Impersonal verbs as raising verbs

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Resumo

Este trabalho traz a discussão havida na década de noventa sobre verbos impessoais, em especial inacusativos e existenciais, e discute mais detalhadamente a proposta de Nascimento e Kato (1995) apresentada e publicada naquela ocasião. Essencialmente, propomos que o complemento desse tipo de verbo, que apresenta restrições de "definitude", são predicados na origem da derivação.

Palavras-chaves*: Restrições de "definitude". Inacusativos. Existenciais. Caso. Predicação*

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The case of unaccusative complements

Unaccusative complements have been claimed by different authors to be assigned different cases: a. nominative case at S-structure (CHOMSKY, 1981, 1995, 1986, JAEGGLI, 1982); b. nominative or accusative case at S-structure (BORER, 1986) and c. partitive case at D-structure and nominative case at S-structure (BELLETTI, 1988).

For Chomsky (1981) the unaccusative complement is generated in postverbal position and an expletive ´pro`, which is cosuperscripted with the postposed NP, is inserted in (NP, S) position. Like any subject generated in this position, the expletive ´pro` is cosuperscripted with AGR (eement). In prodrop languages, AGR is attached to the verb in the syntax (rule R). After rule R has applied the verb governs the postverbal NP and assigns it nominative case. In Chomsky (1981), this cosuperscripting device gives rise to a new notion of CHAIN, which includes both the usual NP-trace chain as well as the Expletive-NP chain (CHOMSKY, 1981). Like with the NP-trace chain, the expletive is the element assigned case and the NP is the element that receives the theta-role.

Borer (1986) presents a variant of the nominative hypothesis. For her an NP is assigned nominative case if and only if it agrees with the verb. She makes an interesting comparison between English and French, and shows that in English the postverbalnominal is nominative as it gets case through the expletive *there*. The expletive *there*, on the other hand, has no person and number features, being adverbial in nature, and therefore agreement of the verb holds with the postverbal NP. Unlike English, French unaccusative constructions present agreement of the verb with the expletive *il*, which is assigned nominative case. The postverbal nominal in French is accusative for Borer, not constituting a chain with the expletive as in English. So in English, but not in French, unaccusative constructions has nominative case assigned to the complement. Hebrew is a different case. When the unaccusative verb assigns nominative to the complement, the verb agrees with it, since "agreement is a property of nominative marked NPs" (p. 386). Moreover, the complement NP is invariably indefinite. However, if the unaccusative verb assigns accusative case to the NP the verb is inflected in the masculine singular whatever the inflectional features of the complement NP. Though Borer does not say so, all the complements, in this case, are definite. There seems, therefore, to be a correlation between case and definiteness. All these data are justified by her proposal that superscripting of the postverbal NP is free, contrary to Chomsky's proposal above.

A completely different perspective is taken by Belletti (1988), who proposes that unaccusative/ergative verbs assign optional inherent partitive case to their complements, referred to by the author as i-subjects (inverted subjects), which include any post-verbal NP that can also appear preverbally. An inherent partitive case is assigned at D-structure optionally. If a nominal is not assigned the partitive case it will have to be raised in order to get structural nominative case. Her analysis is mainly concerned with the so-called 'definiteness effect', which she shows correlates with the partitive case. Nominative case, on the other hand, correlates with definite NPs. Her analysis covers both languages of the non null subject parameter like English and French, which exhibit a fairly strong definiteness effect, as well as languages of the pro-drop parameter which seem to be less constrained regarding definite NPs in complements of unaccusative verbs[3].

What we can see in these analyses is that three different cases have been attributed to the unaccusative complement: nominative, accusative and partitive. In the three approaches nominative is the common ground case. Besides, case has been proposed to correlate with either agreement or with definiteness restrictions. There is also a contradictory correlation between the authors: while for Borer nominative correlates with indefiniteness and accusative with definiteness, for Belletti nominative correlates with definiteness and partitive with indefiniteness.

Various papers dealing with the problem of postposed subjects have made the important observation that unaccusative verbs have definiteness restrictions regarding their complement NPs, unlike other verbs. The studies that were mainly concerned with the problem of case, as the ones we mentioned above, have not considered the parallel behavior of ergative verbs and copula constructions with respect to this definiteness restriction behavior. Observe the partial similarity in the blocks of sentences below:

(1) a. John is a poet.

b.?John is the poet.

c. John is the poet that everybody loved.

3 See Safir (1989) and do Nascimento (1984) for a full description of the lack of definiteness effect phenomenon in European and Brazilian Portuguese.

d. John is the best student in my class.

(2) a. Everybody considers John a poet.

b.*Everybody considers John the poet.

c. Everybody considers John the student that every teacher wants.

d. Everybody considers John the best poet in the group.

(3) a. There is an actor in the room.

b.*There is the actor in the room.

c. ?There is the actor that everybody loves.

d.*There is the best Broadway actor outside.

(4) a. There arrived a letter.

b.*There arrived the letter.

c. There arrived the letter that everybody was expecting.

d.? There arrived at Trader Joe's the best wine from California.

In (1) and (2) light NPs can only be indefinite and heavy NPs can be definite. We may call this set of properties the definiteness effect. Unaccusatives behave alike with light NPs but not with heavy NPs. Definiteness restriction seems stronger with these verbs than with attributive constructions.

Higginbotham (1987) attributes the DE property to predicates, and we might add that whenever one finds these effects we have a predicate and not an argument. Higginbotham (1989) assumes further that the relation between *there* and the post-copular NP in existentials is predicative. In this paper we will pursue this idea and try to give a functional/structural analysis of this relation.

Considering attributive copula noun complements in (1) as predicative in function would not be questioned as the postulation that the subject of the sentence is the logical

subject of the nominal predicate and not of the copula finds its original insight in traditional grammars. Being a predicate, this nominal does not require case, in terms of visiblity requirements. If it has case realized in it, we could say that it is merely because in inflected languages predicates agree in features with their subjects.

If in a certain context a nominal has definiteness restrictions, as in unaccusative complements, it could be speculated whether these nominals are not in fact D-structure predicates, in which case the DE would be a consequence of this function[4].

Roughly, what we are proposing is a D-structure for (1) - (4) containing a small clause in which a predication relation is established and where the indefinite nominal appears with the predicative function.

(1)' e be ($_{SC}$ John a poet)

(2)' Everybody considers ($_{SC}$ John a poet)

(3)' e be ($_{SC}$ ($_{SC}$ there$_1$ an actor) in the room$_1$)

(4)' e arrive ($_{SC}$ there a letter)

But, if the complements of unaccusative verbs exhibit the DE properties, we should question the assumption about their argument status. On the other hand, if they are predicates, we have to face at least three issues with regard to the occurrence of post-verbal structures of the type in (4):

(5) a. What do such complements predicate on?

b. Given that in such constructions the only NP left is an expletive, to what constituent will the unaccusative verb attribute its thematic role?

c. If such verb attributes a thematic role to a constituent, how would this constituent get case and what case would it receive?

The following sections will try to answer the above questions.

4 In fact, Safir (1989) attributes the DE to the predicative nature of the nominal coda, which he assumes to form an expletive chain with there. This is where his treatment and ours differ, as we will be proposing that we have an ordinary raising chain.

Existentials and unaccusatives as raising verbs

Predicative phrases will be considered as a constituent of a propositional argument, which, like the complements of *seem*-like verbs, are not assigned case. Thus, at first sight, it seems that both lack of case and definiteness restriction are explained by the predicate 'status' of these nominals. We will claim, however, again following Higginbotham's view, that though in both cases we have a predicative function, the definiteness restriction found in these post-verbal nominals is only partially a dependent on their function.

Assuming that predication is established under sisterhood implies that in order to account for the surface of the above constructions not only the attributive *be*, but also the existential *be* (or *avoir* and *haver*) and the unaccusatives will have to be treated as raising verbs.

The proposal of *be* in its attributive function as a raising verb is not new in GB literature (cf., for example, KOOPMAN and SPORTICHE (1988)[5], RAPOSO and URIAGEREKA (1990), the latter for Portuguese). Existential sentences have been proposed to be raising constructions by Moro (1990) and by Hoekstra and Mulder (1990), hereafter H&M. The latter presents a much more radical position than Moro, as they claim that in Dutch also activity verbs are raising verbs.

The classical treatment of *there* insertion has been pointed out to present problems within the binding theory, as it violates principle C. Chomsky (1986) comes up, then, with the notion of expletive-chain and postulates a rule to be applied in LF, invoking the principle of full interpretation:

I. Replace *there* by its associate at LF.

Realizing that *there* has some semantic import[6], which disallows its deletion in LF, Chomsky (1986) opts for a rule of affixation at LF rather than that of replacement:

II. Affix *there* to its associate at LF.

5 We follow here Koopman and Sportische's (1990) ideas that subject-predicate relation has to be established under sisterhood, a postulation that motivates INFL as a raising category.

6 The idea that there has semantic content and that it cannot be treated as an expletive is not new. For a more recent treatment in these lines see Hornstein (ms).

A completely different proposal is presented by Moro (1997), for whom *there* is not an argument, or is not associated to an argument, but is a predicate instead. His whole paper deals with the proposal that not only arguments, but also predicates can satisfy the extended projection principle. In other words, predicates can land in subject position in a process of raising. His analysis puts together phenomena apparently as distinct as (6), (3) and (7):

(6) a. John was the cause of the riot.

a' NP_1 copula ($_{SC}$ t_1 NP_2) (=canonical sentence)

b. The cause of the riot was John.

b'.NP_2 copula ($_{SC}$ NP_1 t_2 (=inverse sentence)

(3) a. There is an actor in the room.

a' ($_{IP}$ ($_{IP}$ $there_1$ copula ($_{SC}$ NP t_1)) ((PRO PP/AP))) (=inverse sentence)

(7) a. There arrived many people at the station.

a' (($there_1$ arrived (many people $_{t1}$))($_{PP}$ at the station)) (=inverse sentence)

According to Moro, in the same way that verbs like *consider* selects an AP or NP small clauses, but not PP ones, verbs like the existential *be* and the ergative *arrive* select locative small clauses.

In Moro's analysis the definiteness effect is independent of the predicative function, as what appears as predicate in his analysis is not the NP but the locative *there*. Moro uses Higginbotham's idea that *many* is ambiguous between a quantificational and an adjectival reading, unlike *each* and *the*, which are always quantificational. His proposal is that the reference of DP is compositional, the phrase being built up from the NP to which an adjective is applied. Thus *many girls* and *girls* have independent indices. The predicate *there* is linked to the whole DP and not to the NP. Having an independent index, the NP can undergo QR (quantifier raising), leaving the noun behind.

(8) a. Girls, there are many.

a' ($_{IP}girls_g$ ($_{IP}$ $there_1^2$ are ($_{SC}$ ($_{DP}$ many t_g)t_{12})))

b.1. girls, I haven't met many.

b.2.*girls, I haven't met the

b.3.*girls, I haven't met his

What this amounts to say is that for Moro existentials select a locative small clause and that the locative selects a DP and not an NP or a QR. But his analysis does not explain why we cannot have (9) b. though the indefinite article and numbers are perfect in *there* constructions, being considered weak quantifiers or cardinal determiners like *many*.

(9) a. There is a girl here.

b.*Girl(s), there isn't a/one/two.

In our analysis we distinguish two categories: the indefinite article a and the weak quantifier *a*, which is allomorphic with *one*, the latter occurring in stressed contexts. The indefinite article may be considered a mere number agreement prefix contrasting with the s-plural suffix. The singular prefix a is deleted in PF when co-occurring with a determiner or a weak quantifier (exception being *many a*). But what is more intriguing in Moro's analysis is that he does not say why only definite predicates can appear inverted, or raised. In other words, why sentences such as those in (10) are not possible?

(10) a.* A beauty is she.

b.* Poets are the boys.

If we assume that what he calls inverted predicates are actual subjects in the small clause, and that only arguments can be raised, the cases in (10) would be automatically explained. Raising has always been motivated by case filter, and in Moro's analysis he has to say that predicates move to the subject position without such motivation and that once they are in such position they have to be assigned case.

In our analysis predicates can exhibit case by agreement, but are not assigned case. Only arguments are subject to case filter, their movement to an A-position being motivated by case search.

Hoekstra and Mulder (H & M) (1990) extend Moro's analysis to activity verbs and the interesting motivation in their work is in the fact that the raising solution dispenses the case transmission mechanism, conforming the s-structure of these sentences to that of an ordinary raised structure[7]. But one crucial grammatical and semantic aspect that motivated our work, namely the case of the postposed NP and the definiteness effect found in these nominals, is not considered in the small clause representation chosen by the authors. Starting from sentences with a fronted PP, H&M paper proposes that the PP is raised from the small clause to the specifier of INFL position:

(11) a. Into the room entered a man.

a'. ($_{IP}$ PP$_i$ INF ($_{VP}$ V ($_{SC}$ NP t$_i$)))

For the authors, in a sentence like (3), what gets raised is the locative there, like the PP in (11). *There* is a predicate in the small clause, an alternative proposal which forms an adjunct chain with "some other predicative constituent, possibly a locative" (p. 34, fn 17), which functions like the adjunct in clitic doubling languages, or the *by agent*, which forms a chain with the passive suffix *-en* (p. 38). It should be pointed out that in the latter two cases what we have is an argument chain (the clitic or the *-en* linked to an NP inside an adjunct PP. In H&M 'case we have a predicate linked to an adjunct.

In our analysis *there* is an argument and is related to *in the room* by theta-assignment mechanisms. *There* is raised from the small clause to the higher predicate specifier, where it gets case. The nominal *an actor* remains in its predicate position and, being a predicate, exhibits all the characteristics of a real nominal predicate, including lack of case.

Another difference between our analysis and H&M is in the position from where and to where the locative is raised. In H&M analysis what gets raised is the predicate.

However, if it is a predicate, under current assumptions it cannot occupy an A-position, a claim that H&M analysis makes. Being a predicate, we suppose that it should

7 H&M have good arguments to say that PP preposing is not an A-bar movement. But notice that with wh-movement we have the same sort of restriction:
i) Where are the students?
ii)* Where are some students?

go to Spec of Comp, which is an A' position, where any XP can land. If this is correct, then the verb *entered* in second position could be in COMP, constituting a case of V2 phenomenon. But in H&M data we have cases where not only a head, but also other elements appear between the XP and the subject (Under the table always snores a big fat cat [p. 31]). This type of construction can be analyzed as movement to Spec of COMP and stylistic inversion. This seems a plausible analysis for the PP fronting cases like (11), PP not being an argument. Moreover PP-fronted sentences do not exhibit the definiteness effect of existential sentences (Down the street rolled the baby carriage [p. 28]). Existential sentences, on the other hand, exhibit unequivocal definiteness effects of unaccusative constructions.

An alternative proposal

Contrary to the authors reviewed above, we will assume a more orthodox view that there is no possibility of satisfaction of the extended projection principle by a predicate. In other words only arguments can be subjects.

From a semantic point of view, we will argue that sentences like (3) are quite different from sentences like (12), one not being derived from, or the inverse of the other. In (12) the proposition is about an entity expressed by a noun phrase (an actor), to which a place is being ascribed, while in (3) the proposition is about a place (there in the room) to which an entity is being ascribed.

(12) An actor is in her room.

(12)" (An actor$_i$ be (t_i (in her room)))

Ignoring the PP `*in the room*` for the moment, we would have the following S-structure representation:

(3) There is an actor in her room.

(3)" (There$_i$ be (t_i an actor))

It is worth pointing out that in languages like Spanish and Portuguese the sentences equivalent to (3) and (12) have different verbs: *haber*/*haver* for (3) and *estar* for (12), which are in turn different from the attributive *ser*. The two sentences cannot be related in derivational terms, unless we say that in these languages the movement operation inserts or changes lexical items.

To make things clearer, see the entries for each verb below:

ser __ NP/AP (= *be* C attributive/copular)

estar __ PP (= be_L locative (12))

haver __ WQP (= be_E existential (3))

In our analysis the unaccusatives like *arrive* select either a WQP, which in its turn selects a locative as its external argument, or a PP whose external argument is a nominal. In other words, *arrive* resembles both *estar*-like predicates and *haber*-like predicates.

The disagreement between our approaches and theirs, however, is not so drastic. There are some common assumptions that we will be taking: a) *there* has semantic content and is locative; b) the functional head of the postcopular nominal is not a strong quantifier(Q), but a weak one (WQ); c) at some level of the derivation *there* appears as subject: at S-structure for the authors, and for us at D-structure, as subject of the small clause, and at S-structure as subject of INFL, a view that we will slightly modify for existential *be*.

The problem of s-selection and c-selection[8]

What would be the semantic motivation to say that the existential copula and the unaccusative verb c-selects a small clause proposition as its argument? How does this c-selection relate to s-selection?

In our view, what these verbs s-select is a *theme*, considered as the most neutral theta-role. The theme is realized as an XP, where X is a functional head. In this we differ from Stowell (1989), for whom small clauses can only have lexical heads. According to our assumptions in 2, a functional head does not have to obey the extended projection principle, restricted in its application to true predicates, but this does not mean that it cannot take a specifier. If no specifier is present, the theme is realized as an argument. If there is a specifier, the X' will be functionally a predicate. As an argument it will raise to get case. As a small clause, it will have its specifier raised.

(13) An actor arrived in her room.

(13)' e (arrive (SC an actor) in her room)

(13)" An actor$_i$ (arrive (SC t$_i$ in her room)

(14) There arrived an actor in her room.

(14)' e arrive ((there$_i$ an actor) in her room$_i$)

(14)" there$_i$ arrive ((t$_i$ an actor) in her room$_i$)

Unaccusative verbs that present definiteness restriction are those that have been called presentative verbs[9] in the literature as they present an object or some new state of

8 When treating verbs that s-selects a proposition, Chomsky (1986) says:
a."Suppose we assume that CRS (proposition) is either clause or NP, where the NP will then receive a propositional interpretation (and only NPs that permit such an interpretation will appear)"(...) (p. 87)
b."A consequence of this analysis is that among the verbs that s-select propositions, some will c-select clause and NP(those that are transitive) and some will c-select only clause (those that are intransitive),but none will s-select only NP." (p. 89).
By claiming a. and b. Chomsky assumes that, depending on the verb, the canonical structural realization of a "proposition" *can* be a sentence or a mere noun phrase. We will be showing that, though the above statements are true for deverbals and unaccusatives, it is not true for existentials and attributive copulas, which always require a small clause.

affairs in the scenario. Both when the complement is an argument as in (13) and when it is a small clause proposition as in (14), we have realizations of the theta-role theme[10].

So far we have said that unaccusatives s-select a theme, but concerning c-selection, we have been saying that they select a maximal projection, but have made no claims as to the sort of maximal projection that they require.

The small clause s-selected by unaccusatives are stative propositions and so are the propositions of *be* as an attributive copula. They both c-select functional maximal projections. The similarities, however, stop here. What we propose is that the nominals in sentences (1) and (2), on the one hand, and those in (3) and (4), on the other, have different types of functional heads. In other words, they subcategorize different propositional XPs:

a) attributive *be* subcategorizes NP or AP as its complement,[11] whose head s-selects a theme as its external argument:

(1) ' e be ($_{NP}$ the boy ($_{N}$' a poet))

(15) e be ($_{NP}$ the boys ($_{N}$' 0 poets)))

(16) e be ($_{DP}$ the boys ($_{D'}$ the ($_{NP}$ poets)

(17) e be ($_{AP}$ the boys ($_{A'}$ clever))

b) locative *be* (*estar* in Spanish and Brazilian Portuguese) c-selects a PP.The P in its turn take a theme as its external argument.

(12)' e be ($_{PP}$ an/the actor (P' in (her room)))

c) existential *be* (haber/avoir, haver) c-select weak quantifier phrases (WQPs)[12]:

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9 Kato (1988) shows that not all unaccusatives presents DE. The causative type does not exhibit this effect (e quebrou o copo = e broke the glass).

10 Here we are endorsing Jackendoff's (1972) view that a theme may be encoded in various syntactic positions, depending on the verb. It is considered the fundamental semantic notion in a sentence according to Gruber (1965).

11 Both are lexical small clauses but also present agreement. We may say then that attributive predication satisfy both licencing conditions stated in section 4, which makes their nominals to be easily accepted as predicates. We could also say that what the attributive be actually c-selects is AGRP, in the perspective of Raposo and Uriaguereka (1990), as it is a superordinate category concerning NPs and APs. Another XP that could be conjectured is the DP.

(3)' e be ($_{WQP}$ there (WQ' an/many ($_{NP}$ actor(s))))

d) unaccusatives subcategorize WQP (Weak Quantifier phrase) or a PP small clause:

(14)' e arrive (($_{WQP}$ there an actor) in her room))

(13) a. An actor arrived in her room.

b. The actor arrived in her room.

(13) 'e arrive (PP a/the man ($_{P}$at (the station))))

In (13) it is the nominal that gets raised and is assigned case. In (3)' what is raised is the small clause that contains *there*. The WQP is extraposed and gets nominative by agreement.

We are also assuming that cardinal, or weak quantifier expressions (WQPs) may select locatives. The relation between a predicate and its optional theta-role is not stated by every individual lexical item. It is more like a lexical rule, which captures the notion, for instance that every entity may be in a place, and that every place may have an entity in it. Likewise we are assuming that a notion as abstract as a weakly quantified element can be ascribed to a place[13].

Though WQs are specified to take an optional locative external argument, the higher unaccusative verb s-selects a proposition, and in that case the WQP has to have a saturated specifier.

Thus an adequate formulation of c- and s-selection provides an explanation for the DE phenomenon in the constructions studied. Absence of case (or the eventual existence of case by agreement) can be entirely explained by the grammatical function of predicate. But definiteness restriction is a function of the different types of predicate heads.

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12 Other denominations for the same type of determiners are: weak (vs strong) determiners, cardinals (vs quantifiers). The fact that different authors have grouped the items in the same fashion shows that they really form two natural categories.

13 The possessor would be a similar sort of theta-role. It seems that the external theta role of nominals are always of this kind.

It should be pointed out also that when the verb c-selects a WQP the indefiniteness is a consequence of this selection, but when the verb selects an NP (in the case of attributive *be*) the definiteness has to do with set-theoretic assumptions.

The function of *there*

Since Milsark's (1977) study, *there*, or *there is*, has often been treated as a quantifier. But Higginbotham (1989) argues that if *there* is quantification there is no open sentence for it to be construed with.

More recently Hornstein (1995) considers the WQP as an open expression which needs a quantifier to referentialize it. In his view, *there* is base generated as the subject of unaccusatives and lowered in LF. In adjunction to VP, it forms a complex predicate with the verb and at the same time acts as a lambda-operator for the unsaturated NP. But in both Hornstein's and our views *there* has the function of referentializing the indefinite NP. For Hornstein this is done by the Quantificational function of *there* and for us it is achieved through the specifier role that *there* has in the small clause. However, while for Hornstein *there* lowers from specifier of INFL to VP adjoined position in LF, in our analysis *there* moves, in syntax, from the small clause and leaves a trace behind, which makes the small clause an open sentence, the open position being a locative variable and not a nominal variable. So *there* binds an open position, but it is of its own trace, which occupies an optional theta-position for WQ'.

In logic we have two ways to turn an open expression (a function) into a closed one (a proposition). By substituting a constant for the variable, or by adding a quantifier with scope over the variable.

(18) a. P(x) ➔ P(a)

b. P(x) ➔ E(x) P(x)

In our representation at D-structure <u>there</u>referentializes the indefinite NP, considered a predicate) by filling the specifier position(x) with a locative pronoun. At S-

structure, as *there* moves from its original position it acquires a binder status with its scope over its trace.

Thus, in our analysis, *there* is a locative at the level where theta-roles are assigned and a quantifier at LF. At both D- and S-structures *there* is a subject: in the former because it saturates a predicate and in the latter because it agrees with INFL. As the nominal is a predicate in this relation, its lack of case and indefiniteness are simply a consequence of its functional status.

Before we proceed with this discussion, however, we should make clear what we mean when we say that *there* is a locative. Contrary to *here* and $there_1$, which have deitic reference, the existential $there_2$, which appears in *there*-constructions is a locative pronominal which has to be construed with a place or time expression often in the form of a PP or even one of the deitic locatives. In this it resembles pro, in that it requires identification. Semantically it lacks the feature (+/- distal), being a superordinate concept regarding the real adverbials here*and*there.The relation between *there* and the PP could be established in two ways:

a) through Moro's solution of an indirect co-indexation between *there* and the predicate of a secondary predication ($_{PP}$ PRO P'), where PRO is co-indexed to the nominal (see (19) or

b) through the notion of an identificational chain at S-structure, resulting from a predication relation at D-structure, which is the proposal we will present here (see [20]).

(19) ($_{IP}$($_{IP}$there$_i$ copula ($_{SC}$ NP t_i)) (PRO PP)))

(20) ($_{IP}$ ($_{IP}$there$_i$ copula ($_{SC}t_i$ WQP)) PP_i)))

This type of relation is the same as the one that underlies Right Dislocation (RD) in French and Brazilian Portuguese, the former having a clitic*il* instead of a full pronoun *ele*:

(21) Il m' a dit que Marie est malade, Jean.

he_{cl} me has told that Marie is sick, Jean

(22) Ele me disse que Maria está doente, o João.

he me told that Maria is sick the João.

Though here we do not have any problem regarding violation of principle C, as we did when the chain was proposed between *there* and *a man*, considered then as an internal argument of *be*, we might speculate if this chain could not be reduced to an underlying predication, so that RD would derive from a movement process.

(21)' a. ((Il Jean) m'adit....

b. (((Il t_i) m'a dit.....) $Jean_i$)

(3)''' a. (((there in her room) is ...

b. (((there t_p) is.....) in her $room_p$

This hypothesis finds motivation in the existence of identificational predication of the following sort:

(23) a. He is John.

b. Il est Jean.

c. Ele é o João.

Less frequent and natural, but equally possible are:

(24) a. There is in New York.

b. Là est a Paris.

c. Lá é em Paris.

The proposal of adjunction by movement is also motivated by the island effects that right dislocation exhibits:

(25) a. Maria acha que ele é inteligente, o João.

Maria thinks that he is intelligent, the João.

b.*Maria acha que a mulher que ele ama não é fiel, o João.

Maria thinks that the woman he loves is not faithful, the João.

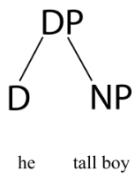
c.* That there were many people is surprising at the party.

However, proposing that there is a predication relation between *there* and PP means that the categorial nature of the subject containing *there* is a PP, though retaining for *there* its nominal category. We would have a serious problem here: PP does not need case and, therefore, does not need to raise; raising of PP to the subject NP/DP position would violate structure preservation principle. The right-moved constituent would not be a maximal projection.

The other alternative is to say that the small clause is a DP, and we will show that this hypothesis will work out better. The head of the small clause will be *there*, a D category. As a functional category it may or may not have a specifier. If it has no specifier the whole DP is an argument. DP as an argument raises to the DP of the higher clause. DP as a small clause has only its subject raised.

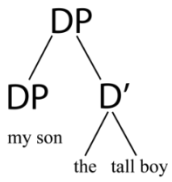
Considering that pronouns are D categories, we may have the following possibilities:

Fig. 1



Fonte: elaborado pelos autores.

Fig. 2

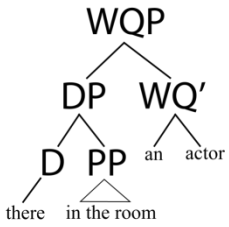


Fonte: elaborado pelos autores.

Pronouns are like the strong agreement of verbs and can be interpreted as subjects without a specifier. So in Fig. 2, if the D is an ordinary determiner, DP is an argument. If D is a pronoun, it is both an argument and a predication structure.

We can also assume that *there* as the head of DP c-selects a PP and is its subject like the pronoun *he* is the subject of *tall boy*. The agreement in both case is more notional than morphological: (+male/+male) and (+loc? + loc). In some languages it can be redundantly grammatical: (+masculine/+masculine). The final representation for the WQP which complements unaccusatives would be:

Fig. 3



Fonte: elaborado pelos autores.

As for the level where the right dislocation takes place, the representation in Fig. 3 predicts that PP cannot be extracted from its original position: in order to adjoin to VP or IP, the PP would have to cross two barriers (DP and WQP). And this also matches the impossibility of raising *there* from inside PP. It is the whole subject DP that gets raised, right dislocation occurring at the landing site.

Right dislocation leaves an empty category, which has to be licensed. If it was a real argument it should be properly governed by a lexical head. But from our definition of a functional head *there* has to be a functional head. How is then the trace of PP licensed? If D, though a head, is also the subject of PP, then PP is the predicate and not a referential expression[14], and according to Cinque's (1990) proposal only these have to be lexically governed. Extraction of non-referential expressions have to obey subjacency and not the ECP.

(3) [iv] ($_{IP}$ ($_{IP}$ (there$_{it}$p)$_j$ (be (WQP t$_j$ ($_{WQ'}$an actor)))in her room$_p$)

14 For some linguists consider that *be* in these constructions are transitive. But if *be* is transitive and the post-copular NP is an argument, it would require case.Being definite, we could not use the partitive case . We consider the definite NP as a predicate, following Kato's (1974) set-theoretic account.

Wh-movement in *there*-constructions

Moro's and Hornstein's analysis are highly motivated by the restrictions on wh-movement in *there* constructions. Moro's crucial examples, on which he builds up his argumentation, are the following:

(26) a. (a picture of the wall)[1] was (the cause of the riot)[2]

b. (the cause of the riot)[2] was (a picture of the wall)[1].

Moro shows the following asymmetries:

(27) a. (which picture)$_i$ do I think t_i was the cause of the riot?

b.*(which picture)$_i$ do I think the cause of the riot was t_i?

(28) a. (what)$_i$ do I think a picture of the wall was (the cause of t_i)?

b.*(what)$_i$ do I think the cause of the riot was(a picture of t_i)?

Moro attributes the asymmetry to the predicate status of the NP *the cause of the riot*. Sentence (26)a. is what he calls the canonic structure and b the 'inverted structure. However, the same asymmetry is not found in the following parallel sentences:

(29) a. The author of the best-seller is the president of the soup company.

b. The president of the soup company is the author of the best-seller.

(30) a. Who do you think is the president of the soup company?

b. Who do you think the president of the soup company is?

(31) a. Which company do you think the author of the best-seller is the president of?

b. What do you think the president of the soup company is the author of?

All the sentences are equally good, contrary to Moro's assumptions. What seems to be causing the asymmetry in Moro's examples is the thematic relation between the noun

cause and the two Nps. Actually NP[1] is interpreted as the external argument for the noun. In copular sentences without this thematic relation, the canonic *vs* 'inverse' structure does not seem to be relevant. The two Nps are indistinguishable in terms of subjecthood.

The extraction problems in Hornstein (1995) are more puzzling. See his examples below:

(32) a. There erupted many riots/a riot.

b.* What did there erupt?

c.* How many riots did there erupt?

(33) a. There arrived a few men from Bologna.

b.*Who did there arrive from Bologna.

c.*How many men did there arrive from Bologna.

In his theory (34)a. represents the LF of (32)a. and (33)a. and (34)b. represents the LF of the b. and c. forms :

(34) a. ($_{IP}$ t_i ($_{VP}$there$_i$ ($_{VP}$ V ($_{NP}$ QN' (x))))))

b. ($_{CP}$WH$_i$ ($_{IP}$ t_i ($_{VP}$there$_i$ ($_{VP}$ V t_i))))

The adjunction of *there* to VP would save (32)a. and (33)a. from the violation of principle C, which was a concern for Chomsky and others, and at the same time would explain the island effects. Hornstein assumes that to be a visible variable at LF, a trace must bear a case. The representation in (34)b. is ill-formed as there is in the CHAIN only one case and two variables. The representation in (34)a., on the other hand is well-formed because there is only one variable (x) which is bound. The trace of there in (34)a. does not count as a variable as it is not bound, being considered a referential pro in LF, whose reference is an empty set.

Hornstein's analysis seems to be cross-linguistically motivated, as the Icelandic *there*-like expletive presents the same sort of extraction restriction of verbs like *arrive*. He shows

that the *be*existentials in English are different as they allow wh-movement of any constituent (the examples are ours):

(35) a. There were many riots in Argentina last year.

b. What was there in Argentina last year?

c. How many riots were there in Argentina last year?

d. When were there many riots in Argentina?

e. Where were there many riots last year?

(36) a. There arrived many parcels in the shelter last night.

b. *?What did there arrive in the shelter last night?

c. *?How many parcels did there arrive in the shelter last night?

d. *?When did there arrive many parcels in the shelter?

e. *?Where did there arrive many parcels last year?

According to Hornstein the difference is due to the fact that *be* properly governs the indefinite nominal position, while there is no proper government of this position by an X_o in Icelandic (and we should add in *there*-constructions with *arrive*).

We will try to explain these differences by considering a diachronic hypothesis whereby the *there*-constructions with *arrive*-type verbs would be a structure reminiscent of V2 constructions. Hornstein does not consider this hypothesis as he believes that the Icelandic facts, concerning its expletive *bad*, cannot be accounted for by the proposal that *bad is in the Spec of COMP*. His arguments will be examined later in this section.

In the first place, it is clear that *there* in *be*-constructions behaves perfectly as a subject of the sentence. In the wh-constructions, after *be* moves to, or is inserted in INFL position, it is assumed to move again, this time to COMP. The wh-element would raise to its Spec position. The two processes seem to be independent as there are languages (cf

Brazilian Portuguese) which has wh-movement without verb-movement to COMP and languages like Welsh, which has I to COMP with no requirement of XP in its SPEC.

Old English (OE) has been claimed to have been a V2 language and also a language that had V to I movement. V-to-I languages exhibit negation and frequency adverbs before the main verb andnon-V-to-I languages have negation and these adverbs positioned after the verb[15]. Lightfoot (1993) claims that Modern English (ME) is a residual V2 language, in the sense of Rizzi (1990)[16] as it still retains movement to Spec of C for wh-words and negative constituents[17].

However, if we consider the two movements, to COMP and to Spec, as independent, we could claim that standard ME has both residual Movement of XP to Spec of Comp, and of V-to-I movement. XP in the first process would be only wh and negative words and the verbs in the V-to-I process would be only *be* and *have*.

Let us see the following question and its S-representation in OE and ME:

(37) a. Who saw the accident yesterday?

OE: a' ($_{CP}$who$_i$ ($_C$saw$_v$ (t_i (t_v (t_v the accident)..)

ME: a'' ($_{CP}$who$_i$ ($_C$ (t_i (I (see the accident..)

In OE, the verb *see* moves to INFL and the inflected verb moves to COMP. The subject wh-constituent moves to Spec of C. In ME the verb stays 'in situ', the wh-word moves to Spec of COMP and the Infl affix lowers to V.

What we propose is that *there* is part of the residual group of words that still move to Spec of C. As for V-to-I movement, it is clear that *be* and *have* are residuals, but the unaccusatives are not a clear case. If the unaccusative verbs had already lost the V-to I movement, it should be expected that negation and frequency adverbs would appear before them, and that *do*-support should apply:

15 See Pollock (1989) for the proposal of this parametric difference.
16 According to Rizzi (1990) the difference between a V2 and a -V2 grammar is in the nature of COMP.
17 The latter, however, has a very literary or formal flavor, the preference in colloquial English being the uninverted form.

(38) a.?There didn't arrive many parcels in the shelter last night.

b. There haven't arrived many parcels lately.

c. There won't arrive many letters from now on.

(39) a. There always/often arrives some anonymous letter from some crazy reader.

b.*There arrives always/often some anonymous letter from some crazy reader.

Notice that, though with adverbs the verb *arrive* acts as if it has undergone V-to-I movement, insertion of *do* is still not well accepted. Compare with:

(40) a. There aren't many cookies left.

b. Are there many cookies left?

(41) a.*There always/often is some anonymous letter from some crazy reader.

b. There is always/often some anonymous letter from some crazy reader.

Summing up, we propose that root *there* -constructions with *arrive*-type verbs have the structure represented in (42) (ignoring PP):

(42) $(_{CP}\text{there}_i\ (_{IP}\ t_i\ (\ \text{arrive}\ (_{WQP}\ t_i\ \text{WQ}'))))$

Because *there* occupies the position of SPEC, no wh-word can be moved there, and before *there* moves there no other wh-element can raise to that position as such structures would arguably violate the superiority condition in the same way that the extraction of another wh-element over *who* in (37) would.

The representation in (42) contrasts with that of *there*-construction with *be* shown in (43):

(43) $(_{CP}\ (_{C'}\ (_{IP}\text{there}_i\text{be}_v\ (\ \text{tv}\ (_{WQP}t_i\ \text{WQ}'))))$

The question that remains to be answered is why *there* with *be* is in the IP subject position. We could say that *be*-existentials, or perhaps lexical INFL, is the context of reanalysis of the position of *there*. Though modals, *have* and *be* are exceptional verbs as they can appear in INFL, their frequency in the input may be responsible not only for the retention of their exceptional morpho-syntactic features, but also for their choice as the locus of linguistic reanalysis, in the sense of Lightfoot (1979). Speakers' intuitions are much clearer regarding *be* constructions, while the metalinguistic judgements about *arrive* constructions are quite fuzzy. This shows a certain conflict in the user's competence, which we may attribute to a system in change.

But while we do not have empirical data to show that this last point is correct – for which we would have to find no wh-questions with *there be* constructions – we will try to provide a synchronic formal explanation for the IP subject position of *there* in *be* existentials.

We proposed that in existential and unaccusatives the head of the post-verbal nominal was a WQ, which optionally took a Locative *there* as its specifier. In the case of unaccusatives, the optionallity yields two possible outputs (a man arrived/there arrived a man). Now in the case of *be* there is no construction in which the complement can be an argument, namely a WQP without a specifier. Recall that *be* locative (=estar) is different, in our view, to *be* existential (haber/ haver). To make the examples clear I will take the Portuguese haver instead of the existential *be* in English. We will assume a 0-loc for pro-drop languages:

(44) a. 0-loc há um ator no quarto dela.

be an actor in room hers

b.*Um ator há no quarto dela.

an actor is in room hers

We will assume that this is because existential *be* obligatorily L-selects (lexically-selects) *there* as its external argument, independently of the selection of the WQ.

(45) be_E __ *THERE*, WQP

The type of selection – L-selection and not c-selection – characteristic of idioms seems to have a peculiar behavior: its nominal part can undergo A-movement, but not A'-movement:

(46) a. Advantage was taken of the kids.

b. *What$_i$ was taken t_i of the kids.

c. *Advantage I never take of the kids.

Likewise, *be*-existentials can have wh-movement, but the locative position itself cannot be questioned.

(47) a.*Where were snakes in the museum?

b. Where were there snakes in the museum?

At the same time *be* is a control verb and requires that the subject of its complement – the WQP – to be a PRO, controlled by the upper locative. Small clauses have been considered as a phenomenon of raising contexts and of exceptional case marking contexts, but not of control contexts (cf. STOWELL, 1989 and RIZZI, 1990). We would say that *be* is a context where we have a small clause with a PRO subject.

(48) ThereL (be ((PRO$_L$ in the museum) snakes)

If PP is not right-dislocated, we will have:

(48) a. There in the museum are some snakes we had never seen.

b. (Lá) no museu há cobras que nunca vimos

There-constructions in embedded sentences

Hornstein considers the hypothesis that *bad* in Icelandic is in Spec of COMP as untenable because a *bad* sentence can appear in a subordinate clause[18]. But the thesis of the locative expletive in Spec of Comp as a V2 phenomenon explains naturally why *there*-constructions with *arrive* appears in that-clauses.[19]

(50) He said that there arrived many parcels in the camp.

V2 phenomenon has been generally considered a root phenomenon. So in subordinate constructions, V2 languages exhibit a structure with no raising either of V or of XP to the specifier position. (50) in therefore just what we would expect to find in V2 languages. Exceptional case marked position with *there* should also be permitted, as *there* can receive case if it is in specifier of INFL.

(51) I expect there to arrive many letters this week.

One further problem with embedded *there*-sentences is the contrast found in the pair below:

(52) a. A man seems to be in the room.

b.*There seems a man to be in the room.

(52)b. is ungrammatical even though *there* occupies a raising position. Moro shows that the ungrammaticality cannot be accounted for under the current assumptions, and suggests that it has to do with *seem* c-selection. Thus, according to him, *seem* c-selects AP (John seems tired) and *to VP* (John seems to be tired), but not NP (*John seems the culprit) and neither a PP (*John seems in the room). But in (52)b. *seem* is followed by an infinitive IP, and in Moro's analysis, there is nothing to block this sentence, unless we accept that *to* VP is a different category from IP. He attributes the ungrammaticality to the crossing of

18 Recall that for Hornstein *there* is a clitic in PF and forms a complex predicate in LF. For us it is the *be* that has a phonologically dependent status at PF, as in non-stressed position it appears as an affix to the subject (there's, I'm, he's). But Hornstein's intuition that *there* + *be* form a complex predicate in LF should be considered as the existential meaning of *be* is really dependent on the presence of *there*. But we would also want a syntactic account for why it behaves like a real subject.

19 For Hornstein this possibility of appearing below a subordinated clause should be a case to reject the hypothesis that the locative is in Specifier of COMP.

two barriers (SC and IP) by *there*, but notice that both are L-marked and should not constitute barriers.

In our analysis, as only arguments can be raised, *a man* has to stay in its underlying position, namely in the predicate of the small clause. (52)a. derives from the locative be_L (=estar), which c-selects a PP small clause, of which the nominal is the subject. Thus, as expected, it is the nominal that gets raised and the locative expression that stays 'in situ'.

Sentential predicates

The proposal that unaccusative constructions with postverbal complements derive from small clause complements finds a parallel proposal in Rouveret' and Vergnauds' (1980) analysis of impersonal constructions with *seem*-like verbs. This author proposes that impersonal constructions with sentential complements should have the impersonal expletive derived in the SPEC of the sentential complement as in:

(53) a. D-structure

(e) seems (it (that S)

b. S-structure

It_1 seems (t_1 (that S)

Again we may say that what "referentializes" the sentential complement is the saturation of the Spec of Comp by the expletive *it*. The *that S* construction in itself does not get case, as predicted by Stowell (1989), exactly because it is a predicate.

A detailed analysis of impersonal verbs with sentential complements is offered in Rouveret's work, but the generalization that all impersonals, including those that have a referential nominal, have a small clause complement is not considered. But the two separate accounts of impersonals with a postverbal nominal and impersonals with a postverbal sentence can be conflated in a more general proposal concerning impersonals in general.

The Case of French

Though in English the use of the verb *be* in existentials makes it easier to accept the predicative nature of its complement, in other languages it is the counterpart of the verb *have* that is used (*haber* in Spanish, *y avoir* in French, *ter* or *haver* in Portuguese). So in such sentences the predicate status of its complement, which is affected by the definiteness effect, is not so clear.

The predicative function of the nominal, however, is established inside the small clause, which turns the occurrence of *be* or *avoir* irrelevant. What is at stake is that small clauses are always a predication relation. But we have to explain why in English the agreement holds between the postposed nominal and the copula and in French it holds between the expletive *il*and*avoir*.

(54) a. Il y a troishommesdans la salle.

b.*Ils y onttroishommesdans la salle.

We claim that the underlying structure for (54) is as in (55)a'. and its S‾structure as in (55)a":

(55) a'. ($_{IP}$ e INFL ($_{VP}$avoir (WQP (y dans la salle) ($_{WQ'}$troishommes))

a". (Il INFL+y_i t_P (avoir(WQPt_i(WQ'troishommes)) ($_{PP}$dans la salle)))

As there is an adverbial expletive *y* , equivalent to *there*, filling the subject position of the small clause and *y* is a clitic, it raises to Infl(ection) and not to the (NP, S) position[20]. The agreement, therefore holds with the expletive il, inserted for case reasons. We assume here that the representation is the same for unaccusatives, the difference being that the auxiliary *être* absorbs the clitic-*y*, or that -*y* gets deleted in PF.

For Borer (1986) the existential verbs in French and Spanish are not unaccusatives and the postverbal nominal has accusative case[21]. The lack of agreement would be simply a

20 H&M also propose that the landing site for -*y* is INFL, but the original site is the small clause predicate, while for us it is the subject position.

21 She accepts the evidence presented by Torrego's (1983)12 in examples such as:
(i) Seleccionaron una pizarra para escribirlosalumnos.

consequence of the non-nominative nature of the complement. She reinforces her arguments showing that in Spanish the accusative clitic can occur with the existential *haber*:

(56) a. Hay montañas en Sudamerica.

exist+sg mountains in South America

b. Montañasbonitas, las hay en Sudamerica.

mountais nice them exist in South America

It should be noted, however, that correfering through an accusative clitic pronoun is not criterial to her point as accusative clitics can be used to replace predicates.

(57) a. - Pensei que você era calmo.

(I) thought that you were calm.

b.- Não. Não o sou (o= calmo)

no. not it be+1st-sg

No, I am not 'it'.

The accusative clitic-*o* is a +N pro-form. Therefore, the use of an accusative clitic is not a crucial test to prove that it is referring to the nominal and that it is accusative, as we cannot say that the adjective in (57)b. is an accusative NP. Our view is that the accusative clitic refers to the proposition contained in the small clause. What prevents the verb *avoir* from agreeing with the nominal is in the fact that the locative *-y* is negatively specified for number features, therefore unable to trigger agreement. The expletive *il*, which occupies the Specifier position, has number features, but it is singular. We said before that *there* is underspecified for specific semantic features, being dependent on other locative expressions for its interpretation.

(ii)*Selecionaron una pizarra para comprar losalumnos.

The grammaticality of (i) as opposed to the unacceptable (ii) has to do with the fact that the infinitive of a.,but not of b. would have an adverbial empty subject. If an *it*-like expletive is to be postulated for the inversion cases like b., there would be no way to explain why one form is grammatical and the other is not.

We might say that it is also underspecified for number features, but, being a nominal category, it can be assigned these features by agreement. The clitic *-y*, on the other hand seems to be specified negatively for number features, which makes it an unqualified surface subject, though a qualified one for theta saturation.

The case of Brazilian Portuguese

Unlike non-null subject languages like English and French, prodrop languages have no lexical expletives, having been claimed that they have a null expletive. Even Borer (1986), who does not accept that there is an *it*-like empty expletive, believes that prodrop languages have null adverbial expletives. On the assumption that *there*-like empty expletive exists in pro-drop languages, we will analyze existential constructions exactly like their counterparts in English, filling the Specifier position of the small clause with an empty adverbial pronoun 0-loc, which will be assumed to have raised from the internal argument position of the nominal.

(58) Há/tem um homem na porta

have+3ps. a man at the door

(58) a'. ($_{I}$ e INFL ($_{VP}$ ter (WQP (0-loc na porta) ($_{WQ}$um homem))))

(58) a".(($_{IP}$ (0-loc$_{t}$p)$_{i}$($_{VP}$ tem(WQP t_{i} ($_{WQ}$'um homem) ($_{PP}$ na porta$_{i}$))))

With haver and ter, there is no agreement, which makes us suppose that the 0-loc is like the clitic-y in French. But with the existential existir (to exist) and unaccusatives in general there are two phenomena in Brazilian Portuguese (BP) that we have to account for:

a) when the postnominal complement is plural, we have variation with agreement and lack of agreement is also found within the NP;

b) there is only a loose definiteness effect in this language, so that just a short complement or modifier turns the definite postnominal acceptable.

(59) a. Existe muitos problemas aqui. (colloquial)

exist-3ps many problems here.

b. Existem muitos problemas aqui. (formal)

exist-3ppl

(60) a. Existe esses problemas neste projeto. (colloquial)

exist-3ps these problems in this project

b. Existem esses problemas neste projeto.(formal)

exist-3pp these problems in this project

(61) a. Chegou umas carta no Departamento..

arrived-3ps some letters in the Department.

b. Chegaram umas cartas no Departamento.

arrived-3ppl

(62) a. Chegou as carta que eu estava esperando.

Arrived-3ps the letters that I was expecting.

Lack of agreement when the postnominal is a WQP is more widely used and accepted than lack of agreement with definite nominals and this has also to be accounted for. Lack of agreement tends to co-occur with lack of plurality in the nominal, and in this case only the functional head has the plural marker.

The examples in a. seem to derive like the existentials above. We can posit a null clitic-0, similar to -y in that it would be negatively specified for number features. But it would differ from French in licensing definite nominals to appear in the postposed position.

The examples in b. could be associated in its derivation to the existentials and unaccusatives in English, by positing a null locative underspecified for number. It would

acquire number features by SPEC=head agreement mechanism in the D-structure and would trigger agreement of INFL at S-structure.

What remains mysterious is why BP and perhaps other pro-drop languages can have the definiteness restriction relaxed? Has this relaxation something to do with the pro-drop nature of the language? We will assume that it does. The explanation given by Borer that definiteness correlates with the accusative case has been discarded, and we will continue to sustain that the postnominal NP is not assigned case, though it may exhibit case by agreement with the subject.

Kato and Tarallo (1988) have proposed that the empty category in VS sentences are a pro, which is A'-bound to a right dislocated NP. The variation found in BP is attributed to the choice of pro for mono-argumental verbs and of the lexical pronoun for verbs with more than one argument. In those papers the authors did not examine unaccusative under this perspective, they believed that the post-nominals in these constructions were always internal.

We proposed above that right dislocation is generated as a predication relation in D-structure. We will assume that unaccusatives can c-select DPs as their complement, recalling that names, pronouns and definite descriptions were DPs as opposed to indefinite NPs that were NPs, which in their turn differ from WQPs. DPs, being a functional maximal projection go along with WQPs in their functioning. What this means is that they can optionally have its specifier saturated, in which case it will functionally be a predicate. The DP small clause, as we saw, is an identificational predication. Sentences like (63) would have the following representations at D- and S-structures:

(63) Chegou o papa.

arrived+3ps thepope.

(63)' ($_{IP}$ e chegou ($_{DP}$ pro (D'o papa)))

(63)" ($_{IP}$($_{IP}$ ($_{DP}$ pro t_d)$_i$ chegou (t_i)) o papa$_d$)

The null pro gets nominative case from INFL and *o papa* is in the right dislocated position. Not only it is not assigned case because it is a predicate, but also its S-structure position does not require one. It should be observed that though definite it cannot be an accusative clitic. The important aspects in this proposal are the following:

a) we do not have to work out an explanation for the assignment of the nominative case to the postposed NP. The nominative is simply assigned to the empty referential pronoun by INFL in its original position.
b) Nascimento's (1984) thesis that the postposed nominal has a list reading different from the preposed subject is naturally explained once the postnominal is seen as a predicate. The same set assumptions underlie the semantics of copular predicates and unaccusative postnominal definite descriptions predication.

How do we account for the cross-linguistic differences? We assume that right-dislocation is a stylistic choice in pro-drop languages and that this option is not available for non-pro-drop languages. This means that pro-drop languages do not necessarily maintain the identificational relation local at S-structure, and languages like English maintains the relation local at all levels.

Compare:

(64) He John is a fool.

(65) There in the park were three musicians playing Brazilian music under a tree..

(66) a. Ele Joåo é um estupido.

He Joãois a stupid

b. Ele é um estúpido, o João.

c. pro é um estúpido o João.

(67) a. Lá no parque havia três músicos tocando música brasileira debaixo de uma árvore.

b. 0-loc no parque havia três músicos tocando música brasileira

c. 0-loc havia três músicos tocando música no parque.

This does not mean that non-pro-drop languages cannot extract from DP subjects. French has clear cases of right dislocation and what has been considered extraposition in the literature seems to be a similar process. What English, for instance, does not allow is the

extraction of the predicate in identificational predication structures. Why this is so is a mystery to us.

If French allows right dislocation with personal pronouns we should expect it to present definite nominals after unaccusatives. It does, in fact, but being a non-pro-drop language, it has to exhibit an overt pronoun in subject position, which in its turn triggers agreement:

(68) (Ilst$_i$sontarrivés) les hommes$_i$.

Brazilian Portuguese does not necessarily trigger agreement in right dislocated structures, as we saw in examples (60)a. and (62)a., which are more marginal than the indefinite unaccusatives without agreement. In fact we can have neutralization of agreement between 3rd person singular and 3rd person plural, which is, however, much more stigmatized than lack of agreement in inverted forms. The possibility of BP to have still have pro in right-dislocation in a way makes this structure less stigmatized than the canonical SV form without agreement:

(69) a. pro chegou as cartas.

b.*As cartaschegou.

What this shows is that when the DP has an article agreement is obligatory, but when the D has a pronoun agreement is optional in present BP.

Conclusions

This paper attempted at solving the nature of the postverbal nominal that appears, as complements with existentials and unaccusative verbs, also called "ergatives"[22] in the literature, trying to answer the questions posed in (5) above:

22 The term "ergative' has been avoided in this paper, as it carries some relation with thematic roles. The term unaccusative, on the other hand, excludes causative ergatives as these do not present definiteness effect. As the term is purely structural we can treat activity verbs like viajar*(travel) and correr (run) as some type of unaccusative. But we will leave this discussion for a future work.*

In order to contextualize and answer these questions , we have placed ourselves in a specific moment of the generativist program where a theory of predication was intensively discussed, which in turn assumed a theory of functional category projections, more specifically those that are involved with the noun. The theory developed here proposes three types of functional heads for the noun: the QR, when the noun is headed by a strong quantifier, the WQ, when it is headed by a weak quantifier and D when it is headed by a determiner (excluding the indefinite article) or a pronoun. What we have been traditionally calling indefinite article is, in effect, two different entities: a weak quantifier and an Agr(eement) morpheme, which is internal to NP.

Functional maximal projections may have a full X' structure, with a referential specifier, in which case the X' will be a predicate and will not be assigned case. If it has no specifier it will be an argument as the head D has the property to saturate without its specifier. Indefiniteness effect results when the verb c-selects WQP with the internal structure of a small clause. The subject of the small clause is proposed to be the locative *there*, which raises to get case.

´There` and the PP which appears in the coda are also in predicate relation, forming what we called an identification predication, which also underlies right dislocation in French and Brazilian Portuguese.

This analysis has been shown to have consequences for the lack of definiteness in languages like Brazilian Portuguese and other pro-drop languages. The right dislocated element can have a pro instead of a lexical pronoun as the subject of the identificational predication, yielding a form that looks like unaccusative VS with definite nominals.

For Russell:

"it is "a disgrace for the human race (sic) that the verb *be* is employed

for two such entirely different ideas as predication and identity "Russell (1919)" (*apud* MORO, 1997).

We should add that it is a disgrace for linguists that the *verb* be is employed for *three such entirely different ideas as: attribution, location and quantification*. On the other hand, it is fortunate that at least in some languages such as Brazilian Portuguese (and also Spanish) these notions

are encoded differently: *ser*, estar *and*haver. The comparatist approach revived by the model of principles and parameters turns the understanding of each particular.

Reviewing some observations in Nascimento and Kato (1995), our analysis calls a special attention to some peculiarities. The first has to do with the fact that, without any additional cost, it deals with different types of constructions – existential, raising, and other construction types that exhibit the DE type of restriction. The second type of peculiarity is in the fact that it reduces the phenomenon of "unaccusativity" to an epiphenomenon, which puts together other cases of contrast like 'active/passive', 'unergative/unaccusative' and 'referential/predicative'.

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