the V-adjoined position), and binds an indefinite subject in its local domain. Furthermore, it inherited existential meaning from the locative adverb *there* and strengthens the existential interpretation of the constructions. If this analysis is on the right track, it follows that *there* in *there+be* ECs has not been a pure expletive in the history of English.

On the other hand, presentational *there* functioned as a discourse sequencing linking word because of its referential/deictic function abstracted from the

locative deictic adverb *there*. Therefore, unlike the existential operator *there*, it must appear in the discourse-related C-domain ([Spec, CP] or the C-adjoined position) to express the intersentential connection. Furthermore, on the ground that referential/deictic property of presentational *there* had been weakened in the course of eModE, I argued that presentational *there* must establish a local selectional relation with V at the point of its insertion to reinforce referential/deictic property. This analysis gives a straightforward explanation to the fact that the selectional restriction on verbs and subjects became more strict during eModE.

As mentioned in 3.4.2.2, we still have two questions concerning presentational ECs; when did these ECs lose V2 structure, and when did presentational *there* undergo subjectivization? In chapter 4, we will discuss the development of TECs and ECs with a raised subject in the history of English, and demonstrate that the demise of these ECs constitute independent evidence that (i) the relevant ECs lost V2 structure in the 17th century and that (ii) this structural change promoted subjectivization of *there* in the 17th century.

Notes

* Part of this chapter was presented at the 72nd General Meeting of the English Literary Society of Japan held at Rikkyo University on May 20-21, 2000, and at the workshop at the 18th Annual Meeting of the English Linguistic Society of Japan held at Konan University on November 18-19, 2000. I am grateful to Hirozo Nakano, Masachiyo Amano, Tomoyuki Tanaka, Masayuki Ohkado, Yoshio Endo, Kozo Katoh, Masaharu Kato, Makoto Kondo, Jun Abe, Hiroyuki Ura, Eiko Mizuno, Naoshi Nakagawa, Hiroyuki Nawata, Satoko Osawa and Tomohiro Yanagi for their helpful comments and suggestions on earlier versions of this chapter.

¹ The example in (11a) is cited from the Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English.

² The present-day English translation is borrowed from Skeat's (1881) edition.

³ Tanaka (2000b, c) argue that these embedded *there*-sentences convincingly support the claim that *there* occupies the canonical subject position. Kato (2000) suggests, however, that the locative adverb *there* also appeared in the same position. Therefore, we cannot definitely conclude from these embedded *there*-sentences that *there* was a syntactic subject in early English.

It should be further noted that raising constructions involving *there*-raising

first appeared in the 16th century. Some examples are given below.

- (i) a. in so much that a greater difference **there** seemeth not to bee
in so much that a greater diffrence there seems not to be
betweene the manner of their knowledge, ...

between the manner of their knowledge

(Hooker *Two Sermons upon Part of S. Judes Epistle* 4, Hosaka (1999: 15))

- b. **ther** is like to be troble in the maner off Oxenhed.

there is likely to be trouble in the manner of Oxenhed

(*Paston Letters* 312. 10-11, Breivik (1983: 347))

This provides additional evidence that *there* already gained the nominal status in the 16th century. Breivik (1983: 348) suggests, however, that raising constructions themselves were not very common until around 1550. Hence, the occurrence of raising constructions involving *there*-raising can not be count as empirical evidence that the subjecthood of *there* established in the 16th century.

⁴ More precisely, OE was not a strict V2 language and usually exhibited non-V2 order in main clauses. This is most plausibly due to the fact that OE was already under a gradual process of language change. In addition, there might be a dialectal or a stylistic variation concerning the V2 order. However, I will keep this matter beyond the scope of this present discussion.

Bækken's (1998) and Hæberli's (1999) statistical survey reveals that subject-verb inversion disappeared during the 15th century. They point out, however, that some examples with the inverted order still can be found in several contexts

after the 15th century. Thus, it is difficult to declare that V2 phenomenon disappeared in the 15th century. I will discuss this matter in 4.3.2.

⁵ The present-day English translation is borrowed from Skeat's (1881) edition.

⁶ The present-day English translation is borrowed from Garmonsway's (1953) edition.

⁷ *There*-less ECs sometimes exhibited Verb First (V1) order, as in (i). (The present-day English translation is borrowed from Skeat's (1881) edition.)

(i) Nis nan oþer god ón to gelyfenne.

is not no other god in to believe

'There is no other God in whom to believe'

(*Æfric's Lives of Saints* XXII. 93, Nagashima (1992: 16))

According to Williams (2000), ECs with V1 order accounts for 34% of the total ECs from 1150 to 1250 in the Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English. This shows that *there* was not required to avoid the V1 order.

⁸ The examples in (20), (21), (22b) are cited from the Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English.

⁹ The examples in (23a) and (24a) are cited from the Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English.

¹⁰ The present-day English translations of (27), (28) and (29b) are borrowed from Thorpe's (1971) edition.

¹¹ Amano (2000), Bošković (1997), Radford (1997) and Takahashi (1999) argue that *there* seems to be clitic-like in present-day English. There are several pieces of evidence in support of their claim. For example, let us consider the following examples with *wager*-class verbs.

- (i) a. *He alleged stolen documents to be in the drawer.
- b. *John watered a stranger to have been in that haunted house.

(Bošković (1997: 58))

The *wager*-class verbs include such verbs as *admit*, *affirm*, *allege*, *announce*, *concede*, *maintain*, *scream*, *wager* and *whisper*. This class of verbs, just like *believe*-class verbs, allows passive raising (e.g. *John was wagered to be crazy*.) and exceptionally Case-marked *wh*-traces (e.g. *Who did Peter wager to be crazy?*), but do not allow the ECM constructions, as in (i). The following sentences indicate, however, that the sentences become immediately acceptable if lexical nominals are replaced with pronouns.

- (ii) a. Mary alleged him to have kissed Jane.
- b. He alleged there to be stolen documents in the drawer.

- c. John wagered there to have been a stranger in that haunted house.
- d. He acknowledged it to be impossible to square circles.

(ibid.)

The sentences of (iib, c) indicate that *there*, as well as pronouns, is exceptionally licensed as an infinitival subject embedded under *wager*-class verbs. It is concluded from this distributional contrast that *there* has the same categorial status as personal pronouns, but not as lexical nominals that is usually analyzed as DP, at least in these constructions.

Needless to say, however, this cliticization approach to *there* does not mean that it survives only as a clitic throughout the derivation (cf. Takahashi (1999)). As Amano (2000) suggests, it is clearly a DP when it appears in the sentence initial position of a tensed clause. Thus, we tentatively assume that *there* is a DP when it is licensed by a tensed Infl, and elsewhere it is a D⁰ clitic, in present-day English. See Amano (2000) and Takahashi (1999) for much more discussion of the cliticization analysis of *there*.

¹² See Yang (1999) for the discussion of the DE in Romanian, Hebrew and Modern Arabic.

¹³ Needless to say, the base position of *there* [Spec, VP] is a non- θ -position in (53a) (see Arimoto (1999) and Radford (1997)).

¹⁴ (67) represents the derivation in which *there* is recognized as a DP, but the situation is the same as in the case where *there* is recognized as a D^0 .

¹⁵ Presentational *there*, unlike the existential operator *there*, did not inherit existential meaning. This is evident from the fact that, unlike *there+be* ECs, presentational ECs do not necessarily imply an existential import (Chomsky (1995: fn. 42)).

Furthermore, we assume that presentational *there* does not function as an existential operator for indefinite nominals, on the ground that presentational ECs sometimes take indefinite subjects with 'strong' determiners, as in (i).

- (i) a. There hung on the wall the flag of the country that John had fled.
b. There walked up to a neighbor's house every child in the neighborhood.

(a. Belletti (1988: fn. 20), b. Guéron (1980: fn. 62))

If presentational *there* was an existential operator, the sentences in (i) would be ruled out because of vacuous quantification since these sentences do not contain any indefinite nominals with 'weak' determiner to bind. Hence, it seems plausible to assume that presentational *there* does not serve as an existential operator. I tentatively assume that these ECs contain the null existential operator \exists when they take indefinite subjects with 'weak' determiners.

Chapter 4

THERE-CONSTRUCTIONS AND V2 STRUCTURE

4.1. Introduction

Having established the theoretical and historical background of English *there*, we can now go on to discuss the historical development of TECs and ECs with a raised subject in English.

TECs and ECs with a raised subject were observed with some frequency during ME and eModE, but all demised in the 17th century (Breivik (1983), Ingham (2000), Jacobsson (1951), Jonas (1996), Tanaka (2000a, 2000b, 2000c), Visser (1963), among others). TECs were attested from the 14th to the 17th century. As for UECs and PECs with a raised subject, they can be frequently observed during ME and had gradually declined from the 14th to the 17th century (see Jonas (1996), Tanaka (1999), among others). Some examples are given below.

TECs

(1) Ther may no man clepen it cowardye.

there may no man call it cowardice

(Chaucer *The Knight's Tale* 2730, Kobayashi (1993: 63))

UECs with a raised subject

(2) there shall no man dar appere in þe place.

there shall no man dare appear in the place

(*Paston Letters* 204. 16)

PECs with a raised subject

(3) there nys no thing doon for cause of yvel, ...

there is not nothing done for the sake of evil

(Chaucer *Boece* IV. Prosa 6. 171, Breivik (1983: 301))

I have demonstrated in chapter 2 that the presence vs. absence of these ECs among modern Germanic languages are properly analyzed in terms of the availability of [Spec, CP] for '*there*'-insertion. This chapter investigates the historical development of these three types of ECs in English, and discuss whether the proposed analysis can be applied to a diachronic study of English ECs. In particular, my concerns go to the following two issues.

- (I) Why were TECs and ECs with a raised subject attested during ME and eModE?
- (II) Why did these ECs become obsolete in the course of eModE?

I will pursue the issue (I) in section 4.2, and argue that (i) presentational *there*, which is analyzed as a discourse sequencing linking word under our analysis, was inserted either in the C-domain or in the T-domain, and that (ii) the direct *there*-insertion into the C-domain enabled overt subject movement to [Spec, TP]. The issue (II) will be discussed in section 4.3. It will be claimed that (i) the demise of these constructions is attributable to the loss of V2 structure in the 17th century, and that (ii) eModE was the transitional period where some constructions including ECs maintained V2 structure even after the general loss of V2 in the 15th century.

It is noteworthy, furthermore, that present-day English TECs are improved when the subjects are postposed to the clause final position by HNPS, as shown in (4).

- (4) a. Suddenly there entered the hall an ugly old man.
- b. There was slowly making its way toward us a figure in black.
- c. There visited us last night a large group of people who traveled all the way from India.

(a. Levin (1993: 90), b. Bolinger (1977: 102), c. Chomsky (1995: 343))

This fact poses the question (III):

- (III) Why does the postposing of the subjects affect the acceptability of TECs in present-day English?

I will investigate this issue in section 4.4, and demonstrate that these examples give us a convincing support for the close correlation between TECs and overt subject raising out of *v*P that I have argued in chapter 2.

This chapter is organized as follows. Sections 4.2 and 4.3 are dedicated to the first two issues. Section 4.3 also presents a descriptive investigation of inversion constructions based on the Diachronic Part of the Helsinki Corpus. It will be suggested that eModE was the transitional period where sentences introduced by such connective adverbs as *then*, *now*, *yet* and *therefore* maintained V2 structure even after the general loss of V2 in the 15th century. Section 4.4 addresses present-day English TECs with a postposed subject in (4), and explores the issue (III). Section 4.5 shows that my analysis of TECs also handles a 'transitivity constraint' on inversion constructions. Section 4.6 is a conclusion of this chapter.

4.2. Overt Subject Raising in ECs

4.2.1. *The Distribution of the Subjects*

4.2.1.1. UECs and PECs

This section explores the first question; why were TECs and ECs with a raised subject attested during ME and eModE? Before going into detailed discussion, let us begin by clarifying the position of the subjects in these ECs.

ME and eModE are similar to modern V2 languages allowing TECs in that the subjects had more freedom in their distribution in UECs and PECs. As the examples in (5)-(8) indicate, two positions were available for the subjects in these periods: the preverbal position and the base-generated position.

UECs with a raised subject

(5) a. there shall **no man** dar appere in the place.

there shall no man dare appear in the place

(*Paston Letters* 204. 16)

b. There was never **counterfeit of passion** came so near the

there was never counterfeit of passion came so near the

life of passion as she discovers it.

life of passion as she discovers it

(Shakespeare *Much Ado About Nothing* I. iii. 104-106)

UECs with an in-situ subject

- (6) a. there comen a **maner** croked strikes like to the clawes of a
there came a manner crooked strikes like to the claws of a
loppe, ...
spider (Chaucer *Astrolabe* 667. 19. 1-5)
- b. there shall appear **such seeming truth of Hero's disloyalty** ...
there shall appear such seeming truth of Hero's disloyalty
(Shakespeare *Much Ado About Nothing* II. ii. 47-48)

PECs with a raised subject

- (7) a. there nys **no thing** doon for cause of yvel, ...
there is not nothing done for the sake of evil
(Chaucer *Boece* IV Prosa 6. 171, Breivik (1983: 301))
- b. there shuld **non assise** be graunted to your entent.
there should no assize be granted to your intent
(*Paston Letters* 455. 15)

PECs with an in-situ subject

- (8) a. there shall be left **no thyng**e behynde but fayre shootyng.
there shall be left nothing behind but faire shooting
(Ascham *Toxophilus* 144, Jacobsson (1951: 206))

- b. There is laboryd **many menys** to intytill þe Kyng in his good.
there is labored many men to entitle the king in his good

(*Paston Letters* 86. 17)

Needless to say, the higher subject position is not available in present-day English ECs, as shown by (9) and (10).

UECs

- (9) a. *There will many men come here today.
b. There will come many men here today.

PECs

- (10) a. *There will some cakes be cooked for the party.
b. There will be some cakes cooked for the party.
c. *There will be cooked some cakes for the party.

Given that English exhibited V2 order until the 15th century (Kemenade (1987), Roberts (1993), among others), ECs with a raised subject in (5a) and (7a) are assigned the following V2 structures.

(11) [_{CP} there shall [_{TP} no man_i [_{XP} dar [_{VP} appere *t_i* in the place]]]]

there shall no man dare appear in the place

(12) [_{CP} ther nys [_{TP} no thing_i [_{VP} doon *t_i* for cause of yvel]]]

there is not nothing done for the sake of evil

(11) and (12) indicate that the subjects are base-generated in the complement position of V for θ -marking and then raised to [Spec, TP]. If Kishida (1997) is right in assuming that *dare* heads its own projection, (11) (=5a) will be a strong support for overt subject movement out of VP.

Let us further consider the following example of PEC.

(13) ther mythe **myche there-of** aben sparyd.

there might much thereof have been spared

(*Paston Letters* 212. 21-22, Kishida (1997: 40))

Following standard assumption that the auxiliary verbs have their own projection VP, we claim that the structure of (13) can be as in (14).

(14) be good dyscresyon [_{CP} ther mythe [_{TP} **myche there-of**_i [_{VP} a ben

by good discretion there might much thereof have been

sparyd *t_i*]]]

spared

The subject appears to the right side of VP headed by the auxiliary verb *a ben* (=have been), which is naturally taken to be lower than TP. This leads us to conclude that the subject *myche there-of* occupies a position higher than VP, namely [Spec, TP].

4.2.1.2. TECs

Bobaljik and Jonas (1996) observe that TECs obligatorily involve overt subject movement to [Spec, TP] in modern Germanic languages. We pointed out in 2.3.3.2, however, that there are some apparent counterexamples to their claim. The application of overt subject movement is heavily dependent on the presence of auxiliary verbs; it is applied optionally in TECs without auxiliary verbs, but obligatorily in TECs with auxiliaries. With this observation in mind, let us consider the following examples from eModE.¹

TECs without auxiliary verbs

- (15) a. And þer knoweth **no man** how soon God woll clepe hym, ...
and there knows no man how soon God will call him
(*Paston Letters* 30. 11-12, Breivik (1983: 319))
- b. And there followed him **great multitudes of people from Galilee**.
and there followed him great multitudes of people from Galilee
(*Authorized Version of the Bible* Matthew 4. 25, Arimura (1986: 75))

- c. ther maketh **no man** himselven riche
 there makes no man himself rich

(Chaucer *The Parson's Tale*, 233. C1. 165)

- d. þer hedde **non** so gret vertu in him
 there had none so great vertu in him

(*The Mirror of Saint Edmund* 256. 635)

- e. þer knowiþ **no man** withowte reuelacion wheþur þat
 there knows no man without revelation whether that
 he be marked with þe signett of grace or no.
 he be marked with the signet of grace or not

(*Middle English Sermons, Royal* 258. 13-14)

In (15a), for example, the subject *no man* appears in a position immediately following the finite verb *knoweth* which we assume occupies the head C. Thus, this might have the following two representations at Spell-Out.

- (16) a. $[_{CP} \text{ þer knoweth } [_{TP} \text{ no man}_i \text{ } [_{vP} t_i t_v \dots]]]$
 b. $[_{CP} \text{ þer knoweth } [_{TP} [_{vP} \text{ no man } t_v \dots]]]$

There is no convincing evidence to determine which is an appropriate structure of (14a), but recall that overt subject raising is optional in Icelandic TECs. The relevant examples are repeated here as (17).

(17) *Icelandic*

- a. Það stingur [_{vP} smjörinu [_v aldrei **einhver** í vasann]]
 there put the butter never someone in the pocket
 'Some students never put the butter in their pockets.'
- b. Það stingur [_{vP} aldrei [_v **einhver** smjörinu í vasann]]
 there put never someone the butter in the pocket
- c. Það stingur [_{TP} **einhver** [_{vP} aldrei smjörinu í vasann]]
 there put someone never the butter in the pocket
- d. Það stingur [_{TP} **einhver** [_{vP} smjörinu aldrei í vasann]]
 there put someone the butter never in the pocket

(a. Jonas (1996: 38))

(18) *Icelandic*

- a. Það stingur [_{vP} smjörinu [_v **einhver** í vasann]]
 there put the butter someone in the pocket
 'Someone put the butter in the pocket.'
- b. Það sagði [_{vP} Sveini [_v **einhver** sögu]]
 there told Sveinn somebody a story
 'Somebody told Sveinn a story.'

(Jonas and Bobaljik (1993: 93))

Given that VP adverbs are located within *vP*, it follows that the subject *neinir stúdentar* 'any students' remains in its original position in (17a, b) and (18), and overtly moves outside *vP* in (17c, d). Comparing (15) with (17) and (18), we can

say that the surface position of the subject might be either [Spec, *v*P] or [Spec, TP] in early English, just as in modern Icelandic TECs.

Let us next turn to TECs with auxiliary verbs. The Icelandic examples of (19) indicate that the subject *neinir stúdentar* must precede the VP adverb *aldrei* 'never' that marks the left hedge of *v*P, which means that the subject undergoes overt movement outside *v*P in this type of TECs.

(19) *Icelandic*

- a. Það hafa [_{TP} **neinir stúdentar** [_{vP} *aldrei* stungu smjörinu í
there have any students never put the butter in
vasann]]
the pocket
- b. *Það hafa [_{vP} *aldrei* **neinir stúdentar** stungu smjörinu í
there have never any students put the butter in
vasann]
the pocket

Now, how about the early English TECs? As Ingham (2000) notes, TECs were quite commonly found with auxiliary verbs or perfective *have* in early English. Some examples of TECs with auxiliaries are given in (20).

TECs with auxiliary verbs / perfective have

- (20) a. Ther may **no man** clepen it cowardye.
there may no man call it cowardice

(Chaucer *The Knight's Tale* 2730, Kobayashi (1993: 63))

- b. Ther mai **no man** kepe a fals law
there may no man keep a false law

(*Lollard Sermons* 21, Ingham (2000: 14))

- c. there wull **noman** gewe so myche fore them
there will no man give so much for them

(*Paston Letters* 209. 11, op. cit., p. 23)

- d. Ther shal **no thyng** hurte hym.
there shall nothing hurt him (*Paston Letters* 643. 11-13, ibid.)

- e. there had **fifteene severall Armados** assailed her.
there had fifteen several Armados assailed her

(*Raleigh Selections* 151, Jacobsson (1951: 208))

Based on the above Icelandic data, I assume with Jonas (1996), Kishida (1997) and Tanaka (1998) that the early English TECs, as well as Icelandic counterparts, involve the obligatory subject movement. Hence, the relevant part of (20a) will be like (21) under our analysis.

- (21) Ther may [_{TP} **no man**_i [_{vP} *t*_i clepen it cowardye]]
there may no man call it cowardice

This claim receives empirical support from the following examples.

- (22) a. Now I se I am but lorn, þere may **no man** þis doom
Now I see I am but lost there may no man this doom
repele.
repeal (Body & Soul in Anglia II 243, Jonas (1996: 153))
- b. þere couþe **no man** it aquenche wiþ no craft.
there could no man it quench with no craft
(Trevisa Higden (Rolls) I. 223, OED, cited in Tanaka (2000b: 480))
- c. ther may **no gold** hem quite.
there may no gold them quite
(Chaucer *The Knight's Tale* I (A) 1032, Nagashima (1992: 75))
- d. Ther kan **no man** in humblesse hym acquite ...
there can no man in humility him act
(Chaucer *The Clerk's Tale* IV (E) 936, op. cit., p. 78)
- e. ther shal no man me knowe, ...
thereshall no man me know
(Chaucer *The Legend of Good Women* 2047, op. cit., p. 71)

Here, the subjects precede the shifted objects. If van der Wurff (1997) is right in assuming that the Obj-V order in ME is derived by means of overt object shift, the structure of (22) can be illustrated as in (23), rather than (24).

(23) [_{CP} there AUX [_{TP} **Subj** [_{vP} Obj [_{v'} t_{Subj} [_{v'} V t_{Obj}]]]]]

(24) [_{CP} there AUX [_{vP} **Subj** [_{v'} Obj [_{v'} V t_{Obj}]]]]

I argued in 2.3.3.2 that merger of a subject into [Spec, *vP*] should precede object shift, given that lexical insertion into a θ -position is less costly than *Move / Attract*. Hence, the subjects are assumed to appear in a *vP*-external position, namely [Spec, TP], as in (23).

4.2.2. *Optional Subject Raising in UECs and PECs*

We are now in a position to provide an account of the historical development of TECs and ECs with a raised subject in terms of the change of clause structures, together with the cost of *Merge* and *Move / Attract*. I will demonstrate that it can be explained by the same reasoning as in modern Germanic languages like Icelandic and German.

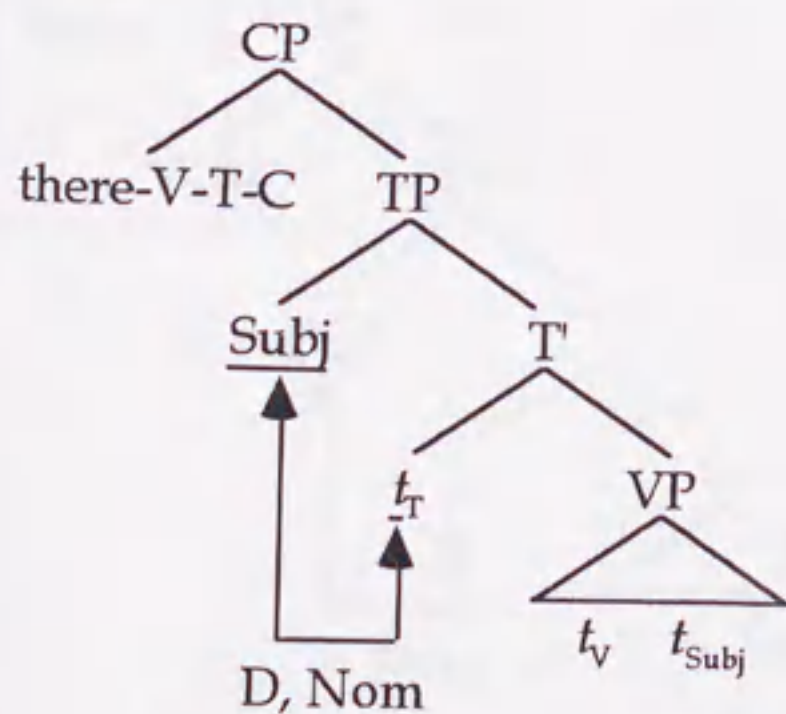
We claimed in 3.4.2 that presentational *there* had the following properties in early English. First, it functioned as a linking word expressing the sentential connection, and hence occupied the C-domain in overt syntax. Second, it can be inserted into an X^0 -/XP-position due to its D^{0max} property. Third, it was ambiguous between adverb and nominal during OE and ME. This means that

there might be the candidate to satisfy the EPP of T due to its nominal status. On these assumptions, we will begin by considering the derivation of UECs and PECs in this section.

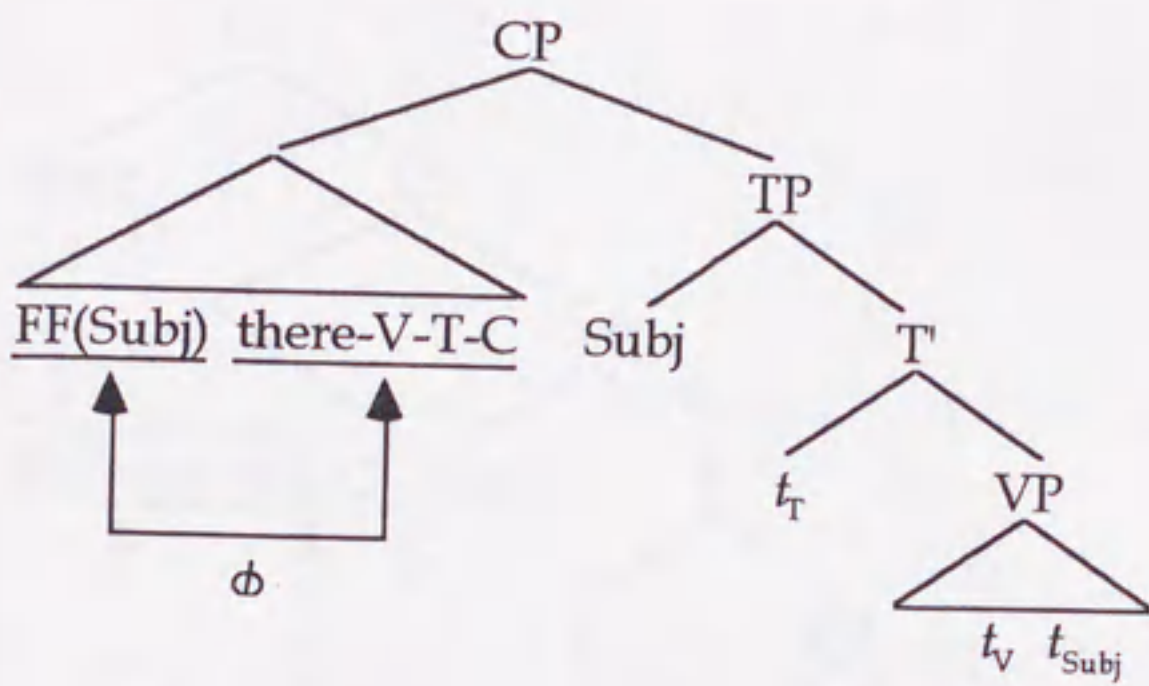
(25) and (26) represent the derivations of UECs/PECs in which the EPP of T is satisfied by means of overt subject raising. The raised subject simultaneously checks the D feature and the nominative Case feature against T in overt syntax, and its ϕ -features are covertly attached onto C for checking. Presentational *there* is inserted into the C-adjoined position in (25) and [Spec, CP] in (26), which enables the subject to undergo overt movement to [Spec, TP].

(25) UECs and PECs with a raised subject (*there* = D^0)

[Overt]

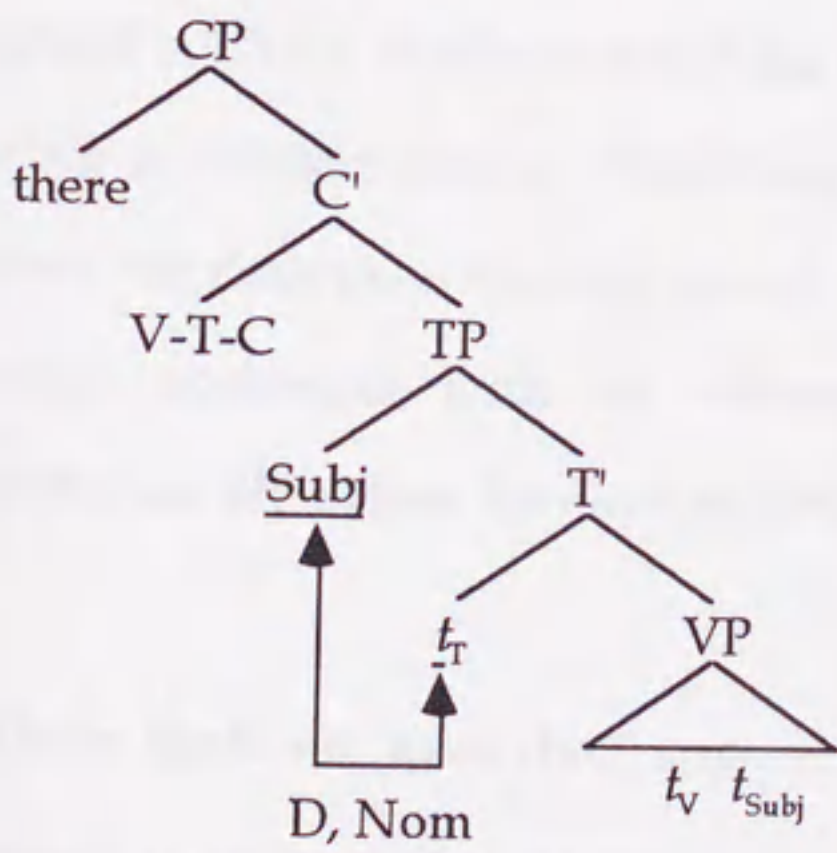


[LF]

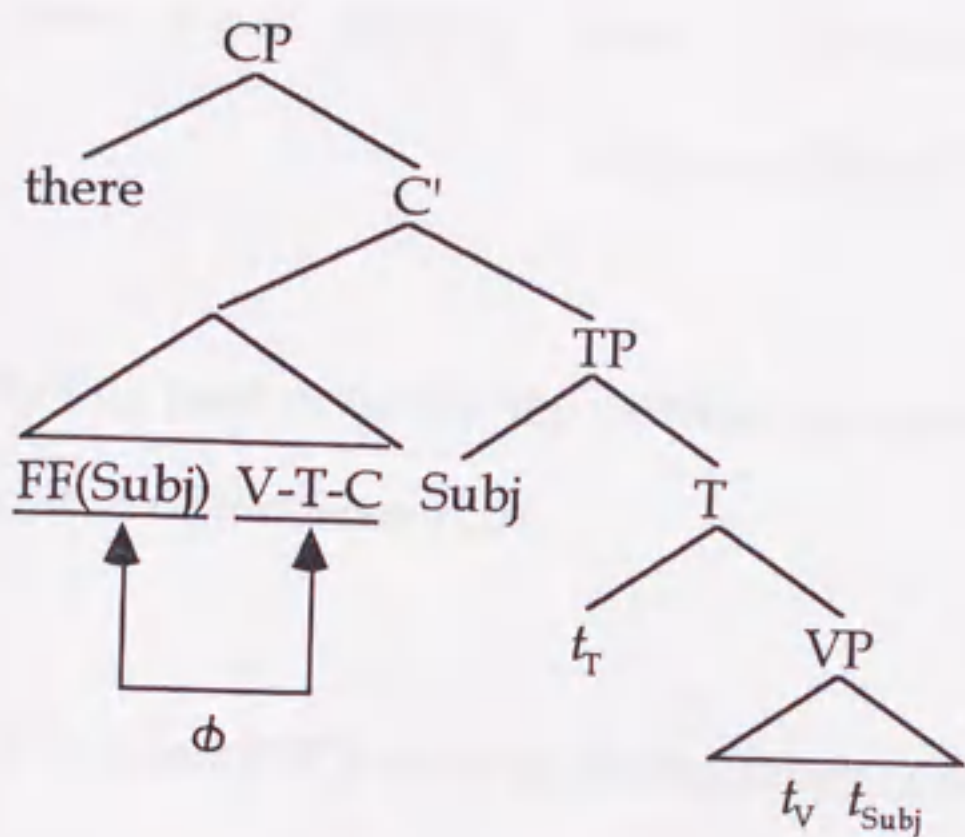


(26) UECs and PECs with a raised subject (*there* = DP)

[Overt]



[LF]



Note that *there* does not undergo feature checking in these derivations. As mentioned in 1.3.2.2, *there* lacks both Case feature and ϕ -features and its categorial D feature is +Interpretable. Therefore, the categorial D feature of *there* does not cause the derivation to crash though it is unchecked. As a consequence, the derivation converges with all -Interpretable features checked, and we straightforwardly obtain the *there*-AUX-Subj-V order in (27) and (28).

(27) there shall no man dar appere in þe place.

there shall no man dare appear in the place

(*Paston Letters* 204. 16)

(28) there nys **no thing** doon for cause of yvel, ...

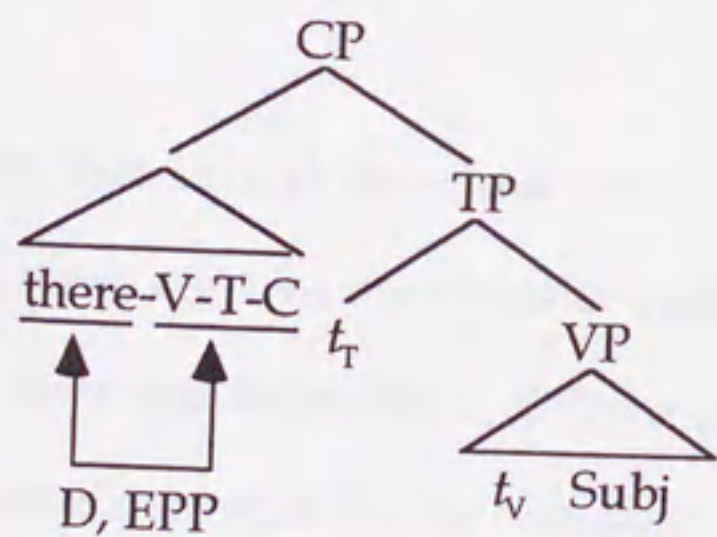
there is not nothing done for the sake of evil

(Chaucer *Boece* IV. Prosa 6. 171, Breivik (1983: 301))

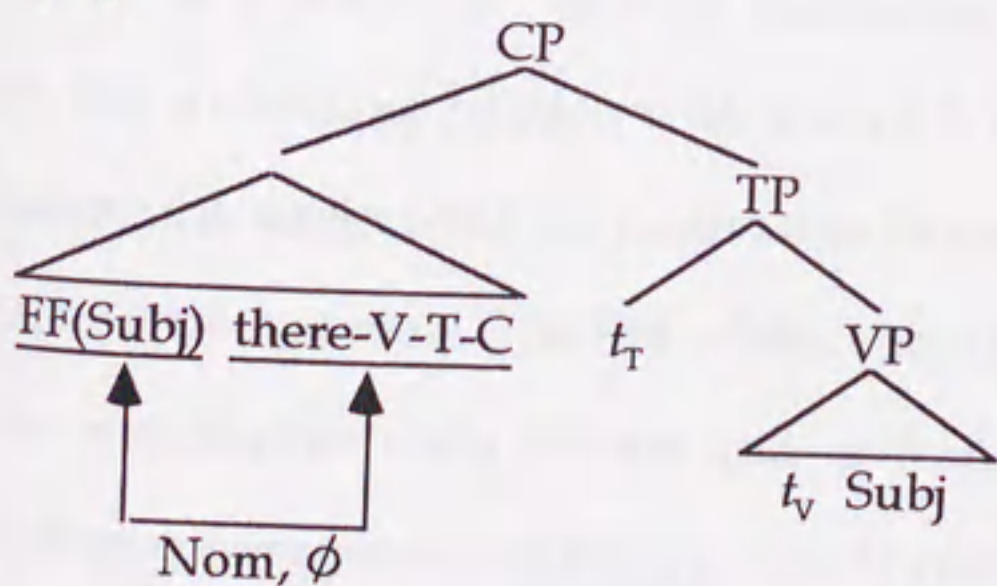
Let us next consider the derivation where the EPP of T is satisfied by the application of *there*-insertion.

(29) UECs and PECs with an *in-situ* subject (*there* = D^0)

[Overt]

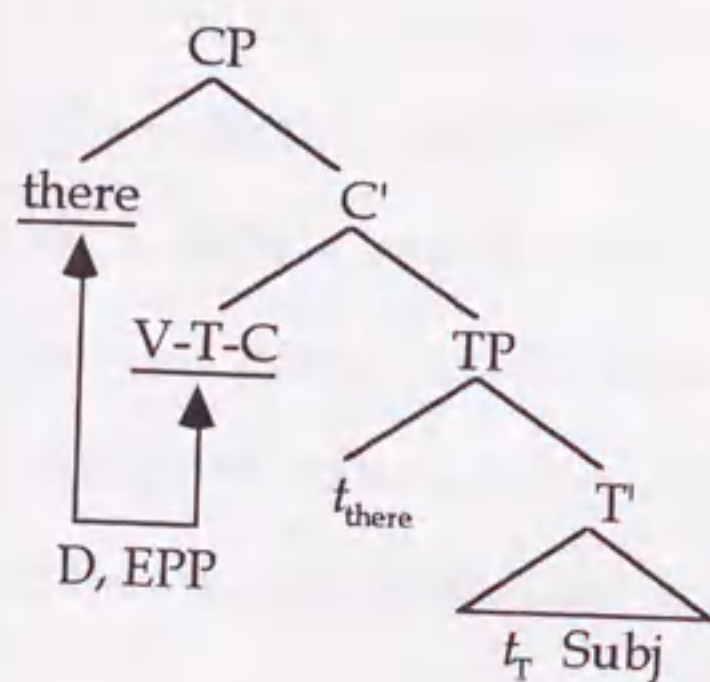


[LF]

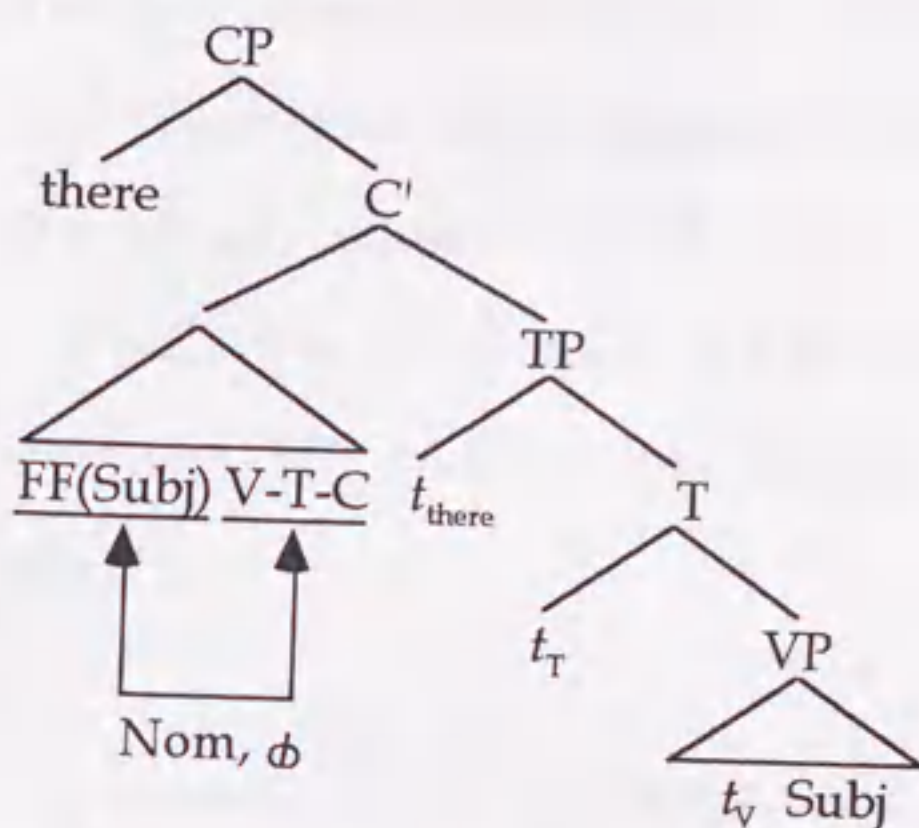


(30) UECs and PECs with an *in-situ* subject (*there* = DP)

[Overt]



[LF]



Given that lexical insertion into a non- θ -position is equal to *Move/Attract* in cost, there are two elements available for checking of the T's strong D feature in ECs: *there* and the subject. (29) involves *there*-cliticization onto T; *there* is adjoined to T and then the whole complex [*there*-V-T] undergoes overt movement to C. In (30), on the other hand, *there* is inserted into [Spec, TP] and subsequently moves up to [Spec, CP]. In each derivation, the categorial D feature of *there* enters into a checking relation with that of T within the minimal domain of TP. Therefore, the subject has no motivation to undergo overt movement to [Spec, TP] after *there*-insertion. The FFs of the subject undergo covert movement to C for the nominative Case feature and ϕ -features checking; consequently, the derivation converges with all FFs properly checked.

To sum up the discussion, we can account for the optional subject movement

in ECs by hypothesizing that (i) *there*-insertion, an instance of lexical insertion into a non- θ -position is equal to *Move/ Attract* in cost, and that (ii) presentational *there* could be merged into [Spec, CP] or the C-domain in early stages of English (cf. Ingham (2000)). Breivik (1983) and Nagashima (1992) suggest that UECs and PECs with a raised subject were already attested in OE and was the predominant pattern in the course of ME. The same result is obtained by Takana's (1999) statistical research based on OED2 on CD-ROM. The relevant part of the result is reproduced in Table 11.

	14C		15C		16C		17C		18C	
	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%
Type I	12	42.9	13	37.15	23	26.4	14	9.4	1	1.6
Type II	2	7.1	2	5.7	28	32.2	74	49.7	39	60.9
Type III	14	50	20	57.15	36	41.4	61	40.9	24	37.5
(Total)	28	100	35	100	87	100	149	100	64	100

Table 5. The Distribution of PECs

(cited in Tanaka (1999: 100))

Type I: There will some cakes be baked for the party.

Type II: There will be some cakes baked for the party.

Type III: There will be baked some cakes for the party.

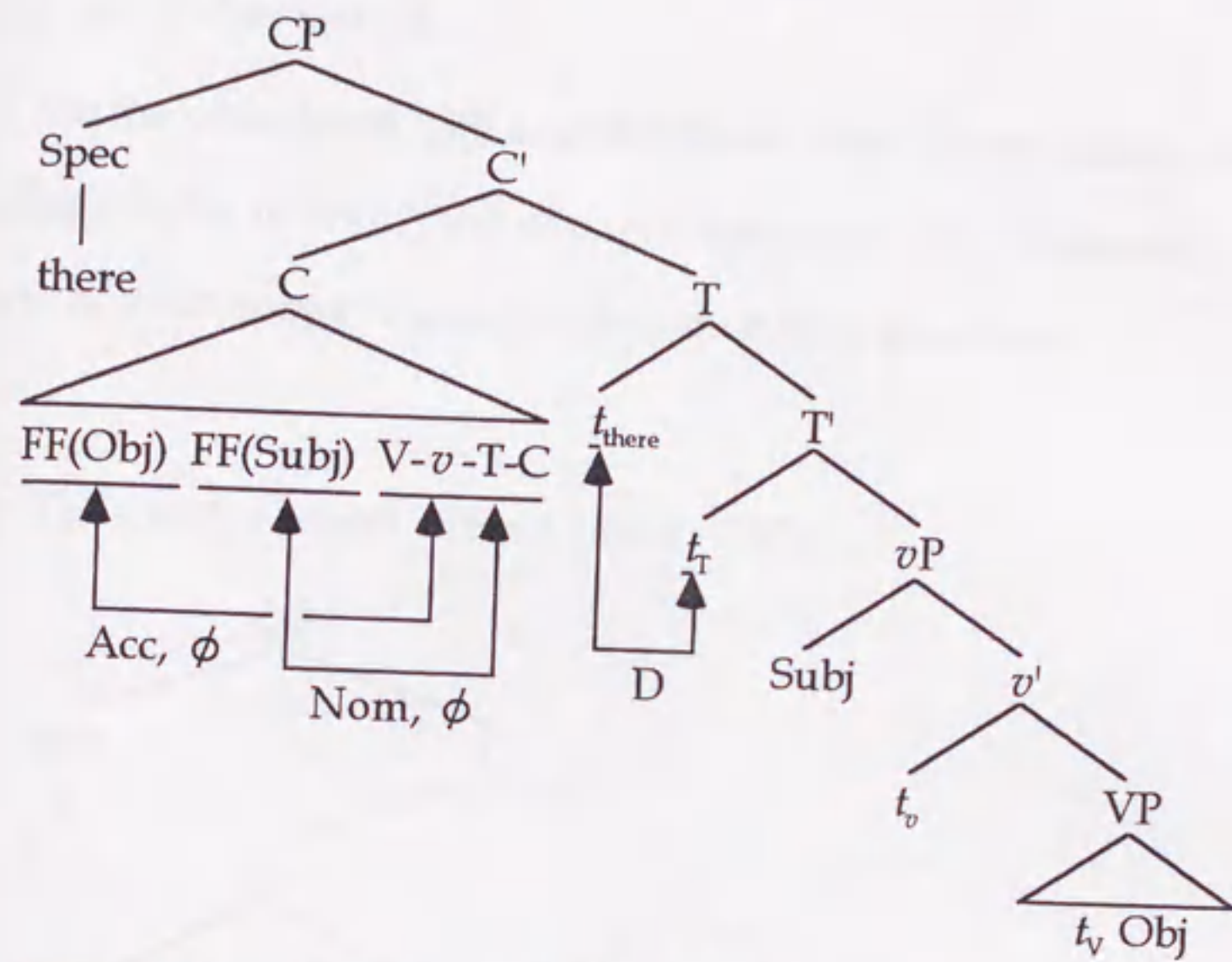
Table 5 strongly indicates that PECs with an *in-situ* subject (his Type III) had been an overwhelming majority from the 14th to the 16th century. I argued so far that the relevant order is derived by means of *there*-insertion into the T-domain; the EPP of T is satisfied by *there*, which prevents the subject from undergoing overt movement to [Spec, TP] (see (25) and (26)). If this argument is on the right track, it will follow that *there* was actually recognized as nominal during OE and completely established its nominal status during by the 14th century.²

4.2.3. *TECs and Overt Subject Movement*

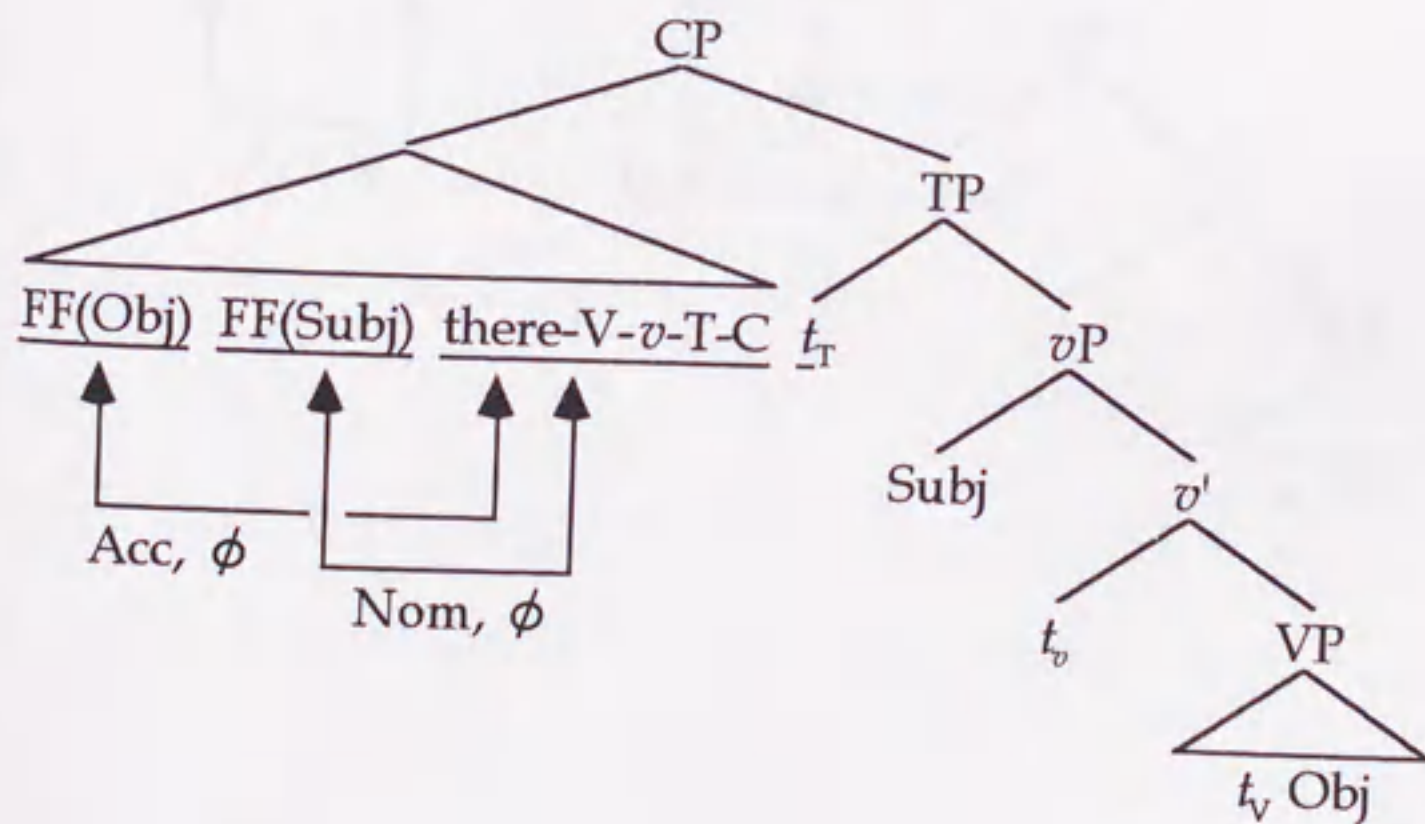
The parallel development of TECs and ECs with a raised subject can also be explained in terms of the availability of the C-domain for *there*-insertion.

(31) and (32) are the derivations of TECs without auxiliary verbs, where the EPP of T is satisfied as a result of *there*-insertion. In (31), *there* is first introduced into [Spec, TP] by merger and then moves to [Spec, CP]. In (32), on the other hand, it is attached onto T by cliticization, and the complex [there-V-*v*-T] is attracted to C due to the strong V feature of C.

(31) TECs with an *in-situ* subject (*there* = DP)



(32) TECs with an *in-situ* subject (*there* = D^0)

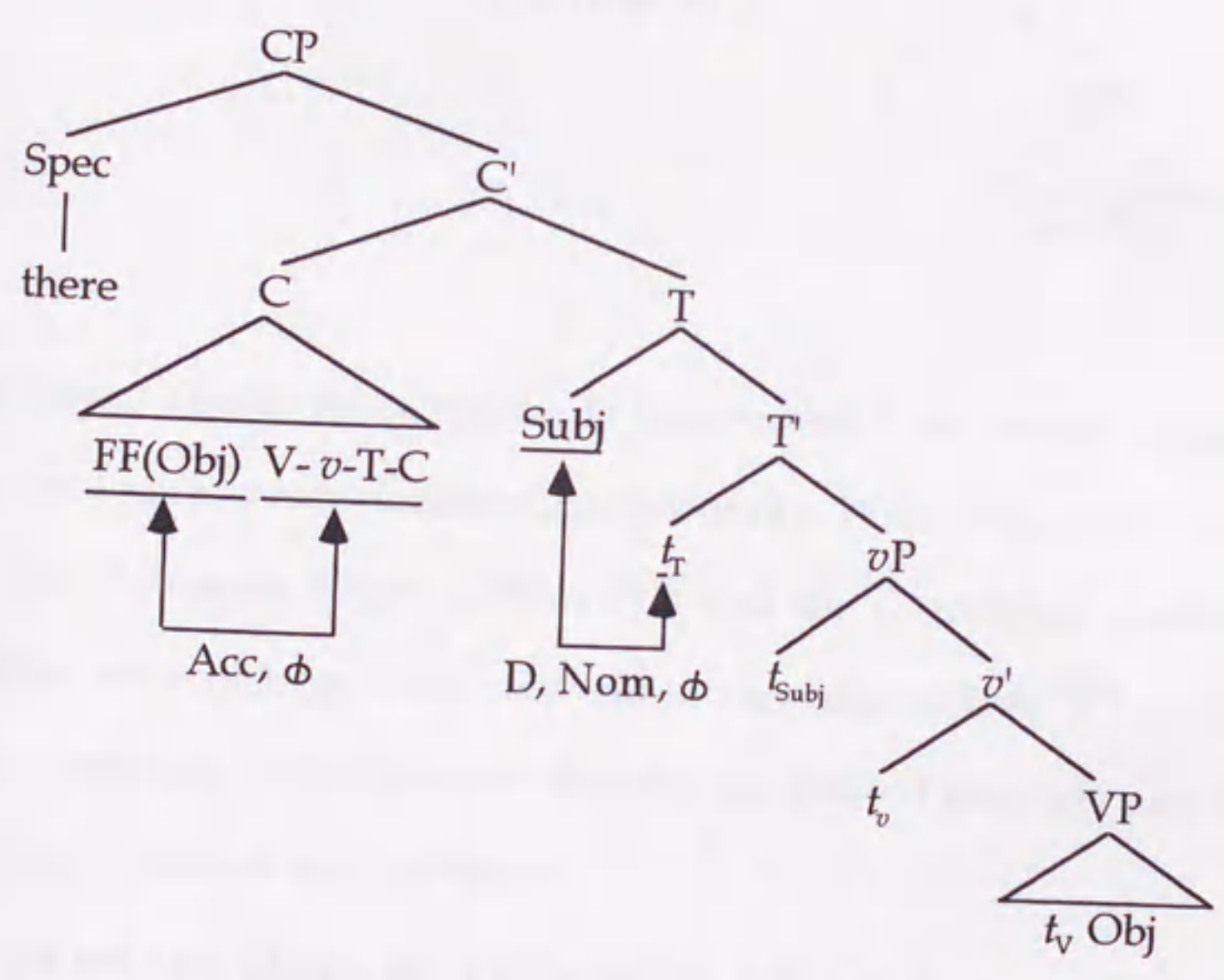


In each derivation, the verbal complex [V-*v*] cyclically enters into checking relations with the FFs of the subject and those of the object because it is overtly

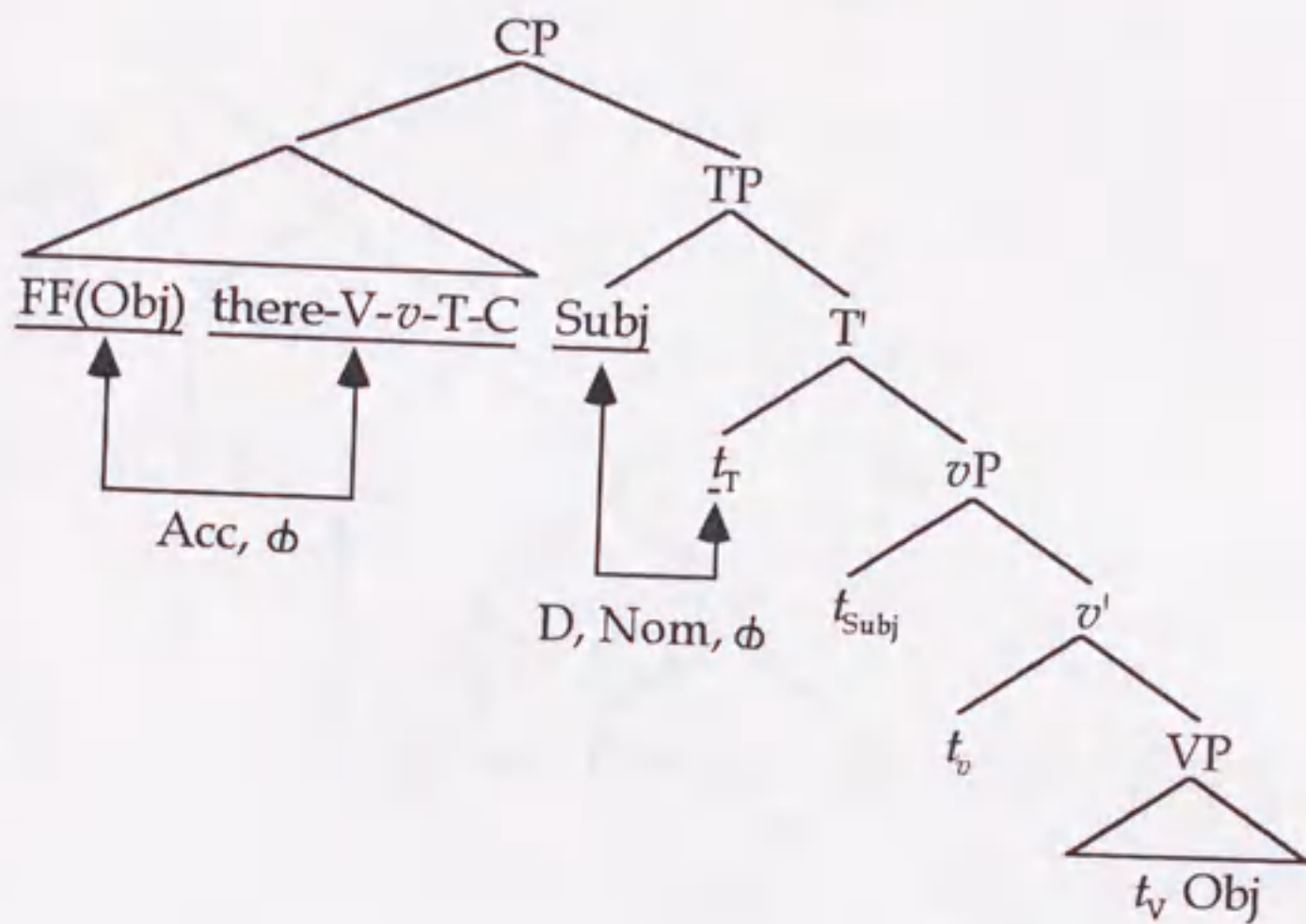
raised outside *vP*; consequently, the derivation converges with all —Interpretable FFs properly checked off.

On the other hand, (33) and (34) below show the structures of TECs without auxiliary verbs, in which the strong D feature of T is satisfactory checked off by means of overt subject raising, rather than *there*-insertion.

(33) TECs with a raised subject (*there* = DP)



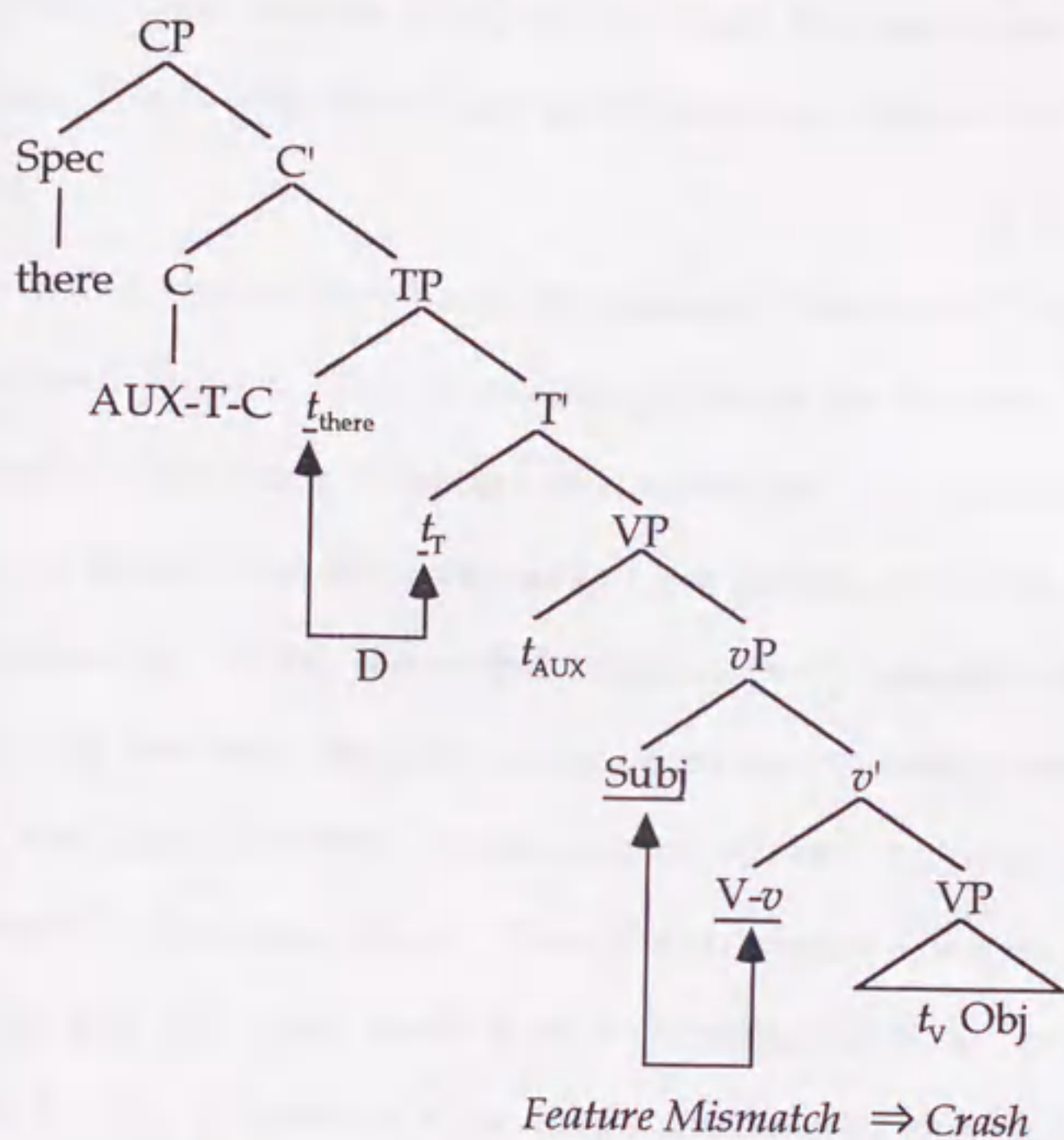
(34) TECs with a raised subject (*there* = D^0)



The subject checks its categorial D feature and Case feature against T, and ϕ -features against v contained in C, respectively. With respect to *there*, it is inserted into the C-domain ([Spec, CP] in (33) and the C-adjoined position in (34)) to function as a linking word and simultaneously satisfy V2 constraint. As a consequence, all $\bar{\phi}$ -Interpretable features are deleted properly and the derivation converges without any problems.

As we saw above, the derivation of TECs without auxiliary verbs always converges regardless of the surface position of the subjects, because the verbal complex [v -V] undergoes overt raising to C and escapes a local spec-head relation with the subject at LF. Now, how about TECs with auxiliary verbs? (35) below shows the structure with an *in-situ* subject.³

(35) TECs with an *in-situ* subject (*there* = DP)

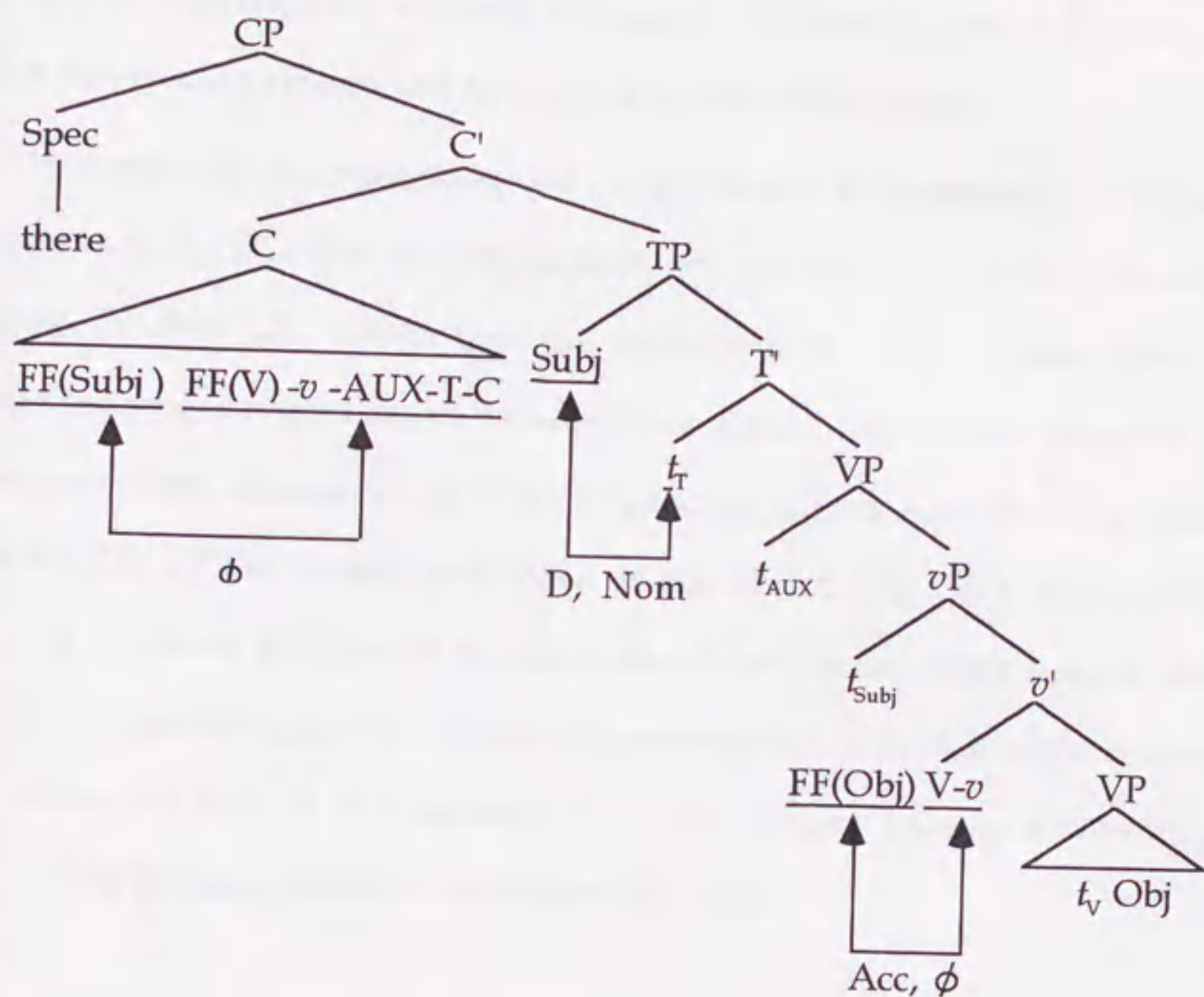


In this case, *there*-insertion into the T-domain blocks overt subject raising. T's strong D feature is eliminated as a result of *there*-insertion, so that T no longer has a strong feature to attract the subject. Hence, the subject has no motivation for overt raising and remains in [Spec, *v*P] with its FFs unchecked. It is assumed in this paper that *Checking* is a syntactic operation independent of *Move/Attract*. This implies that feature checking may take place without feature attraction. Given this, the FFs of [V-*v*] automatically enters into a checking relation with those of the subject at LF under spec-head relation in (35). Needless to say,

however, this checking relation causes the derivation to crash because an accusative Case checker [V-*v*] cannot check the nominative Case feature of the subject. This is why the subject cannot remain within *v*P in TECs with auxiliary verbs.

In (36), on the other hand, the strong D feature of T is eliminated by means of a raised subject. The derivation proceeds as follows. First, the subject is attracted by the strong D feature of T, which results in the simultaneous checking of the D feature and the nominative Case feature. Second, *there* is inserted into the C-domain. Third, the verbal complex [V-*v*] covertly attracts the FFs of the object. In this case, the FFs of the object are the only candidate of attraction since the subject overtly moves out of *v*P and no unchecked FFs intervene between [V-*v*] and the object. Thus, the accusative Case feature and ϕ -features of [V-*v*] and the object enter into a checking relation, being checked off as a result. Finally, ϕ -features of the subject are covertly checked against the complex [FF(V-*v*)-T-C] which is formed by covert V-to-C movement.

(36) TECs with a raised subject (*there* = DP)



Consequently, all \bar{c} -Interpretable features are properly checked off and the derivation converges without violating any constraints on *Move/Attract* and feature checking.

It was claimed in 4.2.2 that *there* was gradually recognized as a nominal expression during OE and was completely nominalized by the 14th century. This claim receives further support from the fact that TECs first appeared in the 14th century. We claimed so far that TECs may have an *in-situ* subject in modern Germanic languages and, perhaps, in early English. Under the current

analysis, TECs with an *in-situ* subject involve *there*-insertion into the T-domain. This implies that *there* is a nominal expression with the categorial D feature and that it was already recognized as nominal by the 14th century.

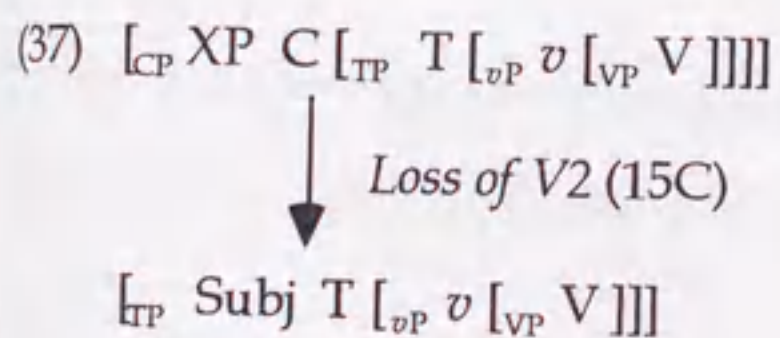
Summing up the discussion, we argued that it is a necessary condition on convergence of TECs that the subject does not establish a local relation with the complex [V-*v*] at LF. Given this, the derivation of TECs without auxiliaries always converges regardless of the surface position of the subject, because [V-*v*] undergoes overt movement to C and cyclically enters into checking relation with the FFs of the subject and those of the object. In TECs with auxiliary verbs, by contrast, [V-*v*] stays *in-situ* until LF and hence overt subject raising must be obligatorily applied to ensure LF convergence. The derivation converges only when the EPP of T is satisfied by overt subject raising; otherwise, the mismatched feature causes the derivation to crash.⁴

4.3. The Demise of TECs and ECs with a Raised Subject

It has been repeatedly argued so far that *there*-insertion into the C-domain is prerequisite for overt subject movement to [Spec, TP]. Accordingly, this leads to the prediction that TECs and ECs with a raised subject declined as a result of the loss of V2 structure. Bearing this prediction in mind, we will discuss the decline of these ECs in connection with the loss of V2, and explore the issue (II); why did the relevant ECs become obsolete in the course of eModE?

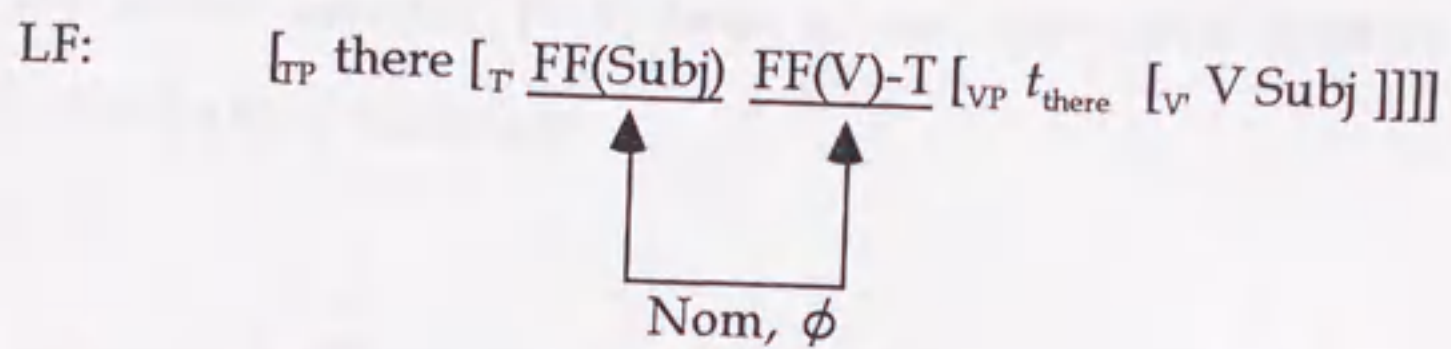
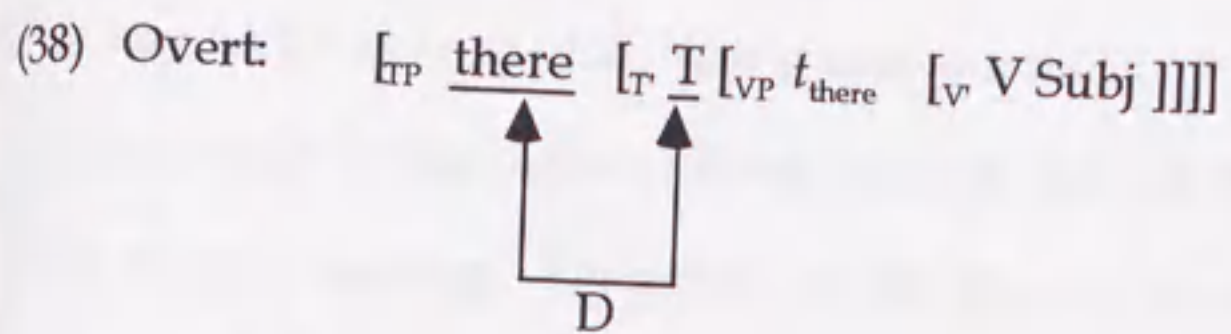
4.3.1. *Loss of V2 and Loss of Subject Raising in ECs*

Kemenade (1987) and Roberts (1993) suggest that V2 word order in main clauses disappeared at the end of the 15th century. Thus, the basic clause structure changed from (37a) to (37b), with the result that the C-domain was no longer available for *there*-insertion.



With this structural change, the surface position of *there* was fixed in the T-domain. Nagashima (1992) observes that *there* had gradually lost its referential/deictic function in the course of eModE, based on which I assume that the positional change of *there* illustrated in (37) promoted its subjectivization and that *there* was reanalyzed as an expletive element thereafter.

Assuming the structural change in (37), let us consider the derivation of UECs/PECs and TECs in present-day English. I argued in 3.4.2 that the position of *there*-insertion shifted to the TP-internal and finally to the vP-/VP-internal position parallel with the loss of overt V-movement. Given this, *there* is first merged into [Spec, VP] and then moves up to [Spec, TP] due to the strong D feature of T, as illustrated by (38).



In this case, *there* is in the closest position to the target T. Therefore, T automatically attracts *there*, rather than the subject, in accordance with the definition of *closeness* in (39).

(39) *Closeness*

β is closer to the target K than α if β c-commands α .

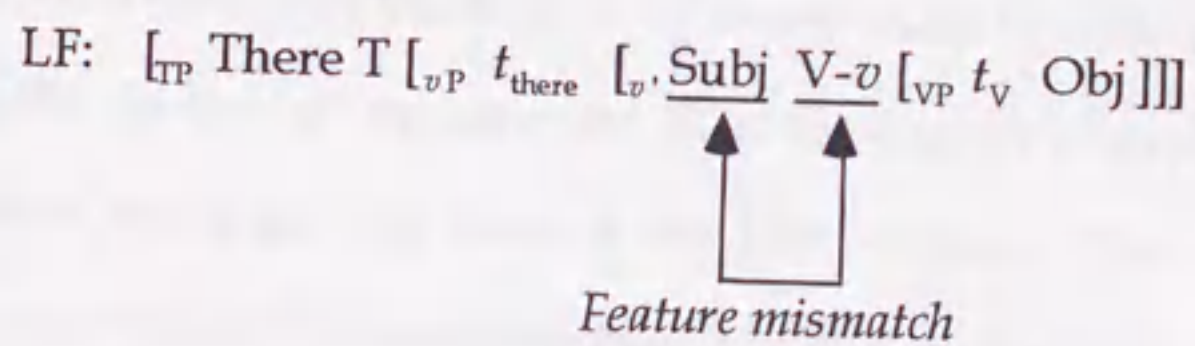
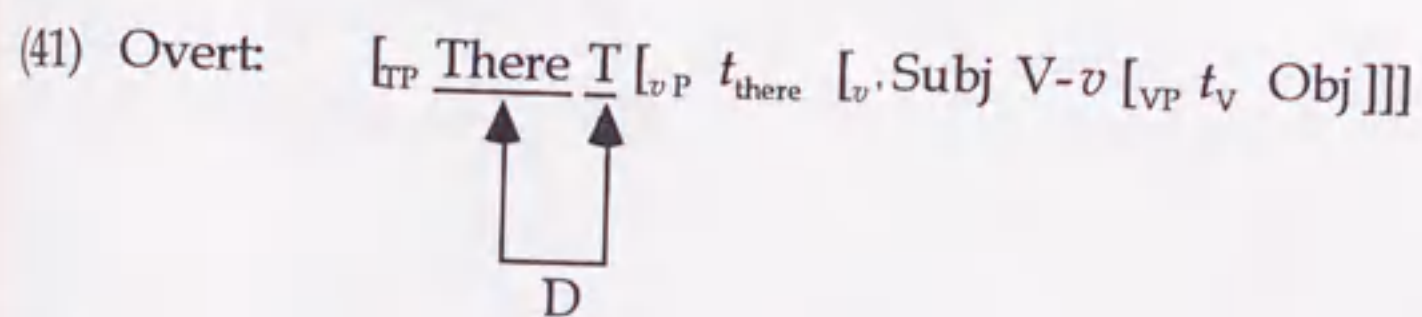
(Chomsky (1995: 358))

It follows, therefore, that the EPP of T is always satisfied by *there* after the structural change in (37). This prevents the subject from raising to [Spec, TP], and consequently caused the demise of ECs with a raised subject.

Now, how should we account for the ungrammaticality of TECs under the current analysis?

- (40) a. *There saw three children the pigs.
 b. *There some students read the book.

The key factor here is that (i) the unavailability of the C-domain prevents the subject from moving outside *v*P before Spell-Out, and that (ii) present-day English lacks overt V-raising. Therefore, as the structures in (41) illustrate, the subject and the verbal complex [V-*v*] keep a local spec-head relation at LF, which results in a feature mismatch.



Consequently, the derivation crashes because the configuration contains the mismatched features which are illegitimate syntactic objects at LF.

To sum up, the decline of ECs with a raised subject and TECs can be attributed to the loss of V2. The C-domain was no longer available for *there*-insertion as a result of the loss of V2 structure, which led to the prohibition of overt subject raising to [Spec, TP] and caused the demise of the ECs under discussion.

4.3.2. *Limited Availability of the V2 Structure in 15-17C*

I argued in the previous section that the loss of overt subject raising in ECs is attributable to the general structural change in (42), the loss of V2 structure.

$$\begin{array}{c}
 (42) \quad [_{CP} \text{XP} \text{C} [_{TP} \text{T} [_{vP} \text{v} [_{VP} \text{V}]]]] \\
 \quad \quad \quad \downarrow \text{Loss of V2} \\
 [_{TP} \text{Subj} \text{T} [_{vP} \text{v} [_{VP} \text{V}]]]
 \end{array}$$

Note, however, that the loss of V2 word order in main clauses does not coincide with the decline of the relevant ECs; the former completed in the 15th century whereas the latter did around the 17th century. This poses the question why ECs could retain V2 structure from the 15th to the 17th century.

I cannot provide a systematic account of this matter in this paper. However, one speculation is that eModE was the transitional period where some constructions including ECs still maintained V2 structure. Jacobsson (1951) and Bækken (1998) provide convincing evidence for this speculation. They conduct a comprehensive statistical survey on the inverted and the non-inverted order in the sentences introduced by such connective adverbs as *then, now, here, thus, so, yet* and *therefore*. The relevant parts of the result of their researches are summarized in Table 6 and Table 7.

	1370-1500	1500-1600	1600-1712	(%)
then	41	44	5	
now	82	36	4	
there	32	24	15	
here	64	25	4	
so	67	48	17	
yet	45	31	10	
therefore	37	14	0.5	

Table 6. The frequency of inversion (Jacobsson (1951))

	1480-1530	1530-1630	1680-1730	(%)
then	35.8	47.6	2.6	
now	47.8	22.0	1.0	
there	22.1	38.9	14.8	
here	57.8	43.4	40.4	
so	36.0	24.4	1.7	
yet	29.7	16.5	7.4	
thus	21.1	36.7	11.7	
therefore	11.2	15.2	0.9	

Table 7. The frequency of inversion (Bækken (1998))

It is evident from these tables that there is a high rate of inversion in these sentences even in eModE but the ratio considerably decreased from 17th century to 18th century, the same period as the decline of ECs with a raised subject and TECs.

We obtain the same result from the investigation based on the Diachronic Part of the Helsinki Corpus. I searched for the distribution of the inverted and the non-inverted order in the sentences opened with *then*, *now*, *yet* and *therefore*. Tables 6-10 present the result of the research of each words from 1420 to 1710.⁵ (ME4 = 1420-1500, ModE1 = 1500-1570, ModE2 = 1570-1640, ModE3 = 1640-1710)

	1420-1500		1500-1570		1570-1640		1640-1710	
	no.	%	no	%	no	%	no	%
XVS order	258	49.9	206	53.1	327	56.6	5	6.6
XSV order	259	50.1	182	46.9	251	43.4	71	93.4
Total	517	100.0	388	100.0	578	100.0	76	100.0

Table 8. Frequency of inversion with initial *then*

Examples:

- (43) a. **Then** schall he horrubly rebuken ryche men tat han don no
then shall he horribly rebuke rich men that have done no
mercy, ...
mercy (Mirk *Mirk's Festial: A Collection of Homilies* 4/ME4)
- b. **Then** do I draw thence a line vnto A, and so haue I doone.
(Record *The Path-Way to Knowledg* C3V/ModE1)
- c. **Then** shall he finde it prepared to his hands in those Authors, which
write in that manner.
(Bacon *The Twoo Bookes of the Proficiencie and Advancement
of Learning* 18V/ModE2)
- d. And **then** may we also grant Self-sufficiency, Power, Nobility,
Reverence and Pleasure, do differ only in Name, but not in Essence
or Substance. (Preston *Boethius* 126/ModE3)

	1420-1500		1500-1570		1570-1640		1640-1710	
	no.	%	no	%	no	%	no	%
XVS order	39	55.7	20	39.2	7	9.0	3	5.6
XSV order	31	44.3	31	60.8	71	91.0	51	94.4
Total	71	100.0	51	100.0	78	100.0	54	100.0

Table 9. Frequency of inversion with initial *now*

Examples:

- (44) a. **Now** shal I shewe the how thou shalt arraye thyn oratory.
 now shall I show you how you shall array your oratory
 (*Aelfred of Rievaul X's De Institutione Inclusarum* 15/ME4)
- b. **Now** knowe we that thou hast the devyll.
 (*The New Testament* VIII. 20/ModE1)
- c. Oh Villain! **now** will I confess the whole Truth.
 (*The Trial of Sir Walter Raleigh* I. 210. C2/ModE2)
- d. **now** is your time to make your Defence;
 (*The Trial of Lady Alice Lisle* IV. 122C1/ModE3)
- e. **Now** was I a poor gentlewoman indeed, and I was just that very
 night to be turned into the wide world; ...
 (Daniel Defoe *Moll Flanders* 12. 25, Bækken (1998: 257))

	1420-1500		1500-1570		1570-1640		1640-1710	
	no.	%	no	%	no	%	no	%
XVS order	14	40	22	25.6	10	9.9	2	8
XSV order	21	60	64	74.4	91	90.1	91	92
Total	35	100.0	86	100.0	101	100.0	93	100.0

Table 10. Frequency of inversion with initial *yet*

Examples:

(45) a. *yet* shal I be exalted aboue them alle.

yet shall I be exalted above them all

(Caxton *The History of Reynard the Fox* 56/ME4)

b. And *yet* would God they were no worse then butterflies.

(Latimer *Sermon on the Ploughers* 22 / ModE1)

c. *yet* were they enforced with much expence of blood to retyre themselves into the towne.

(Hayward *Annals of the First Four Years of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth* 61 / ModE2)

d. *yet* have I not hitherto been able to say any thing positive in it, ...

(Hooke *Micrographia* 13.5, 116 / ModE3)

e. *yet* wants there for not for Pork, and young Pigs good store, ...

(Dampier *Voyages and Descriptions* I. I. 30. 9, Bækken (1998: 264))

	1420-1500		1500-1570		1570-1640		1640-1710	
	no.	%	no	%	no	%	no	%
XVS order	11	15.5	13	13.8	10	12.8	1	2
XSV order	60	84.5	75	86.2	68	87.2	51	98
Total	71	100.0	88	100.0	78	100.0	52	100.0

Table 11. Frequency of inversion with initial *therefore*

Examples:

- (46) a. **therefore** take thou thys hede and bere hit to my frendis ...
 therefore take you this head and bear it to my friends
 (Malory *Morte Darthur* 49/ME4)
- b. **therfore** am I come baptisyng with water.
 (*The New Testament* I, 20/ModE1)
- c. **Therefore** shall a man leaue his father and his mother, and shall
 cleaue vnto his wife: and they shalbe one flesh.
 (*The Old Testament. The Holly Bible* II, 20G/ModE2)
- d. **therfore** said he with a chang'd countnance, Traytor to God and to
 me, thou shalt die; ... (Milton *The History of Britain* 279/ModE3)
- e. And **therefore** did the Jews persecute Jusus, ...
 (*The Gospel according to St. John* 144. 5. 16, Bækken (1998: 266))

	1420-1500	1500-1570	1570-1640	1640-1710
then	49.9	53.1	56.6	6.6
now	55.7	39.2	9.0	5.6
yet	40.0	25.6	9.9	2.0
therefore	15.5	13.8	12.8	2.0

Table 11. The frequency of inversion (Helsinki Corpus)

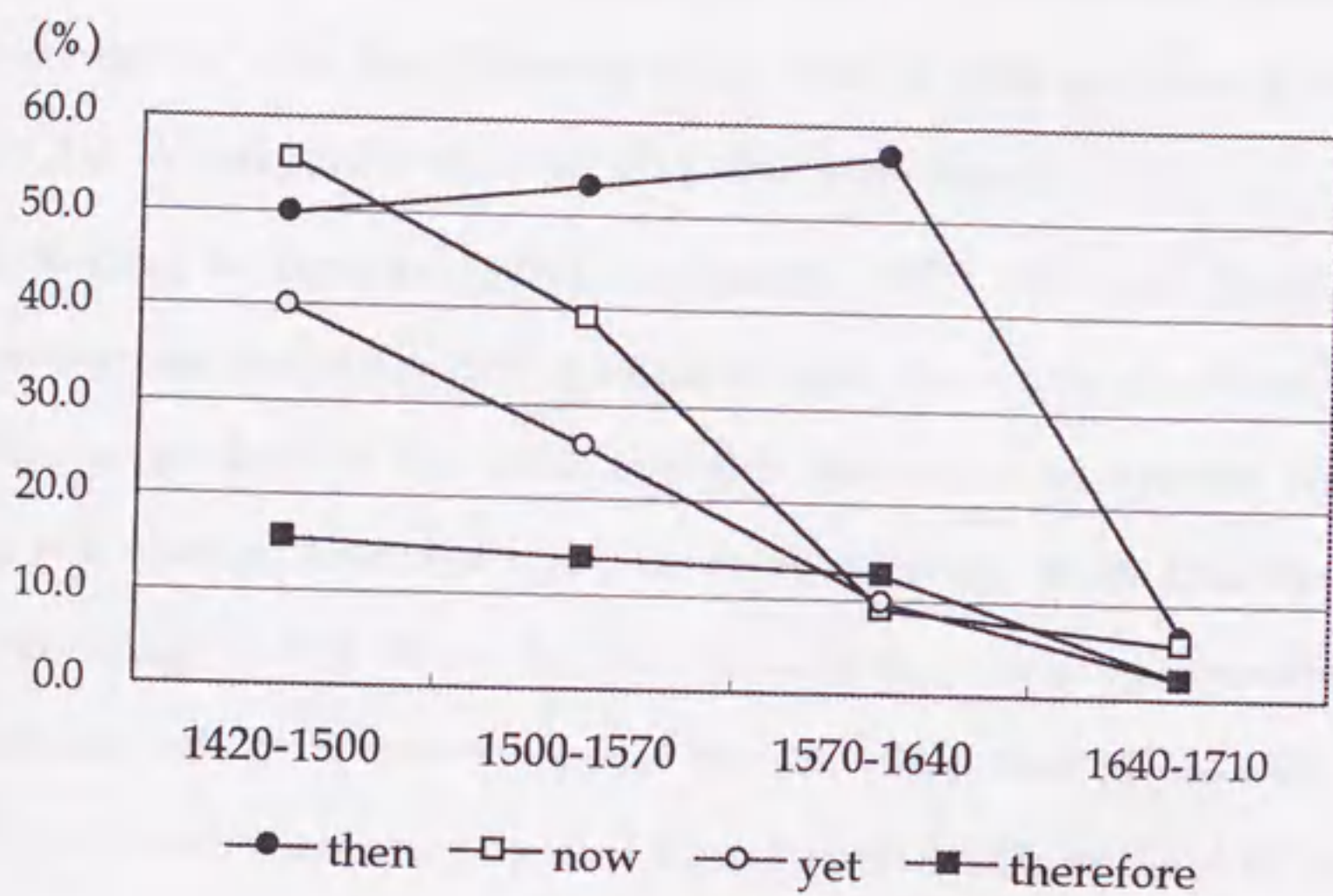


Figure 1. The frequency of inversion (Helsinki Corpus)

Figure 1 indicates that the frequency of the inverted order rapidly decreased after the second half of the 17th century. This can also be explained in terms of the loss of V2 structure, as demonstrated in (47).

(47) a. [CP Adv [C V [TP Subj [T ...]]]]

↓ Loss of V2 (17C)

b. [TP Adv [TP Subj V]]

One crucial difference between *there* and these linking adverbs is that only the former underwent nominalization and subjectivization. Thus, these adverbs, unlike *there*, cannot serve any function in satisfying the EPP of T due to their categorial status; they lack the categorial D feature and thus fail to enter into a checking relation with the D feature of T. This is why we cannot obtain the inverted Adv-V-Subj order after the loss of V2 structure.⁶

According to Bækken (1998), Jacobsson (1951), Schmidt (1980), among others, inversion was obligatory or common after these adverbs during OE and ME. This might lead to the prediction that the sentences opened with these adverbs still retained their old style, the inverted order, even after the general structural change in (47). Thus, the above descriptive investigation of inversion constructions will be a strong support for the claim that (i) eModE was the transitional period where some constructions including ECs still kept V2 structure, and that (ii) the structural change occurred from the 16th to the 17th century in these constructions, the same period as the decline of ECs under consideration. I assumed in the previous chapter that the early English *there* mainly functioned as a linking word which expresses the intersentential connection. Therefore, it seems reasonable to assume that *there* could retain V2 structure from the 15th to the 17th century as well.⁷

4.4. TECs with a Postposed Subject

4.4.1. *TECs and Heavy NP Shift*

It has been argued so far that the acceptability of TECs has a close correlation with overt subject movement and V-movement. Present-day English lacks overt V-raising. Hence, [V-*v*] and the subject keeps a local spec-head relation, and consequently the derivation of TECs always crashes because of feature mismatch. We now expect that the derivation will converge if the subject is removed outside *v*P before Spell-Out. This prediction is borne out, as shown in (48).⁸

- (48) a. Suddenly there entered the hall an ugly old man.
b. Suddenly there open the door a six-eyed troll.
c. There was slowly making its way toward us a figure in black..
d. In the tower there strikes the hour a clock of many chimes.
e. In that realm there held sway a hated despot.
f. There hit the stands a new journal.
g. There visited us last night a large group of people who traveled all the way from India.
h. And there followed him a certain man ...
i. Among the rest, there overtook us a little elderly lady.
j. There took place an elaborate ceremony in honour of the visiting degnitaries.

- k. (?) There then addressed the meeting the new leader of the party.
(a. Levin (1993: 90), b. Bobaljik and Jonas (1996: fn. 17),
c-e. Bolinger (1977:102), f-g. Chomsky (1995:343), h. Hannay (1985: 9),
i. Poutsma (1926: 669), Quirk et al. (1985: 1409))

These sentences show that TECs with a postposed subject are more or less acceptable in present-day English. The list in (49) shows the most typical verbs found in this special type of TECs. (Arimura et al. (1998), Bobaljik and Jonas (1996), Bolinger (1977), Chomsky (1995), Hannay (1985), Levin (1993), Takami and Kuno (1999), among others.)

- (49) address, await, confront, cross, enter, follow, hit, make, open, reach, seize, strike, take (place/shape), visit, want

Needless to say, not all transitive verbs are allowed in these TECs. We examined in the previous chapter that the verbs found in presentational *there*-sentences are strictly restricted to existential verbs and appearance verbs. Thus, the acceptability of TECs with non-existential verbs is not improved regardless of the rightward movement of the subjects, as shown in (50), because their meaning is incompatible with this characterization of the constructions.

- (50) a. *Suddenly, there kicked the ball a striker.
b. *There ate a bone on the lawn a huge bulldog.
c. *There struck me a tall man. (c. Arimura et al. (1998: 74))

Interestingly enough, the same is true with Swedish ECs. We observed in chapter 2 that Swedish is grouped in the languages disallowing TECs.

(51) *Swedish*

- *Det har några gäster brutit radioen.
There have some guests broken the radio (Jonas (1996: 60))
cf. Några gäster har brutit radioen.
some guests have broken the radio (ibid.)

The sentence in (52) indicates, however, that the acceptability of TECs is improved when the subjects are postposed to the clause final position by HNPS.

(52) *Swedish*

- Det besökte oss igår en grupp maenniskor som hade
there visited us yesterday a group of people who had
kommit resande framme Indien.
come travelling from India

This suggests that the postposing of the subjects has some effects on convergence of TECs.⁹

Why and how does HNPS of the subjects affect the acceptability of TECs? HNPS has been analyzed in various ways, but it is controversial that this operation is a syntactic operation or a kind of PF operation (Bobaljik and Jonas (1996), Nishikawa (1990), Pesetsky (1995), Whitney (1982), *inter alia*). In what follows, we will begin by examining the syntactic properties of HNPS, and present some pieces of evidence to believe that this rightward movement operation enters into the mechanisms of feature checking.

4.4.2. *Heavy NP Shift*

4.4.2.1. Strict Locality

Johnson (1985) and Rochemont and Culicover (1990) argue that the landing sites of the shifted nominals are strictly restricted to the VP-adjoined or the TP-adjoined position. As for objects, they are shifted to the right side of VP, but not to that of TP. Some widely accepted VP constituency tests clearly show that the relevant NPs attach to VP. Consider (53)-(55).

(53) *VP-ellipsis*

- a. John read in *The Times* a scathing review of his new book, and Sally did too.

- b. Sally noticed in the foyer a famous portrait by Rembrandt, and Bill did too. (Rochemont and Culicover (1990: 118))

(54) *VP-preposing*

- a. John was told to buy for Mary every book he could find, and buy for Mary every book he could find he did.
- b. Everyone said that John would give to Mary all of the money that he won at the track, and give to Mary all of the money that he won at the track he did. (op.cit., p. 119)

(55) *Pseudo-cleft*

- a. What Mary did was put on the mantel an old soiled portrait of her husband.
- b. What John did was buy for Mary every book he could find. (ibid.)

In these examples, the DPs shifted from the object position pattern with VP under ellipsis, preposing and pseudo-clefting, which shows that they are within VP. Furthermore, consider (56).

- (56) a. *Eleanor bought t_i apparently [brand new drapes for the whole house]_i
- b. *Julie didn't buy t_i until it became available [that book on Venus]_i
- (Johnson (1985: 85))

The postposed objects cannot follow the elements adjoined to TP, *apparently* in (56a) and the *until*-phrase in (56b). It is obvious from this that objects cannot be shifted to the TP-adjoined position.

Let us next turn to HNPS of subjects. It has been repeatedly pointed out that subjects, unlike objects, are not always affected by HNPS. The following examples exhibit the typical effects of the extraction.

- (57) a. * t_i left home [my favorite grandfather from Independence]_i
b. *I said (that) t_i left home [my favorite sister from Austin]_i
c. *I wanted t_i to come [my friends from the Lawrencestreet house]_i

(Johnson (1985: 86))

However, (58) shows that subjects may undergo HNPS when sentence initial position is occupied by some other elements, such as *there* and the PP subjects.

- (58) a. There t_i visited us last night [a large group of people who traveled all the way from India]_i.
b. Near that town was situated t_i for many years after the war [an old ruin that the Germans had bombed]_i.
c. There walked t_i into the room [a man with long blond hair]_i.

(b. Fukuchi (1985: 91), c. Rochemont and Culicover (1990: 116))

The VP constituency tests in (59)-(61) demonstrate that these shifted subjects, unlike the objects, cannot undergo ellipsis, preposing and pseudo-clefting with VP.

(59) *VP-ellipsis*

- a. *There actually entered the room a veritable army of revelers, and for some reason I had thought that there might.
- b. *If Mary claims that there jumped out in front of her several friendly well-dressed Martians, then there did.

(Rochemont and Culicover (1990: 118))

(60) *VP-preposing*

- a. *They said that there would enter the room a herd of unruly elephants, and enter the room a herd of unruly elephants there did.
- b. *Mary was told that there might jump out in front of her several friendly well-dressed Martians, and jump out in front of her several friendly well-dressed Martians there did.

(op.cit., p. 119)

(61) *Pseudo-cleft*

- a. *What there might do is walk into the room someone who would be perfect for the part.

- b. *What there did was jump out in front of her several friendly well-dressed Martians. (ibid.)

This leads us to conclude that the postposed subjects are not in the VP-adjoined position. Thus, following Rochemont and Culicover (1990), I assume that the postposition from the subject position attaches the DPs to TP (cf. Takami and Kuno (1999), Vikner (1995)).

Chomsky (1995, 1998) suggests that stylistic operations such as extraposition and right-node raising fall within the phonological component. However, if HNPS was analyzed as a phonological operation, there was no way to explain the distributional contrast between the shifted objects and the shifted subjects. We thus argue that HNPS be applied in syntax, rather than in phonological component.

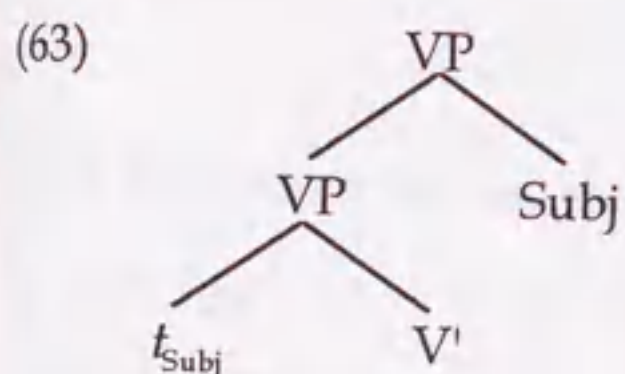
4.4.2.2. HNPS as a Syntactic Operation

A question which arises here is why objects and subjects cannot attach to TP and to VP, respectively. Johnson (1985) proposes the following constraint on HNPS.

(62) *Focus Movement Constraint*

Focus Movement (=HNPS) adjoins a phrase X to the maximal projection immediately dominating X. (Johnson (1985: 84))

This constraint overcomes the question why the position of the shifted objects is restricted to the VP-adjoined position; they adjoin to VP since a maximal projection immediately dominating them is VP. However, this constraint wrongly predicts that the shifted subjects would attach to VP, because a maximal projection which immediately dominates them is VP under the VP-internal subject hypothesis.

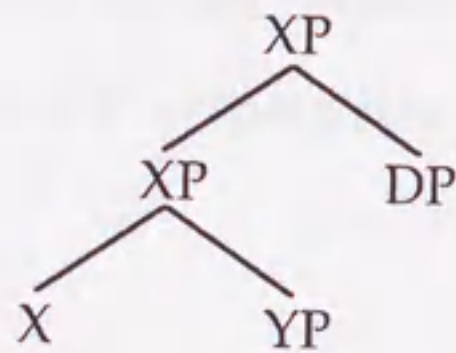


Therefore, I will alternatively attempt to capture the distribution of the shifted DPs in terms of feature checking.

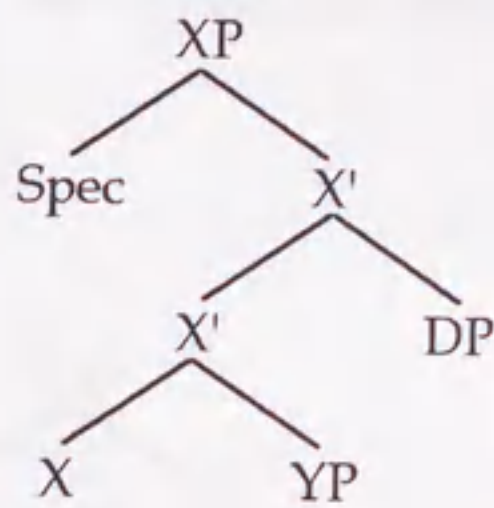
The strict restriction on HNPS can be immediately accounted for if we postulate that HNPS raises Case feature and ϕ -features of the NPs. On the ground that the postposed NPs obligatorily obtain Focus interpretation, it is reasonable to assume that HNPS is induced by a strong Focus feature of v or T (see Guéron (1980), Rochemont and Culicover (1990)). The Focus feature assigned to the DPs are +Interpretable because it enters into interpretation at LF. Given that strong features must be eliminated before the projection closes up (Chomsky (1995: 234)), a heavy NP adjoins to XP ($X=v$ or T) before a specifier is merged because merger of a specifier closes off a projection. This yields the structure in

(64b).¹⁰

(64) a.



b.



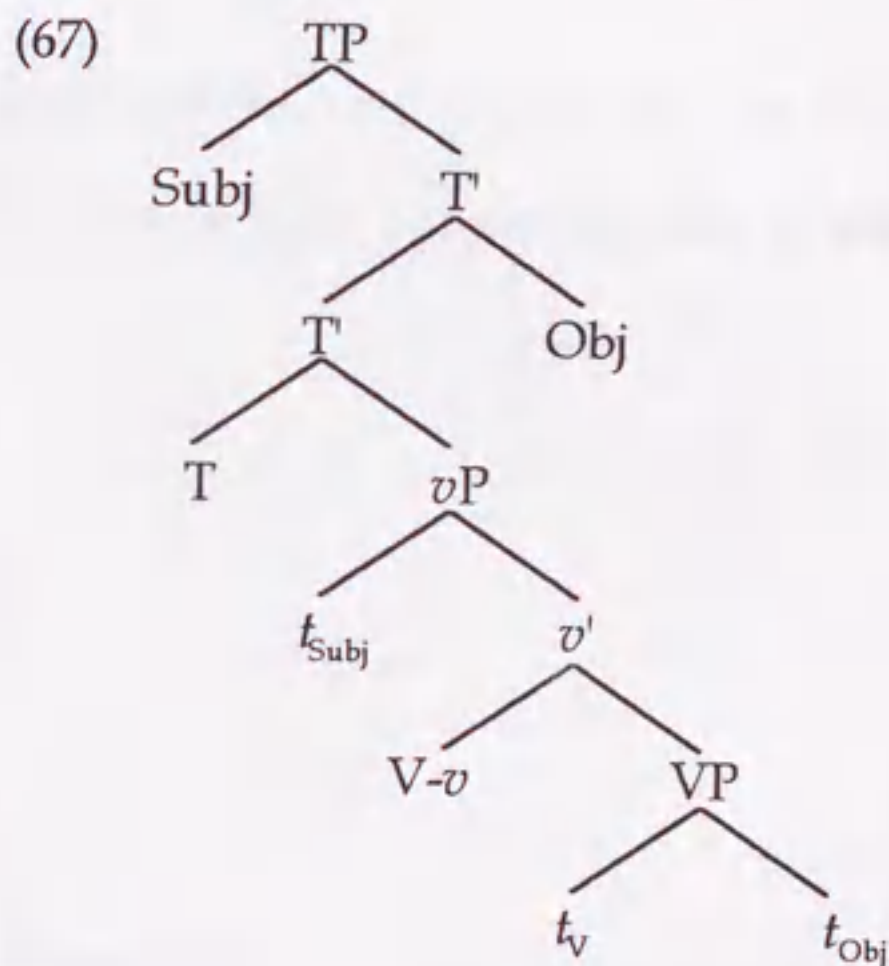
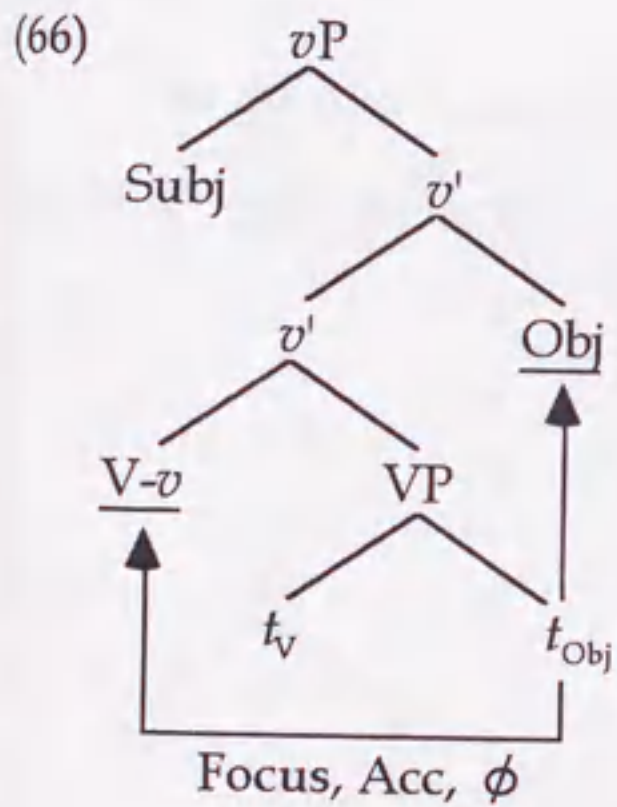
The XP formed by merger of the shifted NP is downgraded to X' after merger of a specifier. One might ask whether the shifted nominal is in the checking domain of X in (64b). Given the definitions in (65), it is in the same minimal domain as X.

- (65) a. $\text{Max}(\alpha)$ is the smallest maximal projection including α .
- b. The *domain* $\delta(\text{CH})$ of CH is the set of categories included in $\text{Max}(\alpha)$ that are distinct from and do not contain α or t .
- c. The *minimal domain* $\text{Min}(\delta(\text{CH}))$ of CH is the smallest subest K of $\delta(\text{CH})$ such that for any $\gamma \in \delta(\text{CH})$, some $\beta \in K$ reflexively dominates γ .
- (Chomsky (1995: 299))

The relevant DP is included in the minimal domain of X and hence is narrowly L-related to X. Therefore, the adjunct NP can enter into a checking relation

with X in this type of adjunction structure.

With these background assumptions, let us first examine HNPS of objects. (69) and (70) are the structures in which the objects are adjoined to the right side of v' and T' , respectively.¹¹

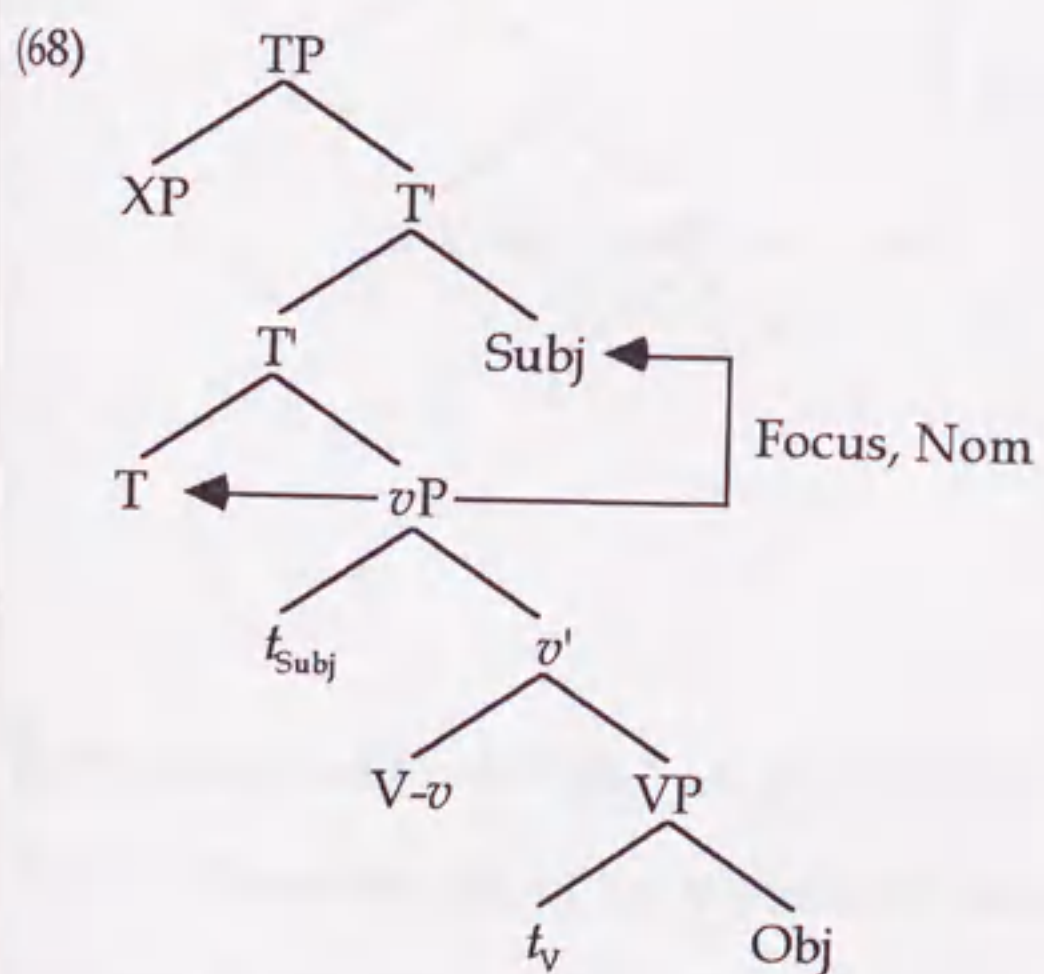


My concern here is whether the shifted objects can enter into a checking relation with its appropriate checker, namely $[V-v]$, in terms of Case feature and ϕ -features. In (66), the object is in the same minimal domain as $[V-v]$. Therefore, $[V-v]$ simultaneously check its strong Focus feature, the accusative Case feature and ϕ -features against those of the object, and the derivation converges if all residual – Interpretable features are discharged properly.

Then, why is (67) ruled out? Given that the position occupied by the FFs of subjects and objects be referred to as A-position (Chomsky (1995: 276)), it

follows that HNPS is treated as A-movement under our analysis (Nishikawa (1990); cf. Whitney (1982)). Assuming this, we can exclude (67) as a violation of locality conditions on movement/attraction since the shifted object has passed over the subject, which bears the Case feature and ϕ -features, on its way to the T-adjoined position. This is why the postposed objects are adjoined to v' , but not to T'.

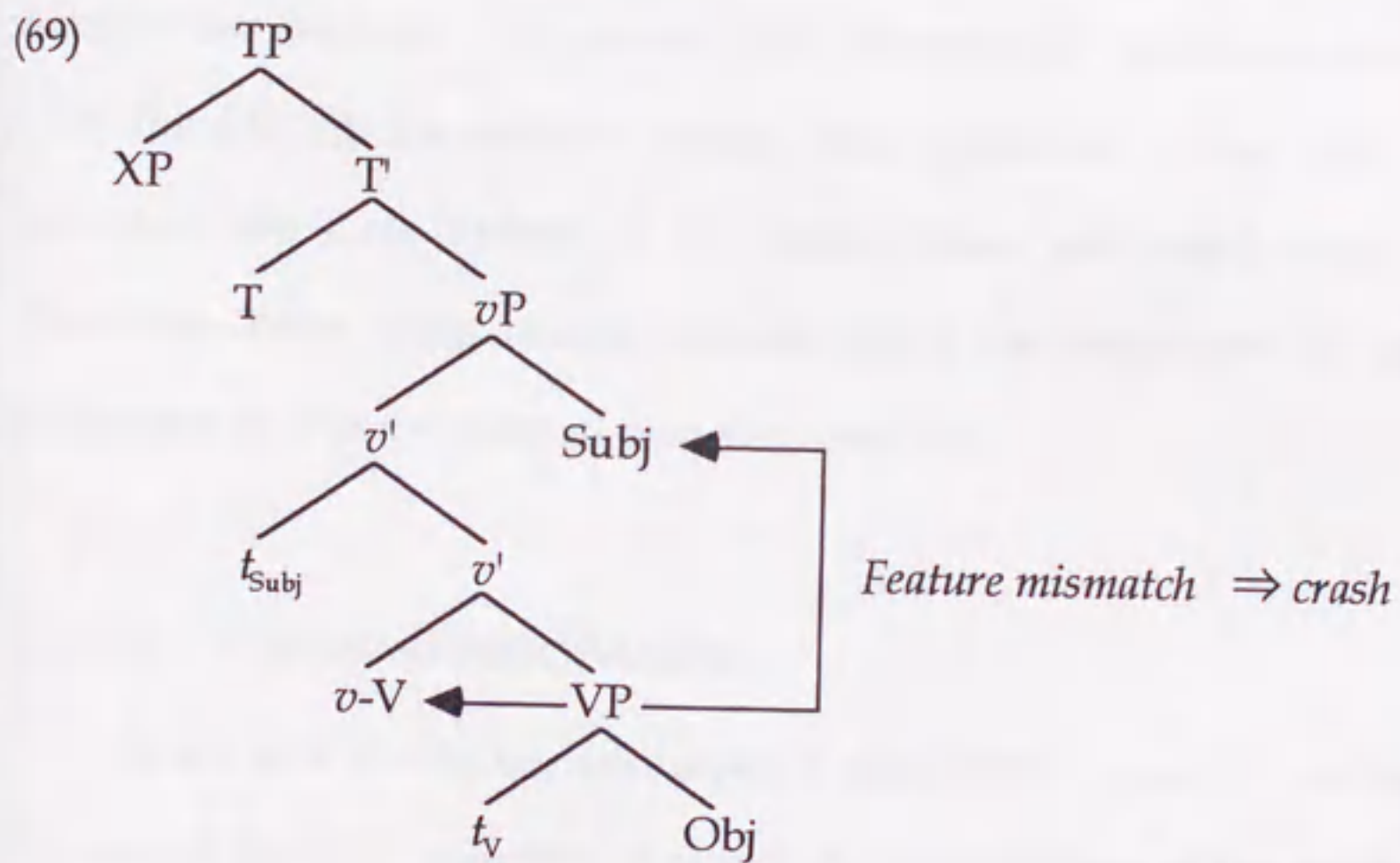
The current assumption also captures the distribution of the postposed subjects. (68) shows the structure in which the subject attaches to the right side of T'.



The subject, which is attracted by the strong Focus feature of T, enters into a checking relation with T in this adjunction operation, with their nominative Case feature checked off. With respect to ϕ -features, they are checked when

the FFs of [V-*v*] undergoes covert raising to T.

However, there is no way to establish this checking relation when HNPS attaches the subject to the *v*'-adjoined position, as schematically illustrated in (69).



The first step at LF is to eliminate the – Interpretable Case feature and ϕ -features of [V-*v*]. Here, the FFs of the subject are the only candidate for checking since it is closer to the target [V-*v*] than the FFs of the object under the definition of *closeness*.

(70) *Closeness*

β is closer to the target K than α if β c-commands α .

(Chomsky (1995: 358))

The subject is in the same minimal domain as $[V-v]$, whereas the object is outside the domain. Therefore, $[V-v]$ chooses the automatic feature checking with the FFs of the subject, rather than attraction of the FFs of the object. However, the Case feature of the subject does not match with that of $[V-v]$. Therefore, these mismatched features force the derivation to crash, and the adjunction to v' is prohibited (see also note 11).

4.4.2.3. Clause-Boundedness

As we saw above, the assumption that HNPS raises a Case feature and ϕ -features of the DPs properly captures the distribution of the postposed objects and the postposed subjects. In addition, this section presents that our analysis can account for another restriction on HNPS: clause-boundedness.

As is well known, HNPS cannot extract a DP outside the clause it originated in. For example, the object shifted from the embedded clause cannot appear after the materials associated with the matrix clause, as in (71).

(71) * $[_{TP}$ John $[_T$ $[_T$ claimed $[_{CP}$ that he will give t_i to Mary] yesterday] a big book $_i$]]

(Pesetsky (1995: 249))

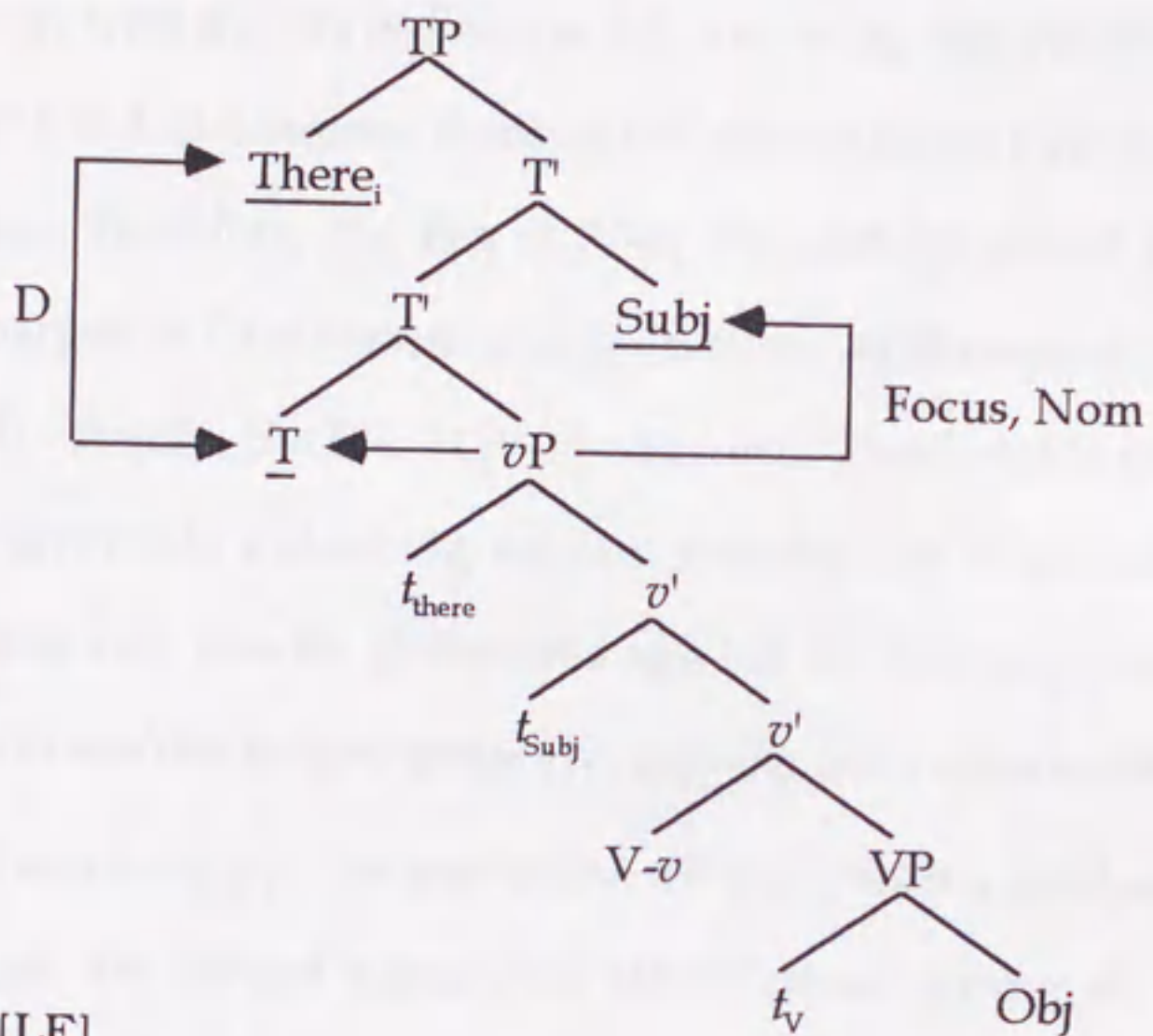
The ungrammaticality of (71) is straightforwardly explained under the current analysis of HNPS; the FFs of *a big book* cannot enter into a checking relation with an appropriate checker *give* which is located in the lower position. Therefore, some – Interpretable features remain unchecked and the derivation crashes.¹²

4.4.3. *TECs with a Postposed Subject*

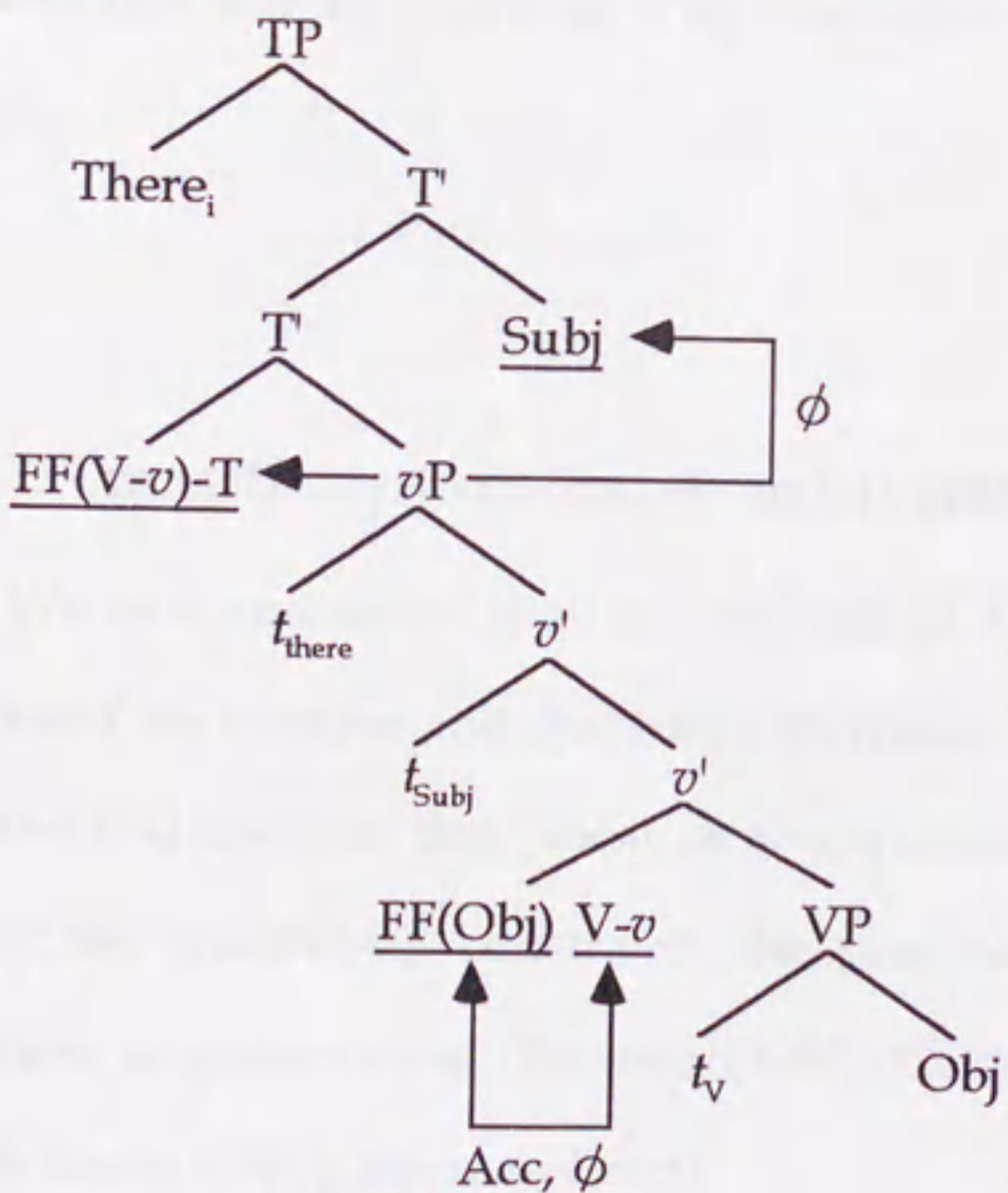
Based on the discussion above, let us consider why the acceptability of TECs are improved when the subject undergoes HNPS.

(72) below shows a step where HNPS attaches the subject to TP as soon as T with the strong Focus feature is merged at the root. The merger (adjunction) of the subject results in the simultaneous deletion of the strong Focus feature and the nominative Case feature of T. Then, *there* is raised to [Spec, TP] in order to eliminate the strong D feature of T.

(72) [Overt]



[LF]



What concerns us here is whether the FFs of the object can enter into a checking relation with the FFs of $[V-v]$ at LF. Assuming that HNPS carries along the Case feature and ϕ -features, those of the shifted subject are not left in $[\text{Spec}, vP]$ any longer. Therefore, the FFs of $[V-v]$ successfully attract those of the object and discharges its Case feature and ϕ -features, as illustrated in the LF representation in (72). Finally, the FFs of $[V-v]$ adjoins to T and yields the complex $[\text{T-FF}(V-v)]$. They enter into a checking relation with the FFs of the subject in the T'-adjoined position and checks ϕ -features against it. Consequently, all $-$ Interpretable features are discharged properly, and the derivation converges.¹³

Summing up, the derivation of TECs with a postposed subject converges because the subject undergoes HNPS piped-piping its Case feature and ϕ -features and nothing prevents $[V-v]$ from attracting and checking the FFs of the object.

4.5. Transitivity Constraint on Inversion Constructions

We now conjecture that our analysis of TECs also captures a 'transitivity constraint' on locative and quotative inversion constructions. The sentences of (73) and (74) indicate that locative and quotative inversion constructions also exhibit the transitivity constraint; the presence of the objects renders these sentences ungrammatical (Bresnan (1993), Collins (1997), Collins and Branigan (1997), Levin (1993), among others).

Locative Inversion constructions

- (73) a. Down the hill rolled John.
b. *On the table has placed a tarte Tatin Susan.
c. *On the table has placed Susan a tarte Tatin. (b-c. Bresnan (1993: 6))

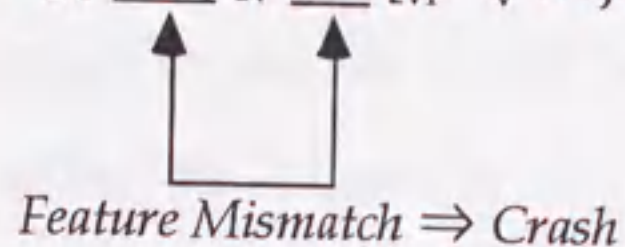
Quotative Inversion constructions

- (74) a. "I am so happy," Mary said to John.
b. "I am so happy," said Mary to John.
c. "I am so happy," Mary told John.
d. *"I am so happy," told Mary John. (Collins (1997: 50))

Nakajima (1996) and Collins (1997) assume that, in locative inversion constructions, the inverted locative PPs satisfy the EPP and the subjects remain in their original positions until LF (see note 11). With respect to quotative inversion constructions, Collins (1997) proposes that the canonical subject position [Spec, TP] is occupied by a quotative operator *Op* coindexed with a fronted quotative phrase and hence the subjects stay within Transitive Phrase (TrP) which corresponds to *vP* under our analysis. If their analyses are on the right track, (73b, c) and (74a) have the following surface structure. (XP = locative PP, quotative operator)

(75) Overt: $[_{TP} XP [_{vP} \text{Subj} [_v V-v [_{VP} t_v \text{Obj}]]]]$

LF: $[_{TP} XP [_{vP} \underline{\text{Subj}} [_v \underline{V-v} [_{VP} t_v \text{Obj}]]]]$



Once again, the complex $[V-v]$ automatically enters into a checking relation with the FFs of the subject under spec-head relation. However, the Case feature of $[V-v]$ does not match with that of the subject. As a consequence, the derivation crashes because both the FFs of the subject and those of the object cannot enter into checking relations with their appropriate checkers. For this reason, the inversion constructions with transitive verbs are ruled out in present-day English.

4.6. Conclusion

In this chapter, we examined ECs in ME and eModE, and provided an account of the following three issues.

- (I) Why were TECs and ECs with a raised subject attested during ME and eModE?
- (II) Why did the relevant ECs become obsolete in the course of eModE?
- (III) Why does the postposing of the subjects affect the acceptability of TECs in present-day English?

I have demonstrated that our analysis of ECs proposed in chapters 2 and 3 can provide a straightforward account of the occurrence and the decline of these ECs. It has been argued in chapter 2 and this chapter that the derivation of TECs converges if either the subject or [V-*v*] move outside *v*P. This close correlation between TECs and overt subject movement out of *v*P is convincingly supported from the fact that (i) ECs with a raised subject disappeared during the same period as the decline of TECs, and that (ii) present-day English TECs are improved if the subjects are removed outside *v*P by HNPS.

We answered the question (II) in terms of the historical transition of clause structures, the loss of V2 structure. It was suggested, based on statistical survey on the inverted and the non-inverted order, that some constructions including *there*-constructions still maintained V2 structure even in eModE. The loss of V2 structure resulted in the decline of the inverted order and ECs with a raised subject.

Notes to Chapter 4

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¹ The examples in (15c-e) are cited from the Diachronic Part of the Helsinki Corpus.

Ingham (2000), Jonas (1996) and Kishida (1997) suggest that the examples of TECs almost all involve negative subjects. However, TECs are sometimes found with non-negative subjects, as in (i).

- (i) a. there shal any new come, ...
there shall any new come

(More *Apologye* 76, Jacobsson (1951: 207-208))

- b. there hath some unhapy circumstances fallen outt that may seeme to
give you reason for what ou say. (Halkett *Autobiography* 55, *ibid.*)

- c. there had fifteene severall Armados assailed her.

(Raleigh *Selections* 151, *ibid.*)

d. Peter, knowing..that there woulde some Iewes reproue this his doing.

(Udall, etc. *Erasm. Par.* Acts 43 b, OED)

It is, therefore, inadequate to account for overt subject raising in these ECs in terms of Neg movement (cf. Ingham (2000), Kishida (1997)).

² Table 11 demonstrates that Type II (e.g. *There will be some cakes baked for the party.*) became the predominant pattern in the course of eModE. Tanaka (1998, 1999) assume that Type II is derived by raising the subject to the subject position of the small clause complement to *be*, and propose that the increase of this type of PECs can be explained in terms of the obligatoriness of the EPP effect in small clauses.

(i) There will be [_{SC} [_{VP} [_V some cakes baked] for the party]]

(Tanaka (1999: 91))

³ (35) and (36) show the derivations where *there* is recognized as DP, but the derivation proceeds in the same way when *there* is recognized as D⁰.

⁴ Under our analysis, it is expected that TECs did not occur in adverbial clauses or in subordinate clauses with overt complementizer *that* embedded under non-bridge verbs. Unfortunately, however, this is not the case. Breivik (1983) and Tanaka (2000b) point out that TECs sometimes appeared in subordinate clauses embedded under non-bridge verbs in which CP-recursion is impossible. This would be a serious problem for our analysis. One possible solution is to

assume a more elaborated CP system (see Nawata (1999a, 1999b)), but I leave this for further study.

⁵ I also included the variant spelling of each word in the research. The examples (a)-(c) in (43)-(46) are cited from the Diachronic Part of the Helsinki Corpus. See note 17 in chapter 1 for the detailed information of the corpus.

⁶ Collins (1997) suggests in his discussion of locative inversion constructions that the set of features which may enter into a checking relation with the EPP feature of T should be widened from the D feature to any categorial feature. It is not obvious, however, whether the fronted constituents in sentences like *Outside stood a little angel* occupy the canonical subject position. Therefore, I will leave this problem for further investigation.

⁷ One might argue the same argument might hold for correlative conjunctions and adverbs. However, it is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss this matter. I will leave this for further study.

⁸ Bolinger (1977) suggests that transitive verbs are allowed in ECs if they are a part of a phrase that is a kind of semantically analytic intransitive. Given this, one might argue that sentences like (48) be treated on a par with *there*-sentences with unaccusative verbs. However, this idea poses some questions. For example, let us compare (i) with (ii).

- (i) a. (?)In the corner, there laughed a man that I barely knew.
b. ?In the corner, there laughed uproariously a man that I barely knew.
(Bures (1992: 21))
- (ii) *In the corner, there laughed an uproarious laugh a man that I barely knew.
(ibid.)

Bures (1992) reports that the sentences in (i) is quite better than (ii) in acceptability. This clearly shows that the presence of the direct object indeed has some effects on the acceptability of ECs. Based on this, we should not analyze the transitive verbs in (48) as unaccusative verbs at some level.

⁹ It should be noticed that the acceptability of TECs with a postposed subject varies among languages. They are permitted in Icelandic, but not in Faroese and Danish, as shown in (i)-(iii).

(i) *Icelandic*

- a. ... að það hefur borðað þetta epli einhver strákur frá
that there has eaten this apple some boy from
Danmörku
Denmark
- b. Það máluðu sennilega húsið vandlega margir stúdentar.
there painted probably the house carefully many students

(a. Vikner (1995: 200), b. (Bobaljik and Jonas (1996: 208))

(ii) *Faroese*

*... at tað hevur etið hetta súdeplið onkur drongur frá
that there has eaten this apple some boy from
Danmark.

Denmark

(Vikner (1995: 201))

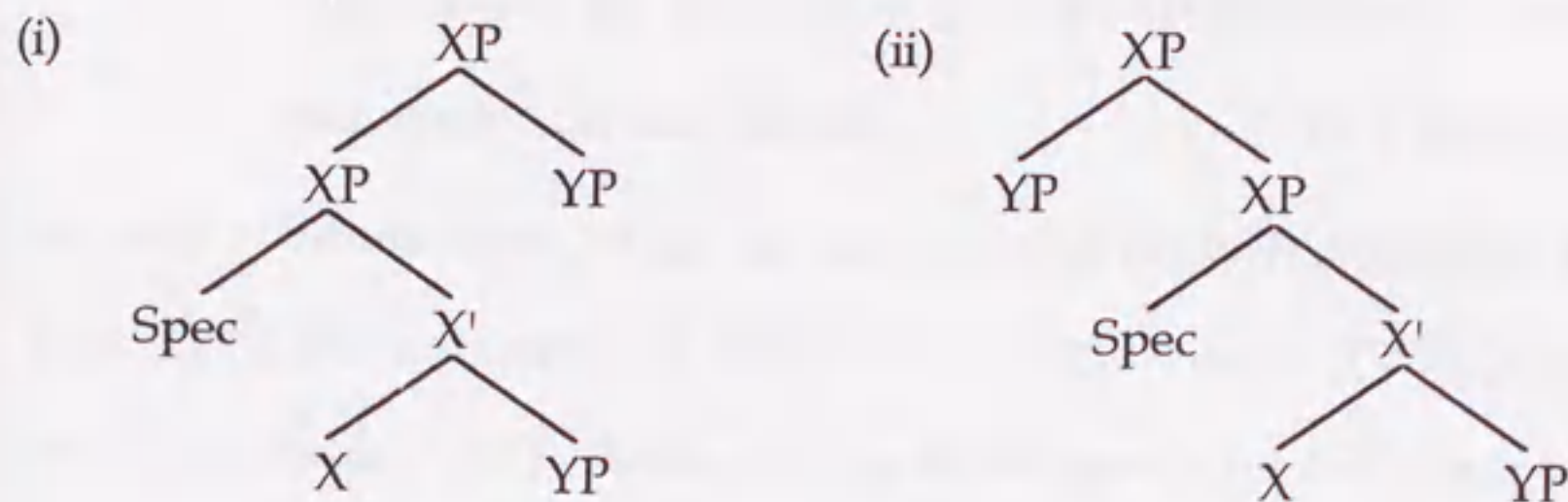
(iii) *Danish*

*... at der har spist dette æble en dreng fra Danmark
that there has eaten this apple a boy from Denmark (ibid.)

The current analysis wrongly predicts that (ii) and (iii) are all acceptable just like the counterparts in present-day English. What distinguishes Icelandic and English on the one hand, from Faroese and Danish on the other hand? In order to resolve this problem, we need much more data concerning HNPS in these languages. Therefore, I will leave this matter for further investigation.

¹⁰ Furthermore, I assume, contra Kayne (1994), that an adjunct linearly following the head and the complement attaches to the right side of XP.

Chomsky (1995: 319) assumes that YP adjoined to a maximal projection XP is not in the checking domain of X. Therefore, the configurations in (i) and (ii), which involve YP adjunction to XP, are ruled out under the current framework.



¹¹ Given the general assumption that XP cannot adjoin to a projection which immediately dominates it, we claim that HNPS cannot attach objects and subjects to VP and to *vP*, respectively (see Bošković (1997: 26-27)).

¹² One might argue that (i) might be the counterexamples to clause-boundedness of HNPS. The shifted objects follow the main clause constituents, *for many years* in (ia) and *since 1939* in (ib).

- (i) a. I have wanted PRO to know t_i for many years [exactly what happened to Rosa Luxemburg]_{*i*}
- b. I have expected PRO to find t_i since 1939 [the treasure said to have been buried on that island]_{*i*} (Postal (1974: 92 fn 8))

(ii) shows, however, that the situation is different when PRO is replaced by a lexical DP.

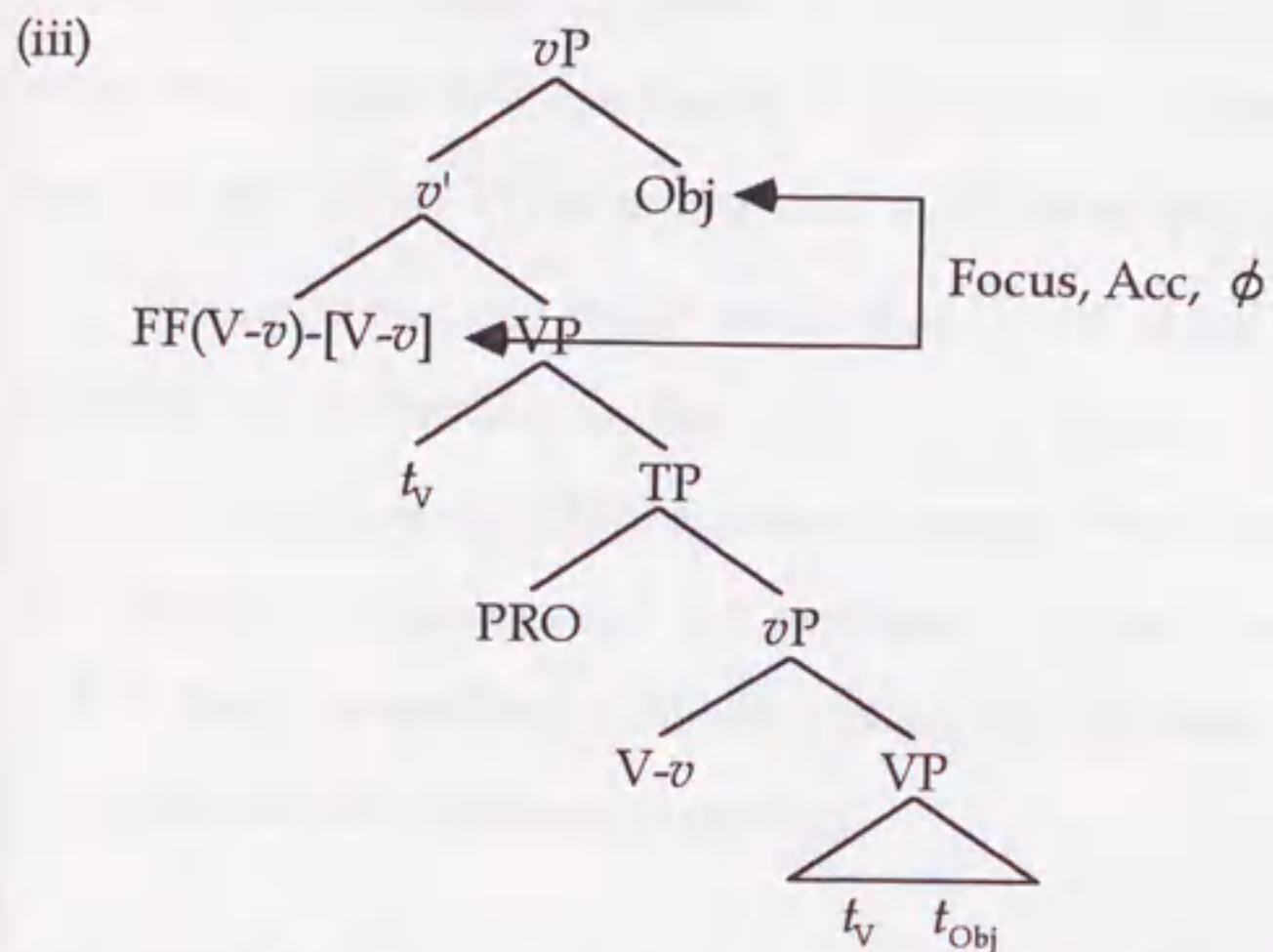
- (ii) a. *I have wanted Bob to know t_i for many years [exactly what happened to Rosa Luxemburg]_{*i*}

- b. *I have expected Bob to find t_i since 1939 [the treasure said to have been buried on that island]_i (a. Postal (1974: 92 fn 8))

We may attribute the contrast between (i) and (ii) to *restructuring* proposed by Rizzi (1982) and advocated by Nishikawa (1990), Roberts (1997), Nishihara (1997) and Matsuyama (1997). Restructuring is the operation that changes a V-PRO-V sequence into a single predicate if the embedded subject is PRO and the main verbs are modal or aspectual, e.g. *begin, continue, expect, start, try* and *want*. Accordingly, some clause-bounded phenomena can take place across clause boundaries, and the contrast between (i) and (ii) might naturally follow.

Here, we have another problem; how should we analyze this operation within the current framework? One might argue that restructuring involves overt or covert incorporation of a lower verb into a higher one. However, the matrix and the embedded verbs realize in the separate positions. Furthermore, materials may intervene between them, which shows the overt nature of the operation. Therefore, as Roberts (1997) points out, either approach is inadequate.

One possible analysis might be overt feature movement; the FFs of the embedded V-*v*, rather than a whole category, overtly move up to the matrix V-*v* leaving phonological features and semantic features behind. This yields the structure of (iii).



The strong Focus feature of the embedded v adjoined to the matrix $[V-v]$ induces HNPS of the object. The object simultaneously checks the Focus feature, the accusative Case feature and ϕ -features against the complex $FF(V-v)-[V-v]$ in the v -adjoined position.

¹³ One might ask why the D feature of T does not enter into a checking relation with the subject in the T'-adjoined position. If it was checked in this checking relation, we would wrongly predict that the sentences in (i) were grammatical.

- (i)
- a. $*t_i$ left home [my favorite grandfather from Independence]_i
 - b. $*I$ said (that) t_i left home [my favorite sister from Austin]_i
 - c. $*I$ wanted t_i to come [my friends from the Lawrence street house]_i

Recall, however, that the EPP is a requirement that sentences must have a subject. Therefore, it is intuitively reasonable to assume that the canonical

subject position [Spec, TP] must be filled overtly, and that the D feature of T must be checked in a spec-head configuration. Given this, some XP must be merged into [Spec, TP] in accordance with the subject requirement of T.

Furthermore, one might argue that HNPS of the subject to the T'-adjoined position be prohibited as the violation of locality condition on movement/attraction because the shifted subject passed over *there* in the outer specifier of *v*P. However, this does not any problems because *there* lacks both Case feature and ϕ -features and hence does not block the relevant movement. English *there* is visible only to D-feature checking.

Chapter 5

CONCLUSION AND FURTHER ISSUES

In this thesis, I have investigated *there*-constructions from comparative and diachronic points of view. It has been traditionally argued that *there* is a pure expletive merely to satisfy the EPP, but cross-linguistic and diachronic investigations of ECs I made in this thesis revealed that there are two types of *there* in English, either of which participates in interpretation of the constructions. It will be specifically argued that *there* in *there+be* constructions has not been a pure expletive in the history of English; rather it should be well analyzed as an existential operator. In presentational *there*-constructions, on the other hand, it functioned as a discourse sequencing linking word in early stages of English but was reanalyzed as an expletive element in the course of eModE.

In a comparative part (chapter 2), we discussed the following three topics.

- (I) How does overt subject raising affect the acceptability of TECs?
- (II) Why does the acceptability of TECs and ECs with a raised subject vary among languages?
- (III) How should we account for the optionality of overt subject raising in UECs and PECs under the feature-checking theory?

As for the issue (I), Bobaljik and Jonas first point out a close correlation between TECs and overt subject movement. They suggest that the subjects always move out of *vP* in TECs. However, our close investigation of TECs revealed that the subjects may stay in their original position in some cases; they may remain *in-situ* in TECs without auxiliary verbs whereas they must move outside *vP* in TECs with auxiliary verbs. Based on this observation, I account for the issue (I) by proposing that it is crucial for the convergence of TECs whether the subject escapes a local spec-head relation with [V-*v*] by LF. If such local relation is established still at LF, they automatically enter into a checking relation and consequently the derivation crashes because of feature mismatch.

We answered to the issue (II) in terms of the syntactic properties of '*there*'. In languages like Icelandic and German, '*there*' functions as the expletive topic which can be inserted into either [Spec, CP] or [Spec, TP]. Hence, the subject can be raised to [Spec, TP] when '*there*' is directly merged into [Spec, CP]. In languages like Swedish and Danish, on the other hand, '*there*' exhibits some subject-like behaviors. Therefore, we assumed that it is inserted to the canonical subject position [Spec, TP] and stays there throughout the derivation. This

obligatory 'there'-insertion into [Spec, TP] blocks overt subject raising in ECs. This is why the Mainland Scandinavian languages (e.g. Danish, Norwegian, Swedish) do not permit ECs with a raised subject and TECs.

With respect to the issue (III), I argued that two word order patterns of ECs, 'there'-AUX-Subj-V and 'there'-AUX-V-Subj, can be simply derived if we hypothesize that (i) 'there' can be merged into either [Spec, CP] or [Spec, TP], and that (ii) lexical insertion into a non- θ -position is equal to subject movement in cost.

In a diachronic part (chapters 3 and 4), we concentrated our attention to the following three issues:

- (I) Why were TECs and ECs with a raised subject attested during ME and eModE?
- (II) Why did these ECs become obsolete in the course of eModE?
- (III) Why does the postposing of the subjects affect the acceptability of TECs in present-day English?

In order to solve these matters, we first investigated the historical development of *there* in *there+be* ECs and presentational ECs in chapter 3. It was claimed that *there* in these two types of ECs were in the same origin but underwent a totally different historical development. More specifically, *there* in *there+be* EC has not been a pure expletive in the history of English; rather, it serves as a local licenser

of indefinite subjects due to deictic function inherited from the locative adverb *there*. Adopting *Local Licencing Approach* proposed by Chierchia (1995), I assumed that the existential operator *there* is inserted into the V-domain and binds an indefinite nominal in its local environment. On the other hand, presentational *there* functioned as a discourse sequencing linking word because of its referential/deictic function abstracted from the locative deictic adverb *there*. Bearing the discourse-related property, it must appear in the discourse-related C-domain ([Spec, CP] or the C-adjoined position) in overt syntax to express the intersentential connection. When *there* is merged into the T-domain and subsequently moves up to the C-domain, we obtain ECs with an *in-situ* subject since there is no motivation for overt subject raising after *there*-insertion. On the other hand, when *there* is directly inserted into the C-domain, this enables overt subject movement to [Spec, TP]. This is why early English permitted ECs with a raised subject and TECs which closely correlate with overt subject movement.

The issue (II) was accounted for in terms of the historical transition of clause structures, the loss of V2 structure. The surface position of *there* was fixed in the T-domain as a result of the loss of V2, which prevented the subject from moving up to [Spec, TP]. One problem of this analysis is that the loss of V2 word order in main clauses does not coincide with the decline of the relevant ECs; the former completed in the 15th century whereas the latter did around the 17th century. This poses the question why ECs could retain V2 structure from the 15th to the 17th century. In order to solve this problem, we searched for the distribution of the inverted and the non-inverted order in the sentences opened with *then, now, yet* and *therefore*, and showed that these sentences still exhibited

the inverted order until around the 17th century, the same period as the decline of ECs with a raised subject and TECs. It was concluded from this observation that some constructions including *there*-constructions kept V2 structure and exhibited the inverted order even in eModE.

However, there are some theoretical and empirical problems that I could not deal with in this thesis. The first one concerns the occurrence of TECs. As we saw so far, the proposed analysis properly predicts the fact that early English allowed TECs and ECs with a raised subject. Then, why were TECs unattested until the 14th century? I cannot provide a systematic account of this matter, but one speculation is that it is due to the overgeneralization of *there*-constructions with non-existential verbs. We saw in 3.4.1 that some non-existential verbs were found in early English ECs, especially, in ME. Therefore, it might be plausible to assume that TECs were the instances of this overgeneralization.

The second one concerns the syntactic properties of *there* and the corresponding words in modern Germanic languages; why does '*there*' function as a syntactic subject in some languages (e.g. present-day English, Swedish, Danish), but as an expletive topic in other languages (e.g. Icelandic and German)? One crucial difference between them is that '*there*' in the former languages is originally a deictic locative, thus having referential function, while '*there*' in the latter languages is nominal expletive, homophonous with the 3rd person singular neuter pronouns (see Cardinaletti (1997), Rosengren (2000), and the references cited therein). It is not clear at all, however, how and why this affects the historical development of '*there*' in these languages. I leave to a future research

program to explore this problem.

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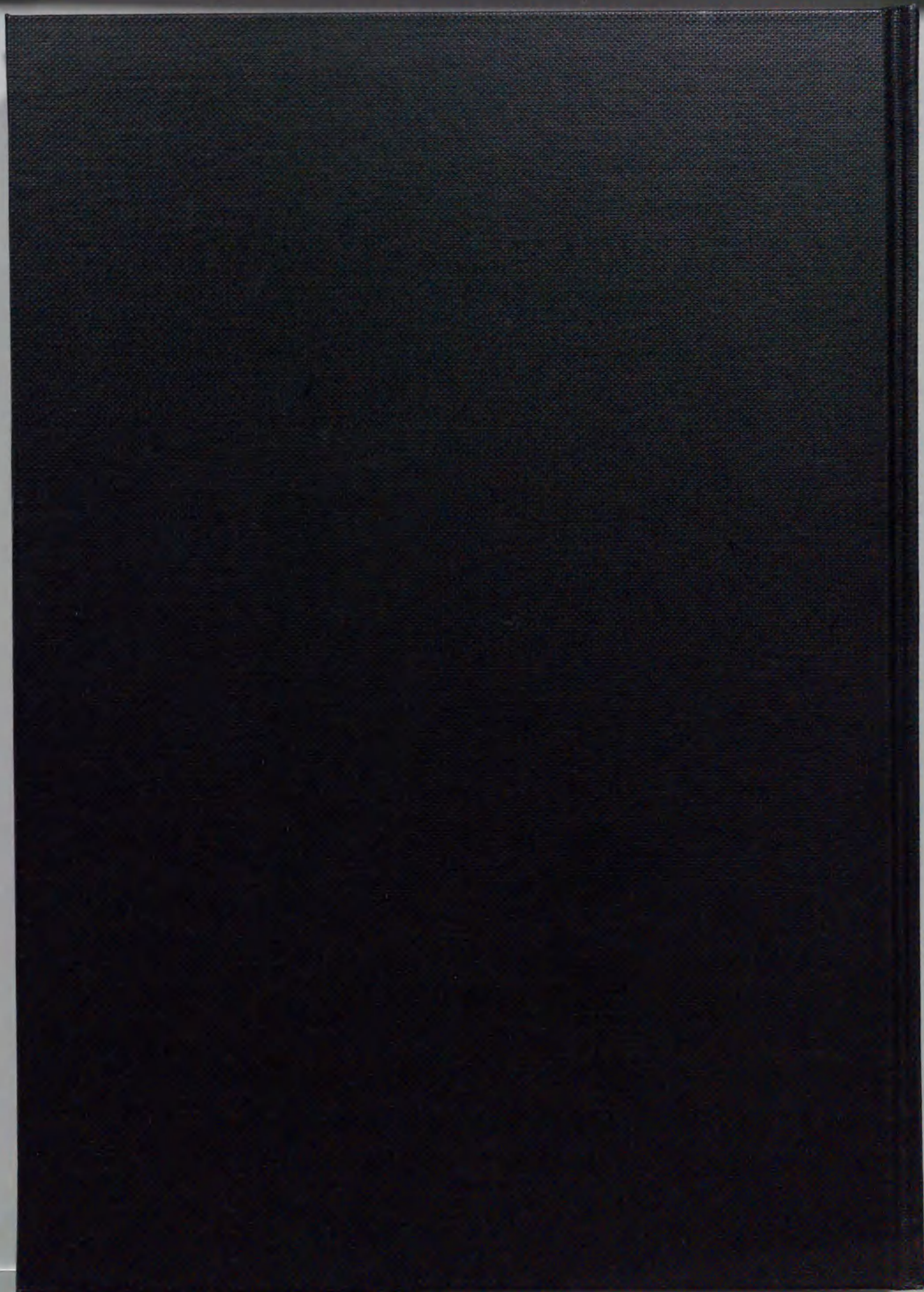
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