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EXISTENTIALS AND OTHER LOCATIVES

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A theory is proposed that unites the universal locative paradigm consisting of the predicate locative, the existential, and the 'have' predication. This is accomplished by deriving all three from a single underlying structure in which a preposition is the head of the predicate phrase. The existential and the 'have' structure, both having a derived locative subject, are differentiated from the predicate locative by the definiteness effect. 'Have' predications of various kinds, including those with 'have' copulas, are claimed to differ from existentials because their locative constituent contains a [+human] argument. Apparently disparate facts from many languages are accounted for and a general explanation is offered for the distinction between a 'have' copula and a 'be' copula.*

1. INTRODUCTION. Much of the excitement in modern syntax lies in discovering that a certain variety of surface structures is reducible to the interaction of a single underlying structure and independently established principles. In this paper I propose such a reduction, in a completely new generative analysis of locative predications. I will argue that expressions like those in 1 and 2 are all derived from a single and maximally simple abstract syntactic structure (D-structure).¹

- (1) a. Predicate locative: *The book is on the bench.*
- b. Existential: *There is a book on the bench.*
- c. 'Have': *Lupe has a book.*
- (2) Russian:²
- a. *kniga byla na stole.*
book.NOM.FEM was on table.LOC
 'The book was on the table.'

* This paper represents a view of locative predications that I have been developing over the last ten years. I am grateful to Mark Baker, Ken Hale, Gary Milsark, and Ken Safir for discussion of an early version of this work. A debt is also owed to two anonymous reviewers for urging me to clarify certain aspects of my argumentation. I am especially grateful to Carol Georgopoulos, for her patience and our critical discussions over a period of more than two years. She encouraged me to greatly deepen my understanding of the data and its theoretical importance; without her encouragement and generous help, this paper would still only exist in my mind. What I have done with it, however, be on my own head.

¹ A theoretical framework that permits a universal account of syntactic phenomena, the one chosen here, is Generative Grammar, often referred to as Government and Binding Theory. I assume the version based on Chomsky 1986 and references therein.

² The sources of the data are in the Appendix. Abbreviations employed in the examples are: 1 = first person; 2 = second person; 3 = third person; ABS = absolute; ART = article; CL = classifier; COMP = head of CP (n. 7); COP = copula; D = pleonastic subject pronoun; DAT = dative; DEF = definite; E = empty position; FEM = feminine; GEN = genitive case; IND = indicative; I = Infl = head of IP (n. 7); INDEF = indefinite conjugation; Infl = head of IP (n. 7); L = locative phrase; LOC = locative; MASC = masculine; NOM = nominative case; NP = marker of a noun phrase; OBL = oblique; P = preposition; P = proform; PL = expletive locative pronoun; PASS = passive; PAST = past tense; PLU = plural; POSSR = possessor; REC.PAST = recent past tense; SB = subject; SG = singular; SPEC = specifier (n. 7); T = theme; TNS = tense; TOP = topic marker; UNM = unmarked case; V = verb, thus predicate.

- b. *na stole byla kniga.*
on table.LOC was book.NOM.FEM
'There was a book on the table.'
- c. *u menja byla sestra.*
at 1sg.GEN was sister.NOM
'I had a sister.'

This unified theory of locative predictions,³ based on an extensive cross-linguistic corpus, will result in the surprising conclusion (*inter alia*) that forms like English existential *there* are locative. It will also clearly reveal the locativity of possessive expressions and relate them to existentials. My arguments will be couched in standard generative terms; essentially no new theoretical devices will be introduced. This unified analysis, based on a single underlying structure in which the thematic arguments are LOCATION and THEME, is superior to any analysis that does not account for the highly systematic relations among structures like those in 1 and 2. I will also provide an explanation for the range of variation in such structures in many languages. The aim of this work is to reveal the relations among locative predictions in Universal Grammar (UG). The real focus is therefore not on an analysis of specific structures, but rather on showing how the abstract principles and modules of generative grammar account for those predictions in UG.

Henceforth, I will refer to sets of structures like 1 and 2 as 'the locative paradigm', without intending to prejudice the issue. The paradigm relates the predicate locative (1a), the existential (1b), and 'have' structures like 1c. I will also distinguish among 'have' predictions by explicit syntactic analysis and thereby explain the existence of the two copular forms 'have' and 'be'. I will argue that the English existential should not be the structure by which existentials are accounted for; nonetheless, in §3.7 I will integrate the facts of English with the proposed analysis.

Part of the justification for my analysis will be seen in the fact that formal differences among the three kinds of locative predictions, crosslinguistically, are very restricted and highly predictable. This predictability is best explained by the hypothesis that they share the same underlying structure, a hypothesis that accounts naturally for languages in which all members of the locative paradigm are identical in structure, as well as for languages in which the existential and 'have' forms (b and c) are alike but contrast with the predicate locative (a).

In the last quarter century, most analyses of existential sentences have been limited to the structures corresponding to 1a and 1b; They fall into two groups. In the first an existential, as in 1b, has an expletive (e.g. *there*) in subject position, and any similarity it bears to 1a is not derivational (e.g. Chomsky 1981, Milsark 1974). The focus of these treatments is often an account of *there* and its correlation with the indefiniteness of the argument corresponding to the theme in 1b. In the second type of analysis, 1a and 1b are treated as

³ Unlike much current work, mine does not focus on NP properties. Instead, I examine the properties of a set of predicates.

derivationally related, so that the relationship between them is syntactic (e.g. Fillmore 1968, Kuno 1971, Lyons 1967). See Hoekstra & Mulder 1990 for a recent movement analysis of the existential ('locative preposing') which contrasts Dutch and English.⁴ Studies of this type usually focus on the location argument rather than on *there*. The present paper fits more with the second group, in that it constitutes an inquiry into the relations among the locative paradigm.

In §2 I first relate the predicate locative and what will be referred to as the 'locative subject existential'. Then, in §3, I examine existentials with proforms that are apparently similar to the English *there* and argue that the English existential is unique. Finally, in §4, I integrate 'have' predictions with the analysis in §§2–3 of the predicate locative and the existential.

2. THE UNITY OF PREDICATE LOCATIVE AND THE EXISTENTIAL. In this section I will show that the normal form of the existential has a locative argument in the subject position, as in the Russian example 2b. Only rarely does a language have an expletive subject in the existential, e.g. *there* in English (1b); I will show that such a proform is also locative and that, crosslinguistically, it is in complementary distribution with a locative argument subject.

2.1. THE EXISTENTIAL. The Russian existential and many others exemplified below have been called 'locative inversion' structures (e.g. Bresnan & Kanerva 1989). The term is descriptively accurate, but a large part of this paper will consist of several independent arguments that it is more appropriately identified as the existential within a paradigm of locative predictions.

The first step is to distinguish the existential containing a proform from the locative subject existential (as in Russian). However, I will argue that in UG they are structural alternates, in the sense that a particular language has either one or the other. Examples are from Russian (ex. 2) and Hindi (SOV; 3) (both Indo-European), Chamorro (4) and Tagalog (5) (both Austronesian and verb-initial), and Finnish (SVO; 6) (Finnic). Each set contains a predicate locative with a theme subject and another sentence with the same constituents in contrasting order; the second sentence in each pair has a locative subject and is identified as an existential by speakers and in descriptive grammars.

(3) Hindi:

- a. *mā̄ hindustaan-mē̄ thaā.*
I India-in COP.sg.MASC.PAST (Theme Locative V)
'I was in India.'
- b. *kamree-mē̄ aadmiī hai.*
room-in man COP.3sg.MASC.PRES (Locative Theme V)
'There is a man in the room.'

⁴ I saw Hoekstra & Mulder 1990 only after the present paper was submitted. Hoekstra & Mulder's analysis of the existential shares important features with mine, but there are also significant differences between the two approaches, both in specific proposals (as will be seen in §3.6) and in scope.

(4) Chamorro:

- a. *Gaige gi gima' si Juan.*
be P house UNM John
'John is in the house.'
- b. *guāha lahi gi gima'.*
be man P house
'There is a man in the house.'

(5) Tagalog:

- a. *na sa baaba?i ay saygol.*
COP at woman NP baby
'The baby is with the woman'
- b. *may gera sa ewropa.*
COP war in Europe
'There is a war in Europe.'

(6) Finnish:

- a. *mies on huonee-ssa.*
man.NOM is room-INESSIVE
'The man is in the room.'
- b. *huonee-ssa on mies.*
room-INESSIVE is man.NOM
'There is a man in the room.'

Thus the predicate locative and what is preliminarily identified as the existential simply represent different ordering of the same constituents.

In a few languages, instead of a constituent order alternation, we find a proform in the existential; such an existential might not differ from the predicate locative with respect to the relative order of the theme and the location. As is well known, for example, the English existential has a subject *there* followed by a form of *be*, the theme, and the locative phrase. We will make a preliminary assumption here that, in the existential without a proform, the location argument is in subject position. The existential with a locative-phrase subject, like that of Russian, is actually the most common form; it is the proform existential that is the exception, crosslinguistically (see §3 for the analysis). These claims will receive incontrovertible support in the rest of the paper. Table 1 displays the constituents of locative-subject existentials according to the basic word

BASIC ORDER	EXAMPLE	EXISTENTIAL
SVO	Finnish	L COP T
	Russian	L COP T
VOS	Chamorro	COP T L
VSO	Tagalog ⁵	COP T L
SOV	Hindi	L T COP

TABLE 1. The locative-phrase subject existential.

⁵ Note, while examining Tables 1 and 2, that existentials in both VOS and VSO languages have the same structure (consistent with a hypothesis that VSO languages may be underlyingly VOS; see e.g. Chung 1990).

(V Locative Theme)

(V Theme Locative)

(V Locative Theme)

(V Theme Locative)

(Theme V Locative)

(Locative V Theme)

order of each language exemplified. The locative-phrase subject is arranged in a single column and set in boldface.

We turn next to the alternation of the predicate locative and the existential.

2.2. COMPLEMENTARITY BETWEEN THE PREDICATE LOCATIVE AND THE EXISTENTIAL. The first kind of evidence for complementarity between the predicate locative and the existential can be seen in the 'definiteness effect' (Safir 1982 and Reuland & ter Meulen 1987, *inter alia*) applying to the theme argument. As noted above, the predicate locative and the existential contain essentially the same constituents but display them in different order. This ordering difference is highly predictable: if the theme argument is definite, it is the subject, but if it is indefinite, the locative phrase is the subject. In the Russian examples in 2, for instance, the theme argument (definite or indefinite) is the subject of the predicate locative, but the existential requires an indefinite theme and the locative is the subject. Russian has no proform existential like that of English. In Hindi, Chamorro, and Tagalog (exx. 3, 4, and 5, respectively), the relations are identical to those in Russian—the theme is the subject of the predicate locative and the locative is the subject of the existential.

Probably no language allows the existential to have a definite theme; if the theme is definite, the structure must be that of a predicate locative. In Russian, for example, an indefinite theme is restricted to the existential, as in 2b, though the subject of the predicate locative may be either definite or indefinite.⁶ From a syntactic point of view, the predicate locative and the existential are equivalent. Functionally, of course, there are important differences, reflected in the functional (traditional) labels given to the two derived surface structures.

These findings are summed up in Table 2, which shows the intralanguage complementarity of the predicate locative and the existential. Again, the surface subject (boldface) is in a single column, and constituents are arranged according to the word order of the languages. Table 2 graphically represents the fact that, irrespective of word order, the theme is the subject of the predicate locative and the locative is the subject of the existential.

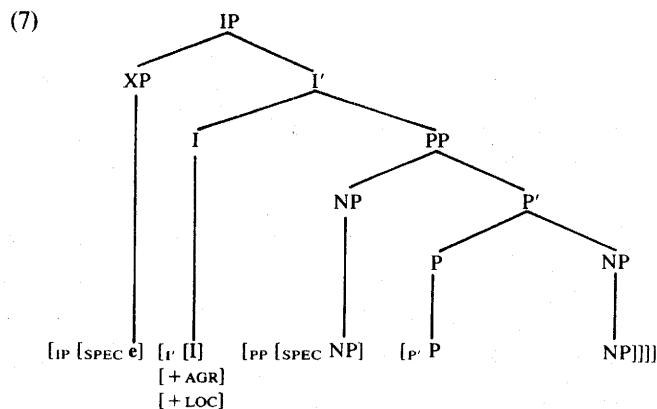
BASIC ORDER	EXAMPLE	PREDICATE LOCATIVE	EXISTENTIAL
		T COP L	L COP T
VOS	Chamorro	COP L T	COP T L
VSO	Tagalog	COP L T	COP T L
SOV	Hindi	T L COP	L T COP

TABLE 2. Complementary distribution of predicate locative and existential.

⁶ Thanks are due to an anonymous reviewer for evidence that Finnish is like Russian: (i) shows that a predicate locative may have either a definite or an indefinite subject. No such ambiguity of definiteness is associated with the partitive in the existential in (ii).

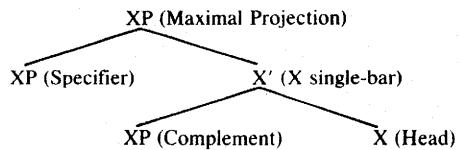
- (i) *Lapset ovat kadulla.*
child.PL.PARTITIVE COP.3PLU STREET.ADESSIVE
'(The) children are in the street.'
- (ii) *Kadulla ovat lapsia.*
STREET.ADESSIVE COP CHILD.PL.PARTITIVE
'There are children in the street.'

2.3. THE D-STRUCTURE UNDERLYING THE LOCATIVE PARADIGM. This section presents an explanation for the complementarity of the predicate locative and the existential. Both structures are derived by movement from the single D-structure in 7 (order varies by language in the usual ways). This analysis makes use of the predicate-internal subject analysis; see Belletti & Rizzi 1988, Fukui & Speas 1986, Georgopoulos 1991, Kuroda 1986, Koopman & Sportiche 1988, and others. The phrase structure follows the theory of Chomsky 1986. The subject position in this structure is empty, and is not assigned a theta role; the predicate phrase is prepositional (PP). The theme argument is the specifier of the predicate phrase and the location is complement.



The proposal that Spec(P)⁷ contains an argument requires comment. Chomsky (1985:168ff.) proposes the notion of a complete functional complex (CFC), which contains all the arguments of a head, including the subject. A predicate is excluded from the CFC since it must have an external subject argument. However, following the logic of the predicate-internal subject analysis, it can be argued that some predicate XPs are CFCs. For example, Georgopoulos 1991 shows that certain predicate NPs contain all their arguments. This paper will provide further evidence to support this view, in particular the claim that the

⁷ The schemata in Chomsky 1986 provide for the following (minimal) structure for a syntactic phrase, wherein X may be noun (N), verb (V), adjective (A), preposition (P), determiner (D), inflection (I), or complementizer (C). The current practice is to name the various positions as follows:



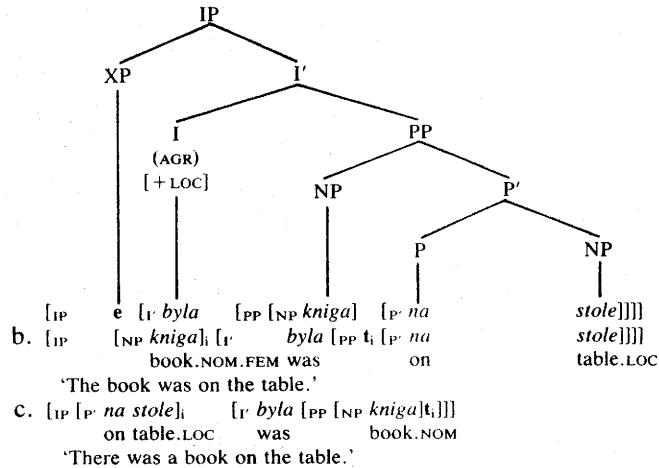
PP predicate phrase in 7 is a CFC in which the theme and the location are the selected arguments.⁸

For our purposes, the copula arises in Infl and consists of morphological and syntactic features which, in the locative paradigm, include a locative feature. I assume that the copula is given phonological form at Phonological Form (PF), following Anderson 1982.⁹

2.4. THE MOVEMENT ALTERNATIVES. In this section I show how the complementary distribution of locative and theme subjects is accounted for in terms of movement. The movement of either the theme or the location to the subject position is governed by the [\pm definite] feature of the theme: a definite theme may move to the subject position, yielding the predicate locative. Alternatively, an indefinite theme may stay in place while the location moves to the subject position, yielding the existential:

- (8) Given the arguments THEME and LOCATION within a predicate PP,
either
- Predicate locative: the theme moves to [Spec,IP], or
 - Existential: locative phrase moves to [Spec,IP].

- (9) a. SVO (Russian):



⁸ An anonymous reviewer asked whether this analysis of PP should be extended to all PPs, including the one in (i):

(i) *I'm singing in the rain.*

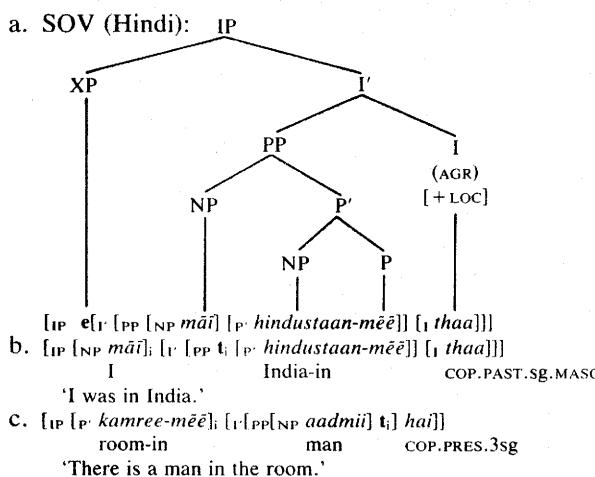
I claim this analysis of PP only when P is the head of a predicate phrase where it can select theme and location. The PP in (i) is not a predicate, nor is it selected; therefore my analysis does not extend to it.

⁹ The thoroughgoing unpredictability of a copula's lexical form in a given language, its agreement characteristics, limitations on its overt occurrence, and the existence of its functional extensions elsewhere in the grammar (e.g. as an auxiliary) suggest that its irregularity depends on morpho-syntactic inflectional features—tense, agreement, and so on.

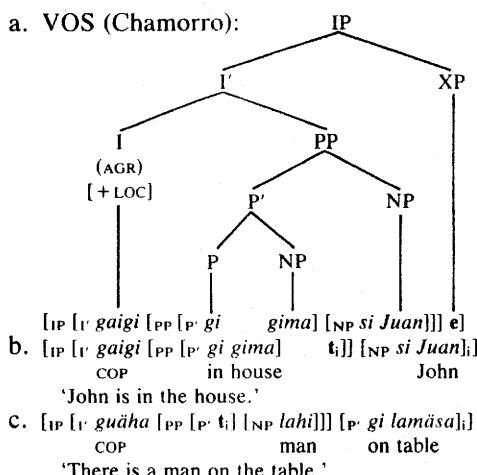
Ex. 8a typically applies to a definite theme, but, as we saw above, indefinite themes may also be subjects. However, the locative nature of the predicate phrase in 7 accounts naturally for the fact that the subject in 'locative inversion' is locative rather than some other oblique phrase. The explicit relations between the D-structure in 7 and the proform existential will be described in 3.4.

Exx. 9–12 show sample derivations. For each of these the D-structure is in a, an S-structure predicate locative appears in b, and an S-structure existential is given in c. In the existential S-structures the subject position is labelled P'. As I argue in §2.5, X' and a maximal projection XP are equivalent for purposes of movement. Thus, in the existential the P' moves to subject position, leaving its specifier in situ.

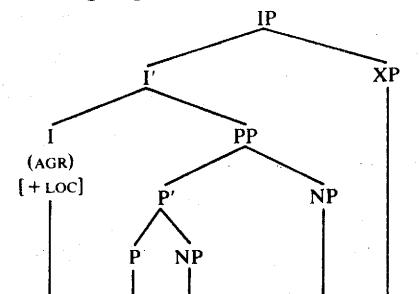
(10) a. SOV (Hindi):



(11) a. VOS (Chamorro):



(12) a. VSO (Tagalog; see n. 5):



- b. [IP [I' na [PP [P' sa baaba?]i] ti] [NP ay saygol]]]
 COP at woman NP baby
 'The baby is with the woman.'
- c. [IP [I' may [PP [P' t̄i] [NP gera]]] [P' sa europa]]]
 COP war in Europe
 'There is a war in Europe.'

2.5. MOVEMENT OF X'. Chomsky's proposal that only heads and maximal projections are visible for substitution movement (1986:4) is based on the familiar idea of structure preservation; Chomsky also proposes (1986:3) that any XP may have a specifier, sister to X'. The movement of the P' proposed here is consistent with the latter proposal, though not with the former. It does not, however, have any undesirable interaction with other principles. Nor is movement of X' as novel an idea as it might seem. Many current analyses depend on movement of X', while others refer to X' as the target of other syntactic operations. Analyses that propose movement of X' categories include pronominalization and movement of French *en* and Italian *ne* (Kayne 1975, Belletti & Rizzi 1981) and V' raising in many analyses of causatives (Rouveret & Vergnaud 1980, *inter alia*). For another analysis involving movement of X', see Koopman 1984. Reference to X' along with XP is necessary in the proposal for deriving VSO structure in Chung 1990. X' as a target for other syntactic operations is found in Haegeman & van Riemsdijk 1986, on V-projection raising; in the analysis of 'one'-pronominalization in English (N'); in the standard definition of the domain of c-command (as extending to the first branching node above a head); and, according to theories of minimality, X' instead of XP is a domain for government (Chomsky 1986, Rizzi 1990).

In sum, though it may not be explicitly acknowledged, it is now quite standard (and possibly necessary) to consider X'-level constituents, excluding the specifier, as movement categories or as targets of other syntactic rules. X' is treated as a PROJECTION of X and not as a head in my analysis and in those mentioned above. Here, in proposing the movement of P' to Spec(I), I assume the legitimacy of distinguishing only between projections of X (X' and XP) and X⁰.

Carol Georgopoulos has pointed out (personal communication, 1990) that this discussion implicates ALL analyses of locative inversion and of locative

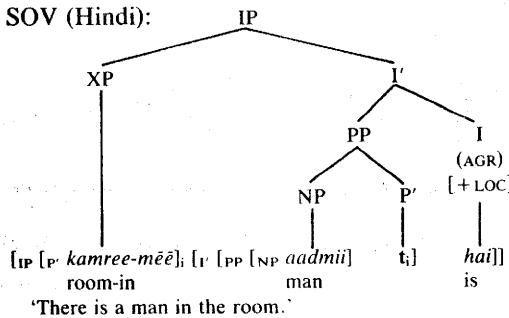
subjects (cf. e.g. Bresnan & Kanerva 1989 and Hoekstra & Mulder 1990), since the same constituent—the one that is subject—is involved. (In fact, pied-piping of P in WH-movement may involve EXACTLY the same constituent.) For me, the locative subject is P', simply because I include a specifier position in PP at D-structure, and the specifier does not move in 'locative inversion' (the existential). Movement of a P-marked argument to Spec(I) in my analysis is the essence of the existential. The real issue is not whether or not X' constituents can move, but the role of such movement in an analysis that unites the locative paradigm (INCLUDING 1c—possessive predicates).

2.6. AGREEMENT AND CASE IN THE PREDICATE LOCATIVE AND THE EXISTENTIAL. Agreement and Case assignment in the predicate locative are not novel: the theme in Spec(I) triggers agreement features in Infl. These features may or may not be phonologically realized. P assigns inherent Case to its complement and Infl assigns Case to the (theme) subject.

P assigns inherent Case to the location in the existential, just as in the predicate locative. However, agreement in the existential is a well-known and interesting problem: in spite of the fact that the theme is not subject, it is common for the theme to trigger agreement. This is clearly not agreement between Infl and Spec(I); however, there is a principled structural account available for this phenomenon, which follows from the analysis I propose.

In the c examples in 9–12, P' has moved to the subject position, leaving only the specifier within PP. While at D-structure the PP node constitutes a barrier to government of Spec(P) by Infl (Chomsky 1986:10), when P' moves to subject position, PP no longer contains a head and is no longer a barrier. Infl may now assign its structural Case to Spec(P). Infl may also agree with the argument to which it assigns Case; as in 13 (cf. 10c). Whether or not agreement is morphological is highly idiosyncratic crosslinguistically. However, I make the standard assumption that agreement features are present in Infl whether or not they are phonologically realized.

(13) SOV (Hindi):



3. THE PROFORM EXISTENTIAL AND ITS DISTRIBUTION. In a few languages the existential has a proform co-occurring with a locative constituent elsewhere in the sentence; the proform distinguishes the existential from the predicate locative. I will call this minor existential type the PROFORM EXISTENTIAL. The

proform existential is found in Romance, in Arabic, and in a few Austronesian languages, but not in Indo-European languages other than Romance or in a dozen other unrelated language families represented in my study. In my data, therefore, there are two structural types of existential: the existential with a locative-phrase subject and the proform existential.

In §3.1 I will first determine the structure of the proform existential and its relation to the predicate locative. Then, in §3.2, I will integrate the syntactic analysis of proform existentials with the analysis presented in §2 of the predicate locative and the existential, showing that in terms of the structure in 7 they are also alloforms of the same D-structure. I conclude that the proform is not a subject in §3.3, and in §3.4 I show the derivation of the proform existential. Section 3.5 confronts the apparent absence of proform existentials in SOV languages, and in §§3.6–3.7 I argue that the existentials of some Germanic languages and of English are truly rare among such structures.

3.1. STRUCTURE OF THE PROFORM EXISTENTIAL. Languages with a proform existential include Catalan (SVO), Palestinian Arabic (VSO), and Palauan (VOS). These are exemplified below in 14b, 15b, and 16b; the 'a' sentences present the predicate locative for comparison (the proform is glossed 'p'; in 15a the subject is in topic position).

(14) Catalan:

- a. *El llibre es damunt la taula.*
the book is on.top the table
'The book is on (top of) the table.'
- b. *No [hi] ha peix al menu d'avui.*
not [p] is fish on.the menu of.today
'Isn't there fish on today's menu?'

(15) Palestinian Arabic:

- a. *Pulaad kanu sa(la) l maktab.*
boys COP.PAST.plu on the desk
'The boys were on the desk.'
- b. *kaan ⁱ ^{fii} ^{Pulaad} ^{sa(la)} l maktab.*
COP.PAST plu P boys on the desk
'There were boys on the desk.'

(16) Palauan:

- a. *η-yar a sers-ek a bilis.*
3sg.COP.P NP garden-my NP dog.
'The dog is in my garden.'
- b. *η-yar-ηii a bilis ^{er} a sers-ek.*
3sg.COP.P-it(p) NP dog P NP garden-my
'There is a dog in my garden.'

*er and ηii
are p?*

It is clear that there are questions to be answered about the proform existential before it can be integrated into the unitary theory proposed in §2. Since the constituents are the same in both the predicate locative and the existential, with the exception of the proform, these questions must involve the syntactic

nature of the proform—whether or not it is locative and what position it occupies.

3.2. THE EXISTENTIAL PROFORM IS LOCATIVE. We saw in §2.2 (Table 2) that the existential with a locative-phrase subject participates in a complementary distribution which I argue here to be a ubiquitous intralanguage alternation of the predicate locative and the existential. Since in some languages the existential contains a proform, it is reasonable to ask whether the proform is locative too.

First, all such proforms are lexically locative. In French the proform *y* 'there' is cognate with Catalan *hi* and Spanish *-y*,¹⁰ and partially cognate with Italian *ci*. Similarly, proforms in verb-initial languages are lexically locative: their morphology is explicitly locative, since they consist either of a prepositional phrase with a 3sg pronominal object or of a form historically derived from such a phrase. Examples are Palestinian Arabic *fii* 'in it'; Samoan, Tongan, and Gilbertese *i ai* 'P + 3sg'; and Palauan *er yiii* 'P + 3sg'. (In Germanic, only English *there* is lexically locative; proforms of other Germanic languages are not. See §3.6.) The locative nature of the proforms is unexplained in other theories, but it falls out naturally from the present theory.¹¹

The first piece of SYNTACTIC evidence for the locativity of the proform is that the intralanguage complementary distribution of the predicate locative and the existential (Table 2) remains constant with the proform existential. Table 3 augments Table 2 with languages (those marked with p have proform existentials, and e = empty subject position). All the VOS and VSO languages in Table 3 conform to the pattern shown by all the word-order types in Table 2: the theme is the subject of the predicate locative, and the locative is the subject of the existential. The presence or absence of the proform is syntactically

BASIC ORDER	EXAMPLE	PREDICATE LOCATIVE	EXISTENTIAL
SVO	Russian	T COP L	L COP T
	Finnish	T COP L	L COP T
	p Catalan	T COP L	e p COP T L
VOS	Chamorro	COP L T	COP T L
	p Palauan	COP L T	COP P T L
	Tagalog	COP L T	COP T L
VSO	p Pal. Arabic	T COP L e ¹²	COP P T L
	Hindi	T L COP	L T COP

TABLE 3. Complementary distribution of predicate locative and the two types of existential.

¹⁰ In Romance these proforms are decaying to some extent; I will not discuss the various results of language change involving them.

¹¹ A reviewer is not convinced by arguments that the proform is locative, suggesting that this would rule out *There's no one there*. But establishing that the proform *there* is locative does not make it deictic: it has a [+LOC] feature, but it does not refer to a place within some utterance context.

¹² As in many verb-initial languages, the definite theme (subject) of a predicate locative in Palestinian Arabic tends to be preposed to topic position.

irrelevant. However, the proforms occur only with locative subjects and never with theme subjects, which suggests that they play a special role in the locative paradigm. That the proform in languages like Catalan (14) is locative will be argued below.

Further demonstration of the locativity of the existential proform involves certain verbs which, like the locative expressions above, select both a theme and a locative argument, and which allow either argument to appear as the subject of IP. Bresnan & Kanerva (1989) found this phenomenon to occur in Chicheŵa with a group of unaccusative verbs consisting mostly of motion verbs ('arrive', 'come', 'fall into', etc.), body-position verbs ('sit', 'stand', 'lie', etc.), and the copula. Examples with Chicheŵa 'come' are representative of the alternation with a verbal predicate (in Chicheŵa, 2, 3, 7, and 17 refer to noun classes; prefix 17 is prepositional).

- (17) a. *a-lendô-wo a-na-bwér-á ku-mu-dzi.*
2-visitor-2.those 2.SB-REC.PAST-COME-IND 17-3-village
'Those visitors came to the village.'
- b. *ku-mu-dzi ku-na-bwér-á a-lendô-wo.*
17-3-village 17.SB-REC.PAST-COME-IND 2-visitor-2.those
'To the village came those visitors.'

The unaccusative sentences in 17 have the same constituents, but in different orders: 17a has a theme subject, while 17b has a locative subject—the now familiar theme-subject/locative-subject alternation. I join Bresnan & Kanerva in considering the sentences in 17 to be related in the same way as the Chicheŵa predicate locative and existential:

- (18) a. *chi-tsíme chi-li ku-mu-dzi.*
7-well 7-be 17-3-village
'The well is in the village.'
- b. *ku-mu-dzi ku-li chi-tsíme.*
17-3-village 17.SB-be 7-well
'In the village is a well.'

The relations between 17a–b and 18a–b are the same as those between the predicate locative-existential pairs represented in Table 2. The set of verbs identified by Bresnan & Kanerva as participating in these locative relations will be referred to here as 'locative unaccusatives'. These are verbs subcategorizing both a theme and, crucially, a locative argument. (An explanation of the extension of locative subjects to other unaccusative verbal predicates, e.g. the passive, is beyond the scope of the present work.)

Importantly, in Germanic (and in other families as well), when the subject of these locative unaccusative verbs is a proform, it is the same as the proform in the existential. English provides an example:

- (19) a. *A stagecoach arrived at the station.*
- b. *There arrived a stagecoach at the station.*

Thus, locative subjects of locative unaccusative verbs exhibit the same cross-linguistic alternation as existentials: they are either a locative phrase (Chicheŵa, 17b) or the lexically locative proform *there* (English, 19b). Unaccusative

structures allowing a locative proform subject can be compared to unaccusative verbs which do NOT subcategorize a locative argument and which do NOT allow a locative subject or a proform subject. Unaccusative verbs like English *dry up* and *melt* are examples:

- (20) a. **There dried up puddles (in the street).*
 b. **There melted lots of ice cream (in the sun).*

The alternation of a theme subject with a location subject allowed by unaccusative verbs so closely parallels the predicate locative-existential relation just presented that it provides strong support for the claimed locative nature of the existential proform. The locative proform is limited to clauses with a locative selecting head, such as the locative P in structure 7 or a locative unaccusative V. If the existential and its proform are not seen to be locative, none of this converging evidence that indicates locativity can be explained.

The position of the existential proform provides further evidence for its locativity. I will argue that it is a spellout of a feature in Infl and is lexicalized at PF. Establishing that the existential proform is a part of Infl requires a characterization of its position and syntactic properties.

In all the languages I have studied, the position of the existential proform is consistent in several ways. The first two commonalities concern its position with respect to other constituents in the existential structure. It is always adjacent to elements in Infl and never adjacent to the locative phrase; additionally, the proform must precede the locative phrase. Furthermore, the proform has a strict precedence relation with the locative phrase. I know of no language among the dozens I have studied that contradicts any of these positional restrictions on the proform. The restrictions are represented in Table 4, an expanded version of Table 1 with the subject positions aligned vertically and with added proform existentials in SVO, VOS, and VSO languages; the existential proform is in boldface, and e = empty subject position.

Table 4 presents various alternatives in the structure of the existential. The negative constraint regarding adjacency of the proform and the locative phrase, together with the precedence relation of the two, lends further support to the hypothesis that the proform is locative; if the proform were not locative, a statement of its position would not systematically require mention of the locative phrase. At this point I will consider the locative nature of the existential

BASIC ORDER	EXAMPLE	EXISTENTIAL
SVO	Finnish Russian Catalan French	L Cop T L Cop T e p COP T L D p COP T L
VOS	Palauan Chamorro	COP p T L COP T L
VSO	Pal. Arabic Tagalog	COP p T L COP T L
SOV	Hindi	L T COP

TABLE 4. Contrast between position of existential proforms and position of existential locative subjects.

proform to be established, although further support for this analysis will emerge in §4.

3.3. THE PROFORM IS NOT A SUBJECT. Tables 3 and 4 also illustrate a further constraint on the proform: it does not appear in the subject position. (However, in §3.6 I recognize the oddity that the Germanic existentials have expletive subjects.) I argue that the proform is not a subject in either SVO or V-initial languages. In SVO languages the proform is left-adjacent to the copula, as in 21 and in 25–26 below. In French it is clearly not a subject, since subject position contains the dummy *il* 'it'. Nor does French allow either location or theme as subject:

- (21) a. *Il y a deux enfants dans l'auto.*
 it p has two children in the.car
 'There are two children in the car.'
 b. **Deux enfants y a dans l'auto.*
 two children p has in the.car
 c. **Dans l'auto y a deux enfants.*
 in the.car p has two children.
 d. **Y a deux en.* / **Y en a deux.*
 p has two of.them / p of.them has two

Both Spec(I) and Infl in a SVO language would satisfy the positional constraints on the proform, which not only precedes the location but cannot be adjacent to it. There are a number of reasons to rule out Spec(I) as the position of this proform, however. First, French requires an overt subject, but the presence of the proform in the existential does not preclude the dummy subject *il* 'it', as we saw in 21a. Second, the existential proform is invisible to Move-alpha. In French, for instance, the proform cannot be raised or WH-questioned:

- (22) a. *Il me semble que il y a du soleil.*
 it me seems that it p has some sun
 'It seems to me that the sun is shining.' (lit. '... that there is sun')
 b. **Il y semble avoir du soleil./*Y semble avoir*
 it p seems to.have some sun / there seems to.have
 du soleil.
 some sun
 'It seems to shine the sun.' (lit. '... there to be sun')
 c. **Où il en a?*
 where it some has
 ('Where is (there) some?')

The fact that the proform cannot move suggests that it is not an argument or in an argument position.

Third, the proform can be directly preceded by the negative, and thus cannot be in the subject position (23); the negative cannot precede the subject (24).

- (23) *Il n'y en a pas.*
 it NEG.p some has not
 'There isn't any.'

- (24) a. **Ne Jean mange du riz.*
 not John eats some rice
 'John doesn't eat rice.'
 b. **N'il y en a pas.*
 NEG.it p some has not
 ('There isn't any.')

In sentences without an overt subject pronoun, e.g. 25 and 26, the position of Italian *ci* and the Catalan *hi* might mistakenly be taken to be in subject position, but in fact they are not. This is shown by the fact that, as in French, they can both be directly preceded by the negative. The locative is final in Italian, which is consistent with an analysis in which the locative subject is postposed; Catalan may share this feature with Italian.

(25) Italian:

- Non ci sono uomini in casa.*
 NEG p are men in house
 'There are no men in the house.'

(26) Catalan:

- No hi ha peix al menu d'avui.*
 NEG p have fish on.the menu of.today
 'Isn't there fish on today's menu?'

I assume that there is an empty category, *pro*, in the subject position of Italian and Catalan, since, unlike French, both Italian and Catalan are null-subject languages.¹³

The Italian proform *ci* appears in a spoken-style 'have' predication in 27. Here again, the proform cannot be the subject. First, if we anticipate the analysis of 'have' predications in §4, where they are seen also to be members of the locative paradigm, the subject of 'have' must be referential. And second, the 'have' copula agrees with the possessor.

- (27) a. *l'uomo / pro c'ha un libro.*
 the.man/ there.has a book
 'The man / he has a book.'
 b. *pro c'ho un libro.*
 there.1sg.have a book
 'I have a book.'

Spanish does not have a proform existential, but the present-tense existential copula testifies to an intimate pre-Spanish relation between Infl and an existential proform. The proform *y* has coalesced in Spanish with *ha* (< *haber* 'have'), yielding an unanalyzable lexical form *hay* that appears only in the present tense:

- (28) a. *Hay gente en el pasillo.*
 there.COP people in the hall
 'There are people in the hall.'

- b. *Había gente en el pasillo.*
 COP people in the hall
 'There were people in the hall.'

Similarly, in verb-initial languages the existential proform is immediately adjacent to Infl elements. In uniformly-rightward governing languages (VOS, VSO) the proform appears to the right of the copula, as represented in Tables 3 and 4 and in Palestinian Arabic (15b), Palauan (16b), and Tongan (29b). The Tongan predicate locative is provided in 29a for comparison; the subject of the predicate locative is typically in the topic position (the Tongan copula is zero; the proform is in boldface):

- (29) a. *ko e kuri 'oku 'i he funga teepile.*
 TOP ART dog PRES P ART top table
 'The dog is on the table.'
 b. *'oku 'i ai 'ae kuri 'i he poopao.*
 PRES P 3sg ABS.ART dog P ART canoe
 'There's a dog in the canoe.'

In Palauan, a rigidly VOS language (Georgopoulos 1986), a subject cannot be adjacent to tense. In 30 the locative phrase is in the subject position, so no part of *yar yii* (analyzable as *ya* + *er yii* 'COP + tense + preposition + 3sg') could be (or could have been) a subject:

- (30) *y-yar yii a bilis er a sers-ek.*
 3sg.be.TNS.P it NP dog P NP garden-my
 'There is a dog in my garden.'

The positive constraint that the proform be contiguous to elements in Infl (the copula or tense) and the other positional properties of the existential proform in verb-initial languages suggest that it be considered part of Infl. We have also seen that it is not a subject or any other argument; there is therefore no additional argument position in which it might be generated or from which it might have moved. This is consistent with the fact that most existential proforms are adverbial (as are tense, aspect, negation, and so on) and thus could not appear in an argument position. Finally, the proform is LEXICALLY inseparable from AGR and/or TNS (when there is no lexical copula). The simplest account of these facts is that the proform is a spellout of a feature in Infl. The difference between languages with and without existential proforms, then, resides in PF. In languages with proform existentials, the Infl feature [+LOC] is spelled out as the existential proform. In languages without proform existentials, this [+LOC] feature fails to be lexicalized.

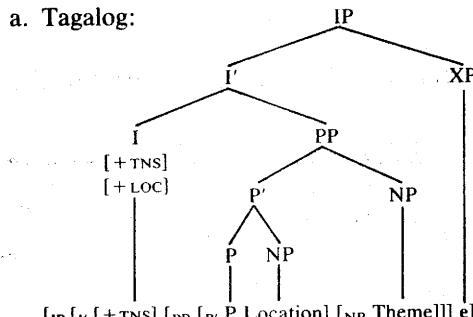
3.4. DERIVATION OF THE PROFORM EXISTENTIAL. In this section the derivation of the proform existential will be integrated with that of the locative paradigm as developed to this point. It is claimed here that there is very little syntactic difference between locative-phrase subject existentials and proform existentials. The derivation consisting of the locative D-structure in 7 and the movements in 8 has been shown to be sufficient for locative-subject existentials. The proform itself requires no special syntactic comments; since it is a spellout

¹³ Their proforms, however, share the nonrationality of the French proform.

of Infl features, it is not an argument and is not subject to the projection principle, the Case filter, or binding theory.

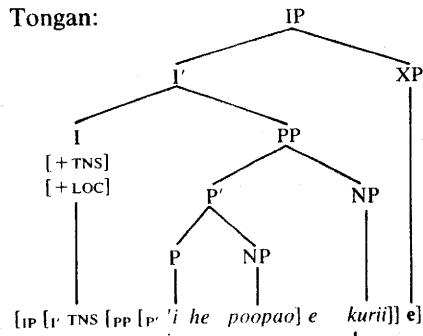
Compare the derivation of the proformless existential in Tagalog (31) with the derivation of the proform existential in Tongan (32) and French (33; cf. 21a). Ex. 31a is the Tagalog D-structure (cf. 7), 31b is the S-structure, and 31c shows the effect of the Tagalog PF on Infl. In Tagalog the copula has a distinct morphological form in the (locative-subject) existential. The feature [+LOC] is written out as *may* in this structure.

- (31) a. Tagalog:



The D-structure for the proform existential in Tongan is in 32a, with the S-structure in 32b and the partial PF structure in 32c (the proform is in boldface). Ex. 32c represents the effects of PF on Infl, shown in the lexicalization of the proform (Tongan has a zero copula in locative predictions). The contents of Infl are spelled out as '*oku* + *i ai* 'TNS + proform'.

- (32) a. Tongan:

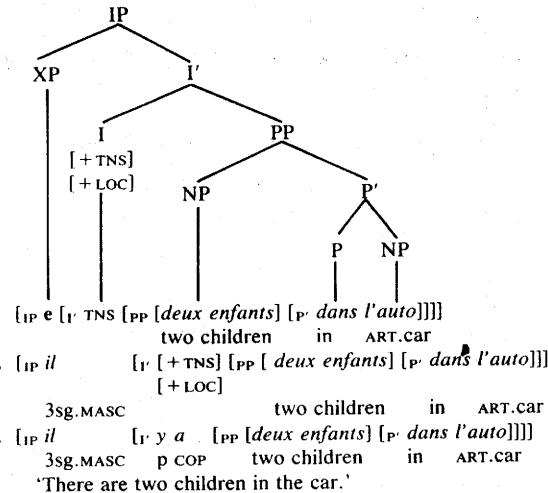


- b. [IP [I_r [+TNS] [PP [P_r t_i] e kuri]] [P_r 'i he poopao_i]_j]
 [+LOC] ART dog in ART canoe
 c. [IP [I_r 'oku i ai [PP [P_r t_i] e kuri]] [P_r 'i he poopao_i]_j]
 TNS P 3sg ART dog P ART canoe
 'There is a dog in the canoe.'

'There is a dog in the canoe.'

The D-structure for the proform existential in French is in 33a, with the S-structure in 33b and the partial PF structure in 33c. Since the subject of the French existential is empty, pleonastic *il* 'it' occupies the subject position (b). Ex. 33c represents the effects of PF on Infl, shown in the lexicalization of the proform and the copula *avoir*. The contents of Infl are given the morphological form *y + avoir* 'proform + copula'. Thus, a locative copula like Tagalog *may* is equivalent in morphosyntactic features to Tongan *'oku i ai* and to French *y a*.

- (33) a. French:



3.5. THE EXISTENTIAL IN SOV LANGUAGES. To this point, I have substantiated the claim that there are two kinds of existential, a locative-phrase subject existential and a proform existential. Both kinds are found in SVO languages (compare Finnish [6] with Catalan [14]) and in verb-initial languages (compare Chamorro [4] or Tagalog [5] with Palestinian Arabic [15] or Palauan [16]). Consequently, it is of interest that consistently right-headed SOV languages all have a locative-phrase subject existential and none has a proform existential. Additional examples of predicate locatives and existentials in SOV languages follow, from Persian, Mayo (Uto-Aztecán), and Japanese.

- (34) Persian:

- a. *gorbe-ho dær dig hæstænd.*
 cat-plu in pot COP
 'The cats are in the pot.'

b. *dær dønešgo do dønešju ye irøni hæst.*
 at university two students of Iranian COP
 'There are two Iranian students at the university.'

- (35) Mayo:

- a. *im pa hu? howa-po a:ne.*
 my father the house-in COP
 'My father is in the house.'

- b. *howa-po hente a:ne.*
house-in people COP
'There are people in the house.'

(36) Japanese:

- a. *chawan wa teburu no ue ni aru.*
cup TOP table GEN top DAT is
'The cup is on (top of) the table.'
- b. *kono kyooshitsu ni denki dokei ga arimasu.*
this classroom DAT electric clock NOM is
'There is an electric clock in this classroom.'

It seems that no SOV languages have existential proforms. (German is discussed separately; see below.) A proform in such a language would follow the locative and also be adjacent to it, since IP is right-headed in an SOV language. This would violate the observed restrictions on the proform position, namely, that it must precede and be nonadjacent to the locative (see §3.2). As a merely descriptive device for SOV languages, I suggest a PF filter which is consistent with these positional properties of proforms. The filter rules out a locative proform in Infl if it follows the locative (P' in the locative D-structure in 7). This statement can be informally represented as follows:

(37) *...P'...proform [+ LOC]

The restriction in 37 is surprising in that it appears to characterize a relation between an anaphor-like element (the proform) and its antecedent, and FORBIDS the expected antecedent-anaphor ordering. This is the reverse of what would be predicted by the binding theory, IF these elements were subject to the usual binding principles. Instead, the crucial factor seems to be this precedence relation. A principled account of this phenomenon must await subsequent inquiry. This generalization can be illustrated by a look at the larger structure. The locative D-structure (7) for an SOV language can be seen in 38a; 38b contains the S-structure for the locative subject existential (ubiquitous in SOV languages), and 38c, the structure precluded by 37, represents the lexicalization of the proform (boldface p) in Infl. The absence of locative proforms in SOV existentials and their presence in other types is an aspect of the complementarity between the two types of existential. This analysis reveals clearly the nature of the proform and shows exactly what is unattested in the existential of SOV languages.

- (38) a. [IP [XP [P [NP Location] P]] [I]]
[+ LOC]
- b. [IP [XP [P [NP Location] P]] [I] [PP [SPEC Theme] [P' t]]] [I]]
[+ LOC]
- c. *[IP [XP [P [NP Location] P]] [I] [PP [SPEC Theme] [P' t]]] [p]]
[+ LOC]

3.6. THE PLEONASTIC SUBJECT IN GERMANIC EXISTENTIALS. The SOV languages exhibited above have COMP on the right, as expected. Other SOV languages, including Kiliwa (Yuman), Navajo (Athapaskan), Armenian (Indo-European), and Quechua, have Infl on the right and COMP on the left, but they also have only locative-phrase subject existentials. So the relative position of COMP and Infl does not explain the lack of proforms in SOV existentials—that is, it does not explain 37. It is commonly argued that some Germanic languages are SOV and they, too, are 'inconsistent' in that COMP is on the left (Thiersch 1978, Koopman 1984, inter alia). But existentials in Germanic languages, SOV or not, are unlike those of other SOV languages in that the Germanic ones have an expletive subject. The lack of proforms in SOV languages is not related to the question of whether German and related languages are SOV. However, the Germanic existential differs structurally from the proform existential which is the focus of §§3.1–3.4, as we can see by examining the properties of the expletive pronoun in Germanic languages.

Unlike the existential proform of other languages, the nonreferential, or pleonastic, pronoun in the Germanic existential is a subject. Thus the Germanic existentials constitute a class apart. The pronoun is typically not locative, lexically or syntactically. In each of the following examples, the 'a' construction is the existential, while the accompanying examples illustrate other uses of the pleonastic—an impersonal passive, a cleft, and/or an extraposition structure. In each example the pleonastic pronoun (in boldface) is in the subject position.

(39) Swedish:

- a. *Det fanns inget postkontor i den byn.*
it find.PASS no post.office in that town
'There was no postoffice in that town.'
- b. *Det är osäkert om det blir regn.*
it is uncertain if it will rain
'It is uncertain that it will rain.'
- c. *Det var Sune (som) Gustav angrep.*
it was Sune (that) Gustav attacked
'It was Sune that Gustav attacked.'

(40) German:

- a. *Es gibt/ist ein Buch auf dem Tisch.*
it gives/is a book on the table
'There is a book on the table.'
- b. *Es scheint das du bist hier.*
it seems that you are here
'It seems that you are here.'
- c. *Es wurde getanzt.*
it was danced
'There was dancing.'

(41) Icelandic:

- a. *Það eru mys í baðkerinu.*
there are mice in the.bathtub
'There are mice in the bathtub.'

- b. *Það er Ólafur, sem þeir segja að muni koma.*
it is Olaf that they say that would come
'It is Olaf who they say would come.'
- c. *Það var beðið eftir mér.*
it was waited for me
'I was waited for.'
- d. *Það er augljóst að Jón hefur etið hákarlinn.*
it is obvious that John has eaten the shark
'It is obvious that John has eaten the shark.'

That the pleonastic pronouns are subjects in Swedish and German is shown by the fact that they are not invisible to movement; for example, they may undergo 'subject-verb inversion':

(42) German:

- Gibt es ein Bier auf dem Tisch?*
gives it a beer on the table
'Is there a beer on the table?'

(43) Swedish:

- Satt det en fågel på taket?*
sat it a bird on the roof
'Was there a bird on the roof?'

Maling 1987 argues that in Icelandic the pleonastic pronoun *það* appears in subject position when that position would otherwise be empty.¹⁴

This phenomenon of the nonlocative proform with argument properties is so restricted that its relation to core grammar might be questioned. One could append some stipulation to the present unitary treatment of the locative paradigm to extend it to include these languages, but this would be purely ad hoc. Consequently, I will treat these languages as the exceptions they are.

3.7. ENGLISH. English is the only language in which I have found a lexically locative existential pronoun in subject position, though there may be other languages that belong to this exceptional category. The English existential in 44 is like that of its Germanic sisters in that this pleonastic pronoun (in boldface) is in subject position, is involved in inversion, and raises. It differs from that of (most?) other Germanic languages in that its pleonastic pronoun is lexically locative.¹⁵

(44) a. *There is a mouse in the glass.*

- b. *Is there a mouse in the glass?*

- c. *There seems to be a mouse in the glass.* (= *It seems that there is a mouse in the glass.*)

¹⁴ Maling 1990 argues for a relation between Icelandic V2 and the position of the pleonastic pronoun in subject position. I have strongly suspected that the combination of V2 and the non-null subject nature of Germanic was responsible for the 'nonconformist' nature of the Germanic existential—including that of English.

¹⁵ Naturally, the proform *there* as a pleonastic subject of the existential in English is not an argument and has no argument properties. It must be distinguished from the deictic *there*, which is referential and for which *here* may be substituted. See also n. 11.

Further, the English existential pleonastic pronoun is true to its lexical nature, as shown by its distribution: it is the subject in the (locative) existential and the subject of locative unaccusatives (§3.2). In contrast, pleonastic *it*, rather than *there*, is the subject pronoun of weather verbs, cleft structures, and extrapositions. *It* also inverts with I and raises, as predicted of a subject.

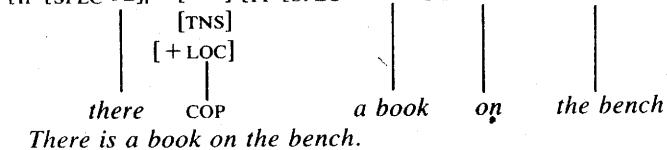
The expletive pronoun in the Black English Vernacular existential is dummy subject *it* (Labov 1972:270), and thus is like that in other Germanic languages, since it also occurs with weather predicates and clefts and in extraposition (Labov 1972:270):

(45) *It is a policeman at the door.* (=There is a policeman at the door.)

This use of *it* is also common in the existentials of dialects across the southeastern part of the United States; there is much evidence from early writing that the pleonastic *it* has long alternated with *there* as the existential subject (Visser 1963:42, 52).

The English existential is unique even among the truly exceptional existentials of its sister languages. It is unfortunate, then, that the English existential has been relied upon as the model for existentials in UG. Nevertheless, I will outline the derivation of the English existential within my theory. The locative D-structure for English is essentially like 7, but with the subject position, Spec(I), containing a pleonastic pronoun coindexed with the locative argument by predication (Williams 1980), as shown in 46. The pronoun in 46, being pleonastic, is not assigned Case. In binding-theoretic terms, it is most like an anaphor (NP trace), though it is not A-bound by the usual definitions. The structural case in Infl must be assigned, however. If we assume that, by 'rule R' (Chomsky 1981:256ff), Infl moves to P, it will govern the Spec(P) and the Theme, and assign Case (recall from §2.6 that P directly assigns Case to the Location).

(46) [IP [SPEC PL]_i [Infl] [PP [SPEC Theme] [_{P'} P [NP Location]]_i]]]



There is a book on the bench.

Hoekstra & Mulder also argue (1990) that existential *there* is locative. However, their small-clause analysis includes a quite different account of Case assignment, one in which nominative Case is assigned to the Theme via the trace of the preposed locative subject. In my analysis nominative Case has a more conventional source: Infl. Nominative is never assigned to a prepositional subject.

To sum up, I have argued in §3 that the relatively rare existential proform is locative. In the locative subject existential the P' moves to Spec(I), but the proform itself does not move. I have also argued that the proform is not an argument and that it arises from the feature [+LOC] in Infl. Unlike existential proforms, the pleonastic pronouns of Germanic have argument properties.

4. 'HAVE' PREDICATIONS AND THE LOCATIVE PARADIGM. On the basis of evidence from languages that differ in genetic affiliation, word order typology, and locational predication typology, I argued in §2–3 that the predicate locative and the existential can and should be derivationally related. I will argue here on similar grounds that the 'have' predication constitutes the third member of the locative paradigm—specifically, that it derives from the same D-structure as the predicate locative and the existential. The discussion will be restricted to 'possessive' 'have'. The use of 'have' forms in periphrasis, e.g. as auxiliaries, is ignored, although the periphrastic uses are probably extensions of the quintessential 'have' predication (cf. Anderson 1988). We will see that the differences in some languages between the S-structures of the existential and the 'have' predication suggest that the traditional three-way functional distinction of S-structures—the predicate locative, the existential, and the 'have' predication—should be maintained.

Bach 1967, comparing locative predictions and their lexical copula forms crosslinguistically, asked why a language (e.g. English) should have different copulas in 'be' predictions and 'have' predictions when so many languages (e.g. Japanese) do not. Bach went so far as to term the 'have' form 'pathological'. Following Bach's ideas, I will distinguish terminologically between the two lexical forms by referring to a 'BE' COPULA on the one hand and a 'HAVE' COPULA on the other. As a matter of fact, the existence of a separate 'have' copula seems to present a problem for maintaining the general analytic identity of the 'have' predication with the other two members of the locative paradigm, which contain a copula. In the course of the analysis of 'have' predictions, I will explain 'have' in such a way that it will no longer seem pathological.

4.1. THE 'HAVE' PREDICATION IS THE EXISTENTIAL. The evidence for the unity of the existential and the 'have' predication is based on undeniable similarities between the two. In many languages they share the same constituents in the same order; below are some typical examples from Hindi (SOV), Tagalog (VSO), Yucatec (Mayan, VOS), Russian (SVO), and Finnish (SVO); the locative subjects are in boldface.

(47) Hindi:

- a. *kamree-mēē aadmii hai.*
room.OBL-in man COP.3sg.PRES
[+ LOC]

'There is a man in the room.'

- b. *larkee-kee paas kuttaa hai.*
boy.OBL-GEN proximity dog COP.3sg.PRES
[+ LOC]

'The boy has a dog.' (lit. 'By the boy is a dog.')

(48) Tagalog:

- a. *may gera sa europa.*
COP war in Europe
[+ LOC]

'There is a war in Europe.'

EXISTENTIALS AND OTHER LOCATIVES

- b. *may relos aŋ naanai.*
COP watch ART mom
[+ LOC]
'Mom has a watch.'

(49) Yucatec:¹⁶

- a. *yaan huntul ciimin ti? yukataan.*
COP one horse P Yucatan
[+ LOC]
'There is a horse in Yucatan.'
- b. *yaan huntul ciimin ti? in-paapa.*
COP one horse P my-father
[+ LOC]
'My father has a/one horse.'

(50) Russian:

- a. *na stole byla kniga.*
on table.LOC COP book.NOM
[+ LOC]
'There was a book on the table.'
- b. *u menja byla sestra.*
at 1sg.GEN COP sister.NOM
[+ LOC]
'I had a sister.'

(51) Finnish:

- a. *pöydä-llä on kynä.*
table-ADESSIVE COP pencil
[+ LOC]
'There is a pencil on the table.'
- b. *Liisa-lla on mies.*
Lisa-ADESSIVE COP man
[+ LOC]
'Lisa has a husband.'

Both the existential and the 'have' predication in 47–51 have a locative subject and a Theme + copula in the predicate. This is a common pattern, but the fact that existentials and 'have' predictions are structurally similar in most languages may surprise those acquainted principally with western Indo-European languages.

These examples represent the simple 'default' or normal relationship between the existential and the 'have' predication. Comparing 47–51 with the predicate locative for each—3, 5, n. 16:(i), 2, and 6, respectively—we see that there are only two S-structures in the locative paradigm in these languages: the predicate

¹⁶ I provide the predicate locative in order to complete the locative paradigm for Yucatec; (i) has a topicalized subject:

(i) *le ciimin yaan ti? yukataan.*
the horse COP P Yucatan
[+ LOC]
'The horse is in Yucatan.'

ORDER
SVOEXAMPLE
Russian T COP L
Finnish T COP LPREDICATE LOCATIVE
Tagalog COP L T
VOS Yucatec T COP P¹⁷
SOV Hindi T L COPEXISTENTIAL
L COP T
L COP T
Cop T L
Cop T L
L T cop'HAVE'
L COP T
L COP T
Cop T L
Cop T L
L T COP

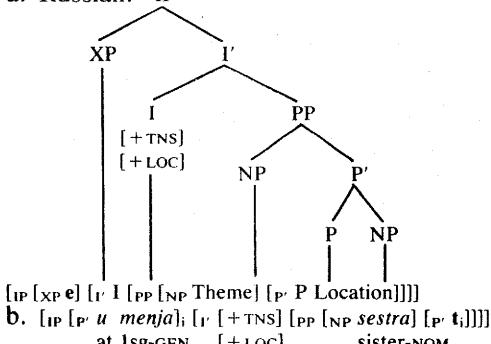
TABLE 5. Complementary distribution of the predicate locative and {the existential and 'have' predication}.

locative structure with a theme subject on the one hand, and the existential/'have' predication structure with a locative subject on the other. Integrating the standard 'have' predication with the pattern of the predicate locative and existential shown in Table 2 yields Table 5. (The formal identity of the existential and the 'have' predication could have been represented by conflating the last two columns of Table 5, but the present format was maintained in order to facilitate comparison with Table 2.)

Table 5 leaves little doubt that the 'have' predication is part of the locative paradigm. Each member of the paradigm contains the same constituents. The complementary distribution holding between the predicate locative and the existential (shown in Table 2) also holds between the predicate locative and the existential/'have' predication pair. This is the pattern that the present analysis predicts for any randomly chosen language.

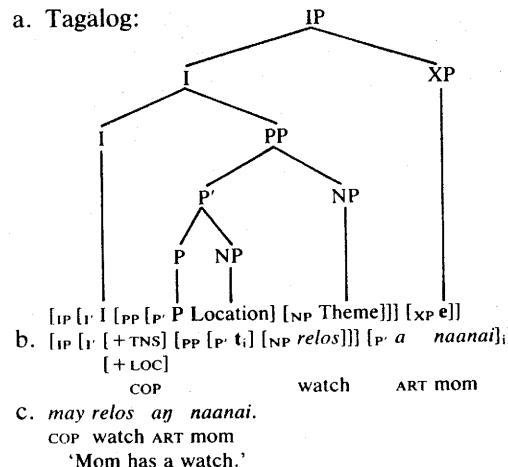
The 'have' predication is accounted for in the same way as the existential: it is derived from the D-structure in 7 by movement of the locative argument to subject position. As with the existential (cf. 9–12), the S-structure subject of the 'have' predication is P' . I continue to assume that, for purposes of movement, X' and a maximal projection XP are equivalent (see §2.5). Thus, in the 'have' predication the P' moves to subject position, leaving its specifier *in situ*. Agreement and Case assignment are also the same as for the existential.

(52) a. Russian:

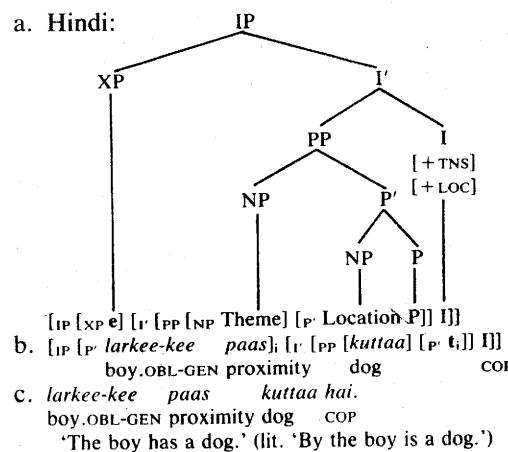
¹⁷ Cf. n. 13.

(§2.6). The derivations of 'have' predication in 52–54 are parallel to the existential derivations in 9–12. For each of these, the S-structure of the 'have' predication appears in b, and c is its PF form.

(53) a. Tagalog:



(54) a. Hindi:



The 'have' predication shares an S-structure with a proform existential in some languages, e.g. Tongan (proform in boldface):

(55) Tongan:¹⁸

- a. **oku** 'i ai 'ae nofo'anga 'i he poopao.
TNS P 3sg ABS.ART seat P ART canoe
'There's a seat in the canoe.'

¹⁸ Thanks to Robin Hooper (personal communication, 1991) for pointing out to me that 55b is ambiguous between the reading given and a reading like the 'theme-subject' 'have' predication, the focus of §4.6.

- b. *'oku 'i ai 'ae faanau 'a sione.*
 TNS P 3sg ABS.ART children ABS John
 'John has children.'

It is difficult to imagine how such identity, even to the extent of sharing the locative proform, could be explained by any current analysis of the existential but the present one. Such similarities constitute strong support for this approach.

Given the syntactic similarity of the existential and the 'have' predication, we would predict morphological similarities as well. In fact, preceding examples have illustrated the fact that in many languages the existential and the 'have' predication share the same copula form, one that is distinct from that of the predicative locative and of other copular constructions. Other examples of such a copula are Mandarin Chinese *you*, Shanghainese *yu*, Hebrew *yes*, Navajo *hólq*, French *avoir*, Portuguese *ter*,¹⁹ Modern Greek *echei*, Quechua *tiya*, Tagalog *may*, Trukese *mei*, Yosondua Mixtec (Oto-Mangue) *yo*, and Turkish *var*.

It has now been established that, in many unrelated languages, the 'have' predication shares a constituent D-structure and a derivation with the existential and is thus a locative predication. The stage is set to show that the subject of 'have' is universally a location.

4.2. THE SUBJECT OF 'HAVE' IS A LOCATION. We have seen that the 'have' subject in some languages, for example Russian, Yucatec, and Hindi (Table 5), is the object of a locative preposition; in Finnish it is in a locative case, leaving no doubt that it is a location. Equally convincing data of other kinds—specifically, the locative paradigm in Scots Gaelic and some interesting but little-noticed facts from English—provide further support for this conclusion.

My unitary account predicts that there should be languages with an invariant S-structure across the locative paradigm, reflecting the common D-structure. Such languages do in fact exist. This leads to the conclusion that the definiteness effect can be suspended, allowing the three members of the locative paradigm to be identical in the order as well as in the nature of the constituents. One such language is Scots Gaelic:

- (56) Scots Gaelic:
- a. *Tha a' mhin anns a' phoit.*
 COP the oatmeal in the pot
 'The oatmeal is in the pot.'

¹⁹ Not only may the copula in the existential and the 'have' predicate look alike synchronically, but Romance evidence seems to indicate that historical convergence may restore lost similarity. French seems to be the most conservative, with *avoir* 'have, be' in the existential and the 'have' predicate. Iberian Romance underwent a crosslinguistically common substitution of a verb like 'take, hold' (Spanish *tener*, Portuguese *ter*) for original Spanish *haber*. Portuguese *haver* 'have' (cognate with French *avoir*). In Portuguese, however, *ter* has generalized to both the existential and the 'have' predication:

(i) LANGUAGE	PRED. LOC.	EXISTENTIAL	HAVE
French	<i>être</i>	<i>avoir</i>	<i>avoir</i>
Spanish	<i>estar</i>	<i>haber</i>	<i>tener</i>
Portuguese	<i>estar</i>	<i>ter</i>	<i>ter</i>

- b. *Tha min anns a' phoit.*
 COP oatmeal in the pot
 'There is oatmeal in the pot.' (lit. 'Oatmeal is in the pot.')
 c. *Tha peann aig Mairi.*
 COP pen at Mary
 'Mary has a pen.' (lit. 'A pen is at Mary.')

The paradigmatic identity extends to the lexical form of the copula, which is identical across the paradigm in Gaelic. Languages like Gaelic strongly support the claim that the existential and the 'have' predication are structurally identical.²⁰

We turn now to an examination of an interesting English 'have' construction that shows that 'have' subjects are locations even in English:

- (57) a. *The tree has a nest in it.*
 b. *The flour has weevils (in it).*
 c. *I have a needle (on me).*

This structure contains a prepositional phrase whose object is an anaphor of the subject. If the prepositional object is not coreferential with the subject, the structure is ungrammatical. Compare 57 with 58:

- (58) a. **The tree has a nest in them/the shed.*
 b. **The flour has weevils in them/the canister.*
 c. *I have a needle on me/*on you/*on the table.*²¹

The distribution of the anaphoric locative phrase with the 'have' subject is explained only if the subject is analyzed as a location: the locative subject licenses the presence of the anaphoric phrase. The structure in 57 is related to the free syntactic alternation among predicate locative, existential, and 'have' predication illustrated in 59, which can only be accounted for if we recognize that a 'have' subject is a location. Note that 'there' in 59b is licensed by the location argument, just as the P' on it in 59c is licensed by the location:

- (59) a. *A mongoose is on the shelf.*
 b. *There is a mongoose on the shelf.*
 c. *The shelf has a mongoose on it.*

Similarly, [-human] German subjects of *haben* 'have' are coindexed with an anaphoric in situ P', and when the point is that the theme is actually WITH

²⁰ Like Gaelic, many other languages have the same copula form in all members of the locative paradigm; among them are Palauan *ya*, Tongan (zero) (both Austronesian); Hindi *hoona* (Indo-European); Japanese *i-ar-*; K'ekchi' *wan*, Yucatec *yaan*, Quiché *k'o*, Pokomchi (*wi*)*lik'* (all four are Mayan); Finnish *on*; Hungarian *van* COP.3sg.PRES; Palestinian Arabic *ʃ/kan*; Chicheŵa *li*; Vietnamese *có*.

²¹ This structure is grammatical if it is understood that the locative proposition *on the table* requires the subject's foreknowledge and complicity. Notice that (i) requires the subject's agentive involvement, and consequently is not the 'have' predication in the locative paradigm. The prepositional phrase is presumably an adjunct rather than the P' of a locative predication.

(i) *She has a/her car {in my garage/with me}.*

the [+human] location, the 'have' predication appears with the locative adjunct *dabei*:

- (60) a. *Die Pubs_i haben Menschen darin_i.*
the pubs have people there.in
'The pubs have people in them.'
- b. *Hans hat ein Taschenmesser.*
Hans has a pocket.knife
'Hans has a pocket knife.'
- c. *Hans_i hat ein Taschenmesser dabei_i.*
Hans has a pocket.knife there.on
'Hans has a pocket knife on him.'

Just as in 57, the anaphoric P' in 60a and the adjunct in 60c must be coindexed with the subject. All three constituents are locative.

We noted above that, in many languages, the existential and 'have' have the same copula form, as opposed to the predicate locative. This falls out naturally from current assumptions about agreement between Infl and its specifier: if the specifier is locative, the locative feature may be spelled out as part of agreement. Russian is one language that allows such morphology. In the present tense the copula is zero in the predicate locative and the existential. In the existential, however, *est'* may replace zero, as in 61b. Thus the existential shares the copula normally associated with the 'have' predication. This alternation provides evidence for the locative nature of the 'have' subject.

(61) Russian:

- a. *kniga na stole.*
book.NOM.FEM on table.LOC
'The book is on the table.'
- b. *Na stole est' kniga.*
on table.LOC COP book.NOM
'There is a book on the table.'
- c. *u menja est' sestra.*
at 1sg.GEN COP sister.NOM
'I have a sister.'

We now turn to the role of the [+human] feature in this analysis.

4.3. SUBJECTS OF 'HAVE' ARE [+HUMAN]. Having seen that 'have' predictions and existentials share a locative feature and that 'have' subjects are locations, one might ask why the 'have' predication is not simply an existential in ALL languages. The answer has to do with the [+human] feature of the subject: [+human] arguments have long been known to receive special syntactic treatment in some languages. In languages where the existential and the 'have' predication differ, the difference depends on the [+human] feature of the locative subject. In the English locative paradigm, for instance, we find two interesting asymmetries. First, in the 'have' predication the nature of the possessive relation is constrained differently depending on the [human] value

of the subject; and second, there is a preference for [+human] locations for the 'have' subject and [-human] locations for the existential subject.

When the subject of 'have' is [-human], the theme must be an inalienably possessed²² (62a) or a 'characteristically associated' noun (i.e. treated as inalienably possessed, as in 62b). Alienable themes are ungrammatical in this configuration, as in 62c-d, but are grammatical when coindexed with an in situ P' containing a pronoun anaphoric to the location (62e-f):

- (62) a. *The tree has branches.*
- b. *The flour has weevils (in it).*
- c. **The tree has a nest.*
- d. **The flour has a ring.*
- e. *The tree_i has a nest in it_i. (= There is a nest in the tree.)*
- f. *The flour_i has a ring in it_i. (= There is a ring in the flour.)*

When the subject is [+human], in contrast, the theme is not limited to one possession type: it may be alienable, as in 63a; inalienable, as in 63b; or characteristically associated, as in 63c:

- (63) a. *The boy has a needle.*
- b. *The boy has a cousin/a nose.*
- c. *The boy has fleas (on him).*

Furthermore, a [+human] location 'prefers' the 'have' predication over the existential:

- (64) a. *There is a nest in the tree.*
- b. *There is a ring in the flour.*
- c. *There is a needle on the boy. (= The boy has a needle; cf. 63a)*

Since only a [+human] subject allows either inalienably or alienably possessed themes, while a [-human] subject is restricted to formally inalienably possessed themes, we may deduce that the English 'have' structure with a [+human] subject is less constrained than one with a [-human] subject. Furthermore, [+human] locations tend to be in the subject position instead of in situ: 63a vs. 64c.

The present analysis accounts naturally for the required presence of P' in the 'have' predictions of 62e and 62f, as well as for their existential paraphrases, because it unifies existentials and 'have' constructions as surface forms of the same locative D-structure. At the same time it accounts for the pattern of grammaticality involving 63a and 64c, by distinguishing the [+human] feature of locations.

Another important set of data (here, from English) shows that it is the [+human] feature of the location argument which determines that the 'have' predication is chosen from among those of the paradigm. In the predicate locative in 65a, a [+human] location in the predicate is ungrammatical, in contrast to the [-human] location in 66a. The existential duplicates this pattern of

²² Most commonly, inalienably possessed nouns are kin terms and body-part terms for humans or part/constituents for nonhumans, e.g., *a leg of or the wood in a table*.

grammaticality (65b, 66b). The 'have' predication in 65c, with a [+human] subject, is the only grammatical member of the paradigm in 65.

- (65) a. *A book is with/at/by Lupe.
 - b. *There is a book with/at/by Lupe.
 - c. Lupe has a book.
- (66) a. A mongoose is on the shelf.
 - b. There is a mongoose on the shelf.
 - c. *The shelf has a mongoose.²³

An effect of the [\pm human] feature can be seen in the way different languages distinguish the [+human] and [-human] subjects of 'have' and the existential. One type of language uses a special preposition for [+human] subjects and different prepositions for other subjects. A second type distinguishes [+human] subjects, which have a zero preposition, from other subjects, which have overt prepositions. There is a tendency for [+human] subjects to occur in expressions interpreted as 'have' constructions, while [-human] subjects are found in expressions interpreted as existentials. For example, when the head of the P' subject in Russian is *u* and the object of the preposition is [+human], as in 67b (= 50b), the sentence is interpreted as a 'have' predication. Compare this with a P' with *na* and a [-human] object, as in 67a (= 50a), which forces an existential interpretation. Similarly, in Hindi, when the head of the P' is *paas* and its object is [+human], as in 68b (= 47b), then the structure is interpreted as a 'have' predication. When the head of P' is some other postposition, e.g. *mēē* in 68a (= 47a), and its object is [-human], the structure is interpreted as an existential.

- (67) a. *na* stole byla kniga.
on table.LOC was book.NOM
'There was a book on the table.'
 - b. *u menja* byla sestra.
at 1sg.GEN was sister.NOM
'I had a sister.'
- (68) a. *kamree-mēē aadmii hai.*
room.OBL-in man is
'There is a man in the room.'
 - b. *larkee-kee paas kuttaa hai.*
boy.OBL-GEN proximity dog is
'The boy has a dog.' (lit. 'By the boy is a dog.')

Likewise, in Palestinian Arabic the preposition *fa(la)* 'on' occurs on the locative in the existential, but *fiid* 'to' marks the human 'have' subject:

- (69) a. *?ulaad kanu fa(la) l maktab.*
boys COP.3plu.MASC on the desk
'The boys were on the desk.'

²³ Further evidence that the [+human] feature is the operant one here is the acceptability of 66c if the subject is personified.

EXISTENTIALS AND OTHER LOCATIVES

- b. *kaan fii ?ulad fa(la) l maktab.*
COP.TNS p boys on the desk
'There were boys on the desk.'
- c. *kan fiid il walad ktaab.*
COP.TNS to the boy book
'The boy had a book.'

In other languages a [+human] existential subject occurs without a lexical preposition, while a [-human] subject must have one. Tagalog (70), Tongan (71), and Shanghainese (72) illustrate this:

- (70) Tagalog:

 - a. *may gera sa ewropa.*
COP war in Europe
[+ LOC]
'There is a war in Europe.'
 - b. *may relos ay naanai.*
COP watch ART mom
[+ LOC]
'Mom has a watch.'

- (71) Tongan:

 - a. *'oku i ai 'ae nofo'anga 'i he poopao.*
TNS P 3sg ABS.ART seat P ART canoe
'There's a seat in the canoe.'
 - b. *'oku i ai 'ae faanau 'a sione.*
TNS P 3sg ABS.ART children ABS/GEN John
'John has children.'

- (72) Shanghainese:

 - a. *na lala vɔyt̩ lidaw.*
Anna in building inside
'Anna is in the building.'
 - b. *(lala) vɔyt̩ lidaw yu i-tsa mɔ.*
(in) building inside COP one-CL cat
'There's a cat in the building.'
 - c. *yow yu i-tsa mɔ.*
I COP one-CL cat
'I have a cat.'

Thus, the [\pm human] feature of the location is responsible for many superficial differences between the existential and the 'have' structures. Further evidence of the relevance of the [\pm human] feature will be pointed out when it serendipitously appears in the data below.

4.4. 'HAVE' COPULAS AND THE MOVEMENT OF P. In a very few languages,²⁴ the bare location NP is subject of the 'have' predication, rather than pied-

²⁴ These include at least the Germanic languages, the Romance languages, Persian, Huastec (Mayan), and Mayo (Uto-Aztecan). Huastec is the only verb-initial language I know of with a lexical 'have' copula (which Terrence Kaufman [personal communication, 1990] suspects of being a borrowing via loan translation from a neighboring unrelated language.)

piping the P with which it is generated. It is likely to bear nominative Case. The theme is often treated like an object of 'have' in that it may bear morphological accusative case or trigger object agreement. The copula corresponds to the English *have* and may agree with the subject. The 'have' predication in English is typical of this kind of structure:

(73) *Johnny has kids.*

Remember that we have established that the 'have' subject in English is a syntactic location. However, before 73 can yield to the present analysis of the locative paradigm, another question must be answered with reference to the D-structure (7) proposed in this paper: why is there no evidence in 73 of the head of the PP predicate phrase? I have argued that the existential and 'have' predication structures are identical in many languages, and are partially differentiated in some languages by the presence or absence of the preposition. I have also argued that the subject of 'have' is a location. In order to explain the absence of a preposition, I must necessarily draw insight from a comparison of existential and 'have' structures in which the preposition is present.

In some languages the derivation of the 'have' predication, moving the locative argument to subject position, leaves the preposition immediately adjacent to Infl. For 'have' copula languages, I propose that this state of affairs results in P moving to Infl and incorporating into it, yielding what corresponds morphologically to 'have'. Before presenting the details of this derivation, we will examine examples of 'have' in VO languages in which the P' immediately follows Infl or is moved to this position; in either case, P is immediately adjacent to Infl.

In the Yucatec (Mayan, VOS) existential, the P' is in the subject position (74a), but in 'have' the P' may immediately follow the copula (74b). In the latter case, the copula and P (*ti?*) are adjacent.

- (74) a. *yaan ba?alche ich k'ax.*
COP animal in forest
'There are animals in the jungle.'
- b. *yaan ti? Pablo xuntul ciimin.*
COP at Paul one horse
'Paul has a horse.'

Similarly, in Palestinian Arabic (VSO), the existential has a proform (*fii*) to the right of Infl, and the 'have' predication places P' (*fiid*, 75b) in the same position:

- (75) a. *kaan fii ?ulad fa(la) l maktab.*
COP.TNS p boys on the desk
'There were boys on the desk.'
- b. *kan fiid il walad ktab.*
COP.TNS to the boy book
'The boy had a book.'

In the data from Yucatec (optionally) and Palestinian Arabic (obligatorily), the head of P' is contiguous to Infl when the locative subject is [+human], i.e. in the 'have' predication, while this is not the case in the existential.

There is another illuminating mechanism involving the adjacency of Infl and P in a 'have' predication. In some languages, such as Portuguese (SVO), Chichewa (SVO), and Yucatec, the location moves to subject position and the preposition remains in situ, adjacent to I; since in S-structure the subject is initial in these languages (the human location in Yucatec is in topic position), the preposition appears to form a constituent with the theme. I propose that in such cases there is reanalysis of the sequence I-P to I_P; this would allow I_P to govern the theme. The result of reanalysis, 'be' + P, has the same key syntactic properties that a 'have' Infl does: the location is its subject, and the theme appears to be its object.²⁵ The example languages in 76–78 have a 'be' copula in the 'have' predication (and may also have a 'have' copula alternative). The Portuguese example 76b is a normal alternative of 76a (considered to be idiomatic) with *ter* 'have':

(76) Portuguese:

- a. *O menino tem fome.*
the child has hunger
'The child is hungry.'
- b. *O menino esta com fome.*
the child is with hunger
'The child is hungry.'

(77) Chichewa:

- Ka-mwa-ana k-anga ka-li ndi njala.*
12-1-child 12-my 12sb-be with 9-hunger
'My small child is hungry' (lit. 'My small child is with hunger.')

(78) Yucatec:

- le ba?alche? o? yaan ti? kohap'anil.*
the animal-that is at sickness
'That animal is sick.'

Thus 'with' in 76b, 77 and 'at' in 78 mark the locative argument at D-structure but appear to mark the theme at S-structure, as a result of reanalysis.

I now propose to take this analysis one step further, to show that the 'have' copula results from the actual incorporation of P into Infl. In languages with a 'have' copula (e.g. English and French), P is not simply adjacent to Infl, as in 76–78, but rather P moves to Infl and is incorporated with it. Such movement obeys the Head Movement Constraint (Baker 1988; see also Travis 1984). The movement of P to Infl, coupled with the movement of its D-structure location complement to Spec(I), solves the mystery of the apparently absent P in a 'have' predication with 'have' copula (e.g. in English). Note that this abstract account is completely parallel to the visible lexical expression of the I_P pattern in 76–78, except in the latter the P maintains its lexical form and in the case

²⁵ I say 'the theme APPEARS to be its object' because I_P is not really transitive (and neither is 'have'). Note, for example, that [I_P + theme] cannot be extracted as a constituent:

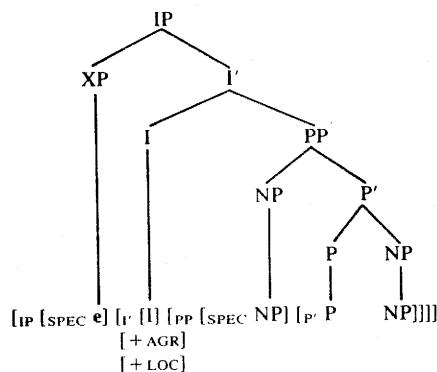
(i) **Com que esta o menino?*
with what is the child
'(With what is the child?) = 'What does the child have?' Cf. 76b)

of a 'have' copula the P is incorporated into I. The incorporated P becomes one of the determinants of the phonological form of the copula: 'have' can be conceived of as the spellout of the set of inflectional features of a P-augmented 'be'.

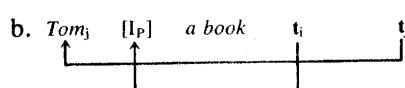
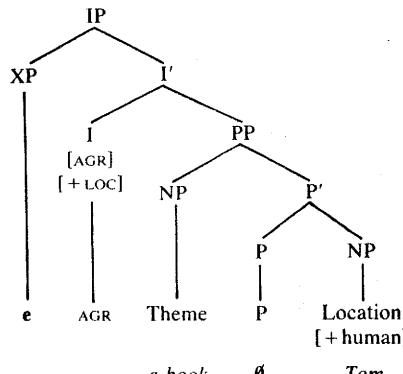
I do not strongly adopt any position about Case assignment, since there are several options. For example, I_P may assign Case to the locative subject, leaving the theme to receive default Case, which is often accusative. Alternatively, the subject may receive inherent (locative) Case from P before movement, and I_P may assign Case to the theme (cf. the analysis of Case assignment in the existential, above).

A sample derivation will show how an English 'have' predication is to be derived from the universal locative D-structure in 7, repeated here as 79. The

(79)



(80) a. English:



c. Tom has a book.

D-structure appears in 80a, the S-structure in 80b, and the spellout of I_P at PF is shown in 80c.

4.5. ARE 'HAVE' AND 'BE' LEXICAL? The fact that 'have' and 'be' seem to be distinct 'words' should not unduly prejudice our decision concerning their lexicality. The distribution of 'have' and 'be' in Germanic and Romance is atypical; many languages have a single copula form throughout the locative paradigm. If there are two different forms, it is much more typical that the predicate locative has one and the other is shared by the existential and the 'have' predication.

Furthermore, verbs which subcategorize a locative argument (examples in §3.2) are words inserted under V, a lexical X⁰. Copula forms can be naturally accounted for morphologically (unlike verbs) if they are analyzed as features of Infl, a functional X⁰. A nonmovement analysis in which 'have' and 'be' are inserted under V at D-structure may recapitulate diachrony in some languages, but would leave the thoroughgoing systematic relations among the members of the locative paradigm unaccounted for. I have opted for the analysis that seems most explanatory.

4.6. THEME-SUBJECT 'HAVE'. A particularly interesting type of 'have' predication deserves to be mentioned in the interest of completeness. The subject of this type of 'have' predication is a possessed theme. I have discussed this type of predication in detail in Freeze 1991, and simply give its major points here. This is a somewhat rare construction in which the theme is possessed by the argument that corresponds to the subject of a locative-subject 'have':

(81) K'ekchi' (Maya):

wan iš-so²sol-č'ič' li išq.
COP [+LOC] 3sg.GEN-dragon.fly-metal the woman

'The woman has a helicopter.' (lit. 'The woman's helicopter is.')

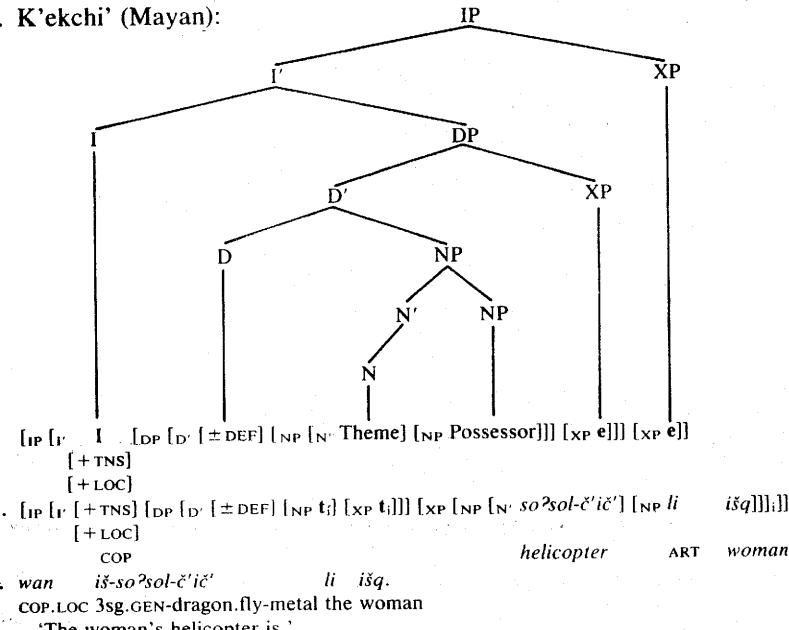
A theme-subject 'have' structure such as 81 cannot be derived from the universal locative D-structure in 7, largely because there is no preposition and thus no PP predicate. However, this structure shares many properties with 7; in fact, its properties can best be illuminated by the unified locative analysis I am proposing.

First, the presence of a LOCATIVE copula (in languages that have one, like K'ekchi') demonstrates that locativity is associated with this predication despite the apparent nonlocative nature of the subject. Second, a possessor is widely acknowledged to be a location semantically. While I do not argue this here, I consider that the genitive marking of a possessor and the P of a P-marked locative subject are equivalent. Thus the possessor of the subject in 81 and the subject of the 'have' predication described earlier are both locative. Third, in languages like K'ekchi' the theme-subject 'have' is the ONLY 'have' predication (just as the locational *have* structure is the only one in English). Thus, the interpretation of 81 is the same as that in languages whose 'have' predication is the more usual structure.

I propose that the D-structure of theme-subject 'have' is the one in 82a,

which has a DP (Determiner Phrase) predicate rather than a PP predicate.²⁶ Spec(I) is empty; the possessor (the location) is in Spec(N). The NP containing both the possessor and the theme, rather than the possessor alone, moves to Spec(I). This NP moves through the specifier of the predicate phrase, Spec(D), as shown in the S-structure 82b; 82c is its PF form.²⁷ K'ekchi' may topicalize

- (82) a. K'ekchi' (Mayan):



²⁶ I use DP as the functional shell for NP here because the analysis of theme-subject 'have' is thereby greatly facilitated (for more detail see Freeze 1991). The use of DP here does not affect the use of simple NP elsewhere in the paper.

²⁷ Hungarian has both a 'have' predication like that of K'ekchi', with a theme-subject, and the locative-subject type of 'have'. Szabolcsi's 1981 analysis of the theme-subject 'have' predication in Hungarian shares some features with mine. Both the possessor (dative-marked) and the possessed (nominative-marked) are constituents of a single NP which (for Szabolcsi) is complement of the copular head of the predicate phrase. In her analysis (omitting some detail), this NP moves to the subject position, yielding a structure like (i) (Szabolcsi's ex. 43):

- (i) *Peter-nek van kar-ja-θ-θ.*

Peter-DAT is arm-POSS-3sg-NOM

'Peter has an arm.'

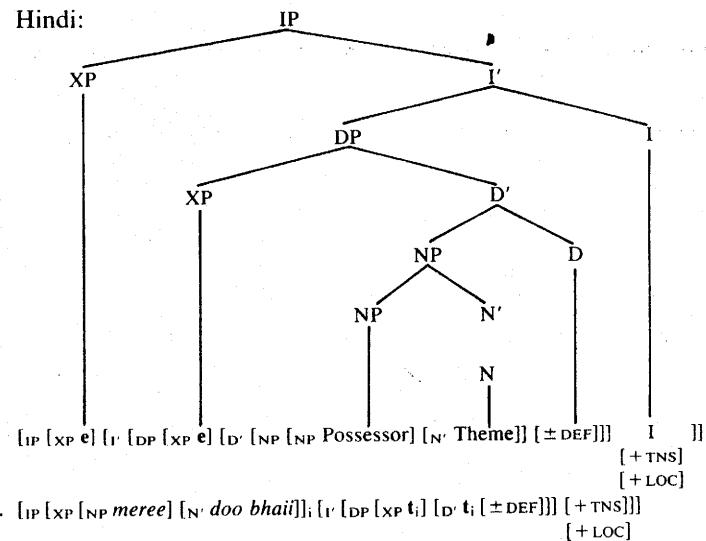
In addition, Szabolcsi argues that the possessor of the theme-subject is locative (1981:276): 'The NP corresponding to the possessor is in some locative-minded form ... (the [dative] suffix -nak/-nek is claimed to have a locative origin).' The copula *van* is also locative, as its distribution shows—for third person in the present/past, the locative copula is *van/volt* and the nonlocative copula is *bi/volt*. Szabolcsi's analysis differs from mine in that she concentrates on the 'have' predication in Hungarian; she does not mention predicative locatives or existentials, or relate them to the locative subject and the possessive.

the possessor in 82b, in which case the possessor is clause-initial. (Many languages allow such topicalization.) In K'ekchi' and in several other languages with the theme-subject 'have', the copula agrees with the theme.

Some languages have both theme-subject 'have' and locative-subject 'have'. In these languages the choice of one over the other may depend on a difference between alienable and inalienable possession.²⁸ Compare the locative-subject 'have' 47b in Hindi, repeated here as 83a, with 83b–c, both with theme subjects. Ex. 83a expresses alienable possession, while 83b–c express inalienable possession:

- (83) a. *larkee-kee paas kuttaa hai.*
boy.OBL-GEN proximity dog COP.3sg.PRES
'The boy has a dog.' (lit. 'By the boy is a dog.')
- b. *meree doo bhaii hāī.*
my.plu two brother COP.3plu
'I have two brothers.' (lit. 'My two brothers are.')
- c. *baccee-kee dāāt safeed hāī.*
child.OBL-GEN.plu teeth white COP.3plu
'The child has white teeth.' (lit. 'The child's white teeth are.')

- (84) a. Hindi:



In Hindi, then, alienable possession is expressed by the locative subject structure while inalienable possession is expressed by the theme-subject structure.

²⁸ Languages commonly allow arbitrary exceptions to alienable and inalienable class membership.

The derivation for the structure of 83a has already been presented in 54. The structure for 83b and 83c in 84 is like that for K'ekchi' 'have' in 82; the NP containing possessor and theme move through Spec(D) to Spec(I). Thus in Hindi there is a structural distinction corresponding to a distinction between alienable and inalienable possession, while in K'ekchi' no such structural distinction is made. The world's languages vary widely in the ways these distinctions are expressed.

5. CONCLUSION. A crosslinguistic close relation was first established between the predicate locative structure and the existential. The relation was shown to be one that can be accounted for most naturally by deriving both from a D-structure in which the predicate phrase is PP. 'Have' predication of various kinds, including those with 'have' copulas, were then shown to be basically existentials with a [+human] locative argument—thus explaining the distinction between 'have' copulas and 'be' copulas.

The range of syntactic form of the locative paradigm runs from the simplest, in which there is no variation across the paradigm (Scots Gaelic), to those with quite different forms for each locative predication type (French). In some languages, the definiteness effect differentiates between the predicate locative and the existential/'have' predication (Finnish). In almost all languages, a [+human] feature of the locative subject distinguishes 'have' predication from existentials (typically) by triggering a particular preposition or the absence of a preposition for human subject existentials ('have' predication; Arabic, Hindi). Finally, there are some languages in which the predicate head P either undergoes reanalysis with Infl (Portuguese) or incorporates with Infl yielding a 'have' copula (French, English). A very few languages have a proform co-occurring with the P' subject in the existential (Palauan, Arabic).

A large amount of superficial variation was thus reduced to a simple and single D-structure and a simple movement analysis. In uniting these constructions, I have been able to show the true rarity (and probable nonrelevance to the theory) of the English 'there' existential. If this theory can be maintained, the problems and ad hoc devices of the current theory of 'there-insertion' can be dispensed with, to the benefit of generative grammar. The outcome is a sparse yet comprehensive theory of locative expressions in UG. This is, in sum, the sort of 'least effort' analysis in the best traditions of the theory.

APPENDIX: SOURCES OF DATA

- Key: RF = my fieldnotes or my personal knowledge as a fluent speaker
 NS = information supplied directly by native speakers
 p.c. = personal communication from linguists
- Black English Vernacular (Labov 1972)
 - Malian (Yates 1975, Marva 1968)
 - Chamorro (Sandra Chung, p.c.; Topping 1973)
 - Chewewa (Bresnan & Kanerva 1989)
 - Finnish (Ritkonen-Bell 1987)
 - French (NS)
 - German (Johanna Watzinger-Tharp, p.c.)

EXISTENTIALS AND OTHER LOCATIVES

- Hindi (Bender 1968)
- Hungarian (NS; anonymous reviewer, p.c.; Szabolcsi 1981)
- Icelandic (Joan Maling, p.c.; Anderson 1990, Anward 1982, Maling 1987, Maling & Zaenen 1990, Rögnvaldsson & Thráinsson 1990)
- Italian (Batyá Elbaum, p.c.; Stephen Sternfeld, p.c.; Lepschy & Lepschy 1988)
- Japanese (NS; Kuno 1971, 1973)
- K'ekchi' (RF)
- Kiliwa (Maurice Mixco, p.c.)
- Mandarin Chinese (RF; NS)
- Mayo (RF)
- Mixtec (RF)
- Navajo (RF)
- Palauan (Carol Georgopoulos, p.c.)
- Palestinian Arabic (Samira Farwaneh, p.c.)
- Persian (Mehdi Marashi, p.c.)
- Pokomchi' (RF)
- Portuguese (RF)
- Quechua (Albo 1964, Bills et al. 1969)
- Quiché (Wick & Cochojil-Gonzalez 1966–67)
- Russian (NS; Gene Fitzgerald, p.c.)
- Scots Gaelic (Mackinnon 1971)
- Shanghainese (RF)
- Spanish (RF)
- Swedish (NS; Johnson 1952)
- Tagalog (RF)
- Tongan (RF; Churchward 1953)
- Trukese (RF)
- Turkish (Lewis 1953)
- Yucatec (RF; NS; Blair & Vermont-Salas 1965, Martinez Hernandez 1929)

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