Subject inversion

in Ibero-Romance

Alice Corr

King's College

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Declaration

I declare that this thesis is my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration with others except where specifically indicated in the text.

Abstract

This thesis presents new data from six Ibero-Romance varieties in order to assess the licensing of wide-focus subject inversion in these languages. The empirical data offers strong evidence that there are preverbal subject positions in Ibero-Romance and that SVO, rather than VSO, is the neutral word order of these varieties. As such, an approach to null subjects of the Barbosa (1995) and Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou (1998) type, involving a parameterized EPP, appears to make the wrong predictions for Ibero-Romance. Instead, it is argued that there is an active EPP in Ibero-Romance which cannot be satisfied by the rich verbal inflection in the types of wide-focus subject inversion surveyed here, but rather is satisfied by a null locative argument or a null existential expletive. To account for the complex but systematic variation of wide-focus subject inversion involving a null locative in Ibero-Romance, an analysis of the null locative as a layered PP, of which there are four instantiations available unequally across varieties, is postulated. This account allows covert 'locative' subject inversion and overt locative inversion to be unified under one analysis. It is argued that further systematic variation in Ibero-Romance can be explained by where the locative PPs appear in the TP/CP border and left-periphery. Wide-focus 'locative' subject inversion is thus accounted for in terms of lexical variation and is argued not to be a direct consequence of the null subject parameter, especially since Brazilian Portuguese, a partial null-subject language, displays this type of inversion along with consistent null-subject languages. Furthermore, the licensing of 'locative' subject inversion is shown not to be dependent on the unaccusative/unergative distinction, but rather as a consequence of locational, directional and deictic features which are argued to be syntactically encoded in Ibero-Romance, and which correspond to the semantic properties of the inversion verbs involved.

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Contents

1. Subject inversion in Ibero-Romance

1.1   <u>An introduction</u>

The basic word order of Romance is usually taken to be SVO. Nevertheless, there are numerous instances of so-called 'free inversion' in these languages, in which the subject is permitted to surface postverbally (examples from Hulk and Pollock 2001:3):

(1)   È   part-ito   Gianni.   [Italian]
       be.PRS.3SG   leave-PST.PTCP Gianni
       'Gianni (has) left.'

(2)   Qu'a   dit   Jean?   [French]
       what.have.PRS.3SG   say.PST.PTCP   Jean
       'What did Jean say?'

(3)   Què   farà   en Joan?   [Catalan]
       what do.FUT.3SG   the Joan
       'What will Joan do?'

Chomsky (1981) and Rizzi (1982), following work by Perlmutter (1971) and Taraldsen (1980), claim that free inversion is one of a cluster of surface properties found in Romance that can be linked to the null subject parameter (NSP). However, it is well known – and hardly surprising – that such instances of inversion are not truly free, but are in fact restricted by various conditions, depending on the nature of the inversion construction. Sheehan (2006:96) identifies and categorizes non-interrogative instances of free inversion in Romance into 'three wholly distinct phenomena'; namely i) narrow-focus subject inversion (SI), infelicitous in out-of-the-blue contexts, ii) wide-focus locative inversion with a null fronted locative, and iii) wide-focus expletive-associate inversion, which is subject to DE. In narrow-focus SI, the subject receives nuclear stress and narrow focus, and its postverbal position entails a difference in information structure. In the second and third types of word order, it is the whole sentence that receives focus, and, as such, these instances of SI are felicitous in 'out of the blue' contexts. It is these latter cases of inversion, particularly the so-called 'locative' wide-focus inversion, that this thesis will seek to investigate.

I seek to establish how wide-focus SI is licensed in these contexts, and whether an analysis involving a null locative (or null expletive in the case of the third type of

inversion) provides an appropriate account of this kind of inversion. To this end, I report the findings of an extensive survey of six varieties of Ibero-Romance, an enterprise which – to the best of my knowledge – has not been undertaken before, and present new data which cannot be fully explained by the existing proposals. Furthermore, I use these data to assess the status of the supposedly-universal Extended Projection Principle (EPP) in Ibero-Romance. Since (Ibero-)Romance basic word order is generally assumed to be SVO, cases of SI raise the question of how the EPP, which states that a subject is required in SpecTP, can be satisfied in such instances. Existing work on null subjects has produced different analyses of how the EPP operates in these languages, resulting in different predictions regarding neutral word order. I therefore also explore the consequences which the data of Ibero-Romance wide-focus SI has for the competing null-subject analyses.

1.2   Subject inversion, the null subject parameter, and the EPP

While SI appears to correlate with the possibility of null subjects, non null-subject languages (NSLs) may also display the types of inversion under investigation here. Furthermore, work on wide-focus SI in Romance in which a null locative is posited (Pinto 1997, Sheehan 2006, 2010, i.a.) has suggested that such instances of inversion, though their presence correlates with the NSP, are not actually dependent on this parameter, a conclusion which the evidence from Ibero-Romance examined in this dissertation appears to support.[1] Therefore, for the most part, discussion of the NSP will be left to one side. However, the NSP is relevant to our understanding and interpretation of the type of inversion under investigation here insofar as the competing null-subject analyses advocate conflicting proposals for how the EPP operates and, consequently, predict different neutral word order configurations for Romance.

For many years, cases of SI in Romance posed a significant problem to generative linguistics, as any analysis needed to account for the structural position of the postverbal subject and the satisfaction of what was alleged to be the universal EPP. Though in Minimalism, the EPP has been reformulated as a feature which triggers movement, the stipulation that SpecTP be filled with a subject-related element is still

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[1] Indeed, SI is not limited to pro-drop languages in Romance, though the proposed correlation between 'free' inversion and the NSP might suggest otherwise (cf. Hulk and Pollock 2001 for the differences between so-called 'Romance' and 'Germanic'-type SI; or, for French stylistic inversion, Kayne and Pollock 1978, 2001).

often held to be universal. However, the universality of an EPP-feature on T has been challenged (Svenonius 2002 surveys the discussion of the cross-linguistic validity of the EPP).

One such challenger is the null subject analysis referred to as the 'I-subject' view, developed by Borer (1986), which proposes that the EPP in the sense of Chomsky (1982) – stipulating the requirement for the canonical subject position in SpecTP to be filled – does not hold true universally. On this view, rich agreement inflection on the verb is thought to function like a pronoun, which suffices to satisfy the EPP requirement on T. The opposing analysis, originating in Rizzi (1986), is that the canonical subject position in T is filled by a phonologically-unrealized empty pronoun *pro*.

1.2.i   Barbosa (1995) and Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou (1998)

The first view, according to which the EPP is satisfied by the (pro)nominal properties of the rich verbal agreement inflection, is championed by Barbosa (1995) and Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou[2] (1998), i.a..

A&A propose that NSLs are 'strong EPP languages where the EPP feature is not checked by Move/Merge XP but by a different mode, namely V-movement' whose verbal agreement morphology 'includes a nominal element ([+D, +interpretable phi-features, potentially +Case])' (A&A 1998:516). Satisfaction of the EPP is understood in terms of checking theory in which EPP-checking is D-checking; thus, a (nominal) lexical category is required to check the D-/EPP-features on T, an operation which the pronominal status of the verbal morphology is capable of performing. Accordingly, it is the D-feature on T which triggers verb raising in NSLs. Under this analysis, the EPP is understood to be universal but the checking of this feature is parameterized: either it is checked via Move/Merge XP (Germanic), or via Move/Merge X° (Celtic, Greek, Romance).

Since there is no motivation for the subject to raise if the EPP can be satisfied by V-to-I movement, the I-subject analysis controversially predicts a basic VSO word order for Romance languages, in which, it is claimed, SpecTP is not an A-position. Apparent cases of SI would actually be instances of the subject remaining *in situ* postverbally; where the subject surfaces preverbally, it is thought to undergo left-dislocation or A'-movement to a higher position.

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[2] Henceforth 'A&A'.

1.2.ii   Holmberg (2005), Roberts (2010)

Representing the opposing view, Holmberg (2005) and Roberts (2010) put forth an analysis in which *pro* occupies the subject position in T but is deleted at PF, in accordance with the copy theory of movement. As Holmberg (2005) points out, Rizzi's original theory of *pro* needs re-working in current Minimalist terms. Since either T or *pro* must have interpretable φ-features, Holmberg (2005) proposes two hypotheses which could capture the theory of *pro* (from Roberts 2007:17):

> *Hypothesis A:* in null-subject languages, the φ-features of T are interpretable. SpecTP is therefore either absent or filled by an expletive (depending on whether T's EPP-feature needs to be satisfied independently of its φ-features).

> *Hypothesis B: pro* has interpretable features, occupies SpecTP and functions just like an overt pronoun. That *pro* is silent is thus a PF matter.

The I-subject view, outlined above, is effectively an instantiation of (at least a version of) Hypothesis A. Hypothesis B makes the prediction that it is impossible for an expletive, overt or covert, to co-occur with a null subject; if, therefore, a language can be found which has both null referential subjects and overt expletives, and if the expletive is not allowed to surface when it is at least plausible that a null subject is occupying SpecTP, then Hypothesis B is preferable over Hypothesis A. As Finnish is such a language, Holmberg gives evidence towards and concludes in favour of Hypothesis B, an analysis which Roberts (2010) corroborates, proposing that *pro* is a weak pronoun in the sense of Cardinaletti and Starke (1999) which is only allowed to occur in certain designated positions (here, SpecTP), and is deleted at PF or in the narrow syntax.

The details of these proposals are not vital to our discussion here. Significantly, however, and contrary to the I-subject view, this alternative approach, where the φ-features of T are uninterpretable, predicts that at least some preverbal subjects are in A-positions in Romance, substantiating the intuition and general consensus that SVO is the unmarked word order of Romance NSLs.

The implications of the competing null subject analyses are, clearly, critical to our discussion, since if the basic word order of (Ibero-)Romance is SVO, then we will

need to explain how the EPP is satisfied in cases of SI. If, on the other hand, the basic word order of the null subject varieties in question is VSO, then V-to-I raising will be enough to satisfy the D-/EPP-features on T. However, if this latter analysis is correct, we will need evidence that all preverbal subjects are in an A'-position.[3] The existence of free inversion in Romance is, in fact, one of the more persuasive facts supporting this latter analysis; as Barbosa (1995) rightly points out, despite the fact that Romance SVO word orders are generally considered to be pragmatically neutral and inverted orders pragmatically marked (except in Spanish), an intuitive notion of markedness alone is not enough to found a theory. However, the fact that VS order is not always felicitous in wide-focus contexts will need to be explained if this is the case.

The empirical data of this thesis suggest that the basic word order of Ibero-Romance is indeed SVO and that there is an EPP which must be satisfied in cases of SI. As such, an account involving *pro* of the Holmberg/Roberts approach seems to be the more appealing analysis. Moreover, that the Ibero-Romance data indicate that at least some preverbal subjects are in A-positions is enough to invalidate A&A's proposal.

1.3 Locative inversion

Locative inversion, which involves SI and the fronting of a locative, is a phenomenon observed cross-linguistically (cf. Coopmans 1989, Bresnan 1994, Demuth and Hartford 1999, Rizzi and Shlonsky 2006, Salzmann 2004, 2011, i.a.), although its occurrence is somewhat rare (Salzmann 2004). The locative PPs involved in locative inversion are often said to exhibit subject-like properties to varying degrees (cf. Demuth and Harford for Bantu languages; Fernández-Soriano 1999 for Spanish; Rizzi and Shlonsky 2006 for English). Pinto (1997) and Sheehan (2006, 2010), i.a., propose that certain instances of wide-focus SI in Romance are parallel to overt PP locative

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[3] Sheehan (2006:72) suggests that the burden of proof lies with the challengers of a preverbal subject position for Romance to substantiate their proposal that EPP satisfaction is parameterized. She claims that, in order for A&A's (1998) analysis to be invalidated for a given language, in her case, the *pro*-drop Romance languages, one only needs to 'prove that i) the verb raises to I in said language, and ii) at least some preverbal subjects in said language do not occupy an A-bar position' (2006:31). In her thesis, Sheehan concludes that the basic word order of Romance is SVO and that the predictions made by the I-subject view attributing null subjects to a parameterized EPP are falsified by the empirical data.

constructions, instead (or additionally, in the case of Pinto) involving a null locative argument,[4] which is thought to satisfy the EPP in these constructions.

1.3.i Pinto (1997)

Inversion in Romance has often been said to correlate with the uaccusative/unergative distinction. However, Pinto (1997) observes that verbs in Italian can be divided into two classes: *inversion verbs* which allow the subject to surface postverbally with both a wide- and a narrow-focus reading, and *non-inversion verbs*, which permit inversion with a narrow-focus reading only. According to Pinto, the distribution of SI − and inversion/non-inversion verbs − in Italian does not correlate with different types of verb class (although there is a degree of correspondence), but rather it is the presence (or absence) of an additional locative or temporal argument in the thematic grid of inversion verbs that enables SI with a wide-focus interpretation.

Pinto proposes that there are two types of inversion verb: those which 'optionally select a cover loco/temporal argument' (e.g. *arrivare*, 'to arrive') and those which 'obligatorily select an overt loco/temporal argument' (e.g. *abitare* 'to reside') (1997:34). Covert inversion verbs generate differences in interpretation depending on whether the subject surfaces in a preverbal (4) or postverbal (5) position:

(4)   È   entr-ato   Dante.
         be.PRS.3SG   enter-PST.PTCP Dante
         'Dante entered (here/into this place).'

(5)   Dante è   entr-ato.
         Dante be.PRS.3SG   enter-PST.PTCP
         'Dante entered (into some place).'

When the subject occurs postverbally (with a wide-focus reading), the interpretation is deictic, implying locative or temporal proximity to the speaker. The deictic interpretation is assumed to be assigned by a pragmatic procedure. Drawing on Benincà's (1988) idea that verbs which disallow SI appear to lack a locative argument, Pinto's proposal is that inversion verbs select an extra locative/temporal argument, a covert clitic LOC, whereas non-inversion verbs do not.

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[4] This analysis is in line with observations made by other linguists, such as Benincà (1988), to whom Pinto attributes the original idea. I do not discuss these here as, for our purposes, the proposal outlined in Section 1.3.i is sufficient.

Likewise, overt inversion verbs can select LOC; however, for reasons pertaining to the type of verb involved (never fully established by Pinto), these verbs obligatorily select an overt loco/temporal argumental PP. Pinto observes that the overt PP shows the following properties (examples from Pinto 1997:157):

    i)   It must surface in clause-initial position:

(6)   a. In questo palazzo ha   vissuto   Dante.
            in this   palace   AUX live.PST.PTCP Dante
        b. #Ha vissuto   in questo palazzo Dante.
            AUX live.PST.PTCP in this   palace   Dante
        c. #Ha vissuto   Dante in questo palazzo.
            AUX live.PST.PTCP Dante in this   palace
            'Dante lived in this palace.'

    ii)   It cannot be covert (this is dependent on the semantics of the relevant verb):

(7)   *Ha vissuto   Dante.
        AUX live.PST.PTCP Dante
        'Dante inhabited.'

    iii)   It must be an argument selected by the lexical verb:

(8)   a. #Con questa donna   ha   vissuto   Dante.
            With this   woman AUX live.PST.PTCP Dante
            'Dante lived with this woman.'

        b. In questo palazzo ha   vissuto   Dante.
            in this   palace   AUX live.PST.PTCP Dante
            'Dante lived in this palace.'

Under Pinto's analysis, SI with a covert argument (LOC) and locative inversion are instances of the same phenomenon. The covert locative/temporal argument LOC is present in both SI with LOC and overt locative inversion, but, in the latter, the overt PP is coindexed with LOC, the covert argument being responsible for satisfying the EPP. The following underlying structures (from Pinto 1997:174) are thus proposed for SI (9) and locative inversion (10):

(9) $[_{IP}$ LOC$_i$-V$_j$ $[_{VP}$ SUBJ $t_j\, t_i$]]

(10)   PP $[_{IP}$ LOC$_i$-V$_j$ $[_{VP}$ SUBJ $t_j\, t_i$]]

Due to similarities between locative inversion in Italian and English, Pinto suggests that (9) may be representative of the underlying pattern of locative inversion constructions cross-linguistically.[5] By analyzing SI and locative inversion in terms of the loco/temporal argument LOC, Pinto does not link these constructions to the NSP; the correlation between English and Italian locative inversion she observes is consistent with such an analysis.

1.3.ii   Sheehan 2006, 2010

Though Pinto claims that her account may have cross-linguistic validity, she does not trial its applicability to other languages in her thesis. Sheehan (2006, 2010) adopts Pinto's hypothesis and extends the proposal to other Romance languages. In her analysis, like Pinto's, a null loco-temporal argument occupies the preverbal position in VS orders and is responsible for satisfying the EPP. Both analyses thus assume that i) SVO is the neutral word order of Romance, and that ii) there is an active EPP in Romance that must be satisfied by LOC in wide-focus SI constructions, so long as it is present in the syntax, or by the subject in LOC's absence. In Pinto's analysis, the covert LOC satisfies the EPP in both overt and covert constructions, whereas Sheehan predicts that it is the overt PP that satisfies the EPP in overt locative inversion.

Definiteness effects

Sheehan suggests that when the PP is overt, it can surface pre- or post-verbally, depending on whether the PP receives a focus interpretation or a topic interpretation (i.e. standard locative inversion). However, if the PP does not raise, the subject is required to do so in order to satisfy the EPP. Furthermore, it is observed that definiteness effects obtain with postverbal overt PPs. Pinto (1997) predicts that the subject will appear preverbally in constructions with an inversion verb and an overt postverbal locative, a prediction which Sheehan claims holds in Spanish, Italian and EP except for sentences with unaccusative verbs and overt postverbal locatives, in which indefinite but not definite SI is licensed (cf. effects reported for Italian

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[5] This does not hold for languages in which the PP functions as the grammatical subject of the sentence, such as Chichewa.

unaccusative and passive structures in Belletti 1988). The distribution of definiteness effects is summarized as follows:

(i)   with unaccusative/passive verbs;

(ii)   where the (argumental) locative is overt and does not raise;

(iii) where the subject also fails to raise and does not have a narrow-focus interpretation.

Sheehan observes that these structures parallel very closely expletive-associate constructions in English. It is proposed that such structures involve a null expletive, corresponding to English 'there', in SpecIP, which is interpreted as an existential quantifier at LF: it is this that gives rise to the definiteness effects observed. Moreover, she suggests that the presence of these definiteness effects again indicates that there is an EPP in Romance, and that this can be satisfied by such expletives with LF interpretation.

1.4   <u>Summary and overview of the thesis</u>

This thesis presents new Ibero-Romance data and tests the predictions of the competing null subject analyses. In particular, it examines the validity of the proposal that there is a null locative argument which can satisfy the EPP in (Ibero-)Romance wide-focus SI. I will argue that the Ibero-Romance wide-focus inversion data surveyed here suggest a basic word order of SVO in Ibero-Romance; as such, at least some preverbal subjects are in A-positions, a claim which, if correct, is enough to invalidate A&A's (1998) analysis. Furthermore, there appears to be an active EPP in Ibero-Romance which is not satisfied by the pronominal properties of the verbal inflection when V raises to I. The null locative proposal will be argued to make the correct general predictions for Ibero-Romance, but, as the empirical data presented here cannot be fully explained by the existing analyses, I will propose that LOC is in fact a null layered PP, of which there are four instantiations that are not equally available across Ibero-Romance. In Chapter 2, I introduce the new empirical data from Ibero-Romance, and I identify the key semantic features of inversion verbs to be location, directionality and deixis, features which I argue are syntactically encoded in Ibero-Romance. In Chapter 3, I discuss the status of LOC and put forward my proposal of LOC as a null layered PP. In Chapter 4, I attempt to account for the variation across Ibero-Romance in terms of the availability of (the different instantiations of) LOC, and in differences in where LOC may appear at the TP/CP

border and left-periphery. In Chapter 5, I consider the proposal that there is a null existential expletive in Ibero-Romance that can satisfy the EPP in VSPP orders, concluding that it appears to be available in some varieties but not others.

2. 'Locative' subject inversion in Ibero-Romance: an empirical survey

2.1 Introduction

The systematic survey of Ibero-Romance wide-focus SI reported here is an undertaking which, to the best of my knowledge, has not been attempted before. Six varieties of Ibero-Romance are included in the empirical survey: Asturian, European Portuguese (EP), Brazilian Portuguese (BP), European Spanish (ES), Mexican Spanish (MS), and Rioplatense (River Plate) Spanish (RS). All of these fall into the category of Western Ibero-Romance,[6] and it is generally considered to be the case that Asturian, BP, EP and Spanish are languages in their own right; that is to say that the differences between ES, MS and RS are slight enough for them to be generally classified as dialects of the Spanish language. Informal observation suggests, however, that ES allows more inverted word-order configurations than its Latin American (IA) counterparts, an observation which is borne out by the data below.

Asturian is a minority language spoken in North-Western Spain, and is considered to be more similar to EP than to Spanish on the Ibero-Romance dialect continuum running across the North of the Iberian Peninsula. Like EP and the Spanish varieties surveyed, it is an NSL; BP, therefore, is the only language under investigation here which is not a consistent NSL.[7] Rather, it is considered to be a partial NSL, showing a more limited distribution of null subjects than consistent NSLs, but displaying many *pro*-drop characteristics all the same (cf. Holmberg, Nayudu and Sheehan 2009 for a discussion of partial NSLs). Also worth considering is the fact that EP is regarded as a subject prominent language, whereas BP is often held to be a topic prominent language, and is known to be more restrictive in permitting inversion constructions generally. Spanish lies somewhere in the middle of the spectrum between subject prominent and discourse-configurational languages.[8] If the data here are anything to go by, it appears Asturian may sit somewhere near Spanish on the spectrum, although not enough work has been done on the language to confirm this with any authority.

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[6] Spanish has alternatively been classified as a central Ibero-Romance variety; for present purposes, however, the distinction is immaterial.

[7] Cf. Kato and Negrão (2000) for discussions of the relation between BP and the NSP, and Silva (2001) for word order in BP.

[8] Cf. Sheehan (2010) for discussion of subject/topic prominence in these varieties.

2.2   <u>Background to the data collection</u>

A total of 170 informants gave gradient acceptability judgments on inversion constructions in their native language. Of these, the data analyzed here represent the responses of 18 native Asturian speakers, 28 ES speakers, 7 MS speakers, 15 RS speakers,[9] 20 BP speakers, and 15 EP speakers.[10] These informants were asked to judge how acceptable contextualized wide-focus inversion and non-inversion sentences were, and whether, if both were acceptable, there was a difference in interpretation. I also worked closely with a small number of informants to gain a better understanding of the results obtained.

Wide-focus responses were elicited so that the 'default' word order was obtained. I follow Zubizarreta (1998:1), after Chomsky (1971, 1976) and Jackendoff (1972), in assuming that 'the focus is the non-presupposed part of the sentence', and that 'the presupposed part of a sentence is what the speaker and hearer assume to be the case (i.e. the shared assumptions) at the point at which the sentence is uttered in a discourse.' Normally, the method for eliciting such responses is to use a 'what happened?' (or equivalent) question, where nothing is presupposed. However, in Spanish, quotative *que* (cf. Extepare 2008) often precedes a reply to such questions, as in (11):

(11)   ¿Qué pas-ó?
        what happen-PST.3SG
        'What happened?'

        Que vino   la   abuela.
        that come.PST.3SG the   grandmother
        'Grandmother came [over].'

My informants suggest that the use of the quotative *que* makes inversion sentences more acceptable for reasons which have not, as far as I am aware, been investigated.

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[9] Specifically, only speakers from Buenos Aires and Mar del Plata, Argentina.

[10] This leaves 67 speakers whose responses were eventually excluded from the analysis, due to incompleteness or unreliability of the data. 21 informants for Asturian, for example, were excluded as they were native bilingual (largely Asturian/Spanish) speakers, and these speakers gave judgments which differed from those whose first language was Asturian (although even these speakers were also bilingual in Spanish). Across the varieties, only speakers who judged SVO over VSO orders in transitive sentences as acceptable were included (this group represented the vast majority), to control for default word order across informants.

To avoid this effect, neutral contexts aimed at extracting an 'out-of-the-blue' wide-focus response from the informant were used to elicit the data. Though doubtless this method is not infallible, it seemed a more reliable way of eliciting the desired judgment from informants than using the normal 'what happened?' question. In any case, the contexts used were the same across varieties so that informants were asked to judge sentences with identical word orders arising from identical contexts.

With this caveat in mind, the remaining sections summarize the microvariation observed in SI across the Ibero-Romance varieties under investigation.

2.3   Word order distribution across Ibero-Romance

2.3.i   Transitive verbs

In all varieties, the subject must surface in initial position with transitive verbs in wide-focus contexts:

(12) a. Alexandro com-ió   el pan.   [Asturian]
          Alexandro eat-PST.3SG   the bread
      b. *Com-ió   Alexandro el pan.
          eat-PST.3SG   Alexandro the bread

      c. Alejandro ha   com-ido   el   pan.   [ES]
          Alejandro AUX eat-PST.PTCP the   bread
      d. *Ha   com-ido   Alejandro   el   pan.
          AUX   eat-PST.PTCP   Alejandro   the   bread

      e. Alejandro com-ió   el   pan.[11]   [IA]
          Alejandro eat-PST.3SG   the bread
      f. *Com-ió   Alejandro el pan.
          eat-PST.3SG   Alejandro the bread

      g. O Alexandro com-eu   o pão.   [EP, BP]
          the Alexandro eat-PST.3SG   the bread

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[11] There has been a decline in usage and narrowing of function of the present perfect in Ibero-American (IA) Spanish (cf. Harris 1982), for which reason data has been collected with the past simple in these varieties, whereas the responses with present perfect have been elicited from Iberian Spanish speakers.

> h. *Com-eu   o Alexandro o   pão.
>   eat-PST.3SG   the Alexandro the bread
>   'Alexander has eaten/ate the bread.'

2.3.ii   Intransitive verbs without a word order alternation

To happen, to appear

All varieties display SI with the unaccusative verb *asoceder/ocurrir/acontecer* ('to happen'):

(13)   a. Asoced-ió   un accidente.   [Asturian]
           happen-PST.3SG   an accident

       b. Ha ocurr-ido   un   accidente.   [ES]
           AUX occur-PST.3SG   an   accident

       c. Ocurr-ió   un accidente.   [IA]
           happen-PST.3SG   an accident

       d. Acontec-eu   um acidente.   [EP, BP]
           happen-PST.3SG   an accident
           'An accident (has) happened.'

All varieties also show SI with unaccusative *apaecer/aparecer* ('to appear'), although a minority of BP speakers preferred the non-inverted order:

(14)   a. Apaec-ió   un perru.   [Asturian]
           appear-PST.3SG   a dog

       b. Ha   aparec-ido   un perro.   [ES]
           AUX   appear-PST.PTCP   a dog

       c. Aparec-ió   un perro.   [IA]
           appear-PST.3SG   a dog

       d. Aparec-eu   um cão.   [EP, BP]
           appear-PST.3SG   a dog

       e. Um cão aparec-eu.   [BP]
           a   dog appear-PST.3SG
           'A dog (has) appeared.'

As presentational verbs, these verbs are typically used with an indefinite DP, which is likely to affect the word order configuration. However, even when a definite DP is used with *apaecer/aparecer* in Asturian and ES, the VS order is still licensed:

(15) a. Apaec-ió   Fido.   [Asturian]
          appear-PST.3SG   Fido

      b. Ha   aparec-ido   Fido.   [ES]
          AUX   appear-PST.PTCP   Fido
          'Fido (has) appeared.'

Generally speaking, however, it appears that in wide-focus contexts, only the inverted order obtains with these verbs.[12]

To jump, to dance

Conversely, the subject surfaces preverbally with the unergatives *brincar/saltar/pular* ('to jump') and *baillar/bailar/dançar* ('to dance') in wide-focus contexts in all varieties without exception:

(16)   O   Luis pul-ou.   [BP]
          the Luis jump-PST.3SG
          'Luis jumped.'

(17)   Xuan tá   baill-ando.[13]   [Asturian]
          Xuan be.PRS.3SG   dance-PRS.PTCP
          'Xuan is dancing.'

The inverted order is unacceptable in wide-focus contexts with these verbs across all varieties:

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[12] Some speakers appear to allow inversion with *aparecer/apaecer*, but as such instances are marginal I do not include them here.

[13] I largely controlled for tense/aspect in the empirical survey, since differences in tense/aspect may affect judgments, although it appears not to be the case in this instance. However, if tense/aspect do affect the acceptability of SI, then the fact that ES distinguishes between the perfect and preterite past tenses, whereas Asturian, EP, BP and the other Spanish dialects only use the simple past for both perfect and preterite meanings, may prove relevant. However, I leave these matters to future research.

(18)   *Salt-ou   o Luis.   [EP]

            jump-PST.3SG the Luis

            'Luis jumped.'

(19)   *Est-á   bail-ando   Juan.   [Spanish]

            be-PRS.3SG dance-PRS.PTCP Juan.

            'Juan is dancing.'

2.3.iii   Intransitive verbs with a VS/SV alternation

To arrive, to come

Both the inverted and non-inverted order are permitted with the unaccusatives *llegar/chegar* ('to arrive') and *venir/vir* ('to come') across Ibero-Romance:

(20)   a. A   avó   cheg-ou.   [EP, BP]

           the   grandmother   arrive-PST.3SG

       b. Cheg-ou   a   avó.

           arrive-PST.3SG the   grandmother

           'Grandmother arrived.'

However, the subject tends to surface post-verbally with *llegar/chegar* and *venir/vir* in Asturian (21) and the Spanish varieties, whereas it tends to occur preverbally in EP and BP (22):[14]

(21)   Lleg-ó   la güela.   [Asturian]

            arrive-PST.3SG   the grandmother

            'Grandmother arrived.'

(22)   O Sérgio veio.   [EP, BP]

            the Sérgio come.PST.3SG

            'Sergio came.'

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[14] I return to the notion of tendency/preference in the next section.

To call, to enter, to die

Again, both orders are permitted across Ibero-Romance with the unergative *llamar/ligar* ('to call') and the unaccusative verbs *entrar* ('to enter [go in]') and *morrir/morir/morrer* ('to die'):

(23)   a.   Llam-ó   Lucía.   [IA]
            call-3SG.PST   Lucía

       b.   Lucía   llam-ó.
            Lucía   call-3SG.PST
            'Lucía called.'

However, whereas in Asturian and ES, SI is preferred with all these verbs in wide-focus contexts (24), in MS, EP and BP the subject tends to surface in a non-inversion order with these verbs (25):

(24)   Morr-ió   el güelu.   [Asturian]
           died-3SG.PST   the grandfather
           '(My) grandfather died.'

(25)   O gato   entr-ou.   [EP, BP]
           the cat   enter-3SG.PST
           'The (/our) cat came in.'

In RS, interestingly, SI is preferred with *llamar*, but *entrar* and *morir* are both favoured with the non-inverted order.

It appears, therefore, that the Spanish varieties tested vary according to the extent to which they prefer SI in wide-focus contexts with intransitive verbs, with ES showing more VS orders and MS more SV orders; this is summarized in Table 1:

Table 1: Subject inversion preferences with intransitive verbs in Spanish varieties

	ES	RS	MS
Llamar	VS	VS	SV
Entrar	VS	SV	SV
Morir	VS	SV	SV

These data show that Pinto's assertion that the patterning of inversion verbs does not strictly follow the unergative/unaccusative divide holds for Ibero-Romance.

To leave

With the unaccusative verb *salir/sair* ('to leave'), only the non-inverted order is permitted with EP, BP (26) and IA, but both orders are still permitted in Asturian and ES (27):

(26) a. O   meu pai   saiu.   [Portuguese]
          the my   father   leave-PST.3SG
      b. *Saiu   o   meu   pai.
          leave-PST.3SG the   my   father
          'My father left.'

(27) a. Mi padre ha   sal-ido   [Spanish]
          my father AUX leave-PST.PTCP
      b. Ha   sal-ido   mi padre.
          AUX leave-PST.PTCP   my father
          'My father left.'

However, in ES, a preverbal subject is strongly preferred with *salir* (28), whereas it is only weakly so in Asturian (29):

(28)   Mi padre ha   sal-ido.   [ES]
          My father AUX   leave-PST.PTCP
          'My father has left.'

(29)   Mio pá   sal-ió   .   [Asturian]
          My   father leave-PST.3SG
          'My father left.'

To cry, to shout, to resign

With the unergative verbs *llorar/chorar* ('to cry'), *gritar* ('to shout') and *dimitir/demitir/renunciar* ('to resign'), none of the varieties display SI apart from Asturian:

(30)   a. O   menino chor-ou.   [EP, BP]
             the   child   cry-PST.3SG

        b. *Chor-ou   o   menino.
           cry-PST.3SG the child
           'The child cried.'

(31)   a. El neñu   llor-ó.   [Asturian]
             the child   cry-PST.3SG
        b. Llor-ó   el   neñu.
           cry-PST.3SG the child
           'The child cried.'

However, the SV order is preferred in Asturian with these verbs:

(32)   Putin   dimit-ió.   [Asturian]
         Putin   resign-PST.3SG
         'Putin resigned.'

The patterning of verbs which trigger SI in wide-focus contexts across Ibero-Romance are summarized in Table 2 (where both orders are possible, the preferred order precedes):

Table 2: Verbs triggering subject inversion in Ibero-Romance varieties

	Ast	**IS**	**RS**	**MS**	**EP**	**BP**
Happen	VS	VS	VS	VS	VS	VS/SV
Appear	VS	VS	VS	VS	VS	VS/SV (?)
Arrive	VS/SV	VS/SV	VS/SV	VS/SV	SV/VS	SV/VS
Come	VS/SV	VS/SV	VS/SV	VS/SV	SV/VS	SV/VS
Call	VS/SV	VS/SV	VS/SV	SV/VS	SV/VS	SV/VS
Enter	VS/SV	VS/SV	SV/VS	SV/VS	SV/VS	SV/ VS
Die	VS/SV	VS/SV	SV/VS	SV/VS	SV/VS	SV/VS
Leave (irse)	/	SV/VS	SV/VS	SV/VS	/	/
Leave (salir)	SV/VS	SV/VS	SV/VS	SV/VS	SV	SV
Cry	SV/VS	SV	SV	SV	SV	SV
Shout	SV/VS	SV	SV	SV	SV	SV
Resign	SV/VS	SV	SV	SV	SV	SV
Jump	SV	SV	SV	SV	SV	SV

It therefore appears that the inversion verbs in Ibero-Romance do not wholly follow the unaccusative/unergative distinction, although there is some correspondence. However, the fact that (excepting some verbs in Asturian) unergative verbs generally do not permit SI in wide-focus contexts – together with the unacceptability of SI with transitive verbs in wide-focus contexts across Ibero-Romance – suggests that i) SVO *is* the basic word order of Ibero-Romance and that ii) an element needs to surface in SpecTP in order for the EPP to be satisfied. It seems plausible that this element is the null LOC as posited by Pinto (1997). Preverbal subjects appear to be in A-positions, which is enough to falsify A&A (1998); moreover, it is unclear how their approach would explain the infelicitous instances of VS orders, since the verb's (pro)nominal properties are meant to be able to satisfy the EPP. In addition, since the inversion discussed here is also available in BP, a partial NSL, this type of 'free' inversion cannot only be a property of consistent NSLs. As such, these cases of inversion do not appear to be a direct consequence of the NSP.

2.4 Word order preferences across Ibero-Romance

For the most part, the Ibero-Romance varieties are relatively consistent in the verbs which allow an SV/VS alternation, though there is some variation: both orders are possible across Ibero-Romance with the intransitives *llegar/chegar, venir/vir, llamar/ligar, entrar* and *morrir/morir/morrer.* In addition, Asturian and ES also allow both orders for *salir* (and, in the case of ES, *irse*), and Asturian, but not ES, allows SI with the unergatives *llorar*, *gritar* and *dimitir.* Only the non-inverted order is permitted with these verbs in EP, BP and IA. Simple presence or absence of null LOC, however, cannot account for the microvariation that obtains: that inversion occurs at all in these varieties suggests that LOC is available, but further explanation is necessary to account for why inversion occurs with some verbs in some varieties, but not with other verbs in other varieties.

Moreover, speakers show systematically varying degrees of preference for one word order configuration over the other when both the inverted and non-inverted options are available. By 'preference', it is meant that, given an identical context for a particular verb speakers will systematically show a tendency for one configuration over the other, though both are felicitous. For example, Ibero-Romance informants presented with the verb *llegar/chegar* used in <u>identical</u> contexts judge both the VS and the SV order as felicitous. However, Asturian speakers show a very strong preference for the VS order (that is, eight times out of ten, speakers favour the VS

configuration), ES speakers show a strong preference for (i.e. seven times out of ten favour) the VS order, IA speakers show a weak preference for (i.e. six times out of ten favour) the VS order, EP speakers show a weak preference for the SV order, and BP speakers show a preference for the SV order, but the VS order remains a possibility. The context in which the verb is elicited remains constant across varieties, so the differences in preference must involve something more than simply how different speakers interpret the context. Presumably, there are some interpretative differences according to speaker, but if this were the only explanation then these would occur on an individual basis, and not according to variety. However, since 'preference' means very little in the current framework, it seems reasonable to assume that they are not, in fact, 'preferences', but have some sort of grammatical explanation. Nonetheless, I use this term for now, since it captures the empirical facts.

What is interesting about these preferences is that they reveal complicated but subtle, systematic variation across Ibero-Romance. Thus, *llegar/chegar* is a verb which, across varieties, reveals a tendency towards SI. *Salir/sair*, on the other hand, reveals a tendency towards the non-inverted order. Other verbs pattern somewhere in between. The degree to which both orders (or one or the other) are preferred varies according to the verb and according to variety. The differences and distribution are captured by proposing an empirically-motivated 'scale' of inversion, a descriptive label which turns out to be semantically-motivated in Section 2.5. The preferences for *llegar*, at the higher (VS) end of this scale, have already been described. In the case of *morir/morrir/morrer*, which falls in the middle of the scale, Asturian shows a strong preference for VS (almost to the exclusion of SV), ES shows a moderate preference for VS, though SV is still a valid configuration; the IA varieties and EP exhibit a preference for SV, while still allowing the VS order; finally, BP shows a strong preference for SV, though VS remains a possibility. At the other end of the group, with *salir/sair*, Asturian speakers' preference is for SV, though VS is also valid; ES shows a stronger preference for SV, with VS remaining a possibility; and EP, BP and IA exhibit an SV order, whilst instances of VS do not appear to be felicitous with a wide-focus interpretation.

These observations are summarized in Table 3, where an underlined order indicates a strong preference, a bracketed order indicates a weaker preference, and a question mark indicates an uncertain order. The preferred order always precedes: [15]

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[15] Zubizarreta (1998:119) claims that SV and VS orders are both felicitous in wide-focus contexts in Spanish. While both orders are *possible*, the preference for SV order with unergative verbs is so great

Table 3: Distribution of VS/SV preferences across Ibero-Romance

	Ast	**IS**	**RS**	**MS**	**EP**	**BP**
Happen	VS	VS	VS	VS	VS	VS/SV
Appear	VS	VS ((SV))	VS ((SV))	VS (SV?)	VS	VS/SV (?)
Arrive	VS (SV)	VS/SV	VS/SV	VS/SV	SV/VS	SV (VS)
Come	VS (SV)	VS/SV	VS/SV	VS/SV	SV/VS	SV (VS)
Call	VS (SV)	VS/SV	VS/SV	SV(VS)	SV/VS	SV (VS)
Enter	VS/SV	VS/SV	SV/VS	SV (VS)	SV/VS	SV (VS)
Die	VS/SV	VS/SV	SV/VS	SV/VS	SV/VS	SV (VS)
Leave (irse)	/	SV/VS	SV	SV	/	/
Leave (salir)	SV/VS	SV (VS)	SV	SV	SV	SV
Cry	SV (VS)	SV	SV	SV	SV	SV
Shout	SV (VS)	SV	SV	SV	SV	SV
Resign	SV/VS	SV	SV	SV	SV	SV
Jump	SV	SV	SV	SV	SV	SV
Dance	SV	SV	SV	SV	SV	SV

There thus appears to be very fine-grained, systematic variation across inversion verbs and across Ibero-Romance varieties. At the top end of the verbal scale is unaccusative *asoceder/acontecer/ocurrir*, associated with inverted orders; at the other extreme are the unergatives which never license SI. The inversion verbs pattern in between. There is evidently a degree to which inversion corresponds to the unaccusative/unergative distinction, although, as will become apparent in the next section, the semantic features of the verbs involved in inversion will prove to explain the empirically-motivated scale better than the unaccusative/unergative divide.

The verbal scale of inversion finds its mirror image in the degree to which the Ibero-Romance varieties license SI. BP and EP appear to be most restrictive in this respect, especially BP; overall, however, their distribution is fairly similar, and we would expect these observed differences since BP is known to be generally more intolerant of SI than EP. The Spanish varieties are more liberal in their tolerance of SI, ES being the most permissive and MS the least. Though in general these varieties are very similar, the data for SI reveal microparametric differences which beg an explanation. Lastly, Asturian is the variety which shows most inverted orders, though the word

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that VS orders are rendered marginal, leaving me to conclude that SV is the only truly felicitous order with the bottom group of unergative verbs (i.e. not *llamar*) in Spanish.

order distribution is still systematic, and the SV configuration appears to be the basic order outside inversion constructions.

Since the variation is so systematic, I argue that the data warrant a syntactic explanation. That optionality obtains with the verbs surveyed here fits with Pinto's prediction that i) there are inversion verbs, and ii) the different word order configurations available involve a difference in interpretation (i.e. they are not 'truly' optional; cf. Biberauer and Richards 2006). My working assumption, therefore, is that the alternation is dependent on the availability and subsequent selection of LOC. However, the degree to which both options are 'preferred' calls for a more fine-grained analysis than simple presence/absence of the covert locative argument as specified in Pinto's (1997) proposal. In this thesis, therefore, I will postulate a syntactic explanation, building on Pinto's proposal, for the distribution of the Ibero-Romance data. For now, however, I propose that Ibero-Romance wide-focus 'locative' inversion is determined by a scale of inversion from verbs with which a VS order obtains, through verbs which pattern with both inverted and non-inverted orders to varying degrees, to verbs with which an SV order obtains. The verbal scale of inversion is mirrored by the degree to which the Ibero-Romance varieties license SI.

2.5 <u>Semantic features of inversion verbs</u>

In Section 2.3, I proposed a scale of inversion based on the empirical data of word order configurations across Ibero-Romance. It transpires that various clear semantic contrasts can be identified in the group of verbs which license both the inverted and non-inverted orders, the key properties being location, directionality/path, and deixis. I make the non-trivial assumption that the semantic features of these verbs are invariant across the Ibero-Romance languages under investigation; thus, the properties I go on to identify in the intransitive verbs are properties which I believe hold across the varieties.[16] In this section, I restrict my analysis to the verbs *venir/vir* (which shows the virtually same distribution as *llegar/chegar*), *entrar*, *llamar/ligar*, *morir/morrir/morrer*, and *salir/sair* (plus *irse*, in the case of Spanish). For the moment I exclude the unergative verbs with which both orders are licensed in

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[16] This may not be the correct assumption. The motion verbs, demonstratives, and locatives of Catalan, an eastern Ibero-Romance language, have different deictic paradigms from those of Spanish (Vann 1997:307-8), a property crucial to this analysis. However, the properties of these verbs appear to be invariant in the Ibero-Romance varieties investigated here.

Asturian, since no other Ibero-Romance variety permits SI with these verbs. However, I return to these verbs in Chapter 3, where an explanation is provided for these apparent exceptions.

2.5.i   The verbs

Venir/vir is a verb of inherently directed motion (Levin 1993) which in Spanish is strongly deictic, implying motion to the speaker's location only. Thus, a perfectly grammatical sentence in English such as (33) is unacceptable in Ibero-Romance, if the speaker is not in the location of the addressee:

(33)   Shall I come to the library [location of addressee; speaker elsewhere]?

(34)   *¿Vengo   a   la   biblioteca?
        come.PRS.1SG to   the library
        'Shall I come to the library [location of addressee; speaker elsewhere]?'

The only acceptable rendering of this expression in Ibero-Romance is to use the verb *ir* ('to go'), which implies motion away from the speaker's domain only:

(35)   ¿Voy   a   la   biblioteca?
        go.PRS.1SG   to   the library
        'Shall I come to the library [location of addressee; speaker elsewhere]?'

So, it seems plausible to identify the following key semantic features of the verb *venir/vir*: motion, motion towards (i.e. direction), location (the static location where the event is situated and to which, in this case, movement occurs), deixis (the speech act relates to the speaker's domain).

Entrar, on the other hand, implies motion *into* somewhere, and of itself has no deictic reference to the speaker. Again, according to Levin (1993), this is a verb of inherently directed motion. In the following example there is no implication of movement towards a speaker, only movement into a static location:

(36)   Juan entr-ó   en el salón.
        Juan enter-PST.3SG   in the living.room
        'Juan went into the living room.'

Hence Juan goes into the room,[17] but this has no obvious relation to either speaker or addressee. Thus the following semantic features are identified for *entrar*: motion, motion into, location.

Llamar/ligar does not imply motion in the usual sense; however, Levin (1993:207) groups this type of verb amongst the so-called verbs of change of possession, akin to dative verbs, in that they denote the transfer of information from one participant to another. Clearly, information transfer does not need to occur for the verb to be employed; nevertheless, there is certainly a sense in which direction towards a participant is implied, entailing a goal. As such, there may be a sense of deixis related to the speaker (or speech act), given the implied necessity of direction towards a participant. Location to which the telephoning takes place remains part of the verb's semantics. I therefore suggest the following semantic features for *llamar/ligar*: motion (at least figuratively), motion towards, location, deixis (in a general sense).

The verb *morir/morrir/morrer* is similar to *llamar/ligar* in that it does not have an obvious sense of motion. However, as a change-of-state verb, I argue that 'to die' plausibly involves movement away from one state (i.e. being alive) to another (being dead), since change of state is analogous to change of location. Location in this sense is understood as an end state, corresponding to the static location implicit in verbs of motion. Furthermore, Pinto actually suggests that 'die' (strictly speaking, *morire*, as in her Italian examples) when occurring with the null LOC produces a sentence involving *temporal* rather than spatial proximity to the speaker, an assertion which also holds true for Ibero-Romance. Thus, the semantic features present in *morir/morrir/morrer* are plausibly: motion, direction (towards an end state), and location.

Lastly, *salir/sair* and *irse* are, again, verbs of inherently directed motion; however, unlike *venir/vir* and *entrar*, they imply motion away from a location. In the case of *salir/sair*, the verb implies movement away from an unspecified location, but there is no sense in which the verb is speaker-oriented. With Spanish *irse*, on the other hand, though movement away from an unspecified location is also implied, the presence of the reflexive clitic *se* gives an anaphoric dimension to the verb, making *irse* plausibly

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[17] Ibero-Romance *entrar* differs from English 'enter' or 'go into' in that, with *entrar*, motion into [somewhere] is implied in the verb, like English 'enter' and unlike 'go into'. However, unlike 'enter' but similar to 'go into', the preposition *en* ('in', 'into'; some varieties also allow the preposition *a*) is necessary if the location is specified (i.e. one must always enter 'into' a room in Ibero-Romance).

speaker-oriented in a way that *salir/sair* is not.[18] Thus, for *salir*, we arrive at the following semantic features: motion, motion away, location. And for *irse*: motion, motion away, location, anaphor (loosely deictic).

A pattern thus emerges from the semantics of these of inversion verbs, involving motion, direction, location, and deixis, which can be summarized as follows:

Table 4: Summary of the semantics of the middle group of inversion verbs

	Motion	**Direction**	**Location**	**Deixis**
Come	✓	Towards	✓	✓
Enter	✓	Into	✓	
Call	(✓) Information transfer	To	✓	(✓ loosely)
Die	(✓) Change of state	To? (away?)	✓ (temporal)	
Leave (irse)	✓	Away	✓	(✓ anaphor)
Leave (salir)	✓	Away	✓	

Whilst there are semantic differences between the verbs and the way in which the features I have described operate, it is possible to make generalizations about the semantic contrasts present in these inversion verbs. The categories of motion and direction can be collapsed into simply direction, since the concept of motion is subsumed within the notion of directionality. Though four different types of direction have been described, a two-way distinction between motion/direction 'to' and motion/direction 'away' suffices, and is indeed more desirable both conceptually and empirically. Given that not all the verbs are motion verbs, I prefer to capture the idea of directionality using the term *path*, for which we can replace the notion of 'to' with *goal*, and 'from' with *source* (cf. Zwarts 2005 for a discussion of paths, and relevant terminology). Location, as the defining characteristic of 'locative' inversion, remains constant and a key semantic feature; it is presumably this feature which differentiates

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[18] The use of the reflexive often gives a deictic interpretation to a sentence. Compare the difference in meaning between the following sentences with and without the clitic *se*:

(1)   At-é   los cordones.
        tie-PST.1SG the shoelaces
        'I tied (someone's) shoelaces.'

(2)   Me=at-é   los cordones.
        myself=tie-PST.1SG the shoelaces
        'I tied my shoelaces.'

these verbs from other, non-inversion verbs.[19] Finally, deixis seems to be a necessary semantic distinction, in order to separate the deictic interpretation implicit in a verb such as *venire/vir*, from *entrar*, which has no such interpretation. However, with other verbs, the notion of deixis seems to be more general, potentially involving anaphor, or linking the sentence loosely to the context of the speech act. I return to the role of deixis in Chapter 4.

The generalizations of the semantic contrasts are summarized as follows:

Table 5: Semantic features of inversion verbs

	Path		Location (loco-temporal dimension)	Deixis
	Goal	**Source**		
Come	✔		✔	✔
Call	✔		✔	(✔)
Enter	✔		✔	
Die	✔	(✔ ?)	✔	
Leave (irse)		✔	✔	(✔)
Leave (salir)		✔	✔	

2.5.ii   Correspondence between semantic features and the scale of inversion

Table 5 reveals a correlation between the semantic features involved in the inversion verbs and their propensity to appear in SI constructions. Features encoding goal path and deixis correlate with a higher position on the scale of inversion, whereas a source feature correlates with a lower position. Thus, the verb *venir/vir,* which appears highest in the reduced version of the scale of inversion in Table 5, encodes goal (path), location, and deixis in its semantics, and shows the greatest tendency across Ibero-Romance towards VS orders. At the other extreme, *salir/sair* encodes source (path) and location, but has no deictic reference to the speaker: this verb shows the greatest propensity towards SV orders of the inversion verbs across Ibero-Romance. The other verbs pattern somewhere in between, depending on the distribution of their path and deictic features. Crucially, by decomposing the verbs into the relevant semantic features, a semantic justification is found for the empirically-motivated scale of

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[19] Perhaps because unergative verbs such as 'dance' or 'jump' involve movement, but not movement from one location to another, they cannot involve a constant sense of location. However, unergatives such as 'cry' or 'resign' (with which SI is licensed in Asturian) could plausibly entail a constant sense of location, since their action occurs in one place, and movement (to another location) is not involved.

inversion proposed in Section 2.2. Moreover, since the features correspond to the systematic distribution of word order configurations across Ibero-Romance, it seems likely that these semantic features are in fact syntactically encoded in the Ibero-Romance languages. If this is the case, then the deictic interpretation of these inversion constructions appears to be syntactically rather than pragmatically encoded, contra Pinto (1997). In fact, D'Alessandro (2004) has independently argued for the syntactic encoding of pragmatic information in Romance due to examples like (37) whose agreement pattern, she argues, is unexplainable unless pragmatic/deictic information is formally encoded:

(37)   A gente est-á   cansad-os.   (D'Alessandro 2004:6)
        the people be-3SG tired-MASC.PL
        'We are tired.'

I therefore propose that the key features pertaining to 'locative' SI in Ibero-Romance are path, location, and deixis, and that these features are formally encoded in Ibero-Romance.

2.5.iii   Formal encoding of semantic/pragmatic features in Ibero-Romance

Formal features in syntax fall into two categories: interpretable features and uninterpretable features.[20] Interpretability (Chomsky 1995) refers to the ability of a feature to be interpreted at either or both of the interfaces PF (the articulatory-perceptual system) and LF (the conceptual-intentional system), although in practice the notion is primarily used to refer to interpretability at LF. It is at LF that the *syntactically-relevant* semantic information of a given structure is represented, or interpreted. Thus interpretable features have some sort of semantic content, and are assumed to play a part in morphosyntactic processes. Uninterpretable features, on the other hand, are not semantically interpretable and have no LF representation. Instead, such features operate on a syntax-internal level only, driving computations which are purely syntactic. However, if interpretable features receive an interpretation at the interface, and these features have some sort of semantic content which facilitates their interpretation, then it is necessary to identify *which* semantic features are encoded in the syntax. Clearly, there are many types of semantic feature which are not formally encoded (e.g. colour). Conversely, quantification and negation are semantic concepts which are evidently syntactically encoded. Therefore, there are some features which

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[20] For a more detailed discussion of features in Minimalism, cf. Adger and Svenonius (2011).

are purely syntactic, some which are purely semantic, and some which fall in the middle category, being both syntactic and semantic.

As I have already indicated, the distribution of Ibero-Romance SI, and the correlation of this patterning with the semantic features of the inversion verbs, suggests that the semantic/pragmatic features identified – path, location, and deixis – are encoded in the syntax of Ibero-Romance as interpretable features. We know that languages vary according to how they distribute functional information, and we have seen how spatial and deictic information differs between verbs in English and Ibero-Romance. For the most part, locative and directional notions are expressed by prepositions in Ibero-Romance:

(38) Tamos   na   cai.   [Asturian]
      be.PRS.1PL   in.the street
      'We are in the street.'

(39) Vou   para casa.   [EP, BP]
      go.PRS.1SG   for   home
      'I'm going home.'

(40) Volv-ieron   de Chile.   [Spanish]
      return-PST.3PL   of Chile
      'They returned from Chile.'

However, there are other languages which encode such notions in the grammatical structure. The Daghestanian language Lezgian encodes a complex spatial case system in its morphology: Riemsdijk and Huijbregts (2007:341) note that 'there is a strict separation between locative suffixes and suffixes expressing motion, direction, orientation and paths' in this language, identifying five locative suffixes and three motion suffixes. The transparency of this division is exemplified in (41):

(41) sew-re-qh-aj   (postelative case)
      bear-AUGM-behind-from
      'from behind the bear'

Cinque (1999:137-8) observes that the morphology of DPs in head-final Lezgian (42) is mirrored by the articulate internal structure of Dutch PPs described in Koopman (1993), as in (43):

(42)   N-suff_P-suff_Place-suff_Path hjklhjk

(43)   [_PathP Path° [_PlaceP Place° [_PP P° DP]]]

The Dutch PPs involve an extended projection consisting of the PP, dominated by a functional layer containing prepositions of static location, PlaceP, which is in turn dominated by a functional layer for prepositions indicating direction or path. This structure can also be seen in English and Romance PPs (examples from Cinque 1999:138):

(44)   [_PathP From [_PlaceP out [_PP of [_DP the darkness]]]]

(45)   [_PathP Da [_PlaceP dietro [_PP di [_DP noi]]]]   [Italian]
            from   behind   of   us
        'From behind us'

Such an analysis is easy to extend to Ibero-Romance (my example):

(46)   El monstruo salió [_PathP de [_PlaceP debajo [_PP de [_DP la   cama]]]   [Spanish]
            the monster came.out   from   under   of   the bed
            ´The monster came out from underneath the bed.'

Furthermore, Svenonius (2010) identifies deixis as a functional layer in spatial Ps, above the functional projections for Path and Place. Building on this work, I assume that the spatial notions of location and path, along with the pragmatic concept of deixis, are encoded in the syntax of Ibero-Romance. My proposal, which I elaborate in subsequent chapters, is that the Ibero-Romance varieties surveyed display 'locative' SI which is sensitive to slightly different features. As such, they attract different sizes of locative Ps, depending on their availability in a given language, to the left periphery/subject position, thus satisfying the EPP.

2.6   <u>Summary</u>

The data reported here suggest that SVO is the neutral word order of Ibero-Romance, and that preverbal subjects in these varieties can be in A-positions, contra the predictions of A&A (1998), an account which does not explain the observed instances of infelicitous VS orders in wide-focus contexts. I suggest that the EPP is active in Ibero-Romance, and can be satisfied by Pinto's null LOC. Furthermore, I observed

that, though there is relative consistency across varieties in the verbs with which inversion obtains, Ibero-Romance licenses SI to varying degrees across its varieties. The variation is complex but systematic, suggesting that a syntactic explanation is necessary. Pinto's LOC is clearly a plausible proposal, but it cannot explain all the variation observed. Based on the semantics of inversion verbs, I identified the key features associated with SI with a null locative as deixis, path and location, features which I argued are syntactically encoded in Ibero-Romance.

3. LOC as null layered PPs

3.1   Introduction

This chapter discusses the status of LOC, first examining the plausibility of Pinto's (1997) analysis and providing evidence of syntactic elements in (Ibero-)Romance which are useful to our discussion since they show similar properties to those pertaining to 'locative' SI as identified in Chapter 2. I then elaborate my own proposal of LOC as a null layered PP, of which I postulate four types. I argue that my analysis more compellingly accounts for SI with a null locative argument and overt locative inversion than Pinto (1997). Finally, I test the predictions of my proposal in Spanish.

3.2   LOC as a clitic or pronoun

Pinto postulates two analyses of the status of LOC: either it is a *pro*, or it is a clitic. In support of the analysis of LOC as a *pro*, which is assumed to have a D-feature since LOC behaves like a subject DP, Pinto advances an argument based on economy considerations attributable to phonological heaviness: as a null element consisting of only a D-feature, LOC as a *pro* is the more economical option for satisfying the EPP, over the subject DP itself. On balance, though, Pinto settles on the analysis of LOC as a covert clitic with a D-feature, proposing that such an analysis accounts for the Xmin/Xmax behaviour of LOC. Furthermore, she suggests that the interpretive properties of LOC also endorse its status as a clitic, as both LOC and clitics can only be assigned an interpretation which is dependent on context (in the case of LOC, its deictic, speaker-oriented interpretation).

In fact, there is good evidence to suggest that LOC is a clitic. The Northern Italian dialect Borgomanerese has a locative clitic *ghi* which doubles the locative subject clitic *ngh* when the full DP subject occurs postverbally with the verb *rivè* 'to arrive' (i.e. involving direction *to* [somewhere] / a goal):

(47)   Ngh   è   rivà-gghi   na fjola.   (Tortora 2001:317)
        LOC   be.PRS.3SG arrive.PST.PTCP-LOC   a   girl
        'A girl (has) arrived.'

Moreover, these clitics cannot appear with a verb such as *nè* ('to leave', i.e. involving direction *away* /a source):

(48) *Ngh è   naci-ghi   la me amisa.   (Tortora 2001:317)
      LOC   be.PRS.3SG go.PST.PTCP-LOC the my friend
      'My friend (has) left.'

Indeed, Tortora (2001) explains that the location involved in such sentences as (47) has to be interpreted deictically, referring to the speaker. In fact, she also uses these data to argue for the existence of a null locative in Italian, although it is worth pointing out that, at least in the examples above, she has not controlled for definiteness effects; as such, the ungrammaticality of (48) cannot necessarily be attributed to the goal/source distinction of *arrive* vs. *leave*, though it seems likely to be the case in this instance.

However, with the exception of Catalan *hi*, it is generally assumed that modern Ibero-Romance lacks locative clitics of the same kind as French *y* or Italian *ci*, although it has been suggested (Freeze 1992, Fernández-Soriano 1999, i.a.) that the third-person singular form *hay* of the Spanish existential *haber* consists of the verb form *ha* plus a locative *y*, a lexicalized instantiation of the now-defunct Old Spanish locative adverb *(h)y*.[21] Nevertheless, Gutiérrez-Rexach (2001), following Gutiérrez-Rexach and Silva-Villar (1998), assumes that modern Spanish does in fact have a system of locative and temporal clitics derived from the strong adverbial proforms *ahí* ('there', near speaker/addressee; cf. *allí*, 'there', far from both speaker and addressee) and *ahora* ('now'). The strong proform [a.í] becomes the locative clitic [áj], and the strong proform [a.ó.ɾa] becomes the weak temporal proform [áo.ɾa]/[á.ɾa]. The weak proforms cannot be co-ordinated (either with the full adverbial form or with each other), cannot attract focus stress, nor can they form constituent answers to questions, amongst other distributional evidence that endorses their status as clitics. Interestingly, following observations in Torrego (1989) and Bosque (1990), Gutiérrez-Rexach (2001:159-160) notes that these weak proforms can occur in unaccusative constructions, as in (49a,b), but that they cannot in unergative (50) and transitive (51) constructions:

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[21] A plausible suggestion, given that *hay* ('there is', 'there are') is distinct from the normal conjugation of the third person singular of *haber*, whose usage (primarily as an auxiliary in past tenses, but also in a number of expressions) is restricted but frequent:

(3)   Se=ha   de   decir.
      Se=AUX of   say-INFIN
      'It has to be said.'

The locative clitic also existed in Old Portuguese (cf. Martins 2003 for examples).

(49)   a.   [áj]   vien-e   ella.
             there come-PRS.3SG she
             'Here she comes.'

        b.   [áo.ɾa] vien-e   ella.
             now   come-PRS.3SG   she
             'She is just coming.'

(50)   *[áj]/*[áo.ɾa] sonr-íe   Pepe.   (c.f. ✔[a.í]/[a.óɾa])
             there/now   smile-PRS.3SG   Pepe
             'Pepe is smiling over there/about to smile.'

(51)   *[áj]/[áo.ra] com-en   patatas   tus   amigos. (c.f. ✔ [a.í]/[a.ó.ɾa])
             there/now   eat- PRS.3PL potatoes   your friends
              'Your friends are eating potatoes over there/about to eat potatoes.'

Interestingly, the examples above with which Gutiérrez-Rexach illustrates the
selectional restrictions which the locative clitics must obey are similar to the SI
constructions under investigation here. Indeed, Gutiérrez-Rexach goes on to observe
that the weak locative [áj]

> 'can be used in some occasions to deictically refer to a specific location, but in
> most of its uses its content is not that restricted. In general it denotes a
> contextually determined modifier linked to the speech time (t_{now}). Therefore, it
> can refer to locations but also denote a contextually relevant modifier,
> obligatory adjunct or argument function.'
>
>   (Gutiérrez-Rexach 2001:161-162)

This is reminiscent of the different types of deictic reference identified in Chapter 2.
Could these weak locative/temporal proforms identified by Gutiérrez-Rexach (2001)
be the overt counterpart(s) of our null LOC? It seems possible. However, pronouns
could instead encode the features specified (i.e. path, location, deixis). Such a
pronoun would presumably be strong rather than weak (in terms of Cardinaletti and
Starke 1999), since weak/deficient pronouns cannot be referential unless associated
with an antecedent in the discourse, whereas LOC requires a specific time/place
reference related to the speaker's domain. Furthermore, if we wish to analyse LOC as
a pronoun (or clitic), then we need to decide whether there is only one element LOC
whose feature bundle can vary, or whether there are different types of LOC, in order

to account for the systematic variation across Ibero-Romance. However, a more elegant proposal with independent justification can be found in the proposal of LOC as a layered PP, which I elaborate below. The foregoing discussion nevertheless remains relevant to our analysis, since the locative clitics discussed provide evidence for the existence of syntactic elements in Ibero-Romance exhibiting the interpretative patterns and properties associated with null LOC. This gives independent verification that we are correct in attributing the properties of location, path and deixis to LOC, as well as indicating that there are syntactic elements analogous to null LOC as a layered PP. I therefore propose, contra Pinto (1997), an analysis of LOC as a layered PP, identifying it as the crucial element involved in wide-focus 'locative' SI in Ibero-Romance.

3.3   <u>LOC as a layered PP</u>

Recent work on the internal structure of PPs cross-linguistically provides the justification for an analysis of LOC as a layered PP. We have already noted the internal structure for spatial Ps proposed by Svenonius (2010), in which deixis is projected as a functional layer above the functional projections for Path and Place.[22] The structure for null LOC could plausibly reproduce this analysis:

(52)
        Deixis
                Path
                    Place   DP
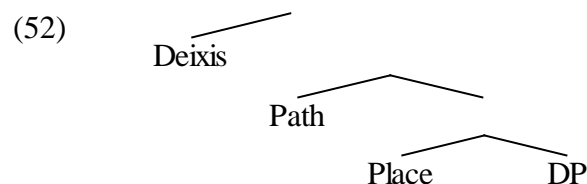
However, whatever the nature of structure we assume for the null LOC, if there is only one instantiation of the covert argument across the varieties, then we get no further towards accounting for the differences in word order distribution in Ibero-Romance, since simply positing presence/absence of LOC will clearly not suffice. The structure we adopt must therefore be decomposed into different types of LOC, which are presumably not equally available across Ibero-Romance.

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[22] The complete structure posited by Svenonius (2010:144) is in fact:

(4) p — Deg — Deix — Place — AxPart — K — DP

An analogous structure is proposed by den Dikken (2006), after Koopman (2000):

(5) C_{Place} — Deg_{Place} — Place — P_{loc} — DP

The similar conclusions reached by these differing approaches suggest that they are correct in their analyses.

Support for such an analysis is found in Terzi (2010b), who posits null spatial prepositions in Greek. In the following example, the Greek directional/locative P *se* (which appears as the contracted form *s* before the definite determiner) is optionally realized (here, as a null locative):

(53)   Emin-a   (sto)   spiti   mexri   arga.   (Terzi 2010b:173)
       stay-PST.1SG   se.the   home   until   late
       'I stayed home until late'

The following structure is proposed for the null P:

(54)   Emina [PPLoc [PLoc *se*/0 [DP spiti]]]   (Terzi 2010b:173)

Since none of the verbs discussed in Section 2.5, whose semantic features we decomposed and identified, encode 'location' on its own, we can assume that this P is not available in these Ibero-Romance languages.[23]

Null directional Ps are also permitted in Greek when following a motion verb, and are of the directional goal type:

(55)   Pao   (sto)   spiti.   (Terzi 2010b:173)
       go.PRS.1SG   (se.the) home
       'I go home'

The following structure is thus proposed for the null directional P:

(56)   Pao [PPDir [PDir 0 [PPLoc [PLoc *se*/0 [DP spiti]]]]]   (Terzi 2010b:173)

Since all the Ibero-Romance varieties have inversion with verbs which encode goal and location (e.g. *entrar*), it seems likely that a null directional goal P is available across Ibero-Romance.

Interestingly, while a directional goal P can be either null or overt, there is no such optionality when the directional P involves a source, so that the preposition must always surface overtly:

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[23] As will be shown, this is the correct assumption to make for ES, IA, EP and BP, but not for Asturian.

(57) Efig-a   *(apo to)   spiti.   (Terzi 2010b:174)
      leave-PST.1SG   from   the   home
      'I left my house.'

Terzi observes that a null P cannot have a directional source interpretation in either English or the Italian dialects discussed in the paper, suggesting that directional source Ps must always be phonetically realized. Terzi (2010b:175) hypothesizes that null source Ps are impossible due to their position in the extended projection of the spatial P:

(58)   V [PPSource [PSource **apo** [PPDir [PDir 0 [PPLoc [PLoc *se*/0 [DP spiti]]]]]]]]

While this observation holds for EP, BP and IA, it is not true for Asturian and ES, since these varieties allow SI with *salir*. Therefore, the lack of null source Ps in the languages Terzi describes is due not to the impossibility of covertly realizing a directional source P, but rather to the unavailability of a null source P in these languages. It would thus appear to be the case that null source Ps are available in Asturian and ES, but not in IA, EP or BP (or Greek, English and Italian, for that matter).

Terzi goes on to argue that these null spatial Ps are in fact associated with an unpronounced noun PLACE, following Kayne (2004, 2005), who proposes PLACE as a silent noun which is modified by deictic adverbials such as 'here' or 'there', as in (59):

(59)   [DP [D 0 [XP *here/there* [NP PLACE]]]]   (in Terzi 2010b:181)

Moreover, Terzi, building on work from Campos (1991), notes Spanish overt locatives are able to strand their preposition (similar to P-stranding in the Germanic languages), as in (60) (from Terzi 2010a:208, after Campos 1991):

(60)   La pastelería *de la cual*$_i$ viv-o   detrás t$_i$ es   buenísima.
      the patisserie of the which$_i$ live-PRS.1SG   behind t$_i$ is   excellent
      'The patisserie behind which I live is excellent.'

It is claimed that the complement of prepositions such as *detrás* is a DP, which is assumed to be the silent PLACE. Spanish overt locatives are thus proposed to be modifiers of an unpronounced PLACE (example modified from Terzi 2010a:209):

(61)   … [PPLoc [PLoc [DP [PLACE detrás]i [D de [AgrP la pastelería [QP/NP ti]]]]]]

                               behind   de   the patisserie

A similar structure for the null LOC could account for the subject-like properties locative inversion constructions have been observed to display.

Finally, perhaps most appealing to our discussion here is Pantcheva's (2010) proposal that there is not in fact a unique Path functional head, but rather that source and goal paths form separate syntactic structures. She therefore postulates three different types of spatial P, Location, Goal Paths and Source Paths (2010:1052):

(62)   a. Locations   b. Goal paths   c. Source paths

                                                         Source

                             Goal

                                                           Goal

           Place   DP

                             Place   DP

                                                         Place   DP

If we combine Pantcheva's spatial Ps with a functional projection for deixis, and Kayne's silent noun PLACE, we arrive at a proposal which makes the right predictions for Ibero-Romance.

3.4   The proposal

Building on work by Kayne (2005), Pantcheva (2010), Svenonius (2010), and Terzi (2010a, 2010b), I propose that there are four different types of null locative layered P, with projections for source, deixis, goal and location.

(63)   **SourceP**

           Source
                   Deixis
                           Goal
                               Location   DP *Place*

(64)   **DeixisP**

           Deixis
                   Goal
                       Location   DP *Place*

(65) **GoalP**

```
        ‾
      Goal  ‾‾‾‾‾‾‾
          Location   DP Place
```

(66) **LocationP**

```
        ‾
    Location   DP Place
```
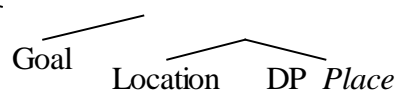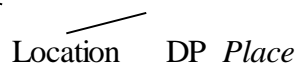
We can assume that verbs involving a source feature will c-select for a SourceP. *Salir/sair* is one such verb. Since SI with *salir/sair* is licensed in Asturian and ES, but not IA, EP or BP, we can assume that null SourceP is unavailable in these latter varieties. *Venir*, encoding deixis, goal and location, corresponds to DeixisP: since all the varieties allow SI with *venir*, we can assume that null DeixisP is available across Ibero-Romance. Similarly, *entrar*, which encodes just goal and location, must correspond to GoalP: again, all varieties allow inversion with *entrar*, so null GoalP should be available in all varieties.[24] This leaves LocationP, but we have not analyzed any verbs in the scale of inversion which encode 'location' alone. However, the proposal makes the prediction that there should be verbs encoding 'location' (but none of the other features) which can c-select for a null LocationP, if it is available in a given variety:

Table 6: Correspondences between type of PP, projections/features and inversion verbs (incomplete)

Type of P	Projections/Features	Verbs
SourceP	Source, deixis, goal, location	*Salir/sair; irse*
DeixisP	Deixis, goal, location	*Venir/vir; llamar/ligar*
GoalP	Goal, location	*Entrar; morir/morrir/morrer*
LocationP	Location	

The prediction, however, is substantiated if we take into consideration the unergative verbs with which SI in Asturian is licensed (recall that *llorar, gritar* and *dimitir* show an SV/VS alternation, but SI is disallowed with *bailar* and *brincar*). It was previously

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[24] I suggest this prediction could be adjusted in the next chapter, for reasons which will become apparent.

suggested that what differentiates these two groups of unergatives is that, while *llorar, gritar* and *dimitir* can plausibly involve static location since no movement is encoded in these verbs, *bailar* and *brincar* encode movement, but neither encodes static location. This fits with the type of verb described in Pinto (1997), such as *abitare* 'to inhabit', with which SI is licensed only when the locative PP is overt.[25] The completed version of Table X is therefore:

Table 7: Correspondences between type of PP, projections/features and inversion verbs (complete)

Type of P	Projections/Features	Verbs
SourceP	Source, deixis, goal, location	*Salir/sair; irse*
DeixisP	Deixis, goal, location	*Venir/vir; llamar/ligar*
GoalP	Goal, location	*Entrar; morir/morrir/morrer*
LocationP	Location	*Llorar; gritar; dimitir*

On the basis of this observation, I argue that LocationP *is* available in Asturian, but, since SI with a covert LOC is not licensed elsewhere in Ibero-Romance with these verbs, LocationP must be unavailable in the other Ibero-Romance varieties surveyed.

However, while the unavailability of SourceP in IA, EP and BP plus the unavailability of LocationP in all Ibero-Romance varieties except Asturian explains some of the word order variation across these languages, it clearly does not account for all, particularly the differences between Spanish varieties. I return to how we can better account for the Ibero-Romance variation in the next chapter. Nevertheless, the scale of inversion appears to correlate with the availability of LOC across Ibero-Romance, further justifying the former's postulation. LocationP, corresponding to *llorar, gritar, dimitir* (which appear towards the bottom of the scale)*,* is only available in Asturian. SourceP, corresponding to *salir/sair, irse* (which appear above *llorar/gritar/dimitir*), is only available in Asturian and ES. DeixisP and GoalP, corresponding to the verbs in the highest positions, appear to be available in all varieties.

A further advantage of my proposal is that it straightforwardly accounts for the similarity between overt locative inversion and covert 'locative' SI. On our analysis,

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[25] This makes the prediction that i) Asturian should license SI with null LOC with verbs such as *vivir* ('to live'), and that, ii) in general, it should show a much greater incidence of SI constructions in wide-focus contexts than the other Ibero-Romance varieties surveyed, since Asturian could potentially have 'free' inversion with any relevant verb c-selecting for LocationP. The results of the empirical survey suggest that this is, in fact, the case. However, I leave investigation of this possibility to future research.

the underlying inversion construction is the same, and the difference between overt and covert locative inversion is simply whether the locative PP is overtly or covertly realized. This fits in with Pinto's observation that in overt locative inversion, the overt locative PP: i) must surface in clause-initial position, ii) cannot be covert (which is dependent on the semantics of the relevant verb), and iii) must be an argument selected by the lexical verb. Rather than postulate an account in which the overt PP is coindexed with LOC (as Pinto does), a simpler explanation is that Italian lacks LocationPs in its lexical entry, and so must overtly realize this type of locative PP. As the PP has to surface in clause-initial position (whether overt or covert), there is presumably an EPP requirement. Furthermore, the EPP can be satisfied by a non-subject element: when overt, it is by a PP (containing a DP), and, when covert, it is filled by LOC containing Kayne's (2005) PLACE DP.

Whether a PP is overtly or covertly realized is partly dependent on the semantics of the relevant verb, since inversion verbs must be able to c-select for the relevant type of LOC. However, it is also dependent on the availability of the different types of LOC in a given variety, as discussed above for Ibero-Romance. By accounting for the distribution of word orders across Ibero-Romance in terms of the availability of LOC, we reduce the microvariation in Ibero-Romance to differences in lexical entries. Such an account is attractive since it is in line with the Borer-Chomsky conjecture (Baker 2008:3), which states that:

> All parameters of variation are attributable to differences in the features of particular items (e.g. the functional heads) in the Lexicon.

3.5 Predictions

Though it is not clear at this stage that we can account for all the cross-linguistic variation in Ibero-Romance, it appears fairly conclusive that all the different types of LOC are available in Asturian, and that ES has three out of four types of LOC in its lexical entry. Moreover, we have established that the scale of inversion appears to be determined by the degrees to which the different Ibero-Romance varieties license SI with a null locative, which further justifies its postulation. The proposal as it stands allows us to make predictions regarding SI in Ibero-Romance. Once the availability of the different types of LOC is established in a given language, we can predict which verbs will invert according to their semantic properties, and, following the scale of

inversion, we can predict the 'preferences' for the inverted vs. non-inverted order with these verbs.

In ES, therefore, verbs involving the semantic features associated with SourceP, DeixisP, and GoalP, but not LocationP, are expected to be able to c-select for the relevant covert locative argument and license SI. Moreover, verbs c-selecting DeixisP are expected to show a tendency towards inverted orders when tested on informants, whereas verbs c-selecting SourceP are expected to show a tendency towards the non-inverted configuration. The ES data described in Chapter 2 in fact already bears out these predictions, the verbal features corresponding to the distribution of word order configurations, but we would expect other intransitive verbs to pattern similarly. Further consultation with Spanish informants reveals that our predictions appear to be largely true. Informants were asked to judge the acceptability of the following verbs in inverted and non-inverted configurations: *contribuir* ('to contribute'), *estornudar* ('to sneeze'), *reirse* ('to laugh'), *escaparse* ('to escape') and *ir* ('to go').

Contribuir is predicted to c-select a DeixisP and to pattern like *llamar*, since it is an unergative verb that seems to imply action towards a deictic centre (Michelle Sheehan p.c.). Indeed, while both an SV and VS order are possible in wide-focus contexts with *contribuir*, the VS order is by far the preferred configuration:

(67) a. Ha contribu-ido Juan.
          AUX contribute-PST.PTCP Juan
      b. Juan ha contribu-ido.
          Juan AUX contribute-PST.PTCP
          'Juan has contributed.'

Given the context, the interpretation of (67a) would be 'Juan contributed [money to us].' Like *llamar*, *contribuir* is not a motion verb, but it involves transfer and, crucially, a goal. This necessitates the involvement of location as a semantic feature, implying the location of the participant who receives the contribution. Also like *llamar*, there is a sense in which the verb encodes deixis, though not as strongly as a verb like *venir*. The non-deictic reading in (67b) remains valid, but, all else being equal, the VS order is the preferred order in a wide-focus context.

Unergative *estornudar*, on the other hand, is not expected to license SI in Spanish. The only semantic feature associated with inversion verbs that it may encode is static location, which makes the prediction that *estornudar* c-selects LocationP, and that

inversion would be possible with this verb in Asturian. The prediction for Spanish is confirmed by informants: although both orders are *possible*, as claimed in Zubizarreta (1998), the only genuinely felicitous word order in wide-focus contexts is the non-inverted order.

(68)   a. Tu   madre ha   estornud-ado.
             your mother AUX sneeze-PST.PTCP

        b. #Ha estornud-ado   tu   madre.
            AUX sneeze-PST.PTCP   your mother
            'Your mother has sneezed.'

Reirse is expected to pattern similarly, the only semantic feature it could plausibly encode being static location; as such, it might c-select for LocationP in varieties in which this type of LOC is available. Of course, in Spanish, SI is not expected to obtain, since LocationP is unavailable. However, the fact that it is a reflexive suggests it might show a slightly greater tendency towards inversion than *estornudar*, since the presence of the clitic *se* is thought to give a deictic dimension to the verb, as observed in Chapter 2. The prediction that *reirse* is a non-inversion verb in Spanish turns out to be correct, but informants in fact judge the VS order to be less acceptable with *reirse* than it is with *estornudar,* so the clitic *se* does not appear to have any (positive) effect on the grammaticality of the inverted word order. Thus, in wide-focus contexts, it appears that SV is the only genuinely felicitous order:

(69)   a. Juan se=ha   re-ído.
             Juan himself=AUX laugh-PST.PTCP

        b. ?? Se=ha   re-ído   Juan.
            himself=AUX laugh-PST.PTCP Juan
            'Juan has laughed.'

It may be the case that the deictic dimension of the clitic *se* only affects the acceptability of word orders with those verbs which c-select for an available locative PP encoding a deictic feature, which is not the case here.

Indeed, this is predicted to be the case with *escaparse. Escaparse* is an unaccusative verb with inherently directed motion (Levin 1993), involving motion out of, or away from, someone or something; 'someone or something' in our current terms is the

semantic feature 'location'. It is therefore predicted to c-select a SourceP and to pattern with inversion verbs towards the lower end of the scale such as *irse* or *salir.* Both orders should be possible, but SV should be the default. However, since the clitic *se* is involved, there should be some tendency towards the inverted order. This is indeed what we find. Thus, of the following examples, the non-inverted order is the 'preferred' option, but both configurations are possible:

(70)   a.   Fernández se=ha   escap-ado.
           Fernández himself=AUX   escape-PST.PTCP
       b.   Se=ha   escap-ado   Fernández.
           himself=AUX escape-PST.PTCP Fernández
           'Fernández has escaped.'

Finally, unaccusative *ir* is also expected to pattern with inversion verbs. Motion, location and source are assumed to be present in the semantics of this verb, though the latter only weakly so compared to a verb like *salir*. Moreover, *ir* represents the opposite of Ibero-Romance deictic *venir* ('to come'); as such, *ir* involves motion away from the speaker's domain only. Thus, it is predicted to c-select a SourceP, and to lie somewhere towards the lower end of the scale of inversion, though it should show less proclivity towards the SV order than a verb such as *salir*, and an inverted order should still be possible. This prediction is borne out in the data: SV is the default order, but VS orders are still acceptable to native speakers:

(71)   a.   Iván ha   ido.
           Iván AUX go.PST.PTCP
       b.   Ha   ido   Iván.
           AUX go.PST.PTCP Iván
           'Iván has gone.'

The presence of the null LOC could give a temporal deictic interpretation to the sentence, meaning 'Iván has just gone [from here]'. This is probably the case for all the inversion verbs which involve motion away; indeed, such a reading would have been appropriate for the contexts in which wide-focus judgments were solicited for *irse* and *salir*.

It therefore appears that the predictions of the proposal are borne out by the judgments from Spanish-speaking informants described above. A more thorough and systematic examination of the Spanish intransitives, comparable to the empirical survey in

Chapter 2, would be valuable. Moreover, the testing of intransitives needs to be carried out across the Ibero-Romance varieties, to see if the predictions hold outside Spanish. It would be useful to test inversion verbs with contexts specifically designed to elicit a deictic versus a more general interpretation, in order to verify that the former is associated with a inverted order in wide-focus contexts, and the later with the non-inverted order in wide-focus contexts. In addition, the effect of the presence of the clitic *se* would appear to be a line of investigation worth pursuing. It would be interesting to see if the presence of the clitic does in fact correlate with (a tendency towards) inversion configurations, and, particularly, whether it affects all types of verb, or simply those which are inversion verbs in a given variety. Of particular interest would be to compare verbs such as *venirse* ('to come') and *bajarse* ('to come/go down') with their non-reflexive counterparts. The reflexive version of these verbs is usually used to imply proximity to the addressee, so an effect on the word order distribution might well be expected. Related to this is MacDonald's (2006) proposal that the aspectual reflexive and dative of possession clitic *se* has an anaphoric relation with a null locative pronoun, so that in (72), the clitic is coindexed with location, specifically, the subject's location:

(72)   Me=abroch-é   la camisa.   (MacDonald 2006:172)
        myself=button-PST.1SG the shirt
        'I buttoned my shirt.'

In this sentence, the interpretation is restricted to the subject, and contrasts with (73), where the reading does not necessarily relate to the speaker, so the shirt could belong to anyone:

(73)   Abroch-é   la camisa.   (MacDonald 2006:171)
        button-PST.1SG   the shirt
        'I buttoned the shirt.'

Given the potential correlation between the presence of the clitic and inversion with a null locative, a proposal along these lines might merit further investigation.

3.6   <u>Summary</u>

This chapter considers Pinto's proposals for the status of null LOC, but concludes that the account of LOC as a layered PP, which builds on work by Kayne (2005),

Pantcheva (2010), Svenonius (2010) and Terzi (2010a, 2010b) is a more attractive proposal since i) it allows us to account for Ibero-Romance SI in terms of lexical variation, that is, the availability of the locative PPs across varieties, ii) it straightforwardly explains the difference between overt and covert locative inversion as depending on whether the locative PP is overtly or covertly realized, and iii) it provides further justification for the scale of inversion of Chapter 2. When the proposal is tested on Spanish, it makes the right predictions, though further investigation is necessary to confirm these results across Ibero-Romance.

4. Accounting for cross-linguistic variation

4.1   Introduction

To recap, I have proposed that there are four types of null LOC: SourceP, DeixisP, GoalP and LocationP. The analysis in Chapter 3 predicts that SourceP is available in Asturian and ES, but unavailable in the other varieties; that LocationP is unavailable in all varieties except Asturian; and that DeixisP and GoalP are available across Ibero-Romance. However, if DeixisP and GoalP are available in all, and no other factors are considered, the systematic microvariation in word orders across Ibero-Romance cannot be fully explained, since it makes the prediction that SI variation involving a null locative argument would only differ in three ways across Ibero-Romance, whereas the variation is much more complex. Consider the following:[26]

Table 8: Reduced version of word order distributions across Ibero-Romance

	ES	RS	EP
Come	VS/SV	VS/SV	SV/VS
Call	VS/SV	VS/SV	SV/VS
Enter	VS/SV	SV/VS	SV/VS
Die	VS/SV	SV/VS	SV/VS
Leave (salir)	SV (VS)	SV	SV

From the above information, we can make the following observations:

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[26] For simplicity, the analysis that follows concentrates on ES, RS and EP, since the variation between these varieties remains unexplained. Asturian is temporarily excluded since the availability of LocationP in this variety satisfactorily differentiates Asturian from the rest of Ibero-Romance (and explains its word order distribution vis-à-vis the other varieties). I exclude MS and BP since the data is neatest for ES, RS, and EP and makes discussion easier. However, in terms of the availability of LOC, what can be said of EP also applies to BP, since they both license SI with the same types of verb (cf. Table 3, Ch.2). For other parts of the analysis, I exclude BP, since it is well known to be much more restrictive in the kinds of inversion it allows. In the case of MS, its word order distribution patterns between RS and EP (cf. Table 3, Ch.2) but some data remains unclear. Therefore, I suggest further investigation is necessary before MS is included in the present discussion.

- when an SV/VS alternation is available in ES, there is a strong preference for VS order with *come/call*, a preference for VS with *enter/die*, and a strong preference for SV order with *leave*;
- when an SV/VS alternation is available in RS, there is a preference for VS order with *come/call*, but an SV preference with *enter/die*;
- when an SV/VS alternation is available in EP, there is a preference for SV order irrespective of verb type;
- the verbs can be categorized into three groups according to the Ibero-Romance word order distribution: *come/call*, *enter/die*, and *leave*.

Why, when SI is available in a given variety, are there systematic differences in inversion vs. non-inversion preferences which correspond to the verbal groupings? We have suggested that the notion of 'preference' is not valid in the current framework, and we have accounted for the alternation of SV/VS order as it involves an interpretative difference, thought to be the consequence of the presence/absence of LOC. Still, the preferences cannot be simply attributed to differences in how individual speakers interpret the context, otherwise we would not see this type of systematic variation. It seems, therefore, that a grammatical explanation is necessary. I suggest, firstly, that it is necessary to re-consider the analysis of the availability of LOC according to language, and, secondly, that the Ibero-Romance varieties do not only differ in the availability of the distinct types of LOC, but they also differ according to where the locative arguments appear in the clausal structure.

4.2 <u>Re-considering the availability of LOC</u>

Other than the availability of SourceP, it is unclear what factors separate ES, RS and EP. DeixisP and GoalP appear to be available in all these varieties, so either the analysis thus far is incorrect, or there are more factors involved. We have already noted that verbs with deixis and goal features (e.g. *venir/vir*) consistently appear higher on the scale of inversion than verbs without deixis (e.g. *entrar*), suggesting that their different positions on the scale are dependent on differences in how the Ibero-Romance varieties license SI. Let us see where this line of reasoning can take us.

We have predicted that both GoalP and DeixisP are available in EP. However, suppose that, in a given scenario, *entrar* c-selects for a GoalP, resulting in an inversion construction. There should not be a deictic interpretation available on this occasion, because neither the verb nor the locative argument encodes a deictic feature. Nevertheless, we know from Sheehan (2006, 2010) that SI should entail a deictic

interpretation in this context. It could, of course, be pragmatically assigned, but this would go against what has been argued in the rest of this thesis, so a syntactic explanation is preferable. Moreover, we know from Pinto (1997) that the deictic interpretation is central to SI with a null locative in Italian, which suggests that Italian only has one type of null LOC: since deixis is always involved in the interpretation of SI constructions (with a null locative) in Italian, it follows that the covert argument must be DeixisP. Given the parallels observed between Italian and EP elsewhere in this dissertation (e.g. unavailability of SourceP and LocationP) and in the literature in general (e.g. intolerance of SI compared to Spanish; subject prominence), it is plausible to suggest that EP, like Italian, also only has one null locative argument, DeixisP.

Now recall that the verbal scale of inversion appears to be determined by the availability of 'locative' SI in Ibero-Romance. LocationP is only available in Asturian, and the verbs that c-select for LocationP appear at the bottom of the scale. DeixisP is available in all (four) language groupings,[27] and verbs that correspond to DeixisP appear towards the top of the scale. The scale of inversion therefore predicts that there should be a difference in the availability of SourceP, DeixisP and GoalP: accordingly, SourceP should be available in two language groupings (as we have already suggested), and GoalP in three. This makes the following predictions for the availability of different types of LOC across Ibero-Romance:

Table 9: Predictions for the availability of different types of LOC across Ibero-Romance

Verbs according to the scale of inversion	Features/ projections	Types of LOC	Available in:
Come *Call*	Deixis, goal, location	DeixisP	Ast, ES, RS, EP/BP
Enter *Die*	Goal, location	GoalP	Ast, ES, RS
Leave	Source, deixis, goal, location	SourceP	Ast, ES
Cry, shout, resign	Location	LocationP	Ast

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[27] For the purposes of this discussion, remember that, as far as the availability of LOC is concerned, we assume the same analysis for BP as EP. This leaves four language groupings: Asturian, ES, RS, and Portuguese.

Such a proposal gives a very neat account of SI in Ibero-Romance, however it still suggests that word order distribution only varies in four ways, and so further explanation is still necessary.

4.3 A structural explanation?

Intuition suggests that the fine-grained variation may be a result of differences in where LOC can surface at the TP/CP border and left-periphery. Moreover, it would be particularly appealing if we could find an explanation of 'locative' SI − in which deixis is a key element − that involves the C-domain, associated with discourse. Indeed, deixis is the concept which has been least clearly defined in the proposal so far, yet it is identified by Pinto (1997) as a crucial property of locative inversion. When a verb such as *venir/vir* (associated with inverted orders) which is strongly deictic occurs with the null LOC, the sentence is unambiguously anchored in the speaker's domain; for example, in (74), the interpretation refers to the location of the speaker:

(74)   Ha   ven-ido   María.
        AUX   come-PST.PTCP María
        'Maria has come [here].'

However, the interpretation of inversion constructions involving a verb such as *salir/sair* (associated with non-inverted orders) is less clear; it may indicate departure from the speaker's location, or take on a recent temporal reading, like *morir/morrir/morrer* (i.e. 'to have just happened'). Since deixis is related to discourse, it is plausible that the differences relate to where LOC surfaces in the left-periphery across Ibero-Romance.

Furthermore, there is evidence that languages may have multiple subject positions, so it is not unreasonable to assume LOC may surface in more than one position. Diesing (1992) and Kiss (1996) posit two subject positions in German and English respectively, a proposal which holds across a wide range of languages. Moreover, Villa-García (forthcoming) argues for two subject positions in Spanish, in SpecTP and the C-domain, so a similar line of reasoning is not unreasonable for null LOC, especially given its subject-like properties. Seeing as the 'preferences' correspond to the verbal groupings, which in turn correspond to types of LOC, it is plausible that the different types of LOC vary in where they may surface in the clausal architecture: if

this were to be the case, then we would be able to account for Ibero-Romance variation along multiple dimensions, which makes this an appealing analysis. In fact, this makes the correct predictions for EP, RS and ES: we have assumed only one type of LOC available (DeixisP) in EP, which makes the correct prediction that it would only show one type of preference. Similarly, there are two and three types of LOC available in RS and ES respectively, correctly predicting two and three types of preference respectively in these varieties. This then predicts one structural position for EP, two for RS, three for ES, and, since Asturian has four types of LOC, then there should be four structural positions available in this language.[28] However, since the different positions in which the subject or null LOCs could appear have not been tested here, this analysis is largely speculative. Nevertheless, we can still pursue this general line of inquiry, but how can these intuitions be captured in formal terms?

4.4   A formal analysis

We have assumed that LOC is capable of satisfying the EPP requirement on T, but many authors (Rizzi and Shlonsky 2006 for English, Sheehan 2010 for Romance, i.a.) have suggested that, in locative inversion constructions, the locative PP surfaces in Fin.[29] I therefore assume that null LOC is capable of satisfying the EPP, and that it does not necessarily have to surface in SpecTP. Recent work by Sigurðsson (2010) on the syntactic encoding of deictic features in the C-domain is valuable to our analysis here. Sigurðsson (2010:161) suggests that Fin 'splits into two separate (but commonly indistinguishable) head features, a temporal one and a locational one, that is, *Speech Time* and *Speech Location*, S_T and S_L (the basic NOW and HERE of the utterance).' Moreover, he argues that there are 'context-linkers' and 'speaker' and 'hearer' features encoded in the CP which are 'inherent features of the syntactic speech event' (2010:162). Context-linking is understood to be a general notion in which the values of argumental and adverbial topics are set according to elements in the deictic or discourse context; in these terms, Topic heads are replaced by C heads, licensing context-sensitive semantic variables, and thus Top is itself replaced by the more general CL_N:

(75)   [$_{CP}$ Force… CL_N … Fin [$_{TP}$ …]

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[28] The different types of LOC are predicted to surface in a position encoding a corresponding feature.

[29] The split CP as proposed by Rizzi (1997) is assumed.

Between CL_N and Fin are features for speaker and hearer, labelled *logophoric agent* (Λ_A) and *logophoric patient* (Λ_B). The structure that is assumed for the CP is thus:

(76)

```
              CP
        Force
               CLn
                  Λ_A
                     Λ_P
                        Fin      TP
```
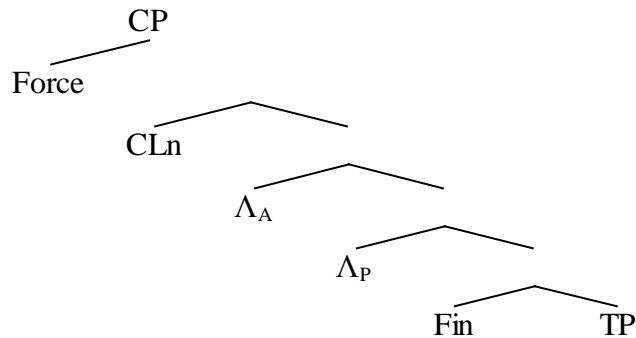
$CL_{N,}$ Λ_A and the features associated with Fin (S_T and S_L) are all features which I have associated with locative inversion, and with LOC, as I explain below. We have already established a correlation between the different types of null LOC, the inversion verbs, and the features associated with 'locative' SI (cf. Table 7, which I repeat below):

Table 7 (repeated): Correspondences between type of PP, projections/features and inversion verbs

Type of P	Projections/Features	Verbs
SourceP	Source, deixis, goal, location	*Salir/sair; irse*
DeixisP	Deixis, goal, location	*Venir/vir; llamar/ligar*
GoalP	Goal, location	*Entrar; morir/morrir/morrer*
LocationP	Location	*Llorar; gritar; dimitir*

The analogies can be extended to include the pragmatic features of Sigurðsson (2010):

Table 10: Correspondences between Sigurðsson's (2010) features/structural positions, type of LOC, verbs and features

Features/ structural position	Type of LOC	Verbs	Features
CL_N	SourceP	*Salir; irse*	Source, deixis, goal, location
Λ_A	DeixisP	*Venir/vir; llamar/ligar*	Deixis, goal, location
S_T, S_L (Fin)	GoalP	*Entrar; morir/ morrir/morrer*	Goal, location
	LocationP	*llorar; gritar; dimitir*	Location

CL_N relates to SourceP and *salir/sair* and *irse* since we have already established that the interpretation of sentences containing these verbs (which c-select SourceP) tends to be more weakly deictic. Λ_A relates to DeixisP and *venir/vir* and *llamar/ligar* due to the speaker orientation involved in the interpretation of sentences composed of these verbs and the null LOC. Fin corresponds to GoalP and *entrar* and *morir/morrir/morrer* since Fin either encodes Speech Time or Location, which relates to the interpretations of the corresponding verbs, and these c-select GoalP. [30] Furthermore, the correspondences allow us to predict that there must be another structural position corresponding to LocationP and the unergative verbs encoding static location (only), and this position is presumably T. Of course, it makes sense for LOC to surface in T in order to be able to satisfy the EPP. This gives us our four structural positions as predicted in Section 4.2. If Sigurðsson's features have EPP-features triggering movement on them, then, depending on the feature(s) associated with a given interpretation, LOC could surface in different positions within the clausal architecture. The combination of different structural positions associated with Sigurðsson's features plus the availability of different types of LOC could plausibly account for Ibero-Romance variation. I posit a possible account below.

Feature scattering

Giorgi and Pianesi's (1997) 'feature scattering principle' states that each feature can head a projection, but their distribution in the clausal architecture may vary: features

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[30] This suggests GoalP encodes S_T and S_L features. In fact, I propose this below.

can be bundled together or they can be scattered to differing degrees. Sheehan (2010) suggests that, while in Spanish discourse features (Focus/Emphatic/Topic) are bundled on Fin (77), which optionally bears these features, in EP, discourse features are scattered higher in the C-domain, most of which have an EPP-feature each, and do not appear on Fin (78):

(77)   CP in Spanish
        Force   Top   Fin [(Foc)/(Top)/(Emp), uφ, *…]

(78)   CP in EP
        Force   (Top*) (Foc) (Emp*)   (Top*)   Fin [uφ*…]

Since Chomsky (2008) proposes that T inherits its Agree features from C, of which the lowest head is Fin, Sheehan assumes that Fin 'bears all T's (uninterpretable) features until merger, including the EPP' (Sheehan 2010:246). If, as Sheehan conjectures, there is a general economy principle in which an EPP-feature associates itself with a discourse feature over an uninterpretable feature, in Spanish, the EPP will trigger movement of a discourse feature to SpecFinP, over movement of the subject to SpecTP. In EP, on the other hand, the scattering of features in the C-domain means that the EPP is largely disassociated from discourse effects, and so even if an XP moves to CP for discourse reasons, the subject still has to move to SpecTP. The exception, Sheehan claims, is locative inversion, in which the PP is assumed to surface in Fin.

Now suppose that these discourse features include those of Sigurðsson (2010). If these can be associated with the EPP-feature which usually appears on T and is responsible for the EPP in its 'original' sense, we can elaborate a proposal which explains the 'preferences' of Ibero-Romance in similar terms. I summarize the assumptions of the chapter for reference:

Table 11: Number of types of LOC available according to language with corresponding features (from Sigurðsson 2010) and preferences

Lang	No. LOC	LOC can surface in (with corresponding preferences):							
Ast	4	CL_N	SV	Λ_A	<u>VS</u>	Fin	VS	T	SV
ES	3	CL_N	SV	Λ_A	<u>VS</u>	Fin	VS		
RS	2			Λ_A	VS	Fin	SV		
EP	1			Λ_A	SV				

As CL_N appears very far to the left in the CP, I assume that it is too high for the EPP-feature (usually on T) to associate itself with, and that it does not have an EPP-feature of its own in Asturian and ES. The SV/VS alternation is then only dependent on whether LOC is present in the numeration, leading to the impression of what I term a 'neutral' so-called preference (SV/VS). Since Λ_A and Fin are lower, the EPP-feature (of T) can more plausibly associate itself with these discourse features. In ES, these features are presumably bundled on Fin. Therefore, there are more factors in involved in the SV/VS alternation, which is, firstly, dependent on whether these features are present. If they are, then the EPP-feature (of T) will associate itself with them; if they are not, then the EPP in its usual sense will cause LOC to fill the canonical subject position anyway. These multiple factors involved in SI give the impression of a VS 'preference.' We can attribute the stronger SI preference of DeixisP over GoalP (and related inversion verbs) due to either the higher position of Λ_A above Fin, or due to DeixisP actually encoding both Λ_A and S_T/S_L (appearing on Fin), whereas GoalP only encodes S_T and S_L.[31]

In EP, a 'neutral' preference obtains since the discourse features are scattered in the CP, and the EPP is therefore separated from discourse effects. DeixisP values its features via Agree and does not appear in a higher position since Λ_A presumably does not have an EPP-feature of its own. Thus LOC satisfies the EPP in the usual way. Asturian is assumed to show essentially the same distribution as ES. That T is the fourth position predicted to be available in this language changes little, since T's obligatory EPP-feature comes 'for free' in this case, associating this position with the neutral 'preference'. RS is assumed to pattern somewhere in between ES and EP.

This proposal appears to make the correct predictions for Ibero-Romance word order. I repeat the correspondences for reference:

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[31] This involves re-analyzing GoalP as including a deictic feature. Under such an analysis, DeixisP and GoalP would have similar layered structures (i.e. both would have a deictic projection) but they would encode different types of deixis; or rather, DeixisP would encode Λ_A, S_T and S_L, whereas GoalP would encode only S_T and S_L. We would therefore predict that SourceP encodes the CL_N feature, which would be valued via Agree but would not involve movement. This account may well be preferable, since it would allow us to account for the deictic interpretation associated with 'locative' SI in all instances (excepting LocationP, which is what we would expect if it appears in the non discourse-related SpecTP), and, furthermore, allow us to account for the different types of weaker, stronger and speaker-oriented deixis that have been observed in the various types of interpretation associated with locative proforms in Ibero-Romance.

Table 12: Correspondences between from Sigurðsson's features/clausal positions, type of LOC, and inversion verbs

Sigurðsson's features/ clausal position	Type of LOC	Verb (e.g.)
CL_N	SourceP	*Salir/sair*
Λ_A	DeixisP	*Venir/vir*
Fin (S_T and S_L)	GoalP	*Entrar*
T	LocationP	*Gritar*

The above discussion predicts that:

- *salir/sair* is associated with an SV 'preference', where there is an alternation;
- *venir/vir* is associated with a (strong) VS 'preference';
- *entrar* is associated with a VS 'preference';
- *gritar* is associated with an SV 'preference', where there is an alternation.

This is, of course, precisely the word order distribution that has been described for Ibero-Romance. Finally, the questionable notion of 'preference' is given a grammatical explanation, dependent on the types of LOC available in a given language and where they appear in the TP/CP border and left-periphery. Moreover, this account – though necessarily somewhat speculative at times – allows us to account for the systematic complexity of Ibero-Romance variation.

4.5   <u>Conclusion</u>

In Chapter 3, I proposed that there were four types of null LOC, but that these were not equally available across Ibero-Romance. I acknowledged that the proposal was not sufficient to capture the Ibero-Romance empirical data. In this chapter, however, I reanalyzed the availability of LOC and accounted for the so-called 'preferences' in terms of where the different types of LOC appear in the clausal architecture across Ibero-Romance. Since some of the details of the account are speculative, it may turn out not to stand up to future research. However, the correspondences I have uncovered between the various factors involved in 'locative' SI are significant and suggest the proposal is largely correct in its assumptions. Moreover, that it appears to account for the complexity of Ibero-Romance variation in a reasonably elegant manner suggests the analysis is on the right track. Now that I have associated 'locative' SI with various pragmatic features, it would be useful to try to isolate the interpretative differences that are presumably involved when employing the different

types of LOC. As these are likely to be subtle, such a task will be difficult, but it is a necessary one to establish the validity of my claims.

5. Definiteness effects with VSPP constructions

5.1   Introduction

Recall that in Pinto (1997), the subject is predicted to occur preverbally in overt locative constructions in Italian where the PP appears postverbally. Sheehan (2010) claims that this prediction holds for the most part in Spanish, Italian and EP. Nevertheless, she observes that SI *is* indeed permitted with unaccusatives and postverbal locative PPs in wide-focus contexts, but that the inversion is subject to definiteness effects (DE). Sheehan accounts for this by positing a null expletive, which corresponds to English 'there' and is interpreted as a quantifier at LF, that satisfies the EPP in the observed exceptions. The account put forward by Pinto and Sheehan appears to be corroborated by data from Asturian, EP and BP; however, the Spanish data complicates the picture, since VSPP orders are tolerated across the Spanish varieties with some, but not all, unaccusatives, and are not necessarily subject to DE.

5.2   Definiteness effects with unaccusative verbs

DE obtain in Asturian, EP and BP across all VSPP constructions with unaccusative verbs. However, the Spanish varieties only allow VSPP constructions with a limited number of unaccusative verbs. Of the VSPP constructions permitted, some appear to be subject to DE in ES, but not in MS or RS. The acceptability of VSPP constructions does not appear to correlate with the acceptability of SI with inversion verbs as discussed in previous chapters, suggesting that the grammaticality of these word orders is determined by different parameters. This would be expected if it is indeed a null existential expletive that satisfies the EPP in VSPP constructions, distinct from the null LOC which satisfies the EPP in SI constructions without an overt PP. The Spanish data suggests that the null expletive is not available in Spanish varieties, so another explanation must be sought for the patterning of VSPP orders in these varieties.

To come, to leave

In Asturian, ES, EP and BP, the VSPP order is licensed with an indefinite subject with the verbs *salir/sair* and *venir/vir*:

(79) a. Sal-ió   daquién del   bar.
          leave-PST.3SG someone from.the   bar
      b. Saiu   alguém do   bar.
          leave.PST.3SG someone from.the   bar
      c. Sal-ió   alguien del   bar.
          leave-PST.3SG someone from.the   bar
          'Someone left the bar.'

Since SI with *salir/sair* is not licensed in EP and BP, it suggests that the grammaticality of the VSPP order is not related to the possibility of inversion with a null locative.

Whereas the inverted orders are not tolerated in Asturian, EP or BP, they are still marginally acceptable in ES:

(80) a. *Sal-ió   Guillermo del   bar.
          leave-PST.3SG Guillermo from.the bar
      b. *Saiu   o   Guilherme do   bar.
          leave.PST.3SG the Guilherme from.the bar
      c. ?Sal-ió   Guillermo del   bar.
          leave-PST.3SG Guillermo from.the bar
          'William left the bar.'

In IA, on the other hand, the VSPP orders are not subject to DE, but these orders are only marginally acceptable in RS in general, and marginal at best in MS:

(81) a. ??Vino   alguien   al   hostal.   [IA]
          come.PST.3SG   someone   to.the hostel
          'Someone came to the hostel.'
      b. ?Vino   Maite al   hostal.
          come.PST.3SG   Maite to.the   hostel
          'Maite came to the hostel.'

To enter, to die

Again, with the unaccusatives *morrir/morir/morrer* and *entrar*, VSPP orders are licensed in Asturian, EP and BP, but are subject to DE:

(82) a. Morr-ió   daquién   na   cai.   [Asturian]
          die-PST.3SG someone   in.the   street
          'Someone died in the street.'

      b. *Morr-ió   Paquirri nela   plaza   de gües.
          die-PST.3SG Paquirri in.the square of bulls
          'Paquirri died in the bullring.'

(83) a. Entrou   alguém   no   cinema.   [EP, BP]
          enter-PST.3SG someone   in.the   cinema
          'Somebody went into the cinema.'

      b. *Entrou   o Nuno   no   cinema.
          enter-PST.3SG the Nuno in.the   cinema
          'Nuno went into the cinema.'

However, their equivalents in Spanish are judged unacceptable or marginal by most speakers, irrespective of whether the sentence is definite or not:

(84) a. ???Mur-ió   alguien   en la calle.   [Spanish]
          die-PST.3SG someone   in   the street
          'Someone died in the street.'

      b. ???Mur-ió   Paquirri en el   ruedo.
          die-PST.3SG Paquirri in the   bullring
          'Paquirri died in the bullring.'

(85) a. *Entr-ó   alguien   en el cine.
          enter-PST.3SG someone   in   the cinema
          'Somebody went into the cinema.'

      b. *Entr-ó   Tomás   en el   cine.
          enter-PST.3SG Tomás   in   the   cinema
          'Tomás went into the cinema.'

Why SI is licensed with some unaccusatives (i.e. *salir, venir*, at least to a certain extent) and not others (i.e. *entrar, morir*) in Spanish is unclear. In accordance with what has been claimed in the rest of this thesis, there must be a null element that satisfies the EPP in the examples with *salir* and *venir,* which are at least marginally acceptable in Spanish, unlike the examples with *entrar* and *morir.* Since when VSPP orders are (at least marginally) permitted, they are not subject to DE in IA (and

possibly in ES, though this is not conclusive), the null existential expletive does not appear to be available.

It could be due to the difference in spatial preposition, since the unacceptable examples with *morir* and *entrar* involve a locative P *em/en* ('in') whereas the more acceptable examples with *salir* and *venir* involve a directional P *a/de* ('to', 'from'). In the absence of the existential expletive, it is possible that LOC instead appears in the preverbal position and satisfies the EPP, but only if the corresponding type of LOC is available in the given variety. I assume that the null PP would be coindexed with its overt (similar, but not identical) counterpart (e.g. SourceP with the directional PP *del bar*; LocationP with the locative *en el cine*). Because null LocationP is unavailable in Spanish, the examples (84a,b) and (85a,b) are not licensed: with neither the existential expletive nor LOC satisfying the EPP, the VSPP order is rendered ungrammatical since nothing surfaces in the preverbal position in these instances. In example (80c) with *salir* and an overt source P, the sentence is presumably grammatical in ES, as null SourceP is available in this variety. Similarly, the examples with *venir* in (81), involving the directional goal P *a* are better than the ungrammatical (84a,b) or (85a,b) in IA, since the null DeixisP is available in these varieties. If it is LOC that surfaces preverbally, then this would explain the lack of DE in the Spanish varieties.

To happen

All the Ibero-Romance varieties under investigation, however, license SI with VSPP with unaccusative *asoceder/ocurrir/acontecer*:

(86) a. Asoced-ió   un accidente na   carretera.   [Asturian]
          happen-PST.3SG an accident   on.the road

      b. Acontec-eu   um acidente na   estrada.   [Portuguese]
          happen-PST.3SG an   accident on.the road

      c. Ocurr-ió   un accidente en la   carretera.   [Spanish]
          happen-PST.3SG an accident   on the   road
          'An accident happened on the road.'

Again, DE only obtain in Asturian, EP and BP, whereas the Spanish varieties, including ES, license the VSPP order whether or not the sentence is definite:

(87) a. ?Acontec-eu   o   Woodstock   nos   Estados   Unidos.   [Portuguese]
         happen-PST.3SG the Woodstock   in.the   States   United
         'Woodstock took place in the United States.'

    b. ?Asoced-ió   el   11-S nos   Estaos   Xuníos.   [Asturian]
         happen-PST.3SG the 9/11   in.the   States   United

    c. Ocurr-ió   el   11-S en   Estados   Unidos.   [Spanish]
         happen-PST.3SG the 9/11   in   States   United
         'The 9/11 [attacks] took place in the United States.'

The VSPP orders in Asturian, EP and BP are marginal but not completely ungrammatical. However, the higher acceptability of the VSPP construction with *asoceder/ocurrir/acontecer* may be related to the presentational context in which the verb is used.

It therefore appears to be the case that DE *do* obtain in Asturian, EP and BP with VSPP orders and unaccusative verbs, as predicted by Pinto (1997)'s analysis and as observed in Sheehan (2010). The Spanish varieties, on the other hand, license VSPP orders with a restricted set of unaccusative verbs only: for those unaccusatives with which the VSPP order is permitted, ES largely (but not definitively) shows DE, whereas IA does not show DE in such constructions, contra Sheehan (2010). Further investigation is needed to determine whether there are DE in ES.

Though it appears that the null expletive as proposed in Sheehan (2006) is available in Asturian, EP, BP, and – at least possibly – in ES, it must be absent in IA (and possibly ES). However, some other mechanism must be available to satisfy the EPP when inversion is (at least marginally) permitted in Spanish. This is plausibly LOC. That the sentences in which VSPP is found to be ungrammatical in Spanish involve a locative PP, whose null counterpart LocationP is unavailable in Spanish, supports this proposal.

5.3   <u>Definiteness effects with unergative verbs</u>

VSPP orders are not expected to be licensed with unergative verbs, a prediction which is substantiated across Ibero-Romance. Thus, across the varieties, VSPP orders were

ungrammatical with *brincar/saltar/pular* and *nadar*, whether with a directional or a locative PP:

(88)   *Salt-ou   o   gato sobre a   cama.   [EP]
       jump-PST.3SG the   cat   on   the bed
       'The cat jumped on the bed.'

(89)   *Salt-ó   Phelps al   agua.   [Spanish]
       jump-PST.3SG Phelps to.the   water
       'Phelps jumped into the water.'

(90)   *Nad-ó   el pexe nel   mar.   [Asturian]
       swim-PST.3SG the fish in.the   sea
       'The fish swam in the sea.'

(91)   *Nad-ou   Webb para França.   [BP]
       swim-PST.3SG Webb to   France
       'Webb swam to France.'

To verify whether VSPP orders are affected by unergative inversion verbs, it is useful to consider the unergatives with which 'locative' SI is licensed in Asturian. In fact, the VSPP order with *dimitir*, which involves an SV/VS alternation in Asturian, is better than VSPP orders with other non-inversion unergatives, though it is still not wholly acceptable:

(92)   ?Dimitió   Putin dende el   so   despachu.
       resign-PST.3SG Putin from the   his   office
       'Putin resigned from his office.'

This suggests there could be some relation, but further testing is necessary before any conclusions can be drawn. However, the fact that the unergative inversion verb *llamar* is no more acceptable than the other unergatives in IA suggests that VSPP inversion constructions and 'locative' inversion constructions are determined by different factors:

(93)   *Llam-ó   Pedro   a   casa.
       call-PST.3SG Pedro   to   house
       'Pedro called home.'

Since IA is not subject to DE with unaccusatives and VSPP orders, even the fact that it may employ an available null LOC to satisfy the EPP in such instances does not appear to have any bearing on unergative constructions. This holds even with the inversion verb *llamar*, and a goal PP (i.e. a PP whose null counterpart GoalP is available in these varieties). Therefore, even though it is plausible that null LOC satisfies the EPP in some instances of VSPP orders, the fact that this only occurs with unaccusatives suggests that this type of inversion is different from the SI with a null locative discussed in the rest of this thesis. The availability of VSPP orders seems to be determined by the type of intransitive verb, as well as other factors. However, it is clear that more thorough testing needs to be carried out before reaching any definitive conclusions.

5.4   Gradient judgments of VSPP orders

Though some VSPP orders are found to be acceptable in some varieties, the SVPP order is always the more felicitous order. This holds whether the verb is unaccusative or unergative:

(94)   Tomás   entr-ó   al   cine.   [ES]
        Tomás   enter-PST.3SG to.the cinema
        'Thomas went into the cinema.'

(95)   Paquirri mur-ió   en   el ruedo.   [MS]
        Paquirri die-PST.3SG   in   the bullring
        'Paquirri died in the bullring.'

(96)   Alguien   sal-ió   del   bar.   [RS]
        someone   leave-PST.3SG from.the   bar
        'Someone has left the bar.'

(97)   Xuan   baill-ó   na   discoteca.   [Asturian]
        Xuan   dance-PST.3SG   in.the club
        'John danced in the club.'

(98)   O   Filipe   lig-ou   para casa.   [EP]
        the   Filipe   call-PST.3SG to   home
        'Philip called home.'

(99) Phelps   salt-ou   para a   água.   [BP]
     Phelps   jump-PST.3SG to   the   water
     'Phelps jumped into the water.'

In fact, levels of acceptability, and degree of the DE, vary according to variety. The most pronounced DE are to be found in BP, whereas these effects are less pronounced, if they obtain at all (as is the case in IA), in the other varieties. This highlights the importance of gradient judgments in assessing grammatical acceptability. The average of the gradient judgments on s*alir/sair* and *venir/vir* given by informants is summarized below, where a score of 1 indicates an unacceptable sentence and 5 a fully grammatical sentence:

Table 13: Informants' gradient judgment average for unaccusative verbs *salir/sair* and *venir/vir* with VSPP orders

	Definiteness effects obtain?	*Salir/sair*		*Venir/vir*	
		Definite	Indefinite	Definite	Indefinite
Asturian	✓	1.75	3.4	3.2	3.5
EP	✓	2.3	4	2.2	3.4
BP	✓	3.3	4.1	2.7	3.9
ES	✓	3.5	4	3.1	4.1
MS	✗	2.6	2.3	3.5	2.3
RS	✗	4.3	3.7	3.9	3.2

It can be seen in the table above that the degree to which VSPP orders are acceptable varies, and often the difference in acceptability between the definite and the indefinite sentence is fairly minor. VSPP orders even with indefinite DPs in the varieties in which DE obtain are not as acceptable as their SVPP counterparts. Therefore, as has been previously stated, simple presence or absence of the null expletive cannot fully explain the acceptability of such constructions. That the VSPP orders are not fully grammatical suggests there must be a requirement that an element fill the canonical subject position in Ibero-Romance, as otherwise the verbal morphology would suffice to satisfy the EPP, as is suggested in A&A (1998). This element, at least in Asturian, EP, BP and possibly ES, is plausibly the null existential expletive as posited in Sheehan (2006). Nevertheless, the fact remains that the SVPP order is preferable to the VSPP order, even if the null existential expletive is present.

A possible partial explanation may lie in the proposal that the EPP, commonly associated with a D-feature after Chomsky (1995), is really a 'feature of a feature' (Sheehan 2006:141). As Holmberg (2000:447) suggests (in relation to stylistic fronting in Scandinavian):

> 'the nominal feature(s) associated with I should be held apart from the requirement that [Spec, IP] be overtly filled. In terms of feature theory, two features are involved: one, a feature attracting (features of) a nominal category to I, and the other, a feature that requires filling [Spec, IP]. In many cases, in many languages, the two features conspire to attract a nominal category to [Spec, IP].'

As such, the EPP might better be understood as simply a stipulation that a Spec position of a given category be filled. Ibero-Romance data presented here and elsewhere indeed suggests that there is a separation between the presence of a uD-feature on T which needs to be satisfied, and an EPP-feature which requires movement. It is reasonable to assume that the null existential expletive has a quantifier feature, interpretable at LF, but no D-feature that could value a uD-feature on T. Suppose, then, that the null expletive is enough to satisfy the EPP-feature requiring movement to SpecTP, but, without a D-feature, it cannot value the uD-feature on T. Therefore, the EPP in its 'original' sense is partly satisfied, as an element is present in the canonical subject position, so VSPP constructions come some way to being grammatically acceptable. However, since the uD-feature on T is not valued, the VSPP order cannot be fully grammatical.[32]

The fact that BP is the variety which is most sensitive to DE may support this proposal. Holmberg et al. (2009) propose that the difference between consistent and partial NSLs is that the former have an uD-feature on T, a feature which partial NSLs lack. While I am hesitant to attribute (some of) the findings of this chapter to the NSP, in the absence of an uD-feature on T, the EPP requirement in BP would only be related to the EPP in its current instantiation as a movement diacritic. Therefore, when the null existential is present, the EPP is satisfied more adequately in BP which has no uD-feature on T than in the consistent NSLs whose uD-feature remains unvalued. Since the null existential is related to DE, these effects appear to be more pronounced in BP when they obtain. However, BP is less tolerant towards SI in general when

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[32] Of course, this analysis only applies to those varieties in which a null existential expletive is available. If it is LOC that satisfies the EPP in VSPP constructions in Spanish, then this analysis only applies to Asturian, EP and BP.

compared with the consistent NSLs. It is therefore unsurprising that, even with the null existential present, the VSPP construction in BP is not fully acceptable to speakers, the present proposal notwithstanding.

5.5 <u>**Summary**</u>

This chapter tested the prediction that Ibero-Romance SI is permitted but subject to DE in sentences with unaccusatives and postverbal overt locative PPs with a wide-focus interpretation. DE were indeed found to obtain in these contexts in Asturian, EP and BP, for which reason it is assumed that a null existential expletive is available in these languages and satisfies the EPP in such instances. The null existential expletive appears not to be available in the Spanish varieties, which do not show DE with the possible exception of ES. However, some VSPP orders are acceptable in these varieties and so I assume there must be an element which can satisfy the EPP in such instances. Since the VSPP order appears to be acceptable wherever the null counterpart to the relevant overt PP is available in the given variety of Spanish, I suggest that the null locative may satisfy the EPP on these occasions. The fact that VSPP constructions are always judged to be less acceptable than SVPP orders may be related to lack of a D-feature in the null existential expletive and the presence of a uD-feature on T, an account which, unlike the other proposals of this thesis, links the explanation of these constructions to the NSP. Further research is, however, necessary to evaluate the validity of these proposals.

6. Concluding remarks

The aim of this thesis has been to provide new data with which to assess the licensing of wide-focus SI in Ibero-Romance and to test the predictions of existing analyses of the phenomenon. An extensive empirical survey of six varieties of Ibero-Romance offers strong evidence that there are preverbal subject positions in Ibero-Romance – a fact which invalidates A&A (1998) – and that SVO, rather than VSO, is the neutral word order of these varieties. Infelicitous instances of inverted orders indicate there is an active EPP in Ibero-Romance, which cannot be satisfied by rich verbal agreement inflection. As such, the I-subject view of null subjects does not make the correct predictions for Ibero-Romance, suggesting that a proposal more in line with the Holmberg/Roberts approach to null subjects is more suitable.

The cases of wide-focus SI investigated here, however, are not directly related to the NSP, as suggested by the fact that BP, a partial NSL, licenses these instances of SI under the same general conditions as those of the consistent NLSs surveyed here: that is, the availability of null locatives or a null existential expletive, in line with a lexicon-oriented approach to parametric variation. Given the systematic complexity of the word order distribution, I proposed an analysis of the null locative as a layered PP, of which there are four instantiations encoding path, location and deixis, and which are available unequally across Ibero-Romance varieties. Under this analysis, Ibero-Romance 'locative' inversion with an overt PP and SI with a null PP involve the same underlying construction, only differing according to whether the locative PP is overtly or covertly realized.

The different types of locative PP are most widely available in Asturian, followed by ES, RS, MS, EP and BP, reflecting the degree to which the Ibero-Romance varieties license wide-focus investigation, with Asturian showing the most inverted orders and BP the most SV configurations. Furthermore, the null existential expletive was found to be available in Asturian, EP and BP, meaning that VSPP orders with unaccusatives are subject to DE in these languages. The null existential expletive, however, does not appear to be available in the Spanish varieties, but it was hypothesized that, in the absence of the null expletive, a null locative might satisfy the EPP in instances of felicitous VSPP orders, depending on the availability of the corresponding null locative in the lexical entries of these varieties.

It has often been claimed that SI is related to the unergative/unaccusative divide, since only unaccusative verbs are thought to license inversion. This seems to be the case with the VSPP constructions surveyed. However, in 'locative' SI, though unaccusative verbs are associated with SI more than unergatives, this seems to be to do with locational, directional and deictic properties of these verbs, as well as the availability of locative PPs in languages which have 'locative' SI, rather than unaccusativity/unergativity themselves.

Finally, if only availability of LOC is considered, the Ibero-Romance 'locative' SI data is not fully explained. Accordingly, I further proposed that the differences in Ibero-Romance word order distribution can be explained by where the null locative PPs appear in the TP/CP border and left-periphery across Ibero-Romance. Given the key role of deixis – which I argue is formally encoded in Ibero-Romance – observed in Ibero-Romance 'locative' inversion, an account involving the discourse-related C-domain in which, following Sigurdsson (2010), pragmatic features are encoded is attractive. The proposal I advance appears to account for the systematic complexity of Ibero-Romance variation, but further investigation is necessary to establish its validity.

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