Tel Aviv University

The Lester and Sally Entin Faculty of Humanities

Department of Linguistics

THE EPP, NOMINATIVE CASE and EXPLETIVES

Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the M.A. degree in linguistics

at Tel Aviv University

by

Eleonora Goldshlag

Thesis Supervisor:

Dr. Tal Siloni

December, 2005

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0. Introduction[*]

The Extended Projection Principle (EPP) has been intriguing linguists for many years and, unlike other widely accepted principles, it has become a source of controversy. First introduced by Chomsky in 1981 and modified several times by the author, it gave rise to numerous objections and debates. Its advocates believe that the EPP exists as an independent principle of grammar, while other linguists, like Bošković (2001), consider it redundant and argue that it should be eliminated from grammar in order to simplify it. According to the author, the EPP effects are deducible from other deeper and independent principles such as the Inverse Case Filter, a feature-checking requirement that the structural Case-checker – I, should have its nominative Case-feature checked, which accounts for the need of this functional head to have its Spec filled.

The purpose of this work is to show that the EPP exists as an independent principle of grammar and to shed light on several closely related topics: the feature-composition of various expletives that satisfy the EPP as a function of the features of I that licenses them, the essence of nominative Case and the mechanism of its checking.

The first chapter concentrates on divorcing the EPP from nominative Case, showing that Bošković's attempts to deduce it from the Inverse Case Filter seem to be on the wrong track. After reviewing the history of the EPP and examining the Inverse Case Filter, it demonstrates that contrary to Bošković's suggestion, the need of I to have its Spec filled is not always driven by the Case-checking requirement of this functional head.

In languages like Icelandic and Russian, A-movement is not always driven by Case-related considerations and non-nominative (quirky) NPs end up in SpecIP in order to satisfy the EPP, whereas arguments with nominative Case may or may not surface VP-internally depending on the thematic structure of the verb.

A study of *there*-constructions in English indicates that the sole function of expletive *there* is to satisfy the EPP, while the nominative Case-feature of I is checked by the postverbal NP via Agree, invalidating the analysis of Belletti (1988), according to which, the Case of this NP is partitive. A comparison of *there*-constructions with their non-agreeing counterparts in French and Russian serves as an incentive for my suggestion that the postverbal NPs in these languages are also nominative, although they trigger no agreement.

The second chapter deals with the question how it is possible for nominative Case to surface in non-agreeing constructions, when it has become a matter of consensus that this Case is always contingent upon agreement. After comparing non-agreeing unaccusative constructions with postverbal NPs in French, Russian and Colloquial Hebrew, it is concluded that such verbs assign inherent Case to their complements, and there is evidence to suggest that this Case is nominative. However, inherent nominative is assigned by unaccusatives not only in non-agreeing constructions. The adjacency requirement exhibited by unaccusative verbs in English and the Definiteness Effect that emerges in both English and Italian, where unaccusative constructions always exhibit postverbal agreement, suggest that this Case is also assigned by English and Italian unaccusatives. Finally, my findings indicate that the inherent nominative Case is highly reminiscent of Belletti's partitive.

In order to account for the difference between the two types of agreement, we have to assume two components of nominative Case: a structural and inherent one. The idea of inherent nominative was first suggested by Hazout (1995), while in Reinhart and Siloni (2005), it was shown that these two components exist in all the Cases, including nominative. The structural component encodes a syntactic relation, while the inherent component is an implementation of the θ-criterion.

In languages that allow both agreeing and non-agreeing patterns in unaccusative constructions with postverbal NPs, the manner in which the two components of nominative are checked determines the agreement pattern. When the verb does not agree with its complement, the two components of nominative are checked separately. The verb assigns inherent nominative to its complement, and I checks the structural component of this Case against the expletive that fills its Spec. In cases of postverbal agreement, it is not the verb that Case-marks the postverbal NP. It transfers the inherent component to I, which checks it together with the structural component.

The third chapter examines the distribution of expletives in English, French, Hebrew, Russian and Italian and shows that their feature-specification is dictated by the checking needs of the functional head I that licenses them. In French, Hebrew and Russian - languages that allow or necessitate non-agreeing unaccusative constructions with postverbal NPs, this head is not specified for φ-features, which results in default agreement and licensing of an expletive that is specified for exactly the same features. This type of agreement also surfaces with weather predicates, temporal predicates and predicates that take clausal complements, the common denominator of which is a ban on a postverbal NP.

As opposed to that, English and Italian do not allow an underspecified I; consequently, non-agreeing constructions are impossible in these languages, and they resort to different expletives in the above cases.

The aim of the fourth chapter is to define the environment for the licensing of the underspecified I. It shows that this sort of I surfaces with verbs that do not assign an external θ-role and do not discharge Case with the assistance of I, or in other words, when no I+V complex is formed to check both components of nominative Case. Such cases include not only unaccusative constructions, in which the verb assigns inherent nominative to the postverbal NP, but also cases, where verbs do not have a nominative Case-feature and even cases when no verb is present at all, in languages like Russian and Hebrew that allow verbless sentences.

The last chapter of this work deals with a few unresolved matters that have arisen in the process of developing this analysis. It accounts for the manner in which inherent nominative is assigned by unaccusatives in English and Italian. In spite of the fact that these languages do not allow an underspecified I in tensed clauses, what they have in common with those that do have this option is the division of labor between V and I in checking both components of nominative Case.

In addition to that, it shows that an economy condition, Merge-over-Move, suggested in Chomsky (1995), has to be stipulated in order to avoid overgeneration. By adopting the analysis of Lasnik (1995), it also illustrates how it is possible to regard the verb *be* as an inherent Case-assigner. Finally, it suggests a few insights into the Case-assigning ability of

unergative verbs and establishes that the availability of expletives is determined not only by the feature-specification of I, but also by the diathesis of the verb.

1.   No Escape from the EPP

This chapter is devoted to establishing the EPP as an independent principle of grammar by separating it from the Case-checking requirement of I. After a short historical review of this principle, it examines the Inverse Case Filter, one of the main arguments, Bošković (2001) uses to assert that the EPP is redundant, and contests his assertion by demonstrating cases where the SpecIP position has to be filled by NPs that do not enter into a Case-checking relation with I. Such cases are non-nominative (quirky) subjects in Icelandic and Russian and *there*-constructions in English. A detailed study of *there*-constructions reveals that the various analyses of this expletive and the Case of its postverbal associate that have developed throughout the years do not prove adequate enough to deal with their syntactic behavior. There are good reasons to suggest that the function of *there* is to satisfy the EPP, while the Case and φ-features of I are checked by the postverbal NP via Agree, and not through feature-movement, as claimed in Chomsky (1995). The second part of this suggestion is supported by the behavior of parallel constructions in languages like Japanese, French and Russian.

1.1   The History of the EPP

What is known today as the EPP was first formulated in Chomsky (1981) and called *Principle P*. Though not formulated precisely, this principle was defined as a structural requirement stipulating that clauses must have subjects. Chomsky emphasized that this principle does not stem from considerations of subcategorization, for verbs do not subcategorize for subjects, which may be freely missing when *Principle P* is inapplicable, or from θ-theory, in its requiring obligatory insertion of pleonastic elements in the subject position of certain clauses. To capture this generalization, Chomsky proposed the following phrase structure rule.

(1)   S → NP Infl VP

In Chomsky (1982), this principle receives the name *Extended Projection Principle (EPP)* since in his view: "The Projection Principle and the requirement that clauses have subjects

are conceptually quite closely related." (p.10). A lexical element that θ-marks its position does so iff the position is filled, (cf. *persuade* as opposed to *seem*). Nevertheless, the author acknowledges the fact that the EPP goes beyond the requirements of the Projection Principle in several respects. First, subcategorized elements are obligatory for heads, while θ-marked subjects are not, as exhibited by passives and nominals. Secondly, not only can non-arguments occupy the subject position in structures like (2), but this position must be filled with an expletive in structures lacking a thematic subject.

(2)   a. It is clear that S
      b. I expect [it to be clear that S]

Based on the above, Chomsky concludes that the EPP seems to be independent of the Projection Principle. The latter requires that lexical properties of lexical items be projected in syntax, and the former - that regardless of their argument structure, clausal constituents – matrix and embedded clauses must have subjects, which do not necessarily have to be overt, as in (3).

(3)   [$_{NPi}$ John] was persuaded t_i [PRO$_i$ to leave]

To sum up, according to Chomsky, if the EPP exists then:

a). an empty category is present whenever a θ-role is assigned, but the corresponding thematic position contains no lexical material, as in infinitival clauses or finite clauses with missing or inverted subjects in pro-drop languages,

b). a clause must always contain an empty category as a subject when no external θ-role is assigned.

Chomsky (1995) remains loyal to his original idea, but suggests a different interpretation of the EPP, according to which, this principle derives from a feature-checking, namely, a morphological requirement. This requirement states that the N-feature (or D-feature) of I has to be checked in overt syntax because being strong, it is not a legitimate object at PF and hence, has to be checked prior to Spell-Out for the derivation to converge. In Chomsky (2000), the author rejects his own feature-based movement approach and replaces it with a relation of long distance agreement (Agree). This approach, which views the EPP as a

requirement for certain functional heads to have an overtly filled Spec and has nothing to do with feature-checking, goes back to his initial approach of (1981, 1982).

1.2   The Inverse Case Filter

Bošković (2001), claims that: "[T] wenty years of research concerning the EPP has not brought us any closer to understanding the nature of the EPP. The requirement is as mysterious as it was twenty years ago." (p.3) The author examines constructions that seem to violate the EPP in order to see if their ungrammaticality can still be accounted for if this principle is eliminated from grammar. His main conclusion is that what looks like the EPP effects can be accounted for by the Inverse Case Filter.[1] The Inverse Case Filter (henceforth, ICF) can actually be viewed as a feature-checking requirement, according to which, traditional Case-assigners must assign their Case-feature. In compliance with this requirement, (4) is ruled out because matrix I – a Case-assigner, cannot assign its Case-feature in the absence of an NP in its Spec.

 (4)   *is likely that Mary will leave

The sentence in (5) can also be excluded without appealing to the EPP.

 (5)   *John tried to seem that Peter likes Mary

Assuming that the subject position of control infinitivals is a Case-position where null Case is assigned by the control infinitival I, (5) is ungrammatical because the embedded I cannot assign its Case-feature. The ICF would not be violated if the infinitival SpecIP were filled by PRO; however, it cannot appear in that position because of the ban on expletive PRO.

In the next two sections it will be shown that Bošković's claim that the EPP is redundant because it can be deduced from the ICF seems to be on the wrong track. There is evidence

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[1]The author divides his analysis of the EPP into two parts: what he calls " the final EPP" – a requirement that the final landing site of A–movement must be filled, and " the intermediate EPP", stipulating that intermediate SpecIPs on the way of A-Movement must be filled. He suggests that the final EPP effects are deducible from the Inverse Case Filter, while the intermediate EPP effects can be accounted for by extending the successive cyclic requirement which A'-movement is subject to and applying it to A-movement as well. For reasons of scope, this work does not deal with the intermediate EPP, focusing on the final EPP only.

to suggest that the SpecIP position has to be filled by elements, whose Case is not checked by I.

1.3   Non-Nominative (Quirky) Subjects

Zaenen, Maling and Thráinsson (1985), Belletti (1988) and Sigurðsson (2002) show that Icelandic is a language with numerous instances of oblique subjects. In this language, the SpecIP position is often occupied by dative, accusative or genitive NPs that are often referred to as "quirky subjects".

(6)   a. Mér   kólnar
          me DAT is getting cold
      b. Þeim   var hjálpað
          them DAT was helped
          'They were helped'

(7)   Hana   vantaði vinnu
      her ACC lacked   job ACC
      'She lacked/needed a job' [2]

(8)   Hennar   var saknað
      her GEN was missed
      'She was missed'

The above quirky NPs behave like subjects rather than fronted objects with respect to a number of syntactic phenomena that have come to be known as "subjecthood tests". Two examples of such tests are reflexivization and raising.

Zaenen et al. (1985:456-457) assert that the speakers of Icelandic allow only subjects to

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[2]As pointed out by Zaenen et al. and by Belletti and Rizzi (1988), the accusative Case in this example is one of the morphological manifestations of a quirky Case, which is different from structural accusative since it is idiosyncratic and θ-related, namely, inherent. Verbs with inherent accusative in Icelandic are typically unaccusative.

antecede reflexive pronouns. Thus, the fact that the dative pronoun, *honum*, binds the anaphor, *sinum*, in (9), shows that the former occupies the subject position.[3]

(9) Honum var   oft   hjálpað af foreldrum sínum   /*hans
     he DAT was   often helped   by parents   his [+REFL]/ *[-REFL]

In addition to that, Zaenen et al. (1985) and Sigurðsson (2002) claim that in Icelandic, only subjects can raise. The verb *byrja* –'begin' in this language is either a raising predicate or a main verb, exactly like in English. As a raising predicate, *byrja* allows raising of both nominative NPs, as in (10b) and oblique NPs, as in (10d).

(10) a. Ólafur   las   bókina
      Olaf NOM read   book the ACC
      'Olaf read the book'

   b. Ólafur   byrjaði að lesa bókina
      Olaf NOM   began   to read book the ACC
      'Olaf began to read the book'

   c. Ólafi   leiddist
      Olaf DAT   bored
      'Olaf was bored'

   d. Ólafi   byrjaði að leiðast
      Olaf DAT began   to bore
      'Olaf began to get bored'   (Sigurðsson 2002:698)

The fact that the dative NP in (10d) must have raised to the matrix Spec IP is supported by the different grammatical status of (11a) and (11b), indicating that as a main verb, *byrja* does not allow a dative argument.

(11) a. Ólafur   byrjaði   of seint
      Olaf NOM began   too late

   b.*Ólafi   byrjaði   of seint
      Olaf DAT began   too late

Due to their ability to pass subjecthood tests, the subject status of quirky NPs in Icelandic has been undisputed since at least Zaenen et al. (1985). Bošković admits that such constructions present a problem for the ICF, since if SpecIP is filled by a non-nominative

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[3]The authors point out that an object in Icelandic can bind an anaphor only if the anaphor occurs in a predicative complement predicated of that object.

argument, it cannot be maintained that it moves to that position in order to check the nominative Case-feature of I. The author tries to save his ICF argument by claiming that quirky subjects also have a structural nominative Case, which is not realized morphologically, and this Case is checked against the nominative Case feature of I. This line of argumentation cannot be accepted for several reasons. It has become a matter of consensus among linguists that the presence of nominative Case is contingent upon agreement[4]. Yet, in all the examples of quirky subjects presented here, there is no subject-verb agreement, and the verb is always in the 3rd person singular.

The above observation is supported by Russian. This language, known for its rich Case morphology, has instances of dative subjects, in which case, exactly like in Icelandic, there is no subject-verb agreement. The verb appears in the neuter singular - the default agreement in Russian.

Based on the findings of Perlmutter (1978) and Klenin (1978), Babyonyshev (1996) claims that two of the most undisputed subjecthood tests in Russian are the ability to antecede reflexives and to control PRO in gerundival clauses. Below I show that dative subjects in Russian pass these diagnostics of subjecthood.

The fact that the dative NP, *Ivanu*, antecedes the anaphor, *svoix*, in (12a) supports the assumption that it is situated in SpecIP. (12b) indicates that the movement of the NP in question is obligatory, otherwise the sentence is ungrammatical.[5] Based on these facts, we may conclude that *Ivanu* undergoes A-movement and antecedes the anaphor from its derived position in SpecIP.

(12) a. $Ivanu_i$ xvata'et $svoix_i$ problem
        Ivan DAT   suffices NEUT SG [+REFL] GEN PL   problems GEN
        'Ivan has enough problems of his own'

     b. *pro xvata'et   Ivanu   problem
            suffices NEUT SG   Ivan DAT   problems GEN

By contrast, neither a fronted dative argument nor the same argument in the object position is capable of anteceding an anaphor, as shown in (13a&b), respectively.

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[4]At a later stage of this work, it will be shown that in certain languages, nominative is not always contingent upon agreement, in which case SpecIP is occupied by a certain kind of expletive; however, it does not affect the instances discussed here because this position hosts overt NPs.
[5]In a discourse-neutral context, with no change in intonation.

(13) a. Ivanu$_i$ [$_{IP}$Maša$_j$ vernula   t$_i$ svoii$_j$ /$_{*i}$ časy]
        Ivan DAT   Masha NOM returned FEM SG   [+REFL] ACC PL   watch ACC PL
        'To Ivan Masha returned her watch'

    b. [$_{IP}$Maša$_j$ vernula   Ivanu$_i$ svoii$_j$ /$_{*i}$ časy]
        Masha NOM returned FEM SG Ivan DAT [+REFL]ACC PL   watch ACC PL
        'Masha returned her watch to Ivan'

The anaphor, *svoii*, can be coreferential only with the subject NP, *Masha*, but not with the
dative NP, *Ivanu*, because the latter is not situated in SpecIP in the above examples.

Another reason for assuming that *Ivanu* is situated in SpecIP is its ability to control PRO in
the gerundival adjunct clause in (14).

(14) Ivanu$_i$ zaxot'elos'   moroženogo   [PRO$_i$ rabotaja v sadu]
        Ivan DAT felt like NEUT SG ice cream PART-GEN   working in garden
        'Ivan felt a sudden wish for some ice cream, working in the garden'

In addition to its ability to control PRO in gerundival clauses, the dative NP controls PRO
in the infinitival adjunct clause in (15).

(15) Ivanu$_i$ xvata'et   d'eneg   [čtoby PRO$_i$ kupit' časy]
        Ivan DAT   suffices NEUT SG money PART- GEN   in order   to-buy watch
        'Ivan has enough money to buy a watch'

In the literature on control (see Williams (1980) and Haegeman (1994) among many
others), it has been established that PRO, as the subject of adjunct clauses, requires
obligatory control. It can only be controlled by an argument - a subject or an object, which
c-commands it. The grammaticality of (15) suggests that the dative NP, *Ivanu*, is the
derived subject, situated in SpecIP, hence its ability to control PRO in the adjunct clause.[6]

In all the Russian examples analyzed above, the presence of a dative argument in SpecIP is
accompanied by default, single neuter, agreement. Vainikka and Maling (1996) note a
connection between a lack of agreement and inherent Case. They observe that NPs bearing
inherent (lexically assigned) Case block verbal agreement cross-linguistically. Thus, the

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[6]It should be noted, however, that rationale clauses involve not only structural factors, and therefore, c-command is not necessarily entailed. (Idan Landau, personal communication)

inability of quirky subjects in Icelandic and Russian to trigger verbal agreement suggests that contrary to Bošković's claim, they do not check the nominative Case-feature of I. Another argument against Bošković's analysis of quirky subjects can be found in Belletti (1988). Although she also suggests that the inherent quirky Case in Icelandic combines with a structural (nominative) Case, she allows for the possibility that it does not have to be so due to the existence of sentences with quirky subjects where nominative Case shows up on another NP.[7] One of such languages is Russian, as illustrated in (16) and (17).

(16) a. Ivanu$_i$ ponravilsja   svoi$_i$ dom
        Ivan DAT liked MASC SG [+REFL] NOM MASC SG house NOM MASC SG
        'Ivan liked his house'

     b.*pro ponravilsja   Ivanu   dom
             liked MASC SG Ivan DAT houseNOM MASC SG

The verb *ponravilsja* - 'liked' takes two internal arguments: an experiencer and a theme. The latter gets nominative Case in its base position and triggers agreement, while the former, which is assigned dative, may not remain in its base position. Its ability to antecede the anaphor suggests that the position it ends up in is SpecIP. The verb *ponadobilis' -* 'needed' in (17), shows exactly the same pattern of behavior.

(17) a. Ivanu$_i$ ponadobilis' svoii$_i$ instrum'enty
        Ivan DAT needed PL   [+REFL] NOM PL tools NOM PL
        'Ivan needed / started to need his tools'

     b.*pro ponadobilis'   Ivanu   instrum'enty
            needed / started to need PL Ivan DAT tools NOM PL

In addition to that, with both verbs the dative argument is capable of controlling PRO in infinitival and gerundival adjunct clauses - (18) and (19), respectively.

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[7]She refers to verbs like *piacere* a sub-group of the so-called *psych verbs* in Italian, discussed in detail in Belletti and Rizzi (1988). These verbs behave like the Russian ones in (16) - (17). However, while according to Belletti and Rizzi, in the base structure, the theme and the verb form a constituent, which excludes the experiencer, I assume that in Russian, the verb forms a constituent with the experiencer, in compliance with Larson (1988), hence the order V Experiencer Theme. This difference does not affect the validity of the argument presented above, since the experiencer may not remain in its base position in a discourse-neutral context, no matter which analysis is adopted.

(18) a. Ivanu_i   ponravilas'   ideja   pokupki   doma   [čtoby
       Ivan DAT liked FEM SG idea NOM FEM SG buying GEN SG house GEN SG in order

       PRO_i uskorit't'   ženit'bu]
              to- precipitate marriage
       'Ivan liked the idea of buying a house in order to precipitate marriage'

     b. Ivanu_i   ponadobilis' veski'e   argumenty
        Ivan DAT needed PL   strong NOM PL arguments NOM PL

        [čtoby PRO_i ubedit'   publiku]
          in order   to-convince   audience
        'Ivan needed strong arguments in order to convince the audience'

(19) a. [PRO_i razmyšljaja   o   buduščem] Ivanu_i   ponravilas'   mysl'
              contemplating about future   Ivan DAT   appealed FEM SG   thought
                                                                               NOM FEM
                                                                               SG
        o   ženit'be
        about marriage
        'Contemplating about the future, Ivan started to like/liked the idea of marriage'

     b. [PRO_i rabotaja v   sadu]   Ivanu_i   ponadobilis'   instrumenty
              working in garden   Ivan DAT started+need PL tools NOM PL
        'Working in the garden, Ivan started to need tools'

The above examples show that dative NPs in Russian exhibit subjecthood properties also in cases where nominative Case is assigned to another argument, invalidating Bošković's claim that quirky subjects move to SpecIP to check nominative Case, as required by the ICF. His suggestion that in such instances, nominative Case is not realized morphologically looks rather ad hoc and runs afoul of the sentences discussed here.

Quirky subjects in Icelandic and Russian help divorce the EPP from nominative Case, indicating that it would be mistaken to suggest that they are two sides of the same coin. Movement to SpecIP does not have to be Case-driven and nominative Case is not necessarily checked in SpecIP.

The existence of the EPP as an independent principle of grammar will be further supported by the behavior of expletive *there,* for as will be shown in the next section, its sole function, the very essence of its existence, is to satisfy the EPP.

1.4 *There*-Constructions

Existential *there*-constructions, illustrated by the examples in (20), have been subject to extensive research.

 (20) a. There is /*are a man in the garden
       b. There are/*is men in the garden
       c. There arrived a man
       d.*There arrived the man

In their attempt to explain the behavior of these constructions, linguists have tried to deal with the following issues:

a) the Case of the postverbal NP

b) the Definiteness Effect (henceforth, DE) exhibited by the postverbal NP

c) the features expletive *there* is specified for

d) the peculiar pattern of agreement between the verb and the postverbal NP

Since the answers to these questions have direct relevance to the theory advocated in this work, the most prominent analyses of *there*-constructions will be discussed in the forthcoming sections. The outcome of this discussion will provide more evidence in favor of the EPP, shed light on the true nature of *there* and give rise to the theory of nominative Case assignment, which will be developed in the subsequent chapters.

1.4.1 Belletti's Inherent Partitive

Belletti (1988) develops a theory the purpose of which is to account syntactically for the DE in sentences like (20d). She claims that this phenomenon characterizes not only *there*-constructions. It is part of a more general pattern of behavior exhibited by verbs cross-linguistically. The author analyzes the Finnish data in (21), showing that in this language, objects of transitive verbs can be marked morphologically with either accusative or partitive Case. An accusative object is usually interpreted as definite - (21a), while a partitive object is understood as indefinite - (21b).

(21) a. Hän pani kiriat   pöydälle
        he   put   the books ACC PL   on the table

     b. Hän pani   kirjoja   pöydälle
        he   put (some) books PART PL   on the table

The above alternation gives rise to Belletti's proposal that verbs can universally assign an abstract partitive Case to their objects, and this Case is incompatible with definiteness. She further suggests that the Case-assigning ability of unaccusative and passive verbs is suspended only with respect to structural accusative.[8] Such verbs still have the ability to assign inherent partitive Case to their indefinite complements. In addition to being inherent, Belletti's partitive is also an optional Case; otherwise, sentences with definite complements would be ungrammatical due to the fact that this Case is not assigned.

Belletti makes the following distinction between +/- definite NPs. She considers proper names and NPs whose Spec is occupied by the definite article as definite and NPs whose Spec is either a quantifier or the indefinite article as indefinite.[9] In short, as observed by Danon (2002), Belletti uses semantic criteria to distinguish between structural and inherent Cases. She links definiteness to structural Case and indefiniteness to inherent Case.

Belletti's proposal that unaccusative verbs assign partitive Case to the postverbal indefinite NP in *there*-constructions was adopted and further developed by Lasnik in several papers. As for the Case-requirement of *there*, in Lasnik (1992), the author claims that it is Case-marked by I.[10] Bošković adopts this line of reasoning, using it as another argument for the validity of the ICF and the redundancy of the EPP. If, on the other hand, it can be shown, that no astract partitive Case exists and the NP associate of *there* is assigned nominative in its base position, thus checking the Case and φ-features of I, then expletive *there* is Caseless and appears in these constructions for no other reason than to satisfy the EPP. This alternative approach, which invalidates the ICF, will be pursued in the forthcoming sections.

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[8]Belletti assumes that the verb *be* is unaccusative.
[9]Since the distinction between NPs and DPs was made later and changes nothing in the present discussion, it is abstracted away from.
[10]Lasnik (1992) believes that the associate of *there* undergoes LF movement, replacing the expletive at this level of representation, in compliance with Chomsky (1986a). He suggests that in order to be visible as the target of A-movement, an A-position must have Case.

1.4.2 Problematic Aspects of Belletti's Analysis

Danon (2002) rejects Belletti's abstract partitive Case proposal. He claims that if such a Case existed universally, we would expect it to match morphological Case at least in some languages that have morphological partitive. However, data from such languages show that morphological partitive behaves differently from Belletti's. Danon relies on Vainikka and Maling (1996), who demonstrate that the Finnish partitive (that served as an incentive for Belletti's proposal) cannot be an instance of Belletti's partitive because as opposed to her analysis, it is compatible with definite NPs, and the semantic property relevant to the accusative/partitive alternation in Finnish is not definiteness, but an aspectual property of [+/- completed], expressed by the entire VP.[11] The authors also quote data from Sigurðsson (1989), who shows that the Icelandic partitive does not behave like Belletti's .[12]

In addition to that, Danon shows that indefinite objects in Hebrew cannot be subsumed under Belletti's partitive. He compares between the Finnish partitive with instances of partitive in Hebrew and shows that indefinite NPs in the latter do not behave like the Finnish partitive. In (22), the author demonstrates that in Hebrew, there are three possible ways of object-marking. Indefinite objects are characterized by zero morphology, whereas definite objects are preceded by either a dummy preposition *et* or a partitive preposition *me-* 'from, of'.

(22) axalti   uga / et ha-uga   / me- ha-uga
     ate 1st person SG cake et the cake of   the cake
     'I ate a/some cake/the cake/of the cake'

The Finnish partitive, according to Danon, is more or less equivalent semantically to the Hebrew *me-* rather than to its indefinite objects, but since this preposition is a possible Case-assigner to objects that are marked [+definite], it cannot serve as an example of Belletti's partitive. Having been unable to find morphological Case that behaves in accordance with Belletti's partitive, Danon concludes that there is no good reason to assume its existence.

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[11]De Hoop (1992) and Kiparsky (1998) also use this line of reasoning to reject Belletti's analysis.
[12]Vainikka and Maling do not reject the idea of the existence of abstract partitive, but like Lasnik, they claim that it should be analyzed as a structural Case. This point will not be elaborated on, as my purpose is to show that there is no good reason to assume the existence of abstract partitive be it structural or inherent.

Russian is another language in which partitive is expressed morphologically. However, as will be shown in the next sections, it does not match Belletti's partitive either, supporting Danon's rejection of this Case.

1.4.3 Partitive-Genitive and the Genitive of Negation in Russian

The Russian partitive Case is morphologically realized by genitive morphology and is closely connected with the meaning of quantity, hence its name partitive-genitive.[13] Many transitive verbs in Russian lose the ability to Case-mark their objects with accusative Case and assign partitive-genitive when a morphological device that expresses quantity, such as an affix (marked in bold) is added to them.

(23) a. Maša   žarit   kotl'ety
        Masha NOM is frying   meatballs ACC
        'Masha is frying meatballs'

      b. Maša   **na**- žarila   *kotl'ety   / kotl'et
        Masha NOM a lot-fried FEM   meatballs ACC /   meatballs PART-GEN
        'Masha fried a lot of meatballs'

(24) a. Ivan   xlebal   vodu
        Ivan NOM supped MASC   water ACC
        'Ivan supped water'

      b. Ivan   xleb**nu**l   *vodu   / vody
        Ivan NOM   had a drop MASC   water ACC / water PART-GEN
        'Ivan had a drop of water'

In many cases, the addition of such affixes is accompanied by reflexive morphology.

(25) a. Maša   'est   kotl'ety
        Masha NOM is eating   meatballs ACC
        'Masha is eating meatballs'

      b. Maša   **na**-'el**as'**   *kotl'ety   / kotl'et
        Masha NOM a lot-ate FEM   meatballs ACC /   meatballs PART-GEN
        'Masha ate a lot of meat balls'

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[13]It should be noted that genitive morphology in Russian is used not only when quantity is involved. In order to distinguish between such cases, which are of no relevance to the present discussion, from genitive that expresses quantity, the latter will be called partitive-genitive, although in literature, it is often referred to as genitive.

(26) a. Ja   slušaju   novost'i
        I NOM   am listening news ACC
        'I am listening to (the) news'

     b. Ja   **na-** slušal**as'**   *novost'i   / novost'ei
        I NOM   a lot- heard FEM news ACC / news PART-GEN
        'I heard a lot of news'

Partitive-genitive is also assigned by certain verbs the meaning of which expresses quantity

without any additional morphological device.

(27) Kolja   lišilsja   *imuščestvo   / imuščestva[14]
     Kolja NOM   lost MASC property ACC / property PART-GEN
     'Kolja lost /was left without property'

In addition to such examples, the well-known Russian phenomenon called, *the genitive of
negation*, has a lot in common with partitive-genitive. This name is used to express the fact
that Russian verbs that normally assign accusative to their complements can Case-mark
them with genitive Case when they are negated, (28c).

(28) a. Ja   polučal   pis'ma
        I NOM was getting MASC letters ACC
        'I was getting (the) letters'

     b. Ja   ne   polučal   pis'ma
        I NOM NEG   was getting MASC letters ACC
        'I wasn't getting (the) letters'

     c. Ja   ne   polučal   pis'em
        I NOM NEG   was getting MASC letters GEN
        'I wasn't getting any letters'

What the genitive of negation has in common with the partitive-genitive is the fact that it

also involves quantity, or more specifically, it is an example where no quantity of a given

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[14]Reflexive morphology in this example has nothing to do with the use of partitive-genitive. It indicates that
the verb has undergone a lexical operation that reduced its arity. However, as shown below, this operation
does not affect the ability of the verb to assign partitive-genitive:

Ja   lišila   Kolju   *imuščestvo   /imuščestva
I NOM deprived   Kolja   property ACC / property PART-GEN
 'I deprived Kolja of property'

entity takes part in the event. This suggestion is supported by Jakobson (1957:135-136), who accounts for both occurrences of genitive along the same lines:

The genitive focuses upon the extent to which the entity takes part in the message. The context indicates whether the amount is measured (*skol'ko dram* 'how many dramas', *pjat' dram* 'five dramas'), extended *(dram!* 'there are a lot of dramas', *nasmotret'sja dram* 'to have seen enough of dramas), or reduced. Thus *počital dram* means 'read a little from dramas', *kosnulsja dram* 'touched upon dramas', *ždal dram* 'waited for dramas', *xot'el dram* 'wanted dramas' - the entity is intended without having been realized; *izbegal dram* 'avoided dramas' – the entity is repelled, and a similar reduction to zero appears in the genetivus negationis [genitive of negation]: *ne ljubil dram* 'did not like dramas', *ne bylo dram* 'there were no dramas'.

Babby (1991) also draws a parallel between the genitive of negation and partitive-genitive in Russian, claiming that both are instances of Semantic Case, which focuses on quantity, thus making a direct contribution to the semantic interpretation of the sentence.

1.4.4 Russian Partitive-Genitive and the Genitive of Negation vs. Belletti's Abstract Partitive

In spite of the fact that partitive Case in Russian is realized morphologically, neither it nor the genitive of negation can serve as evidence in favor of Belletti's abstract partitive, for they show different patterns of behavior.

Recall that according to Belletti, unaccusative and passive verbs can assign partitive Case to their complements. If that were the case in Russian, we would expect its unaccusatives and passives to allow genitive NPs (genitive morphology being a reflection of partitive Case). However, (29a) and (30a) prove this assumption wrong. Russian bare unaccusatives and passives[15] are incapable of Case-marking their arguments if the latter contain no quantifier, and the only Case available is nominative, as suggested by the postverbal agreement in (29b) and (30b).

(29) a.*razbilos'   butylok
      broke NEUT SG   bottles GEN

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[15]I use the term "bare unaccusatives and passives" to relate to verbs with no additional Case-assigning devices, such as affixes or negation.

b. razbilis'   butylki
broke PL bottles NOM
'Bottles broke'

c. razbilos'   [Nom pjat'   butylok]
broke NEUT SG   five NOM bottles GEN
'Five bottles broke'

d. razbilis'   [Nom pjat'   butylok]
broke PL   five NOM   bottles GEN
'Five bottles broke'

(30) a. *bylo   pročitano   knig
was NEUT SG read NEUT SG books GEN

b. byli   pročitany knigi
were read PL   books NOM
'There were books read'

c. bylo   pročitano   [Nom desjat'   knig]
was NEUT SG read NEUT SG   ten NOM   books GEN
'There were ten books read'

d. byli pročitany [Nom desjat'   knig]
were read PL   ten NOM   books GEN
'There were ten books read'

NPs with genitive morphology in Russian surface after quantifiers, (29c&d) and (30c&d), but not after bare unaccusatives/passives, as we would expect if these verbs assigned partitive Case to them.

Babby (1987) shows that in quantified NPs in Russian, the quantifier assigns genitive Case to the head noun, while the maximal projection may get a different Case, as in the above examples, where the quantified NPs are nominative.[16] According to the author, the syntactic behavior of such quantified nominals shows unequivocally that they are NPs rather than QPs in Modern Russian.[17] It is thus clear that partitive-genitive cannot be assigned by Russian bare unaccusatives, in contrast to Belletti's partitive.

[16]The reasons why quantified NPs in such cases are analyzed as nominative and why both default agreement and agreement with the postverbal quantified NP are possible, as exhibited by (29c&d) and (30c&d), respectively, will be discussed at a later stage.
[17]For numerous arguments in favor of this analysis see Babby (1987:100-112).

Moreover, according to Belletti's analysis, abstract partitive is an inherent Case, whereas the partitive-genitive in (23b) - (26b) above looks more like a structural and not θ-related Case, which can only be assigned in the presence of certain morphemes. The fact that it contributes to the semantic interpretation of a sentence does not pose a problem for this assumption. Lasnik (1992) asserts that nothing in the linguistic theory excludes the possibility that a structural Case may involve a quantificational property and have semantic import.

Another reason why the Russian partitive-genitive Case cannot be viewed as an example of Belletti's partitive lies in the fact that this Case is not optional. When the conditions for its assignment are met, it cannot alternate with any other Case, as illustrated by the above examples.

Finally, the strongest argument against analyzing the partitive-genitive Case in Russian as a morphological manifestation of Belletti's partitive lies in its compatibility with definite NPs, (31) - (32), while the whole essence of Belletti's partitive is an attempt to deal with the DE exhibited by certain objects.

(31) Maša   na- 'elas'   tvoix   kotl'et/
       Masha NOM a lot- ate FEM your PART-GEN PL meatballs PART-GEN PL/
       *tvoji   kotlety
        your ACC PL meatballs ACC PL
        i   u nejë bolit život
        and at her aches stomach NOM MASC
       'Masha ate too much of your meatballs and her stomach aches'

(32) Ja   dostatočno na- slušalas'   tvoix   glupostei/
       I NOM enough   a lot- heard FEM your PART-GEN PL nonsense PART-GEN PL/
       *tvoji   gluposti
        your ACC PL nonsense ACC PL
       'I heard too much of your nonsense'

Pesetsky (1982) and Lasnik (1992) suggest that the genitive of negation should be regarded as an instance of Belletti's partitive. They show that negated unaccusatives can assign genitive Case to their complements, as in (33b).

(33) a. Ne   pojavilis'   studenty
           NEG showed up PL students NOM MASC PL
           '(The) students didn't show up'

    b. Ne   pojavilos'   studentov
        NEG showed up NEUT SG students GEN MASC PL
        'No students showed up'

The assumption of this analysis is that negation in Russian equips the unaccusative verb with a special Case-assigning feature, enabling it to Case-mark its complement. However, a closer look at the genitive of negation reveals that this phenomenon is more complex than assumed by Pesetsky (1982) and Lasnik (1992). In (34a&b), we see that in the presence of the quantifier *dvadcat'* in a negated sentence, the quantified NP behaves exactly like the quantified NPs in the positive sentences like (29c&d) and (30c&d). The head noun is assigned genitive by the quantifier, while the maximal projection gets nominative Case, as exhibited by the Case of the quantifier. If the verb together with negation assigned genitive Case to the postverbal NP, we would expect the quantifier to be genitive rather than nominative, which is not the case, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (34c).

(34)   a. Ne   pojavilos'   [NOM dvadcat'   studentov]
           NEG showed up NEUT SG   twenty NOM students GEN MASC PL

    b. Ne   pojavilis'   [NOM dvadcat'   studentov]
       NEG showed up PL   twenty NOM students GEN MASC PL

    c.*Ne   pojavilos'   dvadcat'i   studentov
       NEG showed up NEUT SG twenty GEN   students GEN MASC PL

These data indicate that it would be much more plausible to assume that in the occurrences of the genitive of negation with unaccusative verbs like *pojavilos'*, there exists a null quantifier that assigns genitive Case to the head noun, exactly like in (29c&d) and (30c&d), and negation plays a role in licensing this quantifier, to express that no amount of a given entity took part in the event. Since this analysis renders it more reasonable to suggest that it is not the verb that Case-marks the genitive nominal, but the null quantifier, while the maximal projection of the quantified NP gets nominative Case, the above instance of the genitive of negation, cannot be considered as a manifestation of Belletti's patitive.

However, not all negated unaccusatives behave like *ne pojavilos'* in (34). Verbs of existence, such as *bylo* - 'was' and *našlos'* - 'was found' show a different pattern of behavior, illustrated in (35). When negated, these verbs do seem to assign genitive Case to their complement, which is why once they are followed by a quantified NP, the quantifier is marked genitive rather than nominative.

(35) a. V klass'e   ne   bylo   dvadcat'i   / *dvadcat'   studentov
       in classroom NEG was NEUT SG twenty GEN/   twenty NOM students GEN
       'There were twenty students missing in the classroom'

    b. V biblioteke ne   našlos'[18]   dvadcat'i   / *dvadcat'   knig
      in library   NEG found NEUT SG twenty GEN/   twenty NOM books GEN
      'Twenty books weren't found in the library'

In addition to that, unlike *ne pojavilos'* that alternates with the agreeing *ne pojavilis'* in (33a) and (34b), negated verbs of existence are never possible with agreement when their argument appears postverbally, as shown in (36).

(36) a. V klass'e   ne   bylo   studentov
        in classroom NEG was NEUT SG   students GEN
        'There were no students in the classroom'

    b. *V klass'e   ne   byli   studenty
      in classroom NEG were   students NOM

    c. V biblioteke ne   našlos'   knig
       in library   NEG found NEUT SG books GEN
       'There were no books found in the library'

    d. *V biblioteke ne   našlis'   knigi
       in library   NEG found PL books GEN

The conclusion to be drawn from the above findings is that the genitive of negation cannot be given a unified account. While in cases like (34), it appears that it is the null quantifier that assigns genitive Case to the head noun, with verbs of existence, negation enables the verb to assign genitive Case to its complement, as suggested by Pesetsky (1982) and Lasnik (1992).

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[18]Note that the verb *naxoditsja* -'to be found/located' is unaccusative, not passive. Having been unable to find its exact equivalent in English, I am forced to resort to passive in my translation.

Although negated verbs of existence are genitive Case-assigners, this Case cannot be viewed as a manifestation of Belletti's partitive for the same reasons the paritive–genitive cannot be considered as such. The genitive assigned by negated verbs of existence is an obligatory Case, as illustrated in (36), unlike Belletti's partitive, which is optional. Moreover, in contrast to Belletti's inherent partitive, the genitive of negation looks more like a structural Case. Since this Case cannot be assigned in the absence of negation, it is not the verb alone, which is a Case-assigner in such instances, but rather the negative morpheme (or a combination of the two). Lasnik (1992:401) reaches the same conclusion, claiming that the genitive of negation cannot be considered as an inherent Case because negation has no θ-roles to assign and any Case assigned by it will necessarily be structural.

Finally, in spite of the fact that Pesetsky (1982:65) claims that the genitive of negation displays a DE, the following examples show that it is perfectly compatible with definite NPs,[19] complements of unaccusative verbs - (37) and also transitive verbs - (38).

(37)   U bol'nogo   ne   pojavilos'   etix   simptomov
       at the patient   NEG emerged NEUT SG   these GEN PL symptoms GEN PL
       'The patient didn't exhibit these symptoms'

(38)   Vy   moix   deneg   ne   ščitaite!
        you NOM PL my GEN PL money GEN PL NEG count PL (imperative)
        'Don't count my money!'

The above claim is also supported by Babyonyshev (1996), who shows that the Russian verb *be* along with other unaccusative verbs of existence is compatible with definite NPs under negation. In Babyonyshev et al. (2001), it is even claimed that these verbs actually "require genitive Case under negation regardless of the specificity of their argument." (pp.13-14)

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[19]Since Russian has no definite or indefinite articles, I use semantic criteria such as proper names, possessives and the adjective/adjective-like determiner, *eto* - 'this' to establish that an NP is definite, and bare or quantified NPs to show indefiniteness. As shown earlier, Belletti also dealt with the DE semantically. *Eto* is analyzed here as an adjective because like other Russian adjectives, it agrees with the head noun in number,   gender and animacy.

(39)   a. Ol'gi   Borisovny   n'et
         Olga GEN FEM Borisovna GEN FEM isn't
         'Olga Borisovna isn't here'

       b. *Ol'ga   Borisovna   n'et
          Olga NOM Borisovna NOM isn't   (Babyonyshev et al. 2002:14)

       c. Glavnogo   vrača   n'et   v gorode
           head GEN SG doctor GEN SG   not-be   in town
           'The head doctor is not in town'   (Babyonyshev 1996:176)

       d. *Glavnyi   vrač   n'et   v gorode
          head NOM SG doctor NOM SG not-be   in town
          'The head doctor is not in town' [20]

To sum up, having examined the occurrences of partitive-genitive and the genitive of
negation in Russian, it would be fair to conclude that they are not instances of Belletti's
abstract partitive, and similarly to Finnish, Icelandic and Hebrew, Russian does not provide
evidence for the existence of such Case, supporting Danon's observation that Belletti's
proposal lacks overt empirical support.

Nevertheless, as will be discussed in detail at a later stage, Belletti's theory provides some
extremely important insights into the behavior of unaccusative/passive verbs and her basic
assumptions regarding their behavior are supported cross-linguistically.

As for *there*-constructions, it can now be concluded that the associate of *there* is not
assigned partitive Case. This conclusion and the fact that in these constructions the verb
agrees with the postverbal NP suggest that the latter checks the Case and φ-features of I.
However, since the purpose of the entire discussion is to establish that the EPP exists as an
independent principle of grammar and cannot be deduced from the ICF, what has to be
shown is that the process of checking is performed in situ through Agree rather than via
movement. If the postverbal NP checks the Case and φ-features of I in situ, then it can be
safely assumed that the function of *there* is to satisfy the EPP and not the ICF, as claimed
by Bošković.

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[20]Although these are copular sentences that in Russian contain no verb in the present, and the translation of
n'et as 'not be' is inaccurate morphologically, in the future and past tenses, the verb *be* does emerge and the
analysis remains the same.

     Glavnogo   vrača   ne bylo   v gorode
      head GEN SG doctor GEN SG   NEG was NEUT SG   in town
      'The head doctor was not in town'

1.4.5   The Function of *There*: Against Nominative Case-Checking via Movement

The fact that nominative Case in English is normally checked in SpecIP together with the peculiar agreement pattern exhibited by *there*-constructions, led many linguists to the conclusion that the postverbal NP moves to this position to have its Case checked. Some movement analyses will be discussed below in order to point out the problems they create and to show that there is no good reason to assume that such movement takes place.

Chomsky (1986a) claims that the postverbal NP undergoes covert movement, replacing the expletive, thus yielding LF (41) for the S-str of (40).

(40)   There is a man here

(41)   [A man]$_i$ is t$_i$ here

This alleged movement is driven by two requirements: the need of the NP to have its Case licensed and the need for the semantically vacuous expletive to be eliminated in order to satisfy Full Interpretation.

This analysis was soon abandoned because it was noticed that overt movement, as in (42), creates different interpretive possibilities when compared to cases of expletive replacement like (43).

(42)   A man is likely to be here

(43)   There is likely to be a man here

While in (42), *a man* can have both wide and narrow scope with respect to *likely*, in (43), it has only narrow scope. Chomsky (1991) observes a similar problem with (44).

(44)   There aren't many linguistics students here

If the postverbal NP substituted for *there* in the above example, it would be expected to have wide scope with respect to negation, but it has only narrow scope. As a result of these scope problems, Chomsky abandons his original expletive replacement analysis.

In Chomsky (1993), the author changes his analysis of *there*. It is now viewed as a

legitimate, freestanding LF object that satisfies all morphological requirements, and the postverbal NP that undergoes covert movement to the position of the expletive does not replace it, but adjoins to it. The driving force behind this movement has nothing to do with *there* itself. The movement is driven solely by the Case needs of the NP in question. At this stage, Chomsky still believes that the Case of the postverbal NP cannot be checked without its movement to the subject position. However, this analysis does not solve the above scope problems either.

Lasnik (1995) agrees with Chomsky that the postverbal NP adjoins to *there* at LF, but accounts for this movement differently. Since, unlike Chomsky (1993), he believes in the existence of Belletti's partitive, the driving force behind this movement, in his opinion, is the nature of *there* rather than Case. He suggests that *there* is an LF affix, and as such, it forms an illegitimate LF object, which will cause the derivation to crash unless it is attached to an appropriate host. (Following Lasnik (1981), he calls this requirement a *Stranding Affix Constraint*). Lasnik is convinced that this consideration should suffice to drive LF movement of the postverbal NP, the way "the strong NP feature" of I drives the standard raising of subjects in sentences like (45).

(45)   [A strange man]$_i$ is t$_i$ in the garden

He suggests that *there* must be an LF clitic on an NP, which explains why its associate cannot be a clause, as shown in (46).

(46)   *There is likely that John is tall

In view of the ungrammaticality of (47), Lasnik asserts that the constraint on *there* must be even tighter.

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

There must be an LF clitic on an NP with partitive Case. Since in (47), the preposition *to* does not check partitive Case, the derivation of (47) in which *a strange man* adjoins to *there* in the LF component, will result in a morphological violation.

This analysis is problematic in two respects. Similarly to the analyses suggested in Chomsky (1986a) and (1993), it does not explain why the postverbal NP in *there*-constructions has only narrow scope, and besides, it has already been shown that there is no good reason to maintain the existence of partitive Case in Belletti's sense.

The ungrammaticality of (46) and (47) can be accounted for differently. Assuming together with Chomsky (1993) that *there* is a freestanding, legitimate LF object, if it can be shown that it lacks Case and φ-features, the ungrammaticality of the above sentences will be accounted for as the inability of I to have its Case and φ-features checked in the absence of a nominative NP. This approach will constitute a problem for Bošković's attempt to eliminate the EPP from grammar because he claims that expletives have Case-features and are introduced in positions required by the ICF.

The mentioned above approach towards *there* is developed in Chomsky (1995). With the development of his minimalist analysis, Chomsky formulates an economy condition called *Last Resort*, which requires that an operation take place only if it satisfies a checking relation. According to the author, the movement of the postverbal NP is driven by feature-checking considerations and involves only formal features. This analysis solves the scope problems created by the expletive replacement and adjunction to the expletive analyses. The claim is that in sentences like (44), only the formal features of the associate, *many linguistics students*, move at LF and not the entire NP. The features adjoin to the functional head above negation while the quantificational properties remain in situ, accounting for the narrow scope with respect to negation. Chomsky believes in the adjunction of formal features to I rather than in their adjunction to *there*, p.276:

…the features of the associate raise to I rather than adjoining to the expletive over and above the fact that this operation is the normal one while adjunction from the associate position to the expletive would be without any analogue.

This approach no longer permits to regard *there* as a clitic in the spirit of Lasnik (1995), for it is not attached to any host at any level of representation. The shift in Chomsky's analysis of *there*-constructions establishes *there* as an element whose only function is to satisfy the EPP, since if the associate checks its Case and φ-features against those of I, *there* has neither Case nor φ-features, as suggested in this work. Chomsky (1995:364) asserts that at LF, this expletive is simply the categorical feature [D] because its phonetic features have been stripped away at Spell-Out. This analysis of *there* helps divorce the EPP from the ICF,

reinstating the EPP as an independent principle of grammar, contrary to Bošković's analysis.

The next question that has to be examined is whether the checking relation between the postverbal NP and I in *there*-constructions is established through feature-movement, as claimed in Chomsky (1995).

The author observes that binding differs from scope relations with respect to feature-movement. While this kind of movement cannot change scope relations, it does alter binding relations. This account manages to explain the binding configuration created in sentences like (48).

(48)   There arrived two knights on each other's horses.   (Lasnik 1999:182)

It is assumed that at LF, the formal features of *two knights* adjoin to I, bearing the appropriate command relation to *each other*. Chomsky also observes that an ECM subject in (49a) functions like an upstairs direct object in (49b), being able to bind an anaphor in a higher clause.

(49)   a. The DA [proved [the defendants to be guilty] during each other's trials]
        b. The DA [accused the defendants during each other's trials]

According to this analysis, the associate of *there*, the subject of an ECM clause and the object of a transitive verb are equally capable of creating binding configurations, no matter whether they have raised overtly as full categories or covertly as features.
However successful Chomsky's analysis might seem in accounting for the above phenomena, it does not handle successfully the different grammatical status of (50a) and (50b).

(50)   a. The DA [proved [two men to have been at the scene] during each other's trials]
        b.*The DA [proved [there to have been two men at the scene] during each other's
            trials

In contrast to (50a), where the ECM subject binds the anaphor in the higher clause, in (50b) the associate of *there* in the ECM clause fails to do so. Chomsky assumes that the features of the associate raise and adjoin to the functional head in the matrix clause since in the

infinitival clause no Case is available. Nevertheless, no binding configuration is created, resulting in ungrammaticality.

Similarly, Lasnik (1999) shows that Chomsky's feature-raising proposal leaves a lot of data unexplained. For example, if we accept this proposal, it is unclear why the overtly raised subject in (51a), can bind the anaphor in the higher clause, while in (51b), the raised features of the associate of the raised *there* cannot do the same.

(51)   a. Some linguists seem to each other [t to have been given good job offers]
       b.*There seem to each other [t to have been some linguists given good job offers]

According to Lasnik, sentences like (52) indicate that contrary to Chomsky's claim, binding is not different from scope in these constructions. (51b) shows that a binding relation between the raised features of the associate and *each other* is as impossible as wide scope of the quantifier in (52), although the agreement form of the matrix verb shows that the features of the associate have raised.

(52)   There seem to have been some linguists given good job offers

Lasnik also argues that if raised features could function as binders, we would expect (53b) to be as acceptable as (53a).

(53) a. Some defendant$_i$ seems to his$_i$ lawyer to have been at the scene
     b.*There seems to his$_i$ lawyer to have been some defendant$_i$ at the scene

(53a) is grammatical because *some defendant* that raises overtly removes the Weak Crossover Effect, while the raised features of the associate cannot bind *his* in (53b) and save this example from Weak Crossover.

The problems created by Chomsky's analysis are not limited to binding only. As shown by a negative polarity item licensing in (54), all the phenomena that involve c-command display the same pattern.

(54) a. The DA [proved [no one to be at the scene] during any of the trials]
     b.*The DA [proved [there to be no one at the scene] during any of the trials]

Having pointed out the problems created by Chomsky's analysis of feature-raising, Lasnik concludes that scope and binding do not diverge and both involve more than covert raising of formal features. He tries to account for the problematic data by adopting a mixture of analyses suggested by Belletti (1988) and Chomsky (1995). The author modifies Beletti's original proposal by claiming that inherent Case behaves like a structural one and has to be licensed not in the head-complement configuration, without involving any movement, but in the same Spec-Head configuration as structural Case. According to the author, in (48) the NP, *two knights*, raises overtly to [Spec, Agr_o] to check partitive Case - a position where it can bind an anaphor, and the verb *arrive* raises still higher. This account is an attempt to explain why direct objects and the associate of *there* exhibit similar behavior, for as can be seen in (55), a direct object can also bind an anaphor in the adjunct because it raises to [Spec, Agr_o] to check accusative Case.

(55) I saw two men on each other's birthdays (Lasnik 1999:188)

However, since Lasnik has to deal with the postverbal agreement in *there*-constructions, he suggests that Chomsky's feature-movement proposal is valid only for agreement features that are the only features that are checked via movement and adjunction to I.

Lasnik's account cannot be accepted for several reasons. Besides the problems with Belletti's partitive, his adopting Chomsky's feature-raising analysis only with respect to agreement features looks like an ad hoc attempt to reconcile partitive Case with postverbal agreement. Since as opposed to Chomsky (1995), Lasnik believes that *there* checks the Case-feature of I, he actually suggests that nominative Case and agreement features are checked by two NPs, bearing two different Cases: nominative *there* and postverbal partitive NP. To the best of my knowledge, this phenomenon does not exist anywhere else.

1.4.6   An Alternative Analysis: Case-checking via Agree

In view of the shortcomings of Lasnik's analysis and the problems created by the feature-raising proposal of Chomsky (1995), there exists another option for the associate to have its Case checked. Bearing in mind that the EPP is satisfied by *there*, there is no need to assume that the checking relation between I and the postverbal NP is established through

movement. Chomsky (2000) replaces his feature-movement proposal with a relation of long distance agreement – Agree. This relation is defined in Chomsky (2001:11) as:

a relation… holding between probe P and goal G , which deletes uninterpretable features if P and G are appropriately related.

Earlier on that same page, Chomsky claims that:

Uninterpretable features are eliminated when they satisfy certain structural conditions: an uninterpretable feature of α must be in an appropriate relation to interpretable features of some β. Furthermore, β must be complete, with a full set of features. Nouns are always complete, since their φ-features are always present (and interpretable); hence nouns check the φ-features of agreeing categories.

The features of I are all uninterpretable and have to be checked for the derivation to converge. Having shown that its strong D-feature is checked by *there*, there are still its Case and φ-features that require checking. By means of Agree I establishes a checking relation with the postverbal NP and thus, has these two uninterpretable features checked. The fact that its strong D-feature (which will henceforth be referred to as the EPP-feature) is not checked against the relevant feature of the NP does not pose a problem since according to Chomsky (1995), the categorial feature of nouns is interpretable and does not have to be checked for the derivation to converge.

 The assumption that underlies my analysis is that I must enter into a checking relation with the postverbal NP, based on economy considerations. This NP is the first element with a full set of features that is found in the c-commanding domain of I, and the checking relation established between the two is a direct consequence of minimal search.

The present analysis manages to account for the scope and binding data demonstrated in the previous section and in dealing with problems created by the analyses discussed there. For example, in sentences like (48), we do not have to assume any movement of the postverbal NP or of its features in order for it to be able to bind the reciprocal expression inside the adjunct adjoined to VP. The NP in question remains in its original postverbal position, from which it establishes a checking relation with I via Agree and c-commands *each other* in the adjunct. The additional VP layer does not prevent the postverbal NP *two knights* from c-commanding into the adjunct since according to the definition of c-command, suggested in Reinhart (1983), a segment of the same category does not block c-

command. This definition is presented in (56), while (57) illustrates the structure of (48), which conforms to the definition.

(56) Node A c-commands node B iff the branching node α_1 most immediately dominating A either dominates B or is immediately dominated by a node α_2 which dominates B, and α_2 is of the same category type as α_1.[21]

(57)

```
                        IP
                   ╱         ╲
                spec           I̅
                 │          ╱     ╲
               There       I        VP
                                ╱      ╲
                              VP         PP
                            ╱    ╲      ╱╲
                          V̅      on each other's i
                        ╱   ╲      horses
                       V      NP
                       │     ╱╲
                    arrived  two knights i
```
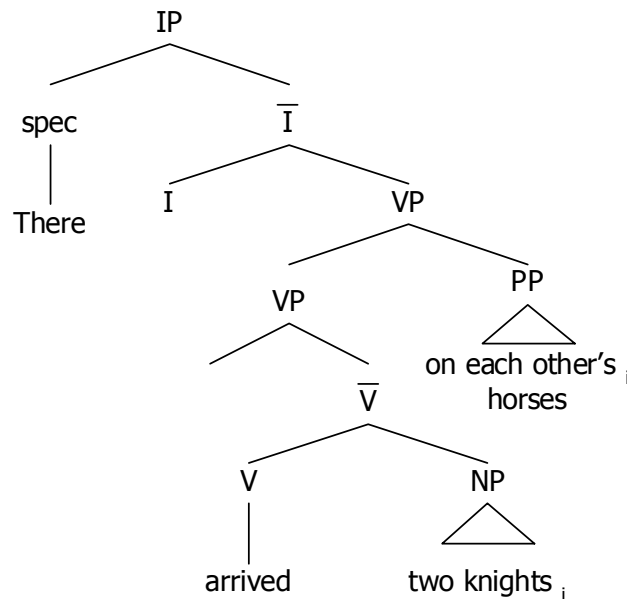
In all the ungrammatical examples discussed above the ungrammaticality stems from the inability of the postverbal NP that remains in situ to c-command a reciprocal expression in (50b) and (51b), a pronoun in (53b) and a negative polarity item in (54b). Those examples differ from (48), because in all those cases, the postverbal NP is situated lower in the tree and the element that has to be c-commanded by it is not part of the segment of the same maximal projection.

Moreover, in compliance with Reinhart and Reuland (1993), in sentences like (48), there is no need to show that the NP *two knights* c-commands *each other*. Sentences of this type would be grammatical even if it didn't. The authors develop an alternative to the standard GB binding theory and suggest a new formulation of Conditions A and B. Instead of viewing them as conditions on the distribution of anaphors and pronouns, Reinhart and

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[21]Reinhart states explicitly that this definition of c-command is needed " to capture c-command relations in cases of S' over S and VP' over VP." On top of that, on page 25, she agrees with Aoun and Sportiche (1981) who define c-command in terms of maximal projections.

Reuland argue that they should be regarded as conditions on reflexive predicates.[22] They claim that one of the problems of condition A of the GB binding theory is that it does not deal with the possibility that anaphors do not always have to be bound and may occur free, as shown in (58a).

(58) a. There were five tourists in the room apart from myself
      b.*Five tourists talked to myself in the room

In order to explain the different grammatical status of the sentences in (58), the authors suggest the following formulation of Condition A:

(59) A reflexive-marked predicate is reflexive.

Their definitions of reflexive and reflexive-marked predicates are given in (60).

(60) a. A predicate is reflexive iff two of its arguments are coindexed.

      b. A predicate (formed of P) is reflexive-marked iff either P is lexically reflexive or one of P's arguments is a SELF anaphor.

The above definitions account for the ungrammaticality of (58b). *Talked* is a reflexive-marked predicate because one of its arguments - *myself* is a SELF anaphor. Being reflexive-marked, the predicate needs two of its arguments to be coindexed. Since *five tourists* and *myself* are not coindexed, this constitutes a violation of Condition A and the sentence is ungrammatical. As opposed to that, in (58a), the predicate is not reflexive-marked because it is not lexically reflexive, and *myself* is not one of its arguments. Since Condition A requires that only reflexive-marked predicates be reflexive, it does not apply to cases like (58a), and hence, the sentence is grammatical.

Examples like (48), repeated in (61), can be analyzed in a similar fashion.

(61)   There arrived two knights$_i$ on each other$_i$'s horses

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[22]Condition B is irrelevant for our discussion, and hence, it is not dealt with here.

Arrived is not a reflexive-marked predicate since *each other* is not its argument.[23] Consequently, like in (58a), Condition A does not apply in this case. The grammatical occurrence of the reciprocal expression in this case is logophoric. A logophor, according to Reinhart and Reuland, does not have to be bound by its antecedent. Their relation may be that of coreference and not necessarily of variable binding; namely, the antecedent of the reciprocal expression in such cases does not have to c-command it, though it may.

To sum up, two alternative theories of binding show that there is absolutely no need to assume raising of the associate or of its formal features in *there*-constructions.[24]

The suggested above analysis is also supported cross-linguistcally. Lasnik (1999) cites Yatsushiro (1996), who shows that in Japanese unaccusative constructions, (62), the complement of the verb invariably remains in its original position at S-str, exhibiting low scope like in English, but nevertheless, it can bind into the locative - (63). In other words, in Japanese, scope and binding diverge in exactly the same way they do in English (examples (44) and (48), respectively).

(62) Dokoka-ni   daremo-ga   ita
     somewhere-Loc   everyone-Nom   be-past
     'Everyone was somewhere'
      somewhere>everyone
     *everyone>somewhere

(63) [Otagai-no   heya]-ni   [Uli to   Susi]-ga   ita
      each other-Gen rooms-Loc   Uli and Susi-Nom   be-past
     'Uli and Susi were in each other's rooms'   (Lasnik 1999:191)

Yatsushiro accounts for these facts by claiming that in Japanese, the features of the associate raise at LF and bind the anaphor from that position, but do not create high scope. The difference between this language and English, according to this account, lies in the EPP. In English it has to be satisfied in overt syntax by *there*, and the features that raise are only agreement features, while in Japanese, the EPP-feature being weak, the subject position is completely unfilled overtly, and the features that raise are those of agreement and the EPP. Consequently, according to Yatsushiro, either the combination of these features or the EPP-feature alone creates a binding configuration.

[23]Reinhart and Reuland believe that reciprocals behave like reflexive anaphors.
[24]The ungrammaticality of (50b) is left unaccounted for by the theory of Reinhart and Reuland, but the standard GB binding theory handles it successfully, as was shown above.

However, in view of the analysis presented above, the Japanese data in (63) can be accounted for exactly like (61) in English, without assuming any feature-raising. If the associate has to bind the reciprocal expression in the locative (in compliance with the standard GB theory), it does so according to Reinhart's definition of c-command; if it does not have to do so, as claimed by Reinhart and Reuland (1993), because no reflexive-marked predicate is formed here, no c-command of the associate into the locative has to be shown at all.

Moreover, non-agreeing counterparts of *there*-constructions in French and Russian show that Yatsushiro's analysis of feature-raising seems to be on the wrong track.

(64) Il   est arrivé deux hommes$_i$ l'un$_i$ dans la voiture de l'autre$_i$
     there is arrived two men   the-one in   the car   of the-other
     'There arrived two men in each other's cars'

In French, like in English, the EPP has to be satisfied overtly, which is why in (64), we find expletive *il* in SpecIP. The difference between English and French lies in the fact that while in the former the verb agrees with the postverbal NP, in the latter it does not. Consequently, in French, no raising of agreement and/or EPP features of the associate can be assumed, contrary to Yatsushiro's suggestion. On the other hand, both the standard GB theory and the theory of Reinhart and Reuland account for the data.

In Russian, when quantified NP complements of unaccusative verbs remain in their base position, they do not have to induce verbal agreement in a discourse-neutral context, as evident from the default neuter singular agreement in the following examples. In such cases, exactly like in French, no raising of agreement features can be assumed, and yet, the behavior of the associate is exactly the same as in the languages discussed above.

(65)   pogiblo   pjat'   soldat
       perished NEUT SG five   soldiers
       'Five soldiers perished'

(66)   pribylo   d'esjat' novyx   rabočix
       arrived NEUT SG   ten   new PL   workers
       'There arrived ten new workers'

As shown in (67), these NPs exhibit narrow scope with respect to negation, exactly like (62) in Japanese and (44) in English.

(67) ne   pogiblo   pjat' soldat
     NEG perished NEUT SG   five soldiers
         NEG> five soldiers
         *five soldiers>NEG

Quantified NPs in Russian can also bind possessive anaphors inside adjuncts that are adjoined to VP, which is not surprising, in view of the definition of c-command in (56).[25]

(68) pogiblo   pjat'   soldat   u s'ebja   na rodin'e
     perished NEUT SG   five   soldiers   at [+REFL]   on homeland

(69) (na stroiku)   pribylo   d'esjat' novyx rabočix na svoix   mašynax
     on construction site arrived NEUT SG ten   new PL workers on [+REFL] cars PL

(70) (na sobranije) prišlo   pjat' učenikov bez   svoix   rodit'el'ei
     on meeting   arrived NEUT SG five pupils PL without [+REFL] parents

In conclusion, the analysis presented in this work, according to which, the postverbal NP in *there*-constructions remains in situ and establishes a checking relation with I via Agree is supported by two alternative binding theories and cross-linguistic data.

The findings concerning *there*-constructions indicate that *there* has neither Case nor φ-features, occupying the SpecIP position for no other reason than to satisfy the EPP. The existence of Belletti's partitive has not been proven, and it would be fair to conclude that the associate of *there* is nominative.

This analysis of *there*-constructions together with the behavior of non-nominative (quirky) subjects, analyzed in section (1.3), establishes the EPP as an independent principle of grammar by separating it from Case-considerations. It shows that Bošković is wrong in claiming that the EPP is redundant, being deducible from the ICF.

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[25]Reinhart and Reuland (1993) do not deal with possessive anaphors, which is why their theory is not referred to here.

The next issue that has to be dealt with is the Case of the postverbal NPs in the non-agreeing Russian and French counterparts of *there*-constructions presented above. In the next chapter, it will be shown that there are good reasons to argue that these NPs are nominative in spite of the fact that they trigger no agreement. It is important to note that even if such NPs were not nominative in Russian and French, the analysis of *there*-constructions in English would still remain the same, but it would be more language-specific. The purpose of the forthcoming chapters is to show that this analysis is supported by cross-linguistic data that help us gain interesting insights into the nature of nominative Case.

2. Nominative Case and Agreement

Nominative Case and agreement have always been assumed to be two sides of the same coin. Safir (1985) suggests that subject-verb agreement is manifested only on those NPs that are assigned nominative Case. Borer (1986) makes a much stronger claim. Not only does she regard NP's agreement with the verb as a manifestation of nominative Case, but she also asserts that an NP that does not agree with the verb cannot be nominative. If her assumption is correct, one might wonder what the Case borne by the postverbal NPs in the non-agreeing unaccusative constructions in Russian and French is.

Nominative Case is commonly viewed as a structural Case, checked by I together with its φ-features, which is why it is contingent upon agreement. However, a closer look at nominative NPs in such unrelated languages as Russian, French and Hebrew will reveal that the claim that nominative Case and agreement always go together is too strong. While it is right to assume that the NP with which the verb agrees is always nominative, the assumption that when there is no such agreement, the NP cannot be nominative is mistaken. A comparative study of this Case will lead us to the conclusion that it consists of two components: structural and inherent. However, the most surprising discovery that will be made as a result of this study is that the inherent component of nominative behaves pretty much like Belletti's partitive.

2.1 Danon's Caseless Approach

Hebrew is another language in which we find non-agreeing postverbal NPs similar to the French and Russian ones discussed in (64) - (66). Danon (2002) analyzed these NPs in Hebrew and arrived at the conclusion that they are Caseless. If we were to accept his approach, it would be plausible to claim that it should be extended to the above Russian sentences as well. However, for reasons that will be specified below, even Danon himself would not claim that they could be extended to *il*-constructions in French. Finally, what is more important is the fact there is compelling evidence against Danon's Caseless approach with respect to Hebrew and other languages discussed here.

As was already mentioned in the previous chapter, Danon (2002) does not believe in the existence of Belletti's partitive either. He is also convinced that the postverbal NP in *there*-constructions in English receives nominative Case, based on agreement facts.[26] The author adopts Borer's (1986) point of view, according to which, nominative Case is always contingent upon agreement, claiming that an NP that does not agree with the verb cannot be nominative.

Danon shows that in Colloquial Hebrew, for many speakers, certain unaccusative verbs are acceptable without agreeing with the postverbal argument, exhibiting default, 3rd person agreement instead.

(71) nafal   alay   egozei kokos
      fell 3rd person MASC SG on-me nuts   coconut
      'Coconut nuts fell on me'

(72) haya   li   hamon ra'ayonot
      was 3rd person MASC SG   to-me plenty ideas
      'I had plenty of ideas'

The author points out that the degree of acceptability of such constructions varies widely from speaker to speaker and from verb to verb, which he assumes is a function of their undergoing change, namely, being relatively new in the language. He also notes that when

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[26]Although he believes in LF movement of the associate in the spirit of Chomsky (1986a) and Chomsky (1993), as opposed to the conclusion arrived at here.

the unaccusative verb is embedded as an infinitive under a raising predicate, a non-agreeing postverbal indefinite NP becomes even more acceptable for many speakers.

(73) asui/alul   likrot   kama dvarim
      may 3rd person MASC SG to-happen several things
      'Several things may happen'

(74) yaxol   lipol alexa egozei kokos
      can 3rd person MASC SG to-fall on-you nuts   coconut
      'Coconut nuts can fall on you'

Danon also notices that the postverbal NPs that appear in such constructions in Hebrew exhibit a DE. When they are definite, the agreement with the verb is obligatory - (75a&c), (76a&c) unless they are preceded by the prepositions *me-* or *et*, (75b) and (76b).

(75) a. niš'aru   li   ha-dgamim ha-yešanim   Standard & Colloquial Hebrew
         remained PL to-me   the-samples the-old PL
         'I have the old samples left'

     b. niš'ar   li   me- ha-dgamim ha-yešanim   Col. Heb.
         remained 3rd person MASC SG to-me from-the-samples the-old PL
         'I have some of the old samples left'

     c. *niš'ar   li   ha-dgamim ha-yešanim
         remained 3rd person MASC SG to-me   the-samples the-old PL

(76) a. hayu li   ha- ra'ayonot haxi tovim   Standard & Colloquial Hebrew
        were to-me the-ideas   most good PL
        'I had the best ideas'

     b. haya li   et ha- ra'ayonot haxi tovim   Colloquial Hebrew
        was   to-me et the-ideas   most good PL
        'I had the best ideas'

     c. *haya li   ha- ra'ayonot haxi tovim
         was   to-me the-ideas   most good PL[27]

Danon shows most convincingly that the feature of definiteness, [+def], is syntactically encoded in Hebrew, and its overt realization is the definite article, *ha-*. This formal feature triggers head movement from N to D, which is why definite nominals in this language are

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[27] Examples (71) - (76) are taken from Danon pp.145-147; however, (75c) & (76c) are my additions that support his observations.

always DPs. The author also claims that the feature of indefiniteness, [-def], is not encoded in Hebrew since it has no morphological manifestation. As opposed to the definite article, *ha-*, Hebrew has no indefinite article, and indefiniteness in this language is simply a lack of definiteness marking. In the absence of this feature, Hebrew indefinites differ from its definites by not projecting a DP layer because they have no encoded feature that would trigger head movement from N to D, and therefore, they are NPs and not DPs.

The different internal structure of these two kinds of nominals has consequences in Case-marking. Definite DPs require structural Case - a formal checking relation between a head and a DP; however, Hebrew verbs are incapable of checking structural Case, according to Danon's proposal, hence, the ungrammaticality of (75c) and (76c), and other structural Case-checkers such as the dummy preposition *et*, (76b), or the partitive preposition *me-*, (75b), are required.

Danon further asserts that in contrast to definites that require structural licensing in Hebrew, indefinites in this language need nothing beyond thematic licensing. It is important to note that in the third chapter of his dissertation, Danon assumes that indefinites require inherent Case and suggests that Hebrew verbs are inherent Case-assigners, but in chapter four, the author modifies his analysis and claims that inherent Case is a vacuous notion, being little more than pure thematic relation, and since restrictions on θ-role assignment form an independent module of grammar, the notion of inherent Case is redundant and can be dismissed. According to this approach, indefinite NPs in Hebrew require no Case, and the postverbal NPs in (71) - (74) are Caseless. The aim of the forthcoming discussion is to show that contrary to Danon's analysis, indefinite NPs in Hebrew cannot be Caseless. [28]

Danon demonstrates that in Modern Hebrew, certain idiomatic unaccusatives may be followed by a dative PP and an NP that does not agree with the verb, which tends to get a new meaning. He observes that such constructions are much more widely accepted by the speakers than standard unaccusatives with non-agreeing NPs, discussed above and says that "[they] are used very often by speakers who tend to frown upon other non-agreeing unaccusatives." (p.148, footnote 73)

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[28]As pointed out earlier, the distinction between NPs and DPs is orthogonal to the analysis presented in this work, which is why it is abstracted away from, and the term NP is used.

(77) a. ba   li   glida   be-gavi'a
        comes 3rd person MASC SG to me ice-cream FEM   in-cone
        'I feel like having (some) ice-cream in a cone'

    b. magi'a   lo   makot
       arrives 3rd person MASC SG   to-him blows FEM PL
       'He deserves spanking'

    c. mat'im   li   mis'ada   sinit
       fits 3rd person MASC SG   to-me   restaurant FEM   Chinese FEM
       'A Chinese restaurant suits me'

Definite NPs in such constructions are impossible.

(78) a. *ba   li   ha-glida   še- kaninu
        comes 3rd person MASC SG   to-me the-ice-cream   that-bought 1st person PL

    b. *magi'a   lo   ha-makot
       arrives 3rd person MASC SG   to-him the-blows FEM PL

    c. *mat'im   li   ha- mis'ada   ha-sinit
       fits 3rd person MASC SG   to-me   the-restaurant FEM   the-Chinese FEM

Danon claims that definites are possible in the above constructions only when preceded by *et* - a preposition that checks structural genitive, (79). The speakers I have consulted disagree with Danon's judgements and find the constructions in (79) even worse than in (78).

(79) a. *ba   li   et   ha-glida[29]
        comes 3rd person MASC SG   to me et   the-ice-cream

    b. *magi'a   lo   et   ha-makot
       arrives 3rd person MASC SG to-him et the-blows FEM PL

    c. *mat'im   li   et ha- mis'ada   ha-sinit
       fits 3rd person MASC SG   to-me et   the-restaurant FEM the-Chinese FEM

Due to their idiomatic nature, the above unaccusatives exhibit a relative lack of flexibility. In contrast to standard unaccusatives, two of them: *ba* and *mat'im* do not sound good with

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[29]The relative clause *še kaninu* - 'that we bought' has been omitted to make sure that it isn't an example of a Heavy NP Shift

agreement when used idiomatically - (80a&c), and since *et* cannot be used with them either, the only other option left for structural Case-checking, required by a definite NP is the partitive preposition *me-*. Since this preposition is compatible with the verb *ba*, the latter can be followed by a definite NP, as in (81a). The verb *mat'im*, on the other hand, is incompatible with *me-*, (81b), and consequently, cannot be followed by a definite NP. In the absence of agreement - a reflection of structural nominative or structural Case-checkers such as *et* and *me-*, the verb *mat'im*, can be followed only by an indefinite NP. Finally, since *magia* is compatible with agreement, which does not affect its meaning, this verb can be followed by a definite NP - (80b).

(80) a. *ba'a   li   glida   / ha-glida   be-gavi'a
      comes 3rd person FEM SG   to me ice-cream FEM / the-ice-cream in-cone

   b. magi'ot   le Dani makot   / ha-makot ^{30} še xataf
      arrives 3rd person MASC PL to-dani blows FEM PL / the-blows   that got
                                                      3rd person MASC SG
      'Dani deserves spanking/ the blows he got'

  c. *mat'ima   li   mis'ada   sinit   /ha-mis'ada   ha-zot
      suits 3rd person FEM SG to-me restaurant FEM Chinese FEM/the-restaurant FEM this

(81) a. ba   li   me- ha-glida   be-gavia
      comes 3rd person MASC SG to-me from the-ice-cream FEM in cone
      'I feel like having some of the ice-cream in a cone'

   b.??mat'im   li   me- ha-glida   be-gavia
       suits 3rd person MASC SG to-me from the-ice-cream FEM in cone

Another unaccusative which is synonymous with *ba*, meaning 'feel like' is *mitxašek*.[31] As the examples in (82) indicate, its behavior is very similar to that of *ba*. It is bad with agreement, (82b), and is incompatible with *et* - (82c). However, since it is compatible with another structural Case-checker, the preposition *me-*, this is the only instance when *mitxašek* can be followed by a definite NP, (82d).

(82) a. mitxašek   li   glida   be-gavia
      feels like 3rd person MASC SG   to-me   ice-cream FEM in cone
      'I feel like having ice-cream in a cone'

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[30]The sentence sounds better when the definite NP is preverbal.
[31]Suggested by Irena Botwinik-Rotem, personal communication.

b.*mitxašeket   li   glida   / ha-glida   be-gavia
     feels like 3rd person FEM SG to-me ice-cream FEM / the-ice-cream in cone

c.*mitxašek   li   et ha- glida   / ha-glida   be-gavia
     feels like 3rd person MASC SG to-me et the-ice-cream FEM / the-ice-cream FEM in cone

d. mitxašek   li   me-   ha- glida   be-gavia
     feels like 3rd person MASC SG   to-me from - the- ice-cream FEM in cone
     'I feel like having some of the ice-cream in a cone'

To sum up, the picture that seems to emerge from the behavior of the non-agreeing idiomatic Hebrew unaccusatives with postverbal subjects is that such verbs exhibit a DE. They can be followed by a definite NP only if they are compatible with structural Case-checkers such as the prepositions *et* and *me-* or agreement - a reflection of structural nominative. A plausible and, as will be shown below, more desirable explanation of this behavior would be to suggest that these verbs are inherent Case-assigners, i.e. they Case-mark the NP they assign a θ-role to, and this Case is subject to the DE. [32]

However, we should not ignore the fact that the behavior of the non-agreeing Hebrew unaccusatives is consistent with two conflicting analyses. It does not invalidate Danon's claim that the postverbal indefinite NPs in these constructions are Caseless. What makes his approach less plausible is its being inapplicable to two other unaccusatives in Hebrew: another idiomatic unaccusative *nišbar* and *nim'as* - a regular unaccusative. These two verbs are synonymous, meaning 'got fed up with, got sick and tired of.' As shown in (83a) and (84a), with these verbs, the indefinite NP following the dative argument must be preceded by the preposition *me-*; otherwise, the sentences are ungrammatical, (83b) and (84b).

(83) a. nišbar   li   me-   ši'urim   meša'amemim
       got fed up 3rd person MASC SG   to-me of/from- lessons MASC PL boring MASC PL
       'I got fed up with boring lessons'

     b.*nišbar   li   ši'urim   meša'amemim
        got fed up 3rd person MASC SG to-me   lessons MASC PL boring   MASC PL

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[32]The terms " Case-assignment" and "Case-checking" are products of two Case theories. The former is used in the framework of GB Case theory and applies to both inherent and structural Case while the latter is a product of the Minimalist Program, which deals only with structural Case (Chomsky 1995:386), leaving inherent Case with no satisfactory explanation, as observed by Danon. In this work, the term Case-assignment will be used in connection with inherent Case and Case-checking - when dealing with structural Case.

(84) a. nim'as   li   me-   anašim   tipšim
      got fed up 3rd person MASC SG to-me of/from- people MASC PL stupid MASC PL
      'I got fed up/sick and tired of stupid people'

    b.*nim'as   li   anašim   tipšim
      got fed up 3rd person MASC SG   to-me people MASC PL stupid MASC PL

If Danon were right and the above indefinites were Caseless, the fact that these constructions are bad without the preposition *me-* would remain unexplained. On top of that, while the partitive preposition *me-* in sentences like (75b), which Danon uses as an example of a structural Case-checker, cannot be considered a dummy because it has a meaning (its rough translation is 'part of/some quantity of'), the preposition in (83a) and (84a) is a real dummy, being completely vacuous semantically. A more plausible explanation would be to suggest that (83b) and (84b) are ungrammatical for Case reasons. The verbs *nišbar* and *nim'as* are unable to Case-mark their complement on their own, and make use of the preposition *me-* in order to do so. Botwinik-Rotem (2004) calls verbs that require such prepositions *PP-verbs* and claims that the function of such prepositions is Case-checking. [33]

Secondly, if indefinite arguments of unaccusatives that exhibit no agreement in Colloquial Hebrew were Caseless, we would expect them to be able to appear in positions where no Case is available, for example, in the embedded SpecIP of raising predicates discussed in (73) - (74) and repeated in (85) - (86), respectively.

(85) a. asui/alul   likrot   kama dvarim
      may 3rd person MASC SG   to-happen several things
      'Several things may happen'

    b.*asui/alul   kama dvarim   likrot
      may 3rd person MASC SG several things   to-happen

(86) a. yaxol   lipol alexa   egozei kokos
      can 3rd person MASC SG to-fall on-you   nuts   coconut
      'Coconut nuts can fall on you'

    b.*yaxol   egozei kokos   lipol alexa
      can 3rd person MASC SG   nuts   coconut to-fall on-you

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[33]For a more detailed discussion of such verbs see section 4.2.

If the NPs in question required no Case, we would incorrectly predict that (85b) and (86b) should be grammatical, bearing in mind the relatively free word order in Hebrew. However, under the assumption that they do require Case, the ungrammaticality of these sentences is accounted for as being Case-related. Unaccusatives can assign Case to their indefinite complements only in the base position, and having been assigned Case, these NPs have no reason to move, assuming, in compliance with the Minimalist Program, that movement is driven by feature-checking considerations. [34] In principle, Danon could make use of the same argument and claim that being Caseless, the above NPs have no reason to move out of the embedded VP if the EPP is satisfied by a null subject expletive. However, his analysis would not explain the different behavior of the subjects of unergative verbs, which, in contrast to the subjects of unaccusatives, cannot appear in non-agreeing constructions and must move when embedded under raising predicates.[35]

(87) a. [talmidim   xadašim]$_i$ crixim   [$_{IP}$ t$_i$ [$_{VP}$ t$_i$ la-'avod kaše]
           pupils NOM MASC new MASC PL should MASC PL   to- work hard
           'New pupils should work hard'

    b. *crixim   talmidim   xadašim   la-'avod kaše
          should MASC PL pupils NOM MASC new MASC PL to-work hard

    c. *carix   talmidim   xadašim   la-'avod kaše
          should MASC SG pupils NOM MASC new MASC PL to-work hard

Assuming the VP-Internal Subject Hypothesis, [36] the NP, *talmidim xadašim,* is merged in SpecVP of the embedded IP. If it required no Case, it would have to remain in its base position, and we would expect it to be able to appear in non-agreeing constructions like (87c). As for the EPP, it could be satisfied by pro, exactly like it happens with the unaccusatives in (85a) and (86a). However, the ungrammaticality of (87b) and its comparison with the perfectly grammatical sentences in (88) suggest that the problem lies not only in Case.

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[34]The EPP is satisfied by expletive pro merged in the intermediate SpecIP and raised to the matrix SpecIP. Arguments supporting this suggestion are given in the last chapter, while the nature of pro is discussed in 3.4.
[35]For a similar analysis see Hazout (1995). Though the author does not address the issue of non-agreeing constructions, he shows that when an infinitival is embedded under a raising predicate, the embedded SpecIP is never a possible position for the subject, be it external or internal argument, since no Case is assigned there. In sentences with unaccusative verbs, this position is filled by expletive pro, which subsequently moves to the matrix SpecIP to be licensed, while in sentences with unergative verbs this position is the landing site for the external argument on its way to the matrix SpecIP.
[36]I assume, following Reinhart and Siloni (2004) and Horvath and Siloni (2002), that the external θ-role is part of the information predicates bear in the lexicon. In case of verbal predicates, it is merged in SpecVP, rather than gets inserted by a verbal head such as *little v* as suggested in Chomsky (1995), Kratzer (1996), etc.

(88) a. pro asuim/alulim   [t   likrot   kama dvarim]
           may MASC PL   to-happen several things
        'Several things may happen'

    b. pro yexolim   [t lipol alexa egozei kokos]
           can MASC PL   to-fall on-you nuts   coconut
        'Coconut nuts can fall on you'

The agreement pattern of (88) suggests that structural nominative in Hebrew can be checked via Agree, in which case the EPP is satisfied by expletive pro, merged in the embedded SpecIP and then moved to the matrix SpecIP. The fact that the agreeing pattern in (87b) is still bad suggests that the reason lies in the violation of the EPP. In (87b), no pro is licensed, and hence the NP, *talmidim xadašim*, has to move to the matrix SpecIP to satisfy this requirement.

The difference between the examples in (87), and the ones in (85), (86) and (88) lies in the nature of verbs embedded under the raising predicates. While in (87), we are dealing with the unergative verb*, la'avod* , the verbs in (85), (86) and (88) are unaccusative. One of the properties of unaccusative verbs in Hebrew is that some of them can appear in both agreeing and non-agreeing constructions. This fact poses a problem for Danon's account, since he himself would not claim that indefinites that appear in the agreeing unaccusative constructions are Caseless. His theory does not explain how it is possible for indefinite arguments of the same unaccusatives to check structural nominative in the agreeing constructions and to require no Case in the non-agreeing ones. If, however, we assume that in both occurrences, the indefinite NPs must be Case-marked, but the Case-assigners are different, things will become much clearer. In the agreeing constructions, the Case of the NP in question is checked by I, while in the non-agreeing ones the Case-assigner is the verb. The inherent Case it assigns is optional, which is why in many cases both agreeing and non-agreeing patterns are possible. The different processes of Case-checking/assignment will be analyzed in detail in the next chapter.

Unergative verbs in Hebrew differ from its unaccusatives in two respects: they do not Case-mark their subjects and neither do they license expletive pro. Consequently, their argument cannot remain in its base position. It is forced to move to the matrix SpecIP to check structural nominative and to satisfy the EPP. This analysis, in contrast to Danon's Caseless approach manages to account for the different behavior of unergative and

unaccusative verbs in Hebrew. The connection between the verb's diathesis, Case-assigning ability and the licensing of pro will be discussed in detail in chapters 3 and 5. In the meantime, the conclusion that seems to emerge from the different behavior of unaccusative and unergative verbs embedded under raising predicates is that in contrast to Danon's analysis, indefinite NPs in Hebrew do require Case, and while unaccusatives are capable of meeting this requirement, unergatives are not.

Finally, another and perhaps the strongest argument against analyzing indefinite NPs as Caseless, is that by doing so we would miss important cross-linguistic generalizations with respect to unaccusative verbs, which exhibit similar patterns of behavior in various languages.

2.2 Cross-Linguisic Evidence Against Danon's Caseless Approach: Nominative Case in Non-Agreeing Unaccusative/Passive Constructions

Il-constructions in French together with the non-agreeing unaccusatives in Russian, discussed briefly at the end of the previous chapter, show that Danon's Caseless approach cannot be extended to these languages. The striking similarities between the French and Russian unaccusatives and their Colloquial Hebrew counterparts suggest that these verbs assign inherent Case to their complements in all the three languages.

(89) a. Il   est arrivé trois hommes.
          there is arrived three men
          'There arrived three men'

    b.*Il   est arrivé les trois hommes.
          there is   arrived the three men

(90) a. Il   a   été tué   un homme
          there has been killed a   man
          'There has been killed a man'

    b.*Il   a   été tué   l' homme
          there has been killed the man

The overt French expletive *il* occupies the subject position of unaccusative and passive verbs. Like in Colloquial Hebrew, (see (71) - (74) above) [37] the postverbal NP in such constructions does not agree with the verb and exhibits a DE. However, as opposed to Hebrew, French has both definite and indefinite articles - a fact that makes Danon's Caseless approach inapplicable to this language.

Recall that based on the absence of indefinite articles in Hebrew, Danon claims that Hebrew indefinites differ in structure from its definite nominals by not projecting a DP layer, and this difference leads to different licensing requirements of the two kinds of nominals. While definite nominals are DPs that require structural Case because the author assumes that the Case-feature is specified on D, indefinite nominals are NPs. In the absence of a DP layer, they have no Case-feature and require nothing beyond θ-marking. The existence of both kinds of articles in French shows that there is no reason to assume that its definite nominals differ from the indefinite ones in structure (i.e. that indefinites lack a DP layer as opposed to definites). As for the licensing requirements of the two, though I agree with Danon's claim that definite and indefinite nominals are licensed differently, I will show that the difference does not lie in structural Case as opposed to a lack of Case, but in structural vs. inherent Case.

The French data receive a straightforward account if we assume that in this language, unaccusative and passive verbs assign inherent Case to their complements, and the assignment of this Case is subject to the DE. In other words, a definite nominal is simply invisible to the verb for the purpose of Case-marking, exactly like in Hebrew, which is why (89b) and (90b) are ungrammatical. Since Danon's Caseless approach regarding indefinite NPs in Hebrew cannot be applied to French, adopting it with respect to Hebrew would leave the mentioned above similarities between the two languages unexplained.

Another language that invalidates Danon's Caseless approach is Russian. As was shown by the examples in (65) - (66), repeated in (91) - (92), respectively, in a discourse- neutral context, Russian has non-agreeing constructions with postverbal NPs that behave similarly to the Colloquial Hebrew and French ones. NPs containing numerals, arguments of unaccusative verbs are assigned Case in their base position, without agreeing with the verb.

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[37]As will be shown later, passive verbs in Hebrew, unlike their French counterparts are not Case-assigners; consequently, when dealing with the Case-assigning ability of Hebrew verbs I refer to unaccusatives only, while in French it applies to both unaccusatives and passives, which is also true of Russian.

The same is true of passives in (93) - (94). Moreover, unlike Hebrew and French, whose Case morphology is extremely poor, Russian, which is known for its rich Case system, provides morphological evidence indicating that the Case in question is nominative.

(91) pogiblo   pjat'   soldat
      perished NEUT SG five NOM soldiers GEN
      'Five soldiers perished'

(92) pribylo   d'esjat'   novyx   rabočix
       arrived   ten NOM new GEN PL workers GEN
      'There arrived ten new workers'

(93) (učitelem)   bylo provereno   sem'   kontrol'nyx
       by the teacher   was   checked NEUT SG seven NOM tests GEN
       'Seven tests were checked (by the teacher)'

 (94) bylo otpravleno   šest'   pis'em
        was   mailed NEUT SG six NOM letters GEN
        'Six letters were mailed'

The nominative Case in the above examples can be seen on the numerals. However, since the morphology of the above numerals is also compatible with accusative Case, as shown in (95) - (96), both nominative and accusative Cases being characterized by zero morphology, it is important to remove doubt and to make sure that in (91) - (94) above, we are dealing with nominative rather than accusative Case.

(95) Ja   vižu pjat'   soldat
      I NOM see five ACC soldiers GEN
      'I see five soldiers'

(96) Ivan   otpravil šest'   pis'em
      Ivan NOM mailed   six ACC letters
      'Ivan mailed six letters'

First, the verbs in (91) - (94) are either unaccusative or passive, and hence, are unable to check accusative Case. However, it could still be claimed that the accusative we are dealing with in such instances is inherent and not structural. This claim would run afoul of the fact that a similar pattern exists with unergative verbs in Russian, as illustrated in (97) - (98), and no one can claim that the argument of an unergative verb receives inherent accusative.

(97)   V kupe   s'id'elo   pjat'   passažyrov
       in compartment   sat NEUT SG   five NOM   passengers GEN
       'Five passengers sat in the compartment'

(98)   Na ploščadke   tancevalo   sem'   par
       on dancing floor danced NEUT SG seven NOM couples GEN
       'Seven couples danced on the dancing floor'

Finally, in contrast to the numerals in the above examples, with the small numerals: *dva* - 'two', *tri* - 'three' and *četyre* - 'four', nominative Case can be isolated from accusative Case. Unlike other Cases in Russian, accusative is incompatible with animacy in the masculine singular and in the masculine and feminine plural. Thus, when in one of such instances, the head noun bears the feature [+animate], it exhibits genitive morphology instead of accusative. Since unlike other numerals, *dva*, *tri* and *četyre* used to be adjectives in Old Russian, in contrast to other numerals, they still retain some adjective-like properties in Modern Russian. One of such properties is the necessary agreement in animacy between them and the head noun.

In (99a&b) and (100a&b), where the quantified NPs with the numerals *četyre* and *tri* check nominative Case the distinction between +/- animate is irrelevant, which is why the numerals exhibit zero morphology, typical of nominative Case. In (99c&d) and (100c&d), on the other hand, when dealing with objective Cases, the above distinction becomes extremely relevant. If the head noun is [+animate], both the numeral and the head noun must be genitive, as in (99c) and (100c) whereas when the head noun is [-animate], there is no agreement in Case between it and the numeral. Thus, the numeral is accusative, while the head noun is genitive.

(99) a. **Četyre**   soldata   igrajut   v   futbol
        four NOM soldier GEN MASC[38] are playing   in   football
        'Four soldiers are playing football'

     b. **Četyre**   samolëta   letjat   nad golovoi
        four NOM airplane GEN MASC are flying over head
        'Four airplanes are flying over head'

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[38]As noted by Babby (1987), the numerals 2-3-4 in nominative and accusative NPs induce genitive singular morphology on the head noun, while all the other numbers induce genitive plural. Since 2-3-4 were adjectives in Old Russian, the genitive singular morphology is historically nominative/accusative dual number. When the dual number was lost in Russian, its ending was reinterpreted as the homophonous genitive singular.

c. Ja   vižu **četyrëx**   soldat
   I NOM see   four GEN soldiers GEN MASC
   'I see four soldiers'

d. Ja   vižu **četyre**   samolëta
   I NOM   see   four ACC airplane GEN MASC
   'I see four airplanes'

(100) a. **Tri**   učenika   smotrjat   televizor
   three NOM pupil GEN MASC are watching television
   'Three pupils are watching television'

b. **Tri**   rubaški   visjat   v škafu
   three NOM shirt GEN FEM are hanging   in closet
   'Three shirts are hanging in the closet'

c. Ivan   vstretil   **trëx**   učenikov
   Ivan NOM met MASC SG   three GEN pupils GEN MASC
   'Ivan met three pupils'

d. Ivan   postiral   **tri**   rubaški
   Ivan NOM   washed MASC SG ACC shirt GEN FEM
   'Ivan washed three shirts'

In view of the above, although nominative and accusative Cases in Russian exhibit zero morphology, the incompatibility of accusative Case with nominals that are [+animate] makes it possible to distinguish between these two Cases. If the quantified NPs containing numerals 2-3-4 in the non-agreeing unaccusative and passive constructions were accusative rather than nominative, we would expect the above numerals to bear genitive Case when the head noun is [+animate]. The fact that they do not, exhibiting zero morphology no matter whether the head noun is [+ animate] or [-animate] indicates that the Case of these NPs is nominative and not accusative.

(101) a. pogiblo   **tri**   soldata
   perished NEUT SG three NOM soldier GEN MASC
   'Three soldiers perished'

b. prišlo **četyre**   učenika
   arrived four NOM   pupil GEN MASC
   'There arrived four pupils'

(102) a. bylo   pročitano   **tri**   knigi
        was NEUT SG read NEUT SG   three NOM book GEN FEM
        'Three books were read'

     b. bylo   otpravleno   **četyre**   telegramy
        was   mailed NEUT SG four NOM   cable GEN FEM
        'Four cables were mailed'

The claim that unaccusative and passive verbs in Russian assign inherent nominative to the postverbal quantified NP is further supported by the fact that such constructions are subject to an adjacency requirement. The non-agreeing pattern is possible in this language only if nothing separates between the verb and the quantifier, as in (103a) and (103c). (103b) is bad because the quantifier is separated from the verb by the adverb *včera*.

(103) a. razbilos'   [NOM pjat'   butylok   ]
        broke NEUT SG   five   bottles GEN
        'Five bottles broke'

     b. *razbilos'   včera   [NOM pjat' butylok   ]
         broke NEUT SG yesterday   five   bottles GEN

     c. včera [39]   razbilos'   [NOM pjat' butylok   ]
        yesterday   broke NEUT SG   five bottles GEN
        'Five bottles broke yesterday'

Russian is a language with a relatively free word order. The fact that it shows no flexibility with regard to the position of *včera* is strange unless we assume that inherent nominative assigned by unaccusative/passive verbs in this language is subject to the adjacency requirement.

The claim that these verbs are Case-assigners gains further support from the sentences in (104), which indicate that similarly to French and Hebrew, inherent nominative in Russian exhibits a DE. When the adjective *poslednije* modifies the quantified NP, *pjat' butylok*, this NP expresses uniqueness, i.e., there can only exist one set of the last five bottles. The NP *poslednije pjat' butylok* is invisible to the verb for the purpose of Case-marking, and

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[39]The following sentence shows that *včera* can appear immediately after the verb:

Maša   vstr'etila   včera   starogo   druga
Masha NOM met FEM SG yesterday old GEN MASC SG friend GEN MASC SG
'Masha met an old friend yesterday'

consequently, the non-agreeing pattern is impossible, (104b) and (104d). The only Case available in such instances is structural nominative, as indicated by agreement in (104a) and (104c).

(104) a. razbilis'   [NOM poslednije pjat' butylok   ]
          broke PL   last PL   five bottles GEN
          'The last five bottles broke'

     b. *razbilos'   [NOM poslednije pjat' butylok   ]
          broke NEUT SG   last PL   five bottles GEN

     c. byli otpravleny [NOM poslednije pjat' butylok   ]
          were shipped out   last PL   five bottles GEN
          'The last five bottles were shipped out'

     d. *bylo   otpravleno   [NOM poslednije pjat' butylok   ]
          was NEUT SG shipped out NEUT SG   last PL   five bottles GEN

Conversely, when the adjective *poslednix* is under the scope of the quantifier (hence its genitive marking), the NP no longer expresses uniqueness; five last bottles is only a subset of the last bottles. As illustrated by the non-agreeing pattern in (105), the verb is capable of assigning inherent nominative to the indefinite NP, *pjat' poslednix butylok*.[40]

 (105) a. razbilos'   [NOM pjat' [GEN poslednix butylok]]
          broke NEUT SG   five   last PL   bottles
          'Five of the last bottles broke'

     b. bylo   otpravl'eno   [NOM pjat' [GEN poslednix butylok]]
          was NEUT SG shipped out NEUT SG   five   last PL   bottles
          'Five of the last bottles were shipped out'

The adjective *eto* - 'this' supports the observation that the Russian inherent nominative is subject to the DE. Like with the adjective *poslednije*, when the quantified NP is under the scope of *eto*, the non-agreeing pattern is impossible.

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[40] Entering into the exact structure of quantified NPs in Russian would extend this work beyond its intended scope. See Babby (1987) for this information. As was already mentioned in the first chapter, Babby shows that in Russian, a Case assigned to the maximal projection of a given NP may differ from the Case assigned to its head. Thus in (105), *poslednix butylok* is Case-marked genitive by the quantifier while the maximal projection, *pjat' poslednix butylok*, is assigned nominative Case. What determines the syntactic relation of the phrase to the rest of the sentence is the Case assigned to the maximal projection.

(106)   a. pogibli   [NOM eti   pjat' soldat   ]
             perished PL   these five soldiers GEN
             'These five soldiers perished'

        b.*pogiblo   [NOM eti   pjat' soldat   ]
             perished NEUT SG   these   five soldiers GEN

(107)   a. byli otpravleny [NOM eti   šest' pis'em   ]
             were sent PL   these six   letters GEN
             'These six letters were mailed'

        b.*bylo otpravleno   [NOM eti   šest' pis'em   ]
             was   mailed NEUT SG   these   six letters GEN

 (108)   a. razbilis'   [NOM eti   pjat' butylok   ]
             broke PL   these   five   bottles GEN
             'These five bottles broke'

        b.*razbilos'   [NOM eti   pjat' butylok   ]
             broke NEUT SG   these five   bottles GEN

Based on the examples in (103) - (108), it would be reasonable to conclude that unaccusative and passive verbs in Russian assign inherent nominative Case to their quantified complements, and the Case thus assigned is subject to the adjacency requirement and the DE. If one of these conditions is violated, the verb is incapable of assigning inherent nominative, and the only Case available is structural nominative, as exhibited by the agreement pattern in the above sentences.

The sentences in (109) seem to be inconsistent with the conclusion that unaccusative/passive verbs in Russian assign inherent nominative to the postverbal quantified NPs, for despite the non-agreeing pattern, the adjectives *dobryx* and *kakix-nibud'*, which precede such NPs are genitive and not nominative.

(109) a. razbilos'   dobryx   pjat'   butylok
        broke NEUT SG as many as GEN PL   five NOM   bottles GEN
        'As many as five bottles broke'

    b. razbilos'   kakix-nibud'   pjat'   butylok
         broke NEUT SG   about GEN PL   five NOM bottles GEN
        'About/some five bottles broke'

However, a deeper look at these adjectives reveals that they pose no problem for the above conclusion. According to Babby (1987), they belong to a relatively small class of adjectives in Russian that are normally marked genitive rather than nominative when they precede a nominative quantifier. He calls this class of adjectives prequantifiers and claims that they form a natural class with a distinct semantic function of modifying only the quantifier and not the entire quantified NP. Thus, in (109a), *dobryx* modifies only *pjat'*, and the meaning conveyed by the sentence is that the speaker considers the number of bottles that broke relatively large. Similarly, in (109b), *kakix-nibud'* indicates that the speaker does not want to commit himself to the exact number of the bottles that broke, which could be smaller or larger than five.

Such prequantifiers are marked genitive rather than nominative because they are not merged in the same position as the adjectives that modify the entire NP. *Poslednije*-type adjectives, as in (104a&c) are merged in the position where structural nominative, checked by I is available, whereas prequantifiers are merged lower in the tree and are assigned Case by the quantifier, which accounts for their genitive Case-marking. To sum up, the adjacency requirement and the DE, two restrictions typical of Case-assigning configurations, indicate that Danon's Caseless approach is inapplicable to Russian either.

The Case system of Russian helps us gain important insights into the Case systems of languages with poor Case morphology such as Hebrew and French. On the basis of morphological evidence in Russian presented in (101) – (102), it would be plausible to suggest that in the non-agreeing unaccusative/passive constructions in French and Hebrew the postverbal NP is also nominative.

In all the three languages, the assignment of inherent nominative is contingent upon a lack of agreement. If conditions for the assignment of this Case are not met and language specific means for the checking of structural Case are available, the sentence is "rescued" from ungrammaticality. In Russian and Hebrew, it was shown that when the NP is invisible to the verb for the purpose of Case-marking, one of the options for it to get Case is to check structural nominative via Agree, in which case, agreement is obligatory. In French *il*-constructions this option does not exist; [41] consequently, in this language, there can be no

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[41]The reason why in these constructions the verb never agrees with the subject will be suggested in chapters 3 and 4.

agreement between the unaccasative/passive verb and its postverbal argument, as shown below.

(110)   a. Il   est arrivé   trois hommes.
            there is arrived MASC SG three men NOM
            'There arrived three men'

        b.*Il   est arrivé   les hommes.
            there is arrived MASC SG the men NOM

        c.*Il   sont arrivés   les hommes.
            there are   arrived MASC PL the men NOM

With respect to Hebrew, it has been shown that another source of structural Case is prepositions. French also resorts to this Case-checking mechanism in certain instances when the verb in *il*-constructions is incapable of Case-marking its complement.

(111)   Il   sera   procédé   au   réexamen   de cette question
            there will-be proceeded to- the reexamination of this question (Kayne 1984:209)

The striking similarities exhibited by the non-agreeing unaccusative/passive constructions in the above languages cannot be dismissed as pure coincidence. In all the cases, postverbal agreement is either impossible (French) or unnecessary (Russian and Colloquial Hebrew). These similar patterns of behavior are in need of a unified account, which Danon's Caseless approach, developed on the basis of the Hebrew data, cannot provide. First, it has been shown that indefinite NPs in this language do require Case. Secondly, this approach is inapplicable to Russian and French, and finally, it is incompatible with the Case Filter, stipulating that every overt NP requires Case.

The inherent nominative Case proposal advocated in this work has several important advantages. Its empirical coverage is much more impressive. It gives a unified account of what used to be considered a rather puzzling question of the Case of postverbal arguments of unaccusatives and the DE exhibited by them in various unrelated languages. In addition to that, in contrast to Danon's approach, this proposal requires no modification of the Case Filter. However, the basic question that it has to handle is how it is possible for an NP with nominative Case not to trigger verbal agreement.

2.3 Nominative Case, Agreement and Case-Assigning Properties of English and Italian Unaccusatives

An important step towards answering the question raised at the end of the previous section is to check whether in languages where unaccusatives must agree with their postverbal subjects, such verbs are Case-assigners. A negative answer to this question will render the inherent nominative Case proposal more language-specific, being applicable only to non-agreeing unaccusative consructions. On the other hand, if it can be shown that even in languages where unaccusatives always agree with their postverbal subjects, these verbs are Case-assigners, the empirical coverage of this proposal will be much more impressive and it will enable us to make important cross-linguisic generalizations.

In order to deal with this question, the Case-assigning ability of unaccusative verbs in *there*-constructions in English has to be examined. As discussed in detail in the previous chapter, the verb always agrees with the postverbal NP in these constructions.[42] In spite of the fact that such agreement is a reflection of structural nominative - a checking relation established between I and the postverbal NP, there are indications that unaccusative verbs in English are Case-assigners.

It is a well-known fact that in English, Case-assignment is subject to an adjacency requirement (Chomsky 1981). As opposed to (112a), (112b) is ungrammatical because the adverb *often* interferes between the verb and its complement, violating this requirement.

(112) a. Mary often reads mystery novels
       b.*Mary reads often mystery novels

If unaccusatives in English are Case-assigners, the adjacency requirement should apply to them as well. (113) and (114) indicate that this prediction is borne out. Whenever there is an adverb interfering between the unaccusative verb and its complement, the sentence is ungrammatical.

(113) a. There always arise bitter arguments about politics at Dan's parties
       b. *There arise always bitter arguments about politics at Dan's parties

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[42] I am ignoring the fact that in certain dialects of English *there*-constructions are possible with no agreement because such instances can be explained, similarly to their non-agreeing Hebrew, French and Russian counterparts.

(114) a. There usually arrives a bus at this time
        b.*There arrives usually a bus at this time   (Lasnik1992:388)

Under the assumption that the verb *be* is also unaccusative, it should also be able to assign inherent nominative to the postverbal NP in *there*-constructions. [43] However, at first glance, this verb does not seem to be subject to the adjacency requirement. (115) is perfectly grammatical although *probably/always* interferes between *is* and the NP, *a better solution.*

(115) There is probably/always a better solution to the problem

As pointed out by Lasnik (1992), this problem is easily solved. Unlike lexical verbs, auxiliary verbs like *be* in English undergo an independently motivated process of overt verb-raising. Thus, the structure of (115) is (116).

(116) There is probably/always t a better solution to the problem

The adjacency requirement is not violated because the NP, *a better solution,* is adjacent to a Case-assigner - the trace of the raised verb *be*.

The adjacency effects, discussed above, are typical of Case-assignment relationships, and if we were to assume that unaccusative verbs in English assign no Case to their complements, these phenomena would look mysterious.

Finally, similarly to the non-agreeing unaccusative constructions in Colloquial Hebrew and French, *there*-constructions in English also exhibit a DE.

(117) a. There are three men in the garden.
        b.*There are the three men in the garden.

The same is true of the Italian data presented in Belletti (1988). (118) and (119) illustrate that Italian accusative and passive verbs with postverbal NPs are also subject to the DE.

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[43]The verb *be* as a Case-assigner will be discussed in the last chapter.

(118) a. È   stato messo un libro sul tavolo
          is been put   a   book on table
          'A book has been put on the table'

   b.*È   stato messo il   libro sul tavolo
       is   been put   the book on   table

(119) a. All'improvviso è entrato   un uomo   dalla finestra
          suddenly   is entered a   man   from window
          'A man suddenly entered from the window'

   b.*All'improvviso è entrato l' uomo dalla   finestra
       suddenly   is entered the-man from window

(120) indicates that like in English, Italian unaccusatives and passives [44] always agree with their postverbal complements.

(120) a.   Sono arrivati   cinque studenti a lezione
           are   arrived 3rd person PL   five   students at lecture
           'There arrived five students at the lecture'

   b.*È arrivato   cinque studenti a lezione
       is arrived 3rd person SG five   students at lecture

This agreement pattern provides further support in favor of the claim that the Case we are dealing with is nominative. Recall that in the previous section, the same conclusion was arrived at with respect to the non-agreeing unaccusatives/passives with postverbal subjects based on the morphology of quantifiers in Russian. Thus, two unrelated sources seem to indicate that unaccusatives/passives assign nominative Case cross-linguistically. However, without addressing the issue of nominative Case and agreement, we will not be able to explain the curious phenomena discussed above.

The different agreement patterns exhibited by unaccusative/passive constructions across-languages will be analyzed in detail in the forthcoming chapters. In the meantime, my findings indicate that inherent nominative is assigned under certain conditions some of which seem to be more language-specific, while others bear a more universal nature. Two

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[44]In the last chapter it will be shown that there are good reasons to assume that passive verbs in English are not Case-assigners. The same will be claimed with respect to Hebrew in chapter 3. Italian, on the other hand, patterns with French and Russian, where these verbs are capable of Case-marking their postverbal subjects, exactly like unaccusatives.

examples of the former are the adjacency requirement in Russian and English and the presence of a quantifier in Russian. A condition that appears to be universal is the incompatibility of this Case with definiteness.

Finally, it is impossible to end this section without giving due credit to Belletti (1988). She was the first to notice that unaccusative/passive verbs assign inherent Case cross-linguistically and that this Case is subject to the DE. The fact that the existence of the abstract partititive Case suggested by her has not been proven does not mean that unaccusatives/passives are not Case-assigners. It simply means that the inherent Case they assign is not partitive, and there are good reasons to assume that the Case in question is nominative. The advantage of this proosal over Belletti's lies in its capturing much of the same phenomena without postulating an additional abstract Case the existence of which has not been supported by data from any of the studied languages.

2.4 Structural vs. Inherent Nominative

2.4.1 Hazout (1995)

The different behavior of unaccusative and unergative verbs in Hebrew provides evidence in favor of the Case-assigning properties of the former. It has been noted by many linguists such as Shlonsky (1987), Shlonsky and Doron (1992), Reinhart and Siloni (2005), to mention just a few, that there are two kinds of postverbal subjects in this language. One type can be found in the so-called *simple inversion* and is possible only with unaccusative and passive verbs.

(121) a. nišbar   mašehu
         broke   something
         'Something broke'

      b. neecru   šloša xayalim ba-   hafgana
         were-arrested three soldiers at-the demonstration
         'There were three soldiers arrested at the demonstration'

      c. hit'alfu šloša xayalim ba-   hafgana
         fainted three soldiers at-the demonstration
         'Three soldiers fainted at the demonstration' (Reinhart and Siloni 2005:8-9)

(122) nišma   cilcul pa'amon
       was heard ringing bell
       'The ringing of a bell was heard'   (Hazout 1995:21, from Borer 1986)

The common assumption, which will be further developed at a later stage of this work, is that in the above cases, the EPP is satisfied by expletive pro.[45]

Another type of postverbal subjects appears in the so-called *stylistic* or *triggered inversion*, which is licensed only in the presence of some XP immediately preceding the verb. The XP trigger is the only way that enables the subject of an unergative verb to appear postverbally - (123a), while in its absence, an unergative verb with a postverbal subject is ungrammatical (123b).

(123) a. ba-   mesiba rakdu   šloša yeladim
        at-the party   danced PL three children
        'Three children danced at the party'

      b.*rakdu šloša yeladim ba-   mesiba
        danced three children at-the party

According to Shlonsky and Doron (1992), *stylistic inversion* involves V-raising out of IP and subject raising to SpecIP, since no expletive is selected.

In view of the above data, the question we should ask ourselves is why *simple inversion* in Hebrew is possible only with verbs whose subject is an internal argument? One of the attempts to answer this question was made in Hazout (1995). The essence of his analysis lies in the distinction between two kinds of nominative Case: structural and inherent. He suggests that structural nominative is assigned exclusively to an NP occupying the SpecIP position, while inherent nominative in Hebrew is assigned VP-internally by unaccusative verbs to their postverbal subjects[46]. This Case is part of what he calls "a privileged relationship between a verb and a governed argument." The "privileged relationship" between the verb and its argument is that of θ-role assignment, and may be accompanied by further restrictions on the argument. Since the postverbal subjects of unaccusatives occur in the position where inherent nominative Case is available, they have no reason to move to

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[45]For a detailed discussion of this expletive see section (3.4.1).
[46]He makes a distinction between unaccusatives and unergatives without using these terms.

SpecIP. As opposed to that, subjects of unergative verbs are forced to move to SpecIP to be assigned structural nominative because unergatives are not Case-assigners.[47]

Hazout also notices that when unaccusatives with postverbal subjects are embedded under raising modal predicates in Hebrew, they show long-distance agreement.

(124) a. alulot   le- hit'orer be'ayot
         may FEM PL to- arise   problems NOM FEM PL
         '(Some) problems may arise'

      b. hitxil   la-redet   gešem
         started MASC SG to-fall   rain MASC SG
         'Rain started falling'

The author accounts for this kind of agreement by means of what he calls *The Nominative Rule*:

(125) Coindex a nominative NP with the first c-commanding AGR.

He claims that if coindexation is understood as feature-sharing, in cases like (124) above, there can be no feature-sharing between the embedded AGR and the relevant NP because the former has no features to share. Consequently, a higher AGR is needed in order to satisfy (125). Hazout's analysis, manages to account for the long-distance agreement, exhibited by the postverbal subjects of infinitival unaccusative complements of raising modal predicates in Hebrew. These subjects are assigned inherent nominative by the verb and are coindexed with the first c-commanding AGR that has features to share, namely, the matrix AGR. Since the embedded AGR has no features to share it cannot participate in coindexation.[48] The unaccusative subject has no reason to move because it is assigned Case in its base position. The embedded SpecIP is filled by expletive pro, which must move to the matrix SpecIP to be governed by I [+tense].[49]

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[47]The theory has undergone major changes since the development of this analysis. For example, the claim that structural nominative is assigned exclusively in SpecIP is no longer valid since it has already been shown that this Case can be checked (rather than assigned) via Agree.

[48]Whether this functional head is T, I or AGR makes no difference. This distinction is abstracted away from in this work, and the functional head we are dealing with is referred to as I.

[49]Hazout shows that when Hebrew raising predicates such as *alul*- 'may', *amur* - 'supposed', *matxil* - 'start', etc., take infinitival complements whose subject is not realized overtly, this position can only be filled by expletive pro; namely, such infinitives either assign no external θ-role or are non-thematic altogether, which is why the author calls them non-thematic infinitives. This observation is supported by the different grammatical status of the sentences below.

In contrast to unaccusatives with postverbal subjects, when an unergative verb is embedded under a raising predicate, its subject cannot appear postverbally - (126b). It must move to the matrix SpecIP to be assigned structural nominative - (126a). This analysis explains why long-distance agreement is possible with unaccusatives, but not with unergatives, embedded under the same raising predicates.

(126) a. ha-yeled alul le-hagzim
            the boy may to-exaggerate
            'The boy may exaggerate'

       b. *alul le-hagzim   ha-yeled
            may to-exaggerate the boy

Though Hazout deals with differences in the Case-assigning ability of unaccusative and unergative verbs in Hebrew and does not directly address the fact that only verbs of the former type license expletive pro (which in itself is an important issue that will be dealt with in the last chapter), his analysis supports the main observations made in this work. He

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i). alul [li-hiot kar]
   may to-be   cold
   'It may be cold'
ii).matxil [li-hiot barur še   Dan xole]
   begins to-be   clear that Dan sick
   'It begins to be clear that Dan is sick'
iii). amur   [le-hikatev   al   ha-nose ba-   iton]
   supposed   to- be- written about the topic in-the newspaper
   'The topic is supposed to be written about in the newspaper'
iv). *amur   [le-sayem et   ha-avoda]
   supposed   to-finish et   the work
v). *alul [la- tet   le Dina et ha- sefer]
   may to-give to Dina et   the book

Hazout notices that the non-thematic infinitives may only occur in the complement position of raising predicates and are impossible in other syntactic environments such as equative copula constructions, as shown below.
vi). a. ha- be'aya   hi [la-xacot et ha- kviš]
       the problem she to- cross et the road
       'The problem is to cross the road'
   b.*ha-be'aya   hi [le-hitbarer   še Dan xole]
       the problem she to-become clear   that Dan sick

He concludes that their limited distribution can only be accounted for in structural terms, by the EPP requirement that the subject position of such infinitives be filled. Since they assign no external θ-role, it can only be filled by expletive pro - a purely structural element. The ungrammaticality of (vib) stems from the fact that expletive pro in the subject position of the infinitive is not governed by a [+tense] INFL and cannot move to a position where this requirement can be satisfied. In (via), on the other hand, the PRO subject of the infinitive is properly licensed. Thus, it is the syntax of expletive pro that explains the distribution of non-thematic infinitives. Conversely, if we deny its existence and assume that the subject position of non-thematic infinitives is empty, there seems to be no explanation for the different grammatical status of the above sentences.

distinguishes between structural and inherent nominative and shows that unaccusatives in Hebrew assign inherent nominative to their postverbal subjects.

Moreover, in spite of the fact that he does not deal with the non-agreeing unaccusative constructions, analyzed by Danon (2002) and discussed in (2.1), (presumably because it is a recent development in Colloquial Hebrew) he paves the way to their understanding by separating nominative Case from agreement. In terms of what came to be known at a later stage as feature-checking, Hazout indicates that nominative Case and agreement features do not necessarily have to be checked by the same functional head, as it was believed earlier. He shows most convincingly that with inherent nominative, the Case is assigned by the verb, while agreement features are checked by a functional head. This approach is a major breakthrough in comparison to all the theories that view nominative Case and agreement as one and the same process or as a Case that depends upon agreement. Hazout shows that the opposite is true. It is not nominative Case that depends upon agreement, but the other way round: agreement depends upon nominative Case. This important observation taken one step further will later help us account for the non-agreeing unaccusative constructions with postverbal nominative subjects in French, Russian and Colloquial Hebrew.

Finally, the importance of Hazout's analysis for this work lies in the fact that it accounts for Case-assignment in *there*-constructions in a similar way.

(127) a. There is a strange man in the garden
      b.*There seems [a strange man to be in the garden] (Hazout 1995: footnote15)

He shows that the different grammatical status of the above sentences can be understood properly only if we assume inherent Case-assignment to the postverbal subject by the governing verb and coindexation of this subject with the first c-commanding AGR, which has features to share. The author also points out that the idea of inherent Case-assignment to such subjects was independenly developed in Lasnik (1992).

Further and much more recent support for the two component analysis of nominative Case, advocated in this work, is provided by Reinhart and Siloni (2005).

2.4.2   Reinhart and Siloni (2005): Case System: The Two Component Analysis

Independently of Hazout's distinction between structural and inherent nominative, Reinhart and Siloni (2005) suggest that all the Cases consist of two components, encoding two different relations: a thematic relation - an implementation of the θ-criterion, in the framework of which, each assigned θ-role requires some formal checking executed universally through the Case-system, and a structural – syntactic relation. The authors assume that the verb always checks the thematic Case of at least its internal argument, and the structural component is checked either by an additional device, such as prepositions in oblique Cases, or by the verb itself, as in accusative in languages such as English, French and Italian. The authors believe that the thematic (inherent) component of Case is universal, being an implementation of the θ-criterion, while the structural component is subject to parametrization. Thus, Hebrew verbs have only inherent, but not structural accusative, which accounts for the DE exhibited in sentences like (128).

(128) a. Yossi kara sefer
        Yossi read book
        'Yossi read a book'

    b.*Yossi kara   ha- sefer
        Yossi read   the-book

    c. Yossi kara et   ha- sefer
        Yossi read et   the book
        'Yossi read the book'

While an indefinite NP in Hebrew can occur as a direct complement of the verb - (128a), a definite NP requires a dummy preposition *et,* without which, the sentence is ungrammatical (cf. (128b&c)). In contrast to Danon (2002), who considers indefinite NPs with no overt Case-marking as Caseless, Reinhart and Siloni claim that they check the inherent accusative Case of the verb. Unlike Danon, not only don't they see inherent Case as redundant, but they also claim that this component is universal. As for the need in the semantically vacuous preposition *et,* the authors explain it as follows.

In the framework of the Minimalist Program, Case-checking is regarded as the requirement of the checker; however, the NP also has an uninterpretable feature that has to be deleted for the derivation to converge. This feature makes it visible to the checker. A checking relation between the two is thus established and the feature is deleted. According to the

authors, the uninterpretable feature of an NP is not selective and may be checked against the thematic component of Case, the structural component or both. In addition to this feature, an NP may have another, language-specific feature that needs to be checked only by a structural Case-checker. Such a feature may be definiteness, specificity or animacy; however, in order to be relevant to the Case system it has to be syntactically encoded. Since in Hebrew definiteness is a syntactic feature, as shown by Danon (2002), its checking is subsumed under structural Case-checking. Hebrew verbs have no structural accusative; consequently, the dummy preposition *et*, a structural Case-checker, is needed to check the Case of a definite object.

The theory developed by Reinhart and Siloni helps account for various differences in Case-marking across languages. Recall that in section (2.2), it was shown that in Russian, accusative Case is incompatible with masculine singular and both masculine and feminine plural nouns that bear the feature [+animate]. Thus, when a masculine object of a transitive verb is [-animate], it exhibits no Case morphology, which, as mentioned earlier, is compatible with accusative, (129a), while when it is [+animate], it is marked with genitive morphology, (129b).

(129) a. Ja   vižu stol
      I NOM see   table ACC MASC
      'I see a table'

    b. Ja   vižu mal'čik-a
      I NOM see   boy GEN MASC
      'I see a boy'

These facts can be accounted for if we assume that in the above cases, animacy is syntactically encoded and that the Russian accusative, like its Hebrew counterpart, is an inherent Case. Based on this assumption, in (129a), the verb assigns inherent accusative to the NP *stol*, but it cannot do so with *mal'čik* in (129b) because the [+animate] feature of this NP requires structural checking, which is executed by means of genitive morphology.

Similarly, Enç (1991) shows that in Turkish, specific objects are marked with accusative Case - (130a), whereas non-specific ones have no overt Case-marker - (130b).

(130) a. Ali bir piyano-yu   kiralamak   istiyor
       Ali one piano ACC   to-rent   wants
       'A certain piano is such that Ali wants to rent it'

     b. Ali bir piyano kiramalak   istiyor
       Ali one piano to-rent   wants
       'Ali wants to rent a (non-specific) piano'

Under the assumption that specificity is syntactically encoded in Turkish and that as opposed to Hebrew and Russian, accusative Case in this language has also a structural component, the above data can be easily explained. In (130a) the [+specific] NP checks the structural component of accusative, whereas zero Case morphology of the non-specific NP in (130b) is a reflection of its checking the inherent component of this Case, exactly like in (129a) in Russian and (128a) in Hebrew, where inherent accusative has no morphological manifestation.

It is a rather well-known phenomenon that in many languages with Case morphology, indefinite objects/internal arguments[50] appear with no morphological marking of Case; however, this does not imply that they are Caseless, as suggested by Danon (2002). The assumption under this analysis is that they bear inherent Case. The two-component analysis of every Case, proposed by Reinhart and Siloni enables us to give such instances a unified account. When a language, rich with Case morphology exhibits zero marking on its object/internal argument in certain instances and Case morphology in others, we should always check if the distinction stems from a syntactically encoded feature that requires a structural checker. Conversely, if no such feature is encoded, the language does not require structural Case-checking (though it may have it anyway)[51], and the Case-marking of the object/internal argument is determined by the thematic component of Case, the essence of which lies in formal licensing of the semantic relation between the verb and its argument.

Finally, the difference between Danon's Caseless approach and the analysis of Reinhart and Siloni is not as great as it might appear at first sight. In Danon's opinion, the notion of inherent Case is redundant because in order for indefinite NPs to be licensed, a θ-role assignment is sufficient, whereas Reinhart and Siloni are convinced that each assigned θ-role requires formal licensing, and inherent Case is the implementation of this requirement.

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[50]As suggested earlier, the relevant feature doesn't necessarily have to be definiteness, but can also be animacy, specificity, etc.
[51]Reinhart and Siloni claim that this is what happens in French and Italian, which is how they explain auxiliary selection in these languages.

Being entirely consistent with the Case Filter and exhibiting impressive empirical coverage, their analysis should be preferred over Danon's.

2.4.3   The Inherent Nominative Case Proposal

Having established that under certain conditions, unaccusative and passive verbs are capable of assigning Case to their postverbal subjects in various languages and having shown that there are good reasons to assume that this Case is inherent nominative, it is time to show how it differs from structural nominative. The analyses suggested by Hazout (1995) and Reinhart and Siloni (2005) are instrumental in understanding the differences between the two components of this Case.

According to Reinhart and Siloni nominative Case, similarly to other Cases, consists universally of the mentioned above components. The thematic component is carried by the verb and transmitted to the relevant functional head - I, which checks it together with the structural component. However, data from the non-agreeing unaccusative constructions with postverbal subjects in Russian and Colloquial Hebrew indicate that the two components of nominative are checked together only when conditions for inherent nominative assignment are not met. Alternatively, when the NP is visible to the verb for Case-marking, there is a division of labor. The verb checks the inherent component of this Case, while the functional head I is responsible for structural Case-checking.

In section (2.1), it was shown that in the absence of Case-checking prepositions like *et* or *me-* in Hebrew, the non-agreeing pattern is possible only when the postverbal NP is indefinite. If, on the other hand, the NP is definite and no preposition is available, agreement between this NP and the verb is obligatory. (The examples that appeared originally in (76) are repeated in (131)).

(131)   a. hayu li   ha- ra'ayonot haxi tovim
            were   to-me the-ideas   most good PL
            'I had the best ideas'

        b.*haya li   ha- ra'ayonot haxi tovim
             was   to-me the-ideas   most good PL

Similarly, as shown by the Russian examples in (104) - (105), repeated in (132), the non-

agreeing pattern in this language is possible only when the quantified NP is indefinite, (132a), while with a definite NP, only the agreeing pattern is acceptable. (Cf. (132b&c)).

(132) a. razbilos'   [NOM pjat' [GEN poslednix butylok]]
          broke NEUT SG   five   last PL   bottles
          'Five of the last bottles broke'

      b. razbilis'   [NOM poslednije pjat' butylok   ]
          broke PL   last PL   five bottles GEN
          'The last five bottles broke'

      c. *razbilos'   [NOM poslednije pjat' butylok   ]
          broke NEUT SG   last PL   five bottles GEN

The conclusion that seems to emerge from the above data is that the non-agreeing pattern in Colloquial Hebrew and Russian is contingent upon the ability of the verb to assign inherent nominative to its complement. The lack of agreement with the postverbal NP indicates that no checking relation between this NP and I has been established, in which case the structural component of nominative is checked in SpecIP against expletive pro. In contrast, when the verb is incapable of assigning inherent nominative to its complement, it endows the functional head I with the ability to do so, and I checks both the structural and inherent components of nominative Case, exactly like suggested by Reinhart and Siloni (2005). The checking relation established between the postverbal NP and I accounts for the postverbal agreement in such instances.

The inherent and structural components of nominative Case, similarly to those of accusative in Hebrew and Turkish have different morphological manifestations. In the latter case, we have seen that the difference is between zero marking and an addition of either a preposition (Hebrew) or an affix (Turkish), whereas with nominative, the difference lies in the presence or absence of agreement between the NP and the verb. When the verb assigns inherent nominative to its argument, there is no agreement between the two because no checking relation is established between the NP and the structural Case checker – I, and the φ-features of the postverbal NP remain unchecked. This does not present a problem because in compliance with Chomsky (1995), being interpretable, the φ-features of an NP do not have to be checked for the derivation to converge at LF.

Conversely, if the verb cannot Case-mark its complement, e.g., when the latter has a syntactically encoded feature that requires a structural Case-checker, like definiteness in Hebrew, the Case of this complement is checked by I. Such I possesses the EPP, Case and φ-features, all of which are uninterpretable and must be checked for convergence. It establishes a checking relation with the postverbal NP, which checks its Case and φ-features, while the EPP-feature is checked by pro[52] in SpecIP. The obligatory agreement that invariably surfaces in such instances is a reflection of a checking relation established between I and the postverbal NP.

To sum up, the above analysis indicates that the claim that nominative Case is always contingent upon agreement, made by Borer (1986) and Danon (2002), seems to be too strong. Data from Russian and Colloquial Hebrew illustrate that this claim is valid only in cases where I establishes a checking relation with the postverbal NP in unaccusative (in Russian also passive) constructions, but not when the verb assigns inherent nominative to this argument.

However, one cannot ignore the fact that the inherent nominative Case proposal leaves a lot of questions unanswered. For, example it does not explain why in languages like Italian and English, where unaccusatives also assign inherent nominative to the postverbal NP, only the agreeing pattern is possible, while in their French counterparts the verb never agrees with the postverbal NP. Another important question is what satisfies the EPP in Russian, Hebrew and Italian - languages with no overt expletives. These questions and many others will be addressed in the forthcoming chapters that will concentrate on expletives, the feature-specification of the functional heads that license them and on the mechanism of nominative Case checking.

2.4.4   Conditions on the Assignment of Inherent Nominative

Prior to dealing with the questions raised at the end of the previous section, we have to seek explanation for the DE exhibited by inherent nominative in Colloquial Hebrew, French, Russian, English and Italian and for the fact that in Russian this Case cannot be assigned if the postverbal NP contains no quantifier.

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[52]The exact nature of this pro will be discussed in the next chapter.

The connection between Case and definiteness has been noted by many linguists. It served as a starting point for Belletti's universal partitive Case analysis, the disadvantages of which have been discussed earlier. Data from the languages discussed here throw more light on this phenomenon and suggest that it is possible to account for it without resorting to a Case whose existence has yet to be proven. Danon (2002) observes that Case and definite articles seem to be in complementary distribution. Languages rich with Case morphology such as Russian, Finnish and Turkish lack (in)definite articles, whereas in languages where such articles do exist, Case morphology is extremely poor.[53] Based on this observation, it seems that Case and definiteness are part of the same grammatical system.

The question is why inherent nominative should be incompatible with definiteness. Danon cites Lyons (1999), who claims that in all the languages with definite articles, definiteness is a syntactically encoded feature. If he is right, it means that an NP which is [+definite] is syntactically invisible to an unaccusative/passive verb, and hence, the latter cannot Case-mark it. This observation is borne out by the Hebrew data. As shown by Danon, in Hebrew definiteness is syntactically encoded, which is exactly the reason why, as I believe, it is incompatible with inherent nominative, as illustrated in (131). The same should be true of the other three languages with definite articles discussed here: English, Italian and French if, as Lyons claims, they encode definiteness syntactically.

However, it is not certain that in languages with definite articles the feature of definiteness is necessarily encoded. For example, Danon believes Lyons' suggestion to be too strong, arguing that definite articles do not necessarily trigger any syntactic operation. Instead, he suggests that definiteness is formally encoded only in some of the languages that have definite articles, while in others, these articles are just lexical items rather than a realization of a grammatical feature, as claimed by Lyons.

Moreover, the DE exhibited by the Russian examples in (132) above shows that inherent nominative is also sensitive to semantic definiteness, and finally, recall that Belletti (1988) also dealt with semantic rather than syntactic definiteness in unaccusative constructions. It thus turns out that although something basic about the DE seems to be syntactic, there are

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[53]According to Danon, Gaelic Scottish is the only exception to this tendency. He knows of no other language, which has both definite articles and a rich Case system. I thank Tal Siloni for pointing out to me that Ancient Greek is another language, which has a definite article and Cases.

additional semantic and/or pragmatic factors responsible for these effects, and I leave this issue for future research.[54]

In addition to the DE, which appears to be a universal condition on the assignment of inherent nominative, in Russian, this Case is also subject to a language specific condition. Unaccusative and passive verbs in this language are unable to assign inherent nominative unless their argument contains a quantifier. This restriction will be henceforth referred to as *a quantifier constraint*.

(133) a.*razbilos'   butylki
         broke NEUT SG   bottles NOM

      b. razbilis'   butylki
          broke PL bottles NOM

      c. razbilos'   [$_{Nom}$ pjat' butylok]
          broke NEUT SG   five   bottles GEN

(134) a. *bylo pročitano   knigi
          was read NEUT SG   books NOM

       b. byli pročitany knigi
           were read PL   books NOM

       c. bylo pročitano   [$_{NOM}$ desjat' knig]
           was read NEUT SG   ten   books GEN

Although at this stage I have no clear answer to why the inherent Case-assignment properties of Russian unaccusatives/passives are contingent upon the presence of a quantifier, I can think of directions in which the answer to this question should be sought.

The adjacency requirement between the verb and the quantified NP (see (103) above) and

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[54]Alex Grosu, (p.c), has misgivings about the syntactic reality of the DE based on the following examples.

(i) a.*There are the three upsetting mistakes in your thesis
   b. There are the three unexpected mistakes in your thesis

(ii) a.*There are [the three guys you met in Paris (who tried to kiss Mary)] in {front of you/that corner}
    b. There are [the three kings that the profets had led us to expect] near Jesus' crib

The deviance of (iia), as opposed to (iib), invalidates the claim of a possible connection between heavy NPs and definiteness and shows, according to Grosu, that semantic and/or pragmatic rather than syntactic factors are involved in the DE.

the obligatory presence of a quantifier as a pre-requisite for such Case-assignment suggest that quantity is involved in the verb's ability to assign this Case. This idea is not far-fetched, and the fact that quantity plays an important role in the Case system of Russian was illustrated in section (1.4.3) by instances of the genitive of negation and partitive-genitive.

Recall that with respect to the former, it was suggested that in cases like (135a) below, there exists a null quantifier that assigns genitive Case to the NP *studentov*, while the maximal NP projection of the quantified nominal is nominative. In compliance with this analysis, the name *genitive of negation* is misleading, stemming from the fact that the quantifier is not realized phonetically in such constructions. However, in their essence, they do not differ from the quantified NPs in (133c) and (134c), being assigned inherent nominative by unaccusatives, exactly like NPs with overtly realized quantifiers. As suggested earlier, the role of negation in (135a) is to license the null quantifier and thus convey the meaning that no quantity/amount/number of a given entity took part in the event.

On the other hand, with negated verbs of existence - (135b), that are the real instances of the genitive of negation, it was suggested that no null quantifier should be postulated and the postverbal NP is assigned genitive by negation (or a combination of negation with the verb).

(135) a. Ne   pojavilos'   [NP NOM [QP e] [NP studentov]]]
          NEG showed up NEUT SG   students GEN MASC PL
          'No students showed up'

       b. V klass'e   ne   bylo   studentov
          in classroom NEG   was NEUT SG students GEN MASC PL
          'There were no students in the classroom'

Based on the different analyses of (135a) and (135b), it turns out that in negative sentences with unaccusative verbs the idea that no quantity/amount/number of a given entity took part in the event can be expressed by different Cases - inherent nominative in the presence of a null quantifier and structural genitive in its absence.

In the same section, it was also shown that the Russian partitive-genitive is assigned instead

of accusative when an affix is added to the verb to express a large or small quantity - (136b) - (137b), or when the meaning of the verb itself conveys a certain quantity or its total lack, in which case it is capable of assigning partitive-genitive without any additional device, (138). The latter is an example of the partitive-genitive Case in Russian, playing the role of a lexical Case, which is chosen idiosyncratically by certain lexical heads.[55]

(136) a. Maša   žarit   kotl'ety
          Masha NOM is frying   meatballs ACC
          'Masha is frying meatballs'

      b. Maša   na-   žarila   *kotl'ety   /kotl'et
          Masha NOM a lot fried FEM SG   meatballs ACC / meatballs PART-GEN
          'Masha fried a lot of meatballs'

(137) a. Ivan   xlebal   vodu
          Ivan NOM   supped MASC   water ACC
          'Ivan supped water'

      b. Ivan   xleb**nu**l   *vodu   /vody
          Ivan NOM   had a drop of MASC   water ACC / water PART- GEN
          'Ivan had a drop of water'

(138)   Kolja   lišilsja   *imuščestvo   /imuščestva
          Kolja   was left without/ lost MASC property ACC   property PART- GEN
          'Kolja lost/was left without property'

Recall that Babby (1991) suggests that the genitive of negation and partitive-genitive are instances of Case, which focuses on quantity and makes a direct contribution to the semantic interpretation of the sentence. His suggestion makes a lot of sense because the above examples show that in the absence of a quantifier, it is the Case itself that expresses the meaning of quantity. In contrast, inherent nominative in itself carries no meaning and in order to create a semantic environment for its licensing a quantifier is required.

 Hazout's observation that inherent nominative is part of a privileged relationship between the verb and its argument - a relationship that, according to the author, may be accompanied by further restrictions on the argument, may have something to do with the ability of Russian unaccusatives/passives to check inherent nominative only when their

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[55]For a similar phenomenon in Finnish see Belletti (1988, footnote 6).

argument is capable of taking part in this privileged relationship, "the admission requirement" being a presence of a quantifier.

3. Overt and Non-Overt Expletives: Distribution and Feature-Specification

Having examined the behavior of unaccusative/passive verbs with postverbal subjects in Russian, Hebrew, English, French and Italian, it has been concluded that there are good reasons to assume that these verbs are capable of assigning inherent nominative Case to their subjects. However, such constructions raise some additional questions that have to be dealt with in order to create a complete picture of this Case. Since we are dealing with postverbal subjects, what satisfies the EPP in instances with no overt expletives in Russian, Hebrew and Italian? Another question that requires an answer concerns the behavior of overt expletives in English and French: why is it the case that in English there are two overt expletives: *there* and *it* while in French – only one, *il*?

One of the basic assumptions that underlie the analysis presented in this work is that covert syntactic phenomena in languages can be best understood when compared to languages where such phenomena are overt. Under this hypothesis, it has been suggested that languages with rich Case morphology like Russian shed light on the Case system of languages whose Case morphology is poor. A close look at the Russian data and its comparison with similar instances in French, Hebrew, English and Italian gave rise to my inherent nominative Case proposal.

Similarly, following the same comparative guideline, it would be reasonable to assume that languages with overt expletives like English and French can help us gain more insight into languages where these elements are not realized overtly.

3.1   There

There-constructions, which have been analyzed in detail in the first chapter and in section (2.3), led us to the following conclusions. The only function of this expletive is to satisfy the EPP, i.e. this expletive possesses neither Case nor φ-features. Its associate must always be an NP and can never be a clause, (139c). *There*-constructions exhibit agreement between the verb and the postverbal NP - a reflection of structural nominative, (139a&d);

nevertheless, the adjacency requirement between the verb and the postverbal NP in (139d&e) and the DE in (139b) suggest that the verbs in these constructions assign inherent nominative to their complement. [56]

(139) a. There arise bitter arguments about politics at Dan's parties
b.*There arise the arguments about politics at Dan's parties
c.*There is likely that bitter arguments about politics will arise at Dan's parties
d. There always arise bitter arguments about politics at Dan's parties
e.*There arise always bitter arguments about politics at Dan's parties

The distribution of *there* in English is extremely limited. It occurs with a small number of unaccusative verbs that are rather difficult to classify. Haegeman (1994:333) claims, relying on Burzio (1986), that the distribution of *there* is limited to unaccusative verbs of movement and (change of) state. Some such verbs are: *arrive, arise, come, emerge, ensue, exist, follow* and *occur*. However, this classification is problematic since not every unaccusative verb of movement or (change of) state is compatible with *there*. For example, this classification does not explain why (140a) is grammatical while (140b) is not, bearing in mind that both *arise* and *develop* are unaccusative verbs that denote a change of state.

(140) a. There arose a bitter argument about politics at the party
b.*There developed a bitter argument about politics at the party

Similarly, in spite of the fact that both *arrive* and *move* are unaccusative verbs of movement, *there*-construction is possible with the former, but not with the latter.

(141) a. There arrived five men at the airport
b. *There moved a snake in the grass

Belletti (1988: fn.12) notes that there is considerable variation among speakers in accepting *there*-consructions with verbs other than *be* and *exist*. The speakers I consulted agree with this observation, and so it seems that the actual use of *there* in English is limited to a small number of unaccusatives and is extremely idiosyncratic.

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[56]A detailed analysis of Case-checking in these constructions is provided in chapter 5.

3.2   Expletive *It* as opposed to *There*

The two overt English expletives *there* and *it* seem to be in complementary distribution. While the former can only be associated with an NP with which the verb agrees, the latter appears in a variety of environments. It occupies the subject position of: weather predicates - (142a), temporal predicates - (142b) and predicates that take clausal complements - (142c,d&e).

(142) a. It is raining/snowing/cloudy/ hot/cold outside
       b. It was too late
       c. It seems that Jane lacks confidence
       d. It is improbable that John is sick
       e. It is easy to help you
       f. *It is a man in the garden (where *it* is an expletive, not identificational)
       g.*It has arrived five students at the lecture

In contrast to *there*, *it* is incompatible with a postverbal NP - (142f&g), and the agreement pattern exhibited by sentences whose SpecIP is occupied by *it*, is always the same, 3rd person singular.

Rosenbaum (1967) suggests that the sentences in (143) share the same D-str and are related by means of extraposition of the sentential subject followed by the insertion of *it*.

(143) a. [$_{CP}$ For John to move to a bigger flat] would be impossible
       b. It would be impossible [$_{CP}$ for John to move to a bigger flat]

However, extraction facts invalidate the extraposition analysis. If the sentential subject in (143b) had been extraposed, it would have become an adjunct, and extraction from adjuncts is impossible (CED effect), in compliance with Huang (1982) and Chomsky (1986b).

(144) Where$_i$ would it be impossible [$_{CP}$ for John to move t$_i$]

The fact that extraction of the locative PP from the postverbal clause in (144) yiels a perfectly grammatical sentence shows that this clause cannot be an adjunct. This conclusion is supported by Kayne (1984:3), who provides instances of extraction from the object position of a tensed clause when the matrix SpecIP is occupied by *it*.

(145) What$_i$ is it likely [$_{CP}$Max will forget to bring t$_i$]

(146) The only person who$_i$ it is not essential [$_{CP}$ she talk to t$_i$ is Bill]

Based on the above, it would be reasonable to conclude that in (143b), the clause is the complement of the predicate *impossible*, and (143a) and (143b) are not related by extraposition followed by *it*-insertion, but are instances of two different numerations. The numeration of (143b) contains the expletive *it*, which is merged in SpecIP to satisfy the EPP, while the numeration of (143a) contains no expletive (or no overt expletive), and the EPP is satisfied by merging the clause in the subject position.[57]/[58] Similarly, extraction facts in (144) - (146) are compatible with the claim that the status of the relevant clauses is that of a complement rather than adjunct.

Since there are good reasons to suggest that (143a) and (143b) are not related by any operation, they should be viewed as paraphrases and treated like the paraphrases in (147) – as instances of two different numerations with and without the expletive.

(147) a. There is a man in the garden
       b. A man is in the garden

The 3rd person singular agreement exhibited by *it*-constructions raises the question whether this agreement is default or a function of SPEC-HEAD agreement. In the absence of evidence in favor of the former, the null hypothesis is to assume the latter. Moreover, a comparative analysis of *it*-constructions with *there*-constructions supports the validity of this hypothesis.

When dealing with *there*-constructions in (1.4.6), it was suggested that I establishes a checking relation with the postverbal NP via Agree by means of which it has its Case and φ-features checked. Having been left with the EPP-feature that requires checking, it selects *there* - an expletive, specified for this feature only. It thus turns out that *there* and the postverbal NP share the labor of checking the uninterpretable features of I.

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[57]A possible explanation of the behavior of the adjective *impossible* in (143a) and (143b) can be found in Hazout (1994), where the author suggests that certain adjectives can map the θ-role they assign to the CP internally, (143b), or externally, (143a). Another option that could come to mind is that the CP is merged internally and then moves to SpecIP.

[58]It has been suggested that the clausal subject in cases like (143a) does not occupy the SpecIP position, but is adjoined to a non-overt expletive, having undergone covert topicalization. (See Stowell (1981), Koster (1978) and Hazout (1994)).

On the other hand, in all the examples with postverbal clauses presented above and in (148) below, *it* does not "cooperate" with the postverbal clause in a similar manner.

(148) It appears [$_{CP}$ that John's car has been stolen]

The reason for this difference seems to lie in the incompatibility of I, which heads *it*-constructions, with any postverbal element that would induce it to enter into a checking relation with it (assuming that a checking relation between a probe and a goal is created instantaneously, as a consequence of minimal search). When this element is a clause, I cannot be expected to establish a checking relation with it because, in compliance with Chomsky (2001), it can do so only with an element that possesses a full set of features. Since clauses, do not meet this requirement (presumably because they have neither Case nor φ-features), I has all its uninterpretable features checked by *it*.

The incompatibility of *it*-constructions with a postverbal NP, illustrated in (142f&g), suggests that the above analysis is on the right track. This incompatibility can be accounted for if we assume that *it* has a full set of features and can be selected only by a functional head none of whose features have been checked postverbally. As opposed to clauses, NPs have a full set of features, and if the derivation contained a postverbal NP, I would inevitably enter into a checking relation with it. Having done so, this functional head would no longer able to check the Case and φ-features of *it*, and the derivation would not converge. The fact that a postverbal NP and *it* are mutually exclusive shows that having a full set of features, they cannot both check the uninterpretable features of I.

To sum up, due to their different feature-specification, expletives *there* and *it* appear in different syntactic environments. In contrast to *there*, *it* cannot appear in constructions where a checking relation between I and the postverbal element is established.

Based on the above considerations, it would be plausible to suggest that the 3rd person singular agreement, that invariably surfaces in *it*-constructions is not a consequence of default agreement, but rather an instance of SPEC-HEAD agreement between a fully specified I and the expletive *it*, which in addition to the EPP and Case-features also has φ-features that are specified as 3rd person singular.

Since unlike *there*, *it* has a full set of features that check all the relevant features of I, this expletive appears in a larger variety of syntactic environments. The clausal complement of the predicates, whose subject position is occupied by *it*, does not establish a checking relation with I and its presence or absence is dictated by the thematic structure of the predicate alone. When the predicate requires no such complement - (142a&b), the clausal complement is absent altogether. (For further discussion of *it*-constructions see section 3.4.4).

Finally, the above findings indicate that both *there*-constructions and *it*-constructions in English are headed by a fully specified I; consequently, in the former case, the agreement is with the postverbal NP while in the latter case, the agreement is with *it*.

3.3   Expletive *Il* in French

The French expletive *il* behaves like *there* in some respects and like *it* in others. Similarly to *there*, *il* occupies the subject position of unaccusative constructions that exhibit a DE (149a&b); however, in contrast to *there*-constructions in English, the verb in French does not agree with the postverbal NP, and 3rd person masculine singular agreement always emerges - (149a&c). The question we should ask ourselves is whether in this case we are also dealing with SPEC-HEAD agreement, as was suggested with respect to *it*-constructions, or this is an instance of default agreement, which, as will be shown in the next section, turns out to be the case.

(149) a. Il   est arrivé   trois hommes
          there is arrived MASC SG three men NOM
          'There arrived three men'

     b.*Il   est arrivé   les trois hommes
          there is arrived MASC SG the three men NOM
          'There arrived the three men'

     c. *Il   sont arrivés   trois hommes
          there are   arrived MASC PL three men NOM

In contrast to *there*, whose use is limited to a very small number of unaccusatives, the distribution of *il* is larger. It seems to appear with a wider variety of unaccusatives. Thus, for example, while *there* is completely impossible with the verb *break* (150a), Reinhart and

Siloni (2005) show that *il* is perfectly acceptable with its French equivalent, *se casser*, (150b).

(150) a.*There broke many glasses in this dishwasher

      b. Il   s'est cassé   beaucoup de verres dans ce lave-vaisselle
         there SE-is broken many   of glasses in   this dishwasher
         'Many glasses broke in this dishwasher'

Unlike *there*, which is incompatible with passive verbs - (152), *il* appears in the subject position of impersonal passive constructions, (151).[59]

(151) a. Il   a   été   tué   un homme
         there has been killed a   man   (Belletti 1988:6)

      b. Il   sera   procédé   au   réexamen   de cette question
         there will- be proceeded to-the reexamination of this question   (Kayne 1984:209)

(152) *There was killed a man in the accident

In addition to sharing some characteristics with *there*, *il* also has a lot in common with the English *it*. In (153a&b), it occupies the subject position of weather predicates, in (153c), it functions as the subject of a temporal predicate, while in (153d&e), *il* is the subject of predicates that take clausal complements.

(153) a. Il pleut   /neige
         it is raining/ snowing

      b. Il fait   chaud/froid dehors
         it makes hot/ cold outside
         'It is hot/cold outside'

      c. Il était trop tard
         it was too late

      d. Il est clair que Jean est intelligent
         it is clear that Jean is intelligent

      e. Il est nécessaire de chanter
         it is necessary for to-sing
         'It is necessary to sing'

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[59]The question why impersonal passives do not exist in English will be addressed in the last chapter.

To sum up the data discussed so far, English and French, two languages in which the matrix SpecIP must be filled overtly, make use of different expletives to satisfy this requirement. While English resorts to two expletives: *there* and *it*, French makes use of only one such element, *il*, whose behavior has characteristics of both English expletives.

What has not been discussed yet is the feature-composition of *il* and how it affects the agreement pattern exhibited by *il*-constructions. This issue will be addressed in the next section.

3.4   Covert Expletives in Russian, Hebrew and Italian

Having analyzed the behavior of overt expletives in English and French, it's time to examine the characteristics of their covert counterparts in Russian, Hebrew and Italian.

3.4.1   pro*il* in Russian and Colloquial Hebrew

There are good reasons to suggest that Russian has a null expletive that behaves like the French *il*. In (154a&b) it occupies the subject position of unaccusative verbs followed by postverbal NPs, like in the French examples presented in (149a) and (150b).

(154) a. (Na lekciju) pro*expl* pribylo   [*NOM* pjat' stud'entov]
         on   lecture   arrived NEUT SG   five students GEN MASC PL
         'There arrived five students at the lecture'

     b. pro*expl* razbilos'   [*NOM* sem'   butylok]
            broke NEUT SG   seven   bottles GEN FEM PL
         'Seven bottles broke'

(155) is an example where the same expletive occupies the subject position of a passive verb, similarly to (151) in French.

(155) pro*expl* bylo   pročitano   [*NOM* šest' knig]
            was NEUT SG read NEUT SG   six   books GEN FEM PL
         'Six books were read'

The similar distribution of the Russian null expletive and *il* is also demonstrated by the sentences in (156), where exactly like in the parallel French examples in (153), the Russian expletive occupies the subject position of: weather predicates - (156a-c), temporal predicates - (156d) and predicates that take clausal complements - (156e&f).

(156) a. pro_expl poxolodalo
       it   became-cold NEUT SG
       'It became cold'

       b. pro_expl moros'it
       it   is drizzling NEUT SG
       'It is drizzling'

       c. pro_expl xolodno/žarko na ulice
       it   cold   / hot   on street
       'It is cold/hot outside'

       d. pro_expl bylo   očen' pozdno/ sliškom rano
       it   was NEUT SG   very late   / too   early
       'It was very late/too early'

       e. pro_expl vyjasnilos'   čto Maša   zabol'ela
       it   became-clear NEUT SG   that Masha NOM got-sick FEM SING
       'It turned out that Masha got sick'

       f. pro_expl bylo   žalko   tratit'   vremja popustu
       it   was NEUT SG   pity   to-waste time   in vain
       'It was a pity to waste time in vain'

Another similarity between the Russian examples in (154) - (156) and their French counterparts lies in their constant agreement pattern, which is unaffected by the presence of the postverbal NP. Thus in French, regardless of the presence or absence of the postverbal NP, the agreement form is always 3rd person masculine singular, whereas in Russian - neuter singular.

The most salient property that distinguishes the above Russian and French constructions from *it*-constructions in English is their compatibility with a postverbal NP. Recall that with respect to *it*-constructions, it has been concluded that the postverbal NP and *it* are mutually exclusive because both possess a full set of features and compete on checking the Case and φ-features of of a fully specified I. As opposed to that, the fact that in Russian and

French, the verb does not agree with the postverbal NP suggests that no checking relation between I and this element is established, which is why the agreement pattern is unaffected by its presence or absence. This observation receives further support from the Russian examples in (157) – (158), which show that this language allows inversion also in cases when the verb does agree with its subject.[60]

(157) a. (Na lekciju) pro$_{expl}$ pribyli   [$_{NOM}$ pjat' stud'entov]
      on lecture   arrived PL   five students GEN MASC PL
      'There arrived five students at the lecture'

    b.   pro$_{expl}$ razbilis'   [$_{NOM}$ sem'   butylok]
           broke PL   seven   bottles GEN FEM PL
      'Seven bottles broke'

 (158)   pro$_{expl}$ byli   pročitany [$_{NOM}$ šest' knig]
           were   read PL   six   books GEN FEM PL
      'Six books were read'

The different agreement patterns of (157) – (158) and (154) – (155) suggest that in these two cases we are dealing with two different feature-specifications of I. In (157) – (158), this functional head is specified for φ-features and establishes a checking relation with the postverbal NP, hence, the postverbal agreement. Having had its φ-features checked by the postverbal NP, I no longer needs an expletive with these features in its Spec.

In (154) – (155), on the other hand, I is not specified for φ-features. Consequently, it cannot enter into a checking relation with the postverbal NP that does have these features because of a feature mismatch. Therefore, I selects an expletive that also lacks φ-features and establishes a checking relation with it. Due to the fact that in this instance, neither I nor the expletive has φ-features, the checking relation between the two gives rise to default agreement that is realized by the neuter singular morphology in Russian.[61] Since this agreement pattern surfaces when no checking relation between I and the postverbal NP is established, it becomes clear why it also emerges in cases like (156), where no postverbal NP is present.

[60]When compared with their non-agreeing counterparts in (154) - (155), the sentences in (157) - (158) are slightly more marked in meaning. After a sentence like (157a), for example, we would expect to hear some kind of specification concerning the students: their names, different places they come from, etc. The agreeing pattern seems to be more compatible with a list reading. However, in many cases, the choice between default agreement and agreement with the postverbal NP is a matter of personal preference.
[61]For additional arguments in favor of default agreement see chapter 4.

Based on the above analysis, it appears that in Russian, both in the non-agreeing structures like (154) - (155) and the agreeing ones like (157) - (158), SpecIP is occupied by expletives that lack φ-features, which is why the verb never agrees with them.[62]

In French, we do not find sentences with postverbal agreement of the (157) – (158) type, but besides this difference, *il*-constructions behave exactly like their non-agreeing Russian counterparts in (154) – (156). If we were to assume that similarly to *it*-constructions, these sentences in French and Russian are instances of SPEC-HEAD agreement rather than default agreement, their compatibility with a postverbal NP would remain mysterious. It would be unclear why in French and Russian I does not establish a checking relation with the postverbal NP, postponing this process until the expletive is merged in its Spec, while in English this relation is created immediately.

In view of the above considerations, it would be reasonable to conclude that what *il*-constructions and their Russian counterparts have in common is that in both cases the functional head I and the expletive in its Spec lack φ-features, which is why the checking relation established between the two yields default agreement in both languages. The difference between French and Russian lies only in the absence of neuter in the former; therefore, the default agreement in French is 3rd person masculine singular, the most unmarked form, while in Russian - neuter singular. In compliance with this analysis, the null expletive in Russian should be regarded as the covert counterpart of the French *il*, and will henceforth be referred to as pro$_{il.}$

Recall that the non-agreeing unaccusative/passive constructions in French and Russian were analyzed in the previous chapter as instances in which the verb assigns inherent nominative Case to the postverbal NP. This analysis explained why *il*-constructions are subject to the DE, as was shown in (110) (and also in (149a&b)) and repeated in (159) below. It also explained why the Russian counterparts of these constructions are subject to the DE, presented in (104) – (105) and (132a&c) and repeated in (160) and the quantifier constraint, discussed in (133) and repeated in (161).

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[62]I assume that in (154) - (155) and (157) - (158) we are dealing with two different expletives. The reasons for this assumption will be given below.

(159) a. Il   est arrivé   trois hommes
          there is   arrived MASC SG three men NOM
          'There arrived three men'

      b.*Il   est arrivé   les hommes
         there is arrived MASC SG the men NOM

(160) a. pro$_{il}$ razbilos'   [$_{NOM}$ pjat' [$_{GEN}$ poslednix butylok]]
          broke NEUT SG   five   last PL   bottles
          'Five of the last bottles broke'

      b. *pro$_{il}$ razbilos'   [$_{NOM}$ poslednije pjat' butylok   ]
             broke NEUT SG   last PL   five bottles GEN
          'The last five bottles broke'

(161) a. pro$_{il}$ razbilos'   [$_{Nom}$ pjat' butylok]
          broke NEUT SG   five   bottles GEN FEM PL

      b. *pro$_{il}$ razbilos'   butylki
             broke NEUT SG   bottles NOM FEM PL

What has not been dealt with is the question how nominative Case can be assigned with no
agreement. The analysis suggested in this section makes it possible to answer this question.
The conclusion that in the above constructions the subject position is filled with an
expletive that lacks φ-features, selected by I that is not specified for these features either,
explains why postverbal agreement in these instances is impossible. As has already been
suggested, being unspecified for φ-features, the deficient I cannot establish a checking
relation with the postverbal NP because of a feature mismatch. Therefore, it selects *il*/pro$_{il}$
to check its Case and EPP-features – the only two uninterpretable features such I is
specified for (in addition to its being tensed), and that must be checked for the derivation to
converge. A direct consequence of this analysis is that the expletive selected by I that has
only Case and EPP-features, is specified for exactly the same features, i.e. the only features
il/pro$_{il}$ possesses are Case and the EPP. As for the φ-features of the postverbal NP, as has
already been pointed out, in compliance with Chomsky (1995), these features are
interpretable and the derivation converges even if they remain unchecked.

The idea that I selects an expletive according to its uninterpretable features that require
checking is not only consistent with the feature-checking theory, but also provides
significant support for the validity of the EPP. If this functional head must have its Spec

filled, it is only natural for its checking needs to dictate the feature-composition of the element that occupies this position.

This analysis supports the observations of Reinhart and Siloni (2005), who suggest that nominative Case, like all the other Cases, consists of two components: inherent and structural. However, it differs from their analysis by establishing a division of labor in checking the two components. When the unaccusative/passive verb assigns inherent nominative to its internal argument, I checks the structural component of this Case against the expletive that occupies its Spec.

Finally, the underspecified I analysis explains how nominative Case is possible with no agreement, in contrast to what is asserted in Borer (1986) and Danon (2002). When the functional head that checks this Case is not specified for φ-features, no agreement can be expected.

The above analysis is supported by the behavior of the non-agreeing unaccusative constructions in Colloquial Hebrew, brought to our attention by Danon (2002) and discussed in the previous chapter, section (2.1).

(162) a. pro$_{il}$ haya   li   hamon ra'ayonot
            was 3rd person MASC SG   to-me plenty ideas
        'I had plenty of ideas'

        b. *pro$_{il}$ haya   li   ha-ra'ayonot haxi tovim
            was 3rd person MASC SG   to-me the-ideas   most good PL

(163) a. pro$_{il}$ niš'ar   li   harbe dgamim yešanim
            remained 3rd person MASC SG to-me plenty samples old PL
        'I have plenty of old samples left'

        b.*pro$_{il}$ niš'ar   li   ha-dgamim ha-yešanim
            remained 3rd person MASC SG to-me the- samples the-old PL

Like their non-agreeing French and Russian counterparts, the above Hebrew constructions also exhibit a DE. Since Danon (2002) showed that in Hebrew, definiteness is syntactically encoded, the ungrammaticality of the sentences in (162b) and (163b) was explained as a consequence of incompatibility between inherent nominative and syntactic definiteness of

the postverbal NP that requires a structural Case-checker, without which the derivation does not converge. If we assume that in the above instances in Hebrew, similarly to French and Russian, the functional head I is not specified for φ-features either, we account for the ungrammaticality of (162b) and (163b) in exactly the same way we did in Russian and French.

When the conditions for the assignment of inherent nominative are not met, I cannot check the structural Case of the postverbal definite NP because of a feature mismatch. Having no φ-features, the deficient I cannot enter into a checking relation with the postverbal NP. The latter remains Caseless, and the derivation does not converge. Conversely, if the postverbal NP is indefinite, as in (162a) and (163a), it gets inherent nominative from the verb. This process of Case-marking is contingent upon the emergence of the underspecified I that selects pro$_{il}$ to fill its Spec. Since Hebrew, like French, has no neuter, it would be reasonable to suggest that the 3rd person masculine singular form of the verb is a reflection of default agreement in this language as well.

The default agreement in Hebrew surfaces in exactly the same cases it does in Russian and French: weather predicates - (164a&b), temporal predicates - (164c) and predicates that take sentential complements - (164d&e).

(164) a. pro$_{il}$ hexšix
         it   grew-dark 3rd person MASC SG

      b. pro$_{il}$ ihiye   kar/xam ba-   xuc
         it   will-be 3rd person MASC SG   cold/hot   in-the outside
         'It will be cold/hot outside'

      c. pro$_{il}$ haya   me'uxar
         it   was 3rd personMASC SG late

      d. pro$_{il}$ barur   še Moše   ohev   et Šula
         it   clear MASC SG   that Moses loves et Shula
         'It is clear that Moses loves Shula'

      e. pro$_{il}$ haya   carix   la'avod kaše
         it   was 3rd person MASC SG   necessary MASC SG   to-work hard

Thus, it appears that in Hebrew, like in Russian and French, the distribution of the underspecified I whose Spec is filled by *il*/pro$_{il}$ can be divided into two cases:

a). unaccusative constructions where the verb assigns inherent nominative to the postverbal NP,

b). weather predicates, temporal predicates and predicates that take clausal complements.

The first case is reminiscent of *there*-constructions in English, with one difference: in English the agreement with the postverbal NP is obligatory. The second case is the same environment where *it*-constructions in English show up. However, in section (3.2), it was shown that there are sufficient reasons to assume that the 3rd person singular agreement in *it*-constructions is not an instance of default agreement, but rather SPEC-HEAD agreement between a fully specified I and the expletive *it* that checks all the uninterpretable features of this functional head.

It turns out that English makes use of two expletives: *there* and *it* in cases where Hebrew, French and Russian need only one - *il*/pro$_{il}$. In addition to that, English has no default agreement, that surfaces in *il*/pro$_{il}$ constructions. The reasons for these differences will become clear after having examined agreeing unaccusative constructions with postverbal NPs in Russian and Hebrew and comparing all the findings with the behavior of expletives in Italian.

3.4.2   pro$_{there}$ in Russian and Hebrew

The Russian examples in (157) - (158), repeated in (165) - (166), respectively, suggest that in addition to pro$_{il,}$ Russian has an expletive reminiscent of *there*, which will henceforth be called pro$_{there.}$ Like its overt English counterpart, pro$_{there}$ is compatible only with internal arguments that trigger verbal agreement.[63] However, the distribution of this null expletive is much larger than the distribution of *there*. It is possible with any unaccusative or passive verb.

(165) a. (Na lekciju) pro$_{there}$ pribyli   [$_{NOM}$ pjat' stud'entov   ]
         on lecture   arrived PL   five students GEN MASC PL
         'There arrived five students at the lecture'

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[63] For a more detailed discussion of incompatibility between pro$_{there}$ and unergatives in Russian see the last section of this work.

b. pro_{there} razbilis' [_{NOM} sem' butylok   ]
          broke PL   seven bottles GEN FEM PL
     'Seven bottles broke'

(166)   pro_{there} byli pročitany [_{NOM} šest' knig   ]
          were read PL   six   books GEN FEM PL
     'Six books were read'

The agreement with the postverbal NP indicates that in such instances I is fully specified; consequently, it establishes a checking relation with the postverbal nominal that checks its Case and φ-features. However, there is still the EPP-feature of I that needs checking, and in order to satisfy this requirement, it selects pro*there*, an expletive that possesses only the EPP-feature, exactly like its overt English counterpart. Similarly to *il/*pro*il*, expletives of the *there*/pro*there* type illustrate that I is selective concerning the expletive it chooses to fill its Spec with. Since in *there*/pro*there*-constructions it has the postverbal NP to check its Case and φ-features, it selects an expletive specified only for the EPP-feature because this is its only feature that has not been checked by the postverbal NP.

As for the inherent component of nominative Case, (165) - (166) are instances in which the verb does not assign inherent nominative to its complement. It endows the structural head I with the ability to do so, and the latter checks both components of nominative in compliance with the analysis suggested by Reinhart and Siloni (2005).

The above suggestion has two immediate consequences. First, it shows that in Russian, inherent nominative can be either assigned by the verb directly or checked by I together with the structural component of this Case. The two options of inherent nominative Case assignment/checking explain why both the agreeing constructions in (165) - (166) and the non-agreeing ones in (154) - (155) are grammatical, the difference between the two being a matter of personal style and/or marked vs.unmarked contexts, as explained in footnote 62.

Secondly, it explains why in cases where the conditions for the assignment of inherent nominative are not met only the agreeing pattern is possible.

(167) a. pro_{il} razbilos'   [_NOM pjat'   butylok   ]
            broke NEUT SG   five   bottles GEN PL
      'Five bottles broke'

      b. * pro_{il} razbilos'   [_NOM poslednije pjat' butylok   ]
            broke NEUT SG   last PL   five   bottles GEN PL

      c. pro_{there} razbilis'   [_NOM poslednije pjat' butylok   ]
            broke PL   last PL   five   bottles GEN PL
          'The last five bottles broke'

      d. pro_{il} razbilos'   [_NOM pjat' [_GEN poslednix butylok]]
            broke NEUT SG   five   last PL   bottles PL
          'Five of the last bottles broke'

In (167b), the verb is incapable of assigning inherent nominative to the definite NP, *pjat'*
poslednix butylok; therefore, the underspecified I cannot be selected. Being unable to
discharge its inherent nominative Case-feature inside VP, the verb selects a fully specified I
and endows it with the ability to check the inherent component of nominative Case together
with its already existing ability to check the structural component of this Case. Since the
postverbal NP checks the Case and φ-features of I, this structural head selects pro_{there} to
satisfy the EPP. After the uninterpretable features of the postverbal NP and I have been
checked, the derivation converges, as illustrated by the grammaticality of (167c).

In contrast to (167b), when the adjective *poslednije* is under the scope of the quantifier, the
entire quantified NP is indefinite, (167d). In the absence of the DE, the verb assigns
inherent nominative to its complement, and the underspecified I emerges. Being specified
only for Case and the EPP-features, this functional head cannot establish a checking
relation with the postverbal NP, so it licenses pro_{il} in its Spec and thus has its features
checked.

A violation of the quantifier constraint that characterizes the assignment of inherent
nominative in Russian, discussed in (2.4.4), has similar consequences. Consider (168).

(168) a. pro_{il} razbilos'   [_Nom pjat' butylok]
            broke NEUT SG   five   bottles GEN PL

      b. *pro_{il} razbilos'   butylki
            broke NEUT SG   bottles NOM PL

      c.   pro_{there} razbilis'   butylki
            broke PL   bottles NOM PL

(168b) is ungrammatical because in the absence of a quantifier, the NP is invisible to the verb for the purpose of Case-assignment. The obligatory postverbal agreement in (168c) shows that the Case of the postverbal NP is checked by I - a structural Case-checker, and the process of checking proceeds in exactly the same way as in (167c).

It is interesting to note that in Russian, the underspecified I, which lacks φ-features, namely, is not specified for number/quantity syntactically becomes possible when this feature is expressed semantically by the quantified NP. This connection does not seem to be coincidental. It suggests that quantity plays an important role in the Case system of Russian, as was noted in (2.4.4) with respect to the genitive of negation and partitive-genitive.[64]

The analysis suggested here is supported by the Hebrew data. Like Russian, Hebrew has both unaccusative pro_{il}-constructions with default agreement and pro_{there}-constructions with postverbal agreement. The distribution of the former is limited to Colloquial Hebrew and is a relatively new and productive process. On the other hand, pro_{there}-constructions show up in Standard Hebrew and their distribution is highly reminiscent of their Russian counterparts.

(169) a. pro_{there} hayu   li   hamon ra'ayonot
                were   to-me plenty ideas
       'I had plenty of ideas'

     b. pro_{there} hayu   li   ha-ra'ayonot haxi tovim
               was 3rd person PL to-me the- ideas   most good PL
        'I had the best ideas'

(170) a. pro_{there} niš'aru   li   harbe dgamim yešanim
             remained 3rd person PL   to-me plenty samples old PL
        'I have plenty of old samples left'

     b. pro_{there} niš'aru   li   ha- dgamim   ha-yešanim
             remained 3rd person PL   to-me the- samples   the-old PL
        'I have plenty of the old samples left'

Examples like (169) - (170) are instances of *simple inversion* - a phenomenon that was already addressed in section (2.4.1). Independently of the current analysis, it has been

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[64]The role quantity plays in the Case-system of Russian requires further research.

shown by various linguists that *simple inversion* in Hebrew is possible only with unaccusative and passive verbs, and that the SpecIP of such constructions is occupied by expletive pro.

My analysis supports and supplements the above observations. The agreement with the postverbal NP together with the fact that simple inversion is possible only when this NP is an internal argument suggests that the expletive we are dealing with in such instances is of the *there*/pro$_{there}$ type. The distribution of this expletive in Hebrew is almost identical to the distribution of pro$_{there}$ in Russian. It is possible with any unaccusative/passive verb in this language and in contrast to pro$_{il}$, shows no sensitivity to definiteness, as indicated by the grammaticality of (169b) - (170b). All these facts suggest that, like in Russian, these are instances of a checking relation which the fully specified I establishes with the postverbal NP.

Since in the above constructions it is not the verb that assigns inherent nominative to the postverbal NP, the obvious conclusion is that in Hebrew, similarly to Russian, inherent nominative Case assignment by the verb is optional and when conditions for its assignment are not met, it is I that fulfills this function in the same manner as in Russian. However, as opposed to Russian, where the choice between pro$_{il}$ and pro$_{there}$-constructions depends on the context and is very often a function of personal preference, in Hebrew the use of pro$_{there}$-constructions is much more extensive than that of pro$_{il}$-constructions. First, constructions of the latter type are limited to colloquial speech and are more acceptable with certain idiomatic verbs, as shown by Danon; secondly, they are impossible with passive verbs, as demonstrated in (171b) and (172b).

(171) a. pro$_{there}$ huf'alu   alay   lexacim   kvedim
               were exerted on-me pressures PL heavy PL
         'A heavy pressure was exerted on me'

     b.*pro$_{il}$ huf'al   alay   lexacim   kvedim
               was exerted on-me pressures PL heavy PL

(172)   a.pro$_{there}$ tuknu   kama mexonot
               were repaired   a few machines
         'A few machines were repaired'

     b.*pro$_{il}$ tukan   kama mexonot
               was repaired   a few machines

The contrast exhibited by the pairs of sentences in (171) - (172) shows that passive verbs in Hebrew do not assign inherent nominative to their complement, which is why with these verbs, the non-agreeing pattern is impossible.[65]

The fact that the distribution of pro$_{there}$-constructions in Hebrew is much larger than that of pro$_{il}$-constructions suggests that the Case-assigning ability of Hebrew unaccusatives is rather limited and should be regarded as an idiosyncratic property of a small number of verbs.

3.4.3   The Absence of *there*/pro$_{there}$ type Expletive in French

Having established that Hebrew and Russian have both agreeing unaccusative constructions with pro$_{there}$ and non-agreeing ones with pro$_{il}$, the next question that should be addressed is why in French only the latter type exists (cf.(173a&b)).

(173)   a. Il   est arrivé   trois hommes.
            there is arrived MASC SG three men NOM
            'There arrived three men'

        b. *Il   sont arrivés   trois hommes.
             there are arrived MASC PL three men NOM

        c. *Il   est arrivé   les hommes.
             there is arrived MASC SG the men NOM

In compliance with the analysis proposed in this work, *il*/pro$_{il}$ constructions are instances of inherent nominative Case assignment by the unaccusative/passive verb to the postverbal NP. When the inherent nominative is thus discharged by the verb, in all the three languages: Hebrew, Russian and French it is contingent upon the emergence of the underspecified I, whose Spec is filled by *il*/pro$_{il}$.

However, while in Hebrew and Russian the inherent component of nominative can also be checked by I together with the structural component of this Case, resulting in postverbal agreement and the licensing of pro$_{there}$, in French such option does not exist. Consequently, when conditions for the assignment of inherent nominative are not met, the sentence is ungrammatical, as illustrated by (173c). Since in French, inherent nominative is

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[65]For additional observations with respect to *simple inversion* in Hebrew see section (5.4).

incompatible with definiteness, the verb cannot discharge its Case-feature. In contrast to Hebrew and Russian where the verb can transfer the inherent nominative feature to I, and thus save the derivation, in French this feature must be discharged by the verb itself, otherwise the derivation does not converge. On the other hand, it appears that the Case-assigning ability of French unaccusatives/passives is stronger than that of their Russian and Hebrew counterparts, which compensates to some extent for the lack of agreeing pattern in *il*-constructions.

This analysis will receive further support in the next chapter, where we will take a closer look at the mechanism of inherent and structural nominative Case-checking in general and on the Case-checking ability of the French I, in particular.

3.4.4   pro$_{there}$ and pro$_{it}$ in Italian

Italian expletives pattern with their overt counterparts in English. The examples in (174) - (175) indicate that Italian has an expletive of the pro$_{there}$ type.

(174)   a. pro$_{there}$ sono arrivati   cinque studenti   a lezione
                        are   arrived PL five   students NOM at lecture
            'There arrived five students at the lecture'

         b.*pro$_{il}$ è arrivato   cinque studenti   a lezione
                  is arrived SG   five   students NOM at lecture

(175)   a. pro$_{there}$ è stato messo   un libro   sul tavolo
                  is been put SG   a   book NOM on table
            'A book has been put on the table'

         b.*pro$_{there}$ è   stato messo il   libro   sul tavolo
                  is   been put SG the book NOM on table

The Italian pro$_{there}$ occupies the subject position of unaccusative/passive verbs, and appears only in agreeing constructions. The fact that unaccusative and passive verbs in Italian do not allow default agreement, (174b), similarly to the verbs that appear in *there*-constructions in English, suggests that in contrast to Russian, French and Colloquial Hebrew, neither Italian nor English has an underspecified I in unaccusative constructions and, consequently, no expletive of the *il*/pro$_{il}$ type can be licensed in such cases. The English and Italian data receive a straightforward explanation if we assume that in

sentences with unaccusative verbs and postverbal NPs in these two languages, the functional head I is always fully specified, which is why it establishes a checking relation with the postverbal NP, has its Case and φ-features checked and selects a *there/*pro*there* type expletive to satisfy the EPP.

Although the above Italian constructions behave like *there*-constructions in English, their distribution is much larger. While in English such constructions are possible with a limited number of unaccusatives, as was discussed in detail in section (3.1), pro*there*-constructions in Italian are possible with any unaccusative or passive verb. Finally, like their English counterparts, pro*there*-constructions in Italian also exhibit a DE - (175b).

The sentences in (176) indicate that there are good reasons to assume that Italian also has an expletive that behaves like *it* in English. This expletive will be referred to as pro*it.*

(176) a. pro*it* é presto
　　　　 it　 is early

　　　b. pro*it* é troppo tardi per tornare
　　　　 it　 is too 　 late　 to come-back

　　　c. pro*it* é difficile essere sempre allegri
　　　　 it　 is difficult to-be 　always 　happy

　　　d. pro*it* é chiaro che questo é uno sbaglio
　　　　 it　 is clear that this 　is a 　mistake

　　　e. pro*it* piove
　　　　 it 　 rains

　　　f.*pro*it* è arrivato cinque studenti a lezione
　　　　　it 　 is arrived five 　 students at lecture

This expletive occupies the subject position of: temporal predicates - (176a&b), predicates that take clausal complements - (176b,c&d) and weather predicates - (176e). In addition to that, unlike *il* and pro*il* and exactly like *it*, pro*it* is incompatible with a postverbal NP - (176f). As shown in (174a) above, such sentences are grammatical only if the verb agrees with its complement.

At this point, one may wonder whether there is sufficient reason to postulate the existence of two covert expletives in Italian: pro*it* and pro*there*. It could be claimed that in both (174a) −

(175a) and (176a) – (176e), we are dealing with the same pro that lacks φ-features, exactly like in the French, Russian and Colloquial Hebrew counterparts of the above examples, and the obligatory agreement with the postverbal NP in Italian unaccusative/passive constructions, as opposed to default agreement in the other three languages, stems from the fact that in these Italian constructions, I is always fully specified, while in the mentioned above languages, it is not specified for φ-features. The ungrammaticality of (176f) would be accounted for as a consequence of incompatibility of Italian unaccusatives/passives with the underspecified I.

This approach would create another problem. By adopting it, we would have to assume that sentences like (176a) - (176e) are headed by the same underspecified I and exhibit default agreement like the French, Russian and Hebrew examples discussed earlier. However, as shown in the previous sections, the underspecified I possesses a Case-feature in addition to the EPP-feature, hence in (176a) - (176e), its Spec must be filled by an expletive that is also specified for a Case-feature - pro$_{il}$; otherwise, the derivation will not converge. That would leave us again with two expletives: pro$_{there}$ that possesses only the EPP-feature in (174a) - (175a) and pro$_{il}$ that is specifed for Case and the EPP-features in (176a) – (176e). In view of this, it becomes clear that we must postulate two expletives in Italian.

Having established the need in two kinds of expletives in Italian, it is important to remove any doubt concerning their feature-specification. The fact that this language has pro$_{there}$ has become rather obvious by now, for examples like (174a) and (175a) behave exactly like their counterparts in other languages. The question is why it would be more plausible to assume that the second expletive in Italian is of the pro$_{it}$ rather than of the pro$_{il}$ type.

Recall that in contrast to *il, it* has a full set of features, as was shown in section (3.2), where it was argued that due to its feature-specification, this expletive can only be licensed by a fully specified I, which does not establish a checking relation postverbally.

(177) *It has/have arrived five students at the lecture

My suggestion that unaccusatives assign inherent nominative to the postverbal NP sheds more light on the ungrammaticality of (177). The checking relation established between I and the postverbal NP is not dictated by the Case-needs of the latter (because it is assigned Case by the verb), but rather by the needs of a fully specified I that has to have its Case and φ-features checked against the first fully specified element available in its c-commanding domain. When

these two features of I have been satisfied, it needs an expletive to satisfy the EPP. Under the assumption that I selects an expletive according to its features that require checking, such an expletive can only be *there* that has only the EPP-feature and not *it* with a full set of features, whose Case and φ-features the fully specified I can no longer check.

As opposed to that, expletives of the *il*/pro$_{il}$ type are licensed by I that is not specified for φ-features - a deficiency that makes it impossible for this functional head to establish a checking relation with the postverbal NP, which always has these features. This feature mismatch leads to a division of labor in checking the inherent and structural components of nominative Case. The verb assigns inherent nominative to the postverbal NP, while I checks its Case and EPP-features against *il*/pro$_{il}$, specified for the very same features that I has to check.

(178) Il   est arrivé   [$_{NOM}$ cinq étudiants] á la confèrence
       there is arrived MASC SG   five students   at the lecture
       'There arrived five students at the lecture'

(179) (Na lekciju) pro$_{il}$ pribylo   [$_{NOM}$ pjat' stud'entov]
        on lecture   arrived NEUT SG   five students GEN
        'There arrived five students at the lecture'

(180) pro$_{il}$ haya   li   [$_{NOM}$ hamon ra'ayonot]
             was 3rd person MASC SG   to-me   plenty ideas
       'I had plenty of ideas'

Thus, the contrast beween a fully specified I in (177) and a deficient I in (178) - (180), explains why a postverbal NP is impossible with *it*-constructions and is perfectly grammatical with *il*/pro$_{il}$-constructions.

If Italian had an expletive of the *il*/pro$_{il}$ type, we would expect it to pattern with French, Russian and Colloquial Hebrew in allowing non-agreeing unaccusative constructions with a postverbal NP. However, (176f) shows that it patterns with English and behaves exactly like (177). In view of these findings, it would be reasonable to conclude that the second expletive in Italian behaves exactly like *it*, hence its name pro$_{it.}$

To sum up, Italian and English are different from Russian, Hebrew and French in disallowing I that is not specified for φ-features in tensed clauses, which is why the former languages do not have default agreement and expletives of the *il*/pro$_{il}$ type. In English and Italian, I is always fully specified in tensed clauses. Consequently, in cases like (176a) –

(176e), the SpecIP position is occupied by *it*/pro$_{it}$ type expletives that are a function of SPEC-HEAD agreement between a fully specified I and an expletive with a full set of features. Unaccusative/passive constructions like (174a) - (175a) are examples of agreement between a fully specified I and the postverbal NP, in which case SpecIP is occupied by *there*/pro$_{there}$, whose function is to satisfy the EPP.

3.4.5   Various Types of Expletives and Their Licensing: Summary

A comparative analysis of a variety of expletives languages make use of in order to satisfy the EPP has led me to the conclusion that their feature-specification is dependent on the feature-specification of I – the functional head that licenses them. It turns out that the nature of I in unaccusative and passive constructions with postverbal NPs is subject to parametrization. In English and Italian it is always specified for φ-features, while in French it is not and in Russian and Hebrew it does not have to be.

In French, such constructions are characterized by an underspecified I, which results in default agreement and the licensing of the *il/*pro$_{il}$ type expletive. In their English and Italian counterparts, I is always fully specified, which results in postverbal agreement and the licensing of *there*/pro$_{there}$. Finally, Hebrew and Russian have both kinds of I, and that leads to the existence of both kinds of agreement patterns and both kinds of expletives (Colloquial vs. Standard Hebrew, marked vs. unmarked contexts in Russian).

In all the languages where this option exists, the underspecified I surfaces in unaccusative/ passive constructions with postverbal NPs when these NPs are assigned inherent nominative Case by the verb. If, however, the conditions on nominative Case-assignment are not met, the underspecified I is impossible.[66] Thus, in Russian when the postverbal NP is definite or when the quantifier constraint is violated, only the agreeing pattern is acceptable. The same is true of definite NPs in Hebrew (subject to reservation in footnote 67).

French differs from the above two languages in disallowing a fully specified I in uaccusative/passive constructions; consequently, when an unaccusative/passive verb in

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[66]Unless there exists a structural element inside VP like a dummy preposition that helps the verb Case-mark its argument. This issue will be elaborated on in the next chapter.

French is incapable of Case-marking its complement because of its being definite, the derivation crashes.[67] This difference shows that in Hebrew and Russian, inherent nominative can be either assigned by the verb directly or checked together with the structural component by the fully specified I that "inherits" the ability to check the inherent component of nominative from the verb, whereas in French only the former option exists. In French, I appears to be unable to check both components of nominative against the postverbal NP in the complement position; however, this deficiency is somewhat made up for by the fact that the Case-assigning ability of the French unaccusatives/passives is more extensive than that of their Hebrew counterparts.

In languages that allow an underspecified I in the above constructions, this I also surfaces in sentences with weather predicates, temporal predicates and predicates that take clausal complements. Consequently, we find the same expletive of the *il*/pro$_{il}$ type and default agreement in both kinds of constructions. This important insight was gained based on Russian, where default agreement is realized by neuter morphology. Due to the rich morphology of Russian, the existence of the underspecified I was also revealed in French and Hebrew, languages where default agreement is realized by 3rd person masculine singular morphology.

As opposed to that, languages like English and Italian, which do not allow an underspecified I, need an expletive of the *it*/pro$_{it}$ type to occupy the subject position of weather predicates, temporal predicates and predicates with clausal complements. This expletive, like the functional head that licenses it, has a full set of features, and thus, the features of the two are checked in the SPEC-HEAD configuration. This account makes it clear why in contrast to expletives of the *il*/pro$_{il}$ type, *it*/pro$_{it}$ expletives are incompatible with postverbal NPs. Since both compete on checking the Case and φ-features of I, they are mutually exclusive.

The choice between it/pro$_{it}$ and *there/pro$_{there}$* in languages that do not allow a deficient I in tensed clauses depends on the presence of a postverbal NP. When the latter is present, it checks the Case and φ-features of I, and the remaining uninterpretable feature that requires checking, namely, the EPP-feature, makes it select *there/*pro$_{there}$. Alternatively, in the

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[67]The content of footnote 66 applies to French as well.

absence of such an NP, a fully specified I selects *it*/pro*it*, since this expletive checks all its uninterpretable features.

The conclusions regarding the feature-specification of the various expletives in English, French, Russian, Hebrew and Italian and the functional head that licenses them are summarized in (181).

(181)

it / pro$_{it}$ [EPP-feature / Case-feature / φ-features]	I [EPP-feature / Case-feature / φ-features]	postverbal NP impossible	English, Italian
there / pro$_{there}$ [EPP-feature]	I [EPP-feature / Case-feature / φ-features]	postverbal NP obligatory	English, Italian, Russian, Hebrew
il / pro$_{il}$ [EPP-feature / Case-feature]	I [EPP-feature / Case-feature]	postverbal NP possible	French, Russian, Colloquial Hebrew

The analysis suggested in this chapter accounts for a lot of puzzling phenomena across languages. Nevertheless, it leaves several questions unanswered. For example, it does not explain what determines the feature-specification of I in languages where both fully specified and underspecified types of I are possible. Neither does it account for how the inherent component of nominative is checked in languages like English and Italian, where in *there*/pro*there*-constructions the verb always agrees with the postverbal NP - a consequence of structural nominative checking. These issues and many more will be dealt with in the last two chapters of this work.

4. Underspecified I and Case

In the previous chapter, it was established that there are reasons to assume the existence of I that is not specified for φ-features in Russian, French and Hebrew. The purpose of this chapter is to examine its distribution across languages more closely in order to formulate the conditions under which it is licensed.

4.1   Underspecified I and Inherent Nominative in Unaccusative/Passive Constructions

The question to be addressed at this stage is what determines the feature-specification of I in a given language in cases where both the fully specified and the underspecified types of I are possible in unaccusative/passive constructions with postverbal NPs. Certain conditions on the selection of the underspecified I seem to be universal, while others – language specific.

In languages like Russian and Hebrew, the choice between the two types of I seems to be a function of register. In Russian, the underspecified I tends to appear in more unmarked contexts, while in Hebrew - in colloquial speech. What all the languages that allow an underspecified I have in common, is its being closely linked to the following factors: the diathesis of the verb, its Case-assigning ability and the nature of structural Case-checkers with which the verb cooperates to discharge its Case-feature once it is incapable of doing so on its own.

In the previous chapter it was shown that in the three languages where the option of the underspecified I exists, namely, Hebrew, Russian and French, in order for this type of I to surface in unaccusative/passive constructions, [68] the verb must be able to assign inherent nominative Case to its postverbal argument.

Alternatively, if for some reason the verb cannot Case-mark its argument due to the violation of quantifier or adjacency requirements (in Russian), or because the argument is definite (in all the languages examined here), it must resort to the help of a structural Case-checker in order to check the inherent component of nominative, which according to Reinhart and Siloni (2005) is universal, being the implementation of the θ-criterion. What turns out to be one of the most interesting discoveries of this analysis is that the feature-specification of I seems to be a function of the structural Case-checker, which assists the verb to achieve the above purpose.

One of such structural Case-checkers is a fully specified I – a source of structural nominative. The process of Case-checking is realized in the following way: the verb selects

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[68]The analysis has so far focused only on unaccusative and passive verbs in these languages; however, in the last chapter, it will be suggested that there may be reasons to assume that Russian and French unergatives can also assign inherent nominative to their postverbal arguments, though this ability is much more limited. In such a case it would mean that in order for the French and Russian verb to select the underspecified I, it has to be intransitive.

a fully specified I and endows it with the ability to check inherent nominative together with its already existing ability to check the structural component of this Case. This form of cooperation between the source of inherent nominative - the verb, and structural nominative - I, creates an I+V complex[69] that checks both components of nominative Case, in compliance with the theory suggested by Reinhart and Siloni. The fully specified I checks its Case and φ-features against those of the postverbal NP, and since there remains one more uninterpretable feature of I that requires checking, namely, the EPP, this functional head selects *there*/pro$_{there}$ to fill its Spec. As was shown in the previous chapter, in such cases only a fully specified I can be selected because the deficient I cannot establish a checking relation with the postverbal NP because of a feature mismatch.

However, I is not the only source of structural Case that can help the verb check the inherent component of nominative. Danon (2002) showed that Hebrew has prepositions like *et* and *me-* that check the structural Case of postverbal definite NPs. The original examples that appeared in (75) - 76) are repeated in (182) - (183), respectively, with the addition of the relevant expletives, based on the analysis suggested in the previous chapter.

(182) a. pro$_{there}$ niš'aru li ha-dgamim ha-yešanim   Std. & Col. Hebrew
     remained PL to-me the-samples the-old PL
   'I have the old samples left'

  b. pro$_{il}$ **niš'ar**   li **me-** ha-dgamim ha-yešanim Col. H.
     remained 3rd person MASC SG to-me from-the-samples the-old MASC PL
   'I have some of the old samples left'

  c. *pro$_{il}$ niš'ar   li ha-dgamim ha-yešanim
    remained 3rd personMASC SG to-me the-samples the-old MASC PL

(183) a. pro$_{there}$ hayu li ha- ra'ayonot haxi tovim   Std. & Col.Hebrew
     were to-me the-ideas most good PL
   'I had the best ideas'

  b. pro$_{il}$ **haya** li **et** ha- ra'ayonot haxi tovim   Colloquial Hebrew
     was to-me et the-ideas most good PL
   'I had the best ideas'

  c.*pro$_{il}$ haya li ha- ra'ayonot haxi tovim
     was to-me the-ideas most good PL

Two things become clear from (182b) and (183b) above:

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[69]This device is not supposed to correlate with V-raising.

a). the inability of the verb to Case-mark its definite argument is supplemented by the structural Case-checkers, the prepositions *me-* and *et,*

b). such Case-checking is contingent upon the emergence of the underspecified I.

Being unable to discharge its inherent Case-feature because the definite complement is invisible to it, the verb does not need the assistance of I, because another structural Case-checker, a preposition, is available, this time inside VP. Hence, another Case-checking complex is created: V+P. This complex is a reflection of "cooperation" between the verb and the preposition in Case-marking the postverbal definite NP, similarly to the I+V complex, in the framework of which, a structural Case-checker helps the verb discharge inherent nominative.

Having discharged its inherent Case with the help of a preposition, the verb is no longer in need of the help of I. Consequently, no I+V complex is formed, and the underspecified I emerges as a default option. This proposal explains why the fully specified I and Case-checking prepositions are mutually exclusive with unaccusatives followed by definite NPs, (184a&b).

(184) a. *pro$_{there}$ **niš'aru**   li   **me-**   ha-dgamim ha-yešanim
                        remained PL to-me from   the-samples the-old PL

   b.*pro$_{there}$ **hayu** li   **et** ha- ra'ayonot haxi tovim
                    were to-me et the-ideas   most good PL

A fully specified I and Case-checking prepositions in such cases fulfill the same function. They help the verb discharge its inherent nominative Case-feature; therefore, in the above instances they are incompatible.

The existence of both agreeing and non-agreeing patterns in (182) - (183) and the data in (184) lead us to the conclusion that in sentences like (182b) and (183b) the inherent component of nominative is checked by PP. The agreeing pattern shows that unaccusatives like *niš'ar* and *haya* are specified for the nominative Case feature, and following Reinhart and Siloni (2005), we must assume that the inherent component of this Case is universal and has to be checked in addition to its structural component. If inherent Case is an implementation of the θ-criterion, it cannot be assumed that in (182b) and (183b), only the

structural component of nominative is checked by pro$_{il}$, while the inherent component of this Case remains unchecked. Consequently, it would be plausible to suggest that in such cases, the inherent component of nominative is checked by PP. The difference between (182a) - (183a) and (182b) - (183b) lies in the subcategorization frames of the verbs. In the former case, they are specified in the lexicon as taking an NP complement, while in the latter case, they are subcategorized for PP. In both instances, the verbs are specified as [+ inherent nominative].

Based on the data examined in this section, we may conclude that in languages that allow the underspecified I, there are three options of checking the inherent component of nominative Case. If the verb is of the unaccusative/passive type and it is capable of Case-marking its postverbal NP, it does so with no additional help. Alternatively, if the conditions for such Case-assignment are not met, the verb requires the assistance of a structural Case-checker to discharge its Case-feature. If a Case-checking preposition is available, a V+P complex is formed, and the PP checks the inherent component of nominative. If not, the verb selects a fully specified I and forms a Case-checking complex I+V with it. This complex checks both components of nominative, in contrast to the V+P complex that checks only its inherent component, leaving the checking of the structural nominative to the underspecified I.

The suggestion to regard certain instances of the genitive of negation in Russian as an instantiation of inherent nominative assignment should be analyzed along the same lines. It accounts for both the agreeing and non-agreeing patterns exhibited by these constructions in (185).[70]

(185) a. pro$_{there}$ ne   pojavilis'   studenty
                  NEG showed up PL students NOM PL
            '(The) students didn't show up'

       b. pro$_{il}$ ne   pojavilos'   studentov
                  NEG showed up NEUT SG students GEN PL
            'No students showed up

In (185b), the quantified NP (where a null quantifier has been stipulated, see sections

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[70]The above analysis does not apply to the genitive of negation with verbs of existence as in (35) - (36). As suggested in the first chapter, these verbs behave differently from the negated verb in (185).

(1.4.3) and (2.4.4) for analysis) is assigned inherent nominative by the verb. No I+V complex is created and the underspecified I surfaces as a default option. In order to check its Case and EPP-features this I selects pro$_{il}$ to fill it Spec. In (185a), on the other hand, no quantifier is present because the NP, *studenty*, is nominative rather than genitive as it would be if it were preceded by a quantifier. In the absence of a quantifier, the verb cannot assign inherent nominative to the postverbal NP (recall that in Russian this Case is subject to the quantifier constraint, as was shown in (2.4.4)), so it forms an I+V complex, which checks both components of nominative against this NP. Since in such cases, I is always fully specified, it accounts for the postverbal agreement in (185a) and the selection of pro$_{there}$, for after establishing a checking relation with the postverbal NP, the fully specified I needs to check its EPP-feature.

4.2   Underspecified I and Postverbal PPs

However, not in all the non-agreeing unaccusative/passive constructions the inherent component of nominative has to be checked in addition to its structural component simply because there are cases in which unaccusative/passive verbs have no inherent nominative Case-feature. Such instances that were briefly mentioned in section (2.1) in (83) - (84), are repeated in (186) - (187), respectively.

The unaccusatives in (186a) and (187a) are always followed by the preposition *me-*. This preposition differs from the partitive preposition *me-* in (182b), by being completely vacuous semantically and by being obligatory. The deviance of (186b) and (187b) shows that its omission causes the derivation to crash.

(186) a. pro$_{il}$ nišbar   li   me   ši'urim meša'amemim
           got fed up 3rd person MASC SG to-me of/from lessons boring MASC PL
        'I got fed up with boring lessons'

   b.*pro$_{il}$ nišbar   li   ši'urim meša'amemim
          got fed up 3rd person MASC SG   to-me   lessons boring MASC PL

(187) a. pro$_{il}$ nim'as   li   me   anašim tipšim
          got fed up 3rd person MASC SG to-me of/from people stupid MASC PL
       'I got fed up/sick and tired of stupid people'

   b.*pro$_{il}$ nim'as   li   anašim tipšim
          got fed up 3rd person MASC SG to-me   people stupid MASC PL

The question is whether such PPs check the inherent component of nominative, like it has been claimed with respect to (182b) and (183b).

The answer to this question seems to be negative. In contrast to the verbs in (182) - (183), the verbs in (186) - (187) possess no nominative Case-feature. If they did, we would expect them to be possible without prepositions or to be able to appear in agreeing constructions.[71] The examples in (188) show that with the idiomatic verb *nišbar*, agreement is completely impossible, not only postverbally - (188a), but also when the NP is in the preverbal position, as in (188b).

(188) a.*pro_{there} nišberu   li   ši'urim meša'amemim
             got fed up PL to-me lessons boring MASC PL

     b.*ši'urim meša'amemim   nišberu   li
        lessons boring MASC PL got fed up PL to-me

The verb *nim'as* exhibits the same tendency - (189), though its behavior is not identical to that of *nišbar*, as illustrated in (190).

(189) a.*pro_{there} nim'asu   li   anašim tipšim
             got fed up PL to-me   people stupid MASC PL

     b.*anašim tipšim   nim'asu   li
        people stupid MASC PL got fed up PL   to-me

(190) a. pro_{there} **nim'asu   alay**   anašim tipšim
             got fed up PL   on-me   people stupid MASC PL

     b. anašim tipšim   **nim'asu   alay**
        people stupid MASC PL got fed up PL on-me

When followed by the dative NP[72], *li*, the verb *nim'as* is completely incompatible with agreement, no matter whether the NP is postverbal - (189a), or preverbal - (189b). In (190), however, we see that this verb is compatible with agreement, but incompatible with the dative NP, instead of which, it is followed by the oblique *alay*. It would be rather unreasonable and costly to claim that we are dealing with two different verbs in the above

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[71]In section (2.1), it was shown that certain idiomatic unaccusatives in Hebrew are incompatible with agreement. However, such verbs do not require prepositions to Case-mark their indefinite complements. The relevant examples are: (77) and (82a).

[72]The question whether datives are NPs or PPs in Hebrew is irrelevant to the present discussion.

examples and much more plausible to assume these are different manifestations of the same verb with different Case-checking abilities.[73]

The obligatory presence of the semantically vacuous preposition *me-* together with the inability of the verb *nim'as* to appear in agreeing constructions when followed by a dative NP, suggests that in cases like (187), it has no nominative Case-feature, exactly like the verb *nišbar* in (186). As opposed to PPs in (182b) and (183b), the PPs in (186a) and (187a) do not check the inherent component of nominative, simply because the verbs in these instances do not possess a nominative Case-feature.

The presence of these prepositions is required because the verbs are incapable of discharging their inherent Case-feature without a structural Case-checker, as illustrated by the ungrammaticality of (186b) and (187b). The Case we are dealing with in such instances is oblique, and I assume that in oblique Cases, the process of Case-checking is split between V that checks the thematic component and P that checks the structural one. Such examples should be viewed as instances of what Botwinik-Rotem (2004) calls *PP-verbs* – verbs that Case-mark their complements with the help of prepositions.[74] With this analysis in mind, verbs like *nišbar* and *nim'as* should be specified as [+inherent oblique, -inherent nominative].

What the sentences in (186a) and (187a) have in common with those in (182b) – (183b) is that in none of them, the verb requires the assistance of I to discharge its inherent Case-feature because another structural Case-checker - a preposition is available, and the complex that is responsible for Case-checking is V+P, instead of I+V. When no complex of the latter type is formed, the underspecified I surfaces as a default option and licenses pro_{il} to fill its Spec.

The French data in (191) - (192) support the conclusions arrived at on the basis of Hebrew. They show that *il*-constructions are sometimes compatible with passive verbs followed by PPs.

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[73]Entering into the issue of how these two manifestations of the same verb are related would extend this work beyond its intended scope.

[74]These insights are inspired by Reinhart and Siloni's (2005) analysis of oblique Case.

(191) a. Il   sera   procédé   à un réexamen   de cette question
            there will-be proceeded to a   reexamination of this question

     b.*Il   sera   procédé   un réexamen   de cette question
           there will-be proceeded a reexamination   of this question

The verb *procéder* is subcategorized for PP in its active form, as shown in (192). Therefore, it cannot be claimed that this PP checks the inherent component of nominative. In this instance, as with all the transitive verbs, both components of nominative are checked by the I+V complex.

(192)   Nous avons procédé   à   un réexamen   de cette question
           we   have proceeded   to a   reexamination   of this question

In its passive form, this verb retains the above PP, but no longer has the inherent nominative Case-feature because it is not subcategorized for NP. It thus seems that (191a) in French, like (186a) and (187a) in Hebrew, is an example of oblique Case, the checking of which requires the formation of a V+P complex, to check both the inherent and structural components. The PP in this sentence does not check the inherent component of nominative because the verb *procéder* lacks this feature in its passive form.

This conclusion is consistent with the one arrived at in the previous chaper, section (3.4.3), concerning *il*-constructions in French, where it was shown that in contrast to Russian and Hebrew, they have no agreeing counterparts. This deficiency indicates that in French no I+V complex can be formed to check both components of nominative Case when the unaccusative/passive verb is incapable of assigning inherent nominative to its postverbal definite complement, as in (193b).

 (193) a. Il   a   été tué   un homme
            there has   been killed a man

      b.*Il   a   été tué   l' homme
            there has   been killed   the man

The above examples differ from the ones in (191) in the nature of verbs. The verb *tuer*, which is subcategorized for NP, is [+ inherent nominative] in its passive form, as well, and it must discharge this Case-feature. Since the definite NP is invisible to it, the verb requires

the assistance of a structural Case-checker, in order to be able to do so. However, since no dummy preposition is available in this instance, and no I+V complex can be formed, the verb cannot discharge its inherent Case-feature, and the derivation does not converge.

The verb *procéder*, on the other hand, is [- inherent nominative, +inherent oblique] in its passive form, and the preposition *à* is not inserted for the purpose of saving the derivation. The PP is part of the verb's subcategorization frame in both active and passive forms. It thus turns out that in French, *il*-constructions are possible with postverbal PPs instead of NPs only in cases where its unaccusatives/passives lack inherent nominative. The underspecified I that surfaces in these constructions is a default option that shows up because no I+V complex is formed.

To sum up, the difference between *PP-verbs* that check the oblique Case of their complements and other unaccusatives/passives that assign inherent nominative to their complements in Hebrew and French should be specified in the lexicon. Verbs of the latter type are specified as having the inherent nominative Case-feature, i.e., [+ inherent nominative] and are subcaregorized for NP, while verbs of the former type are specified as [- inherent nominative, +inherent oblique] and are subcategorized for PP, which indicates the division of labor between the verb that checks the inherent component of oblique Case and the preposition that checks its structural component.

As for the absence of the agreeing pattern in *il*-constructions with verbs that are [+inherent nominative], independently of the analysis suggested here, it has long been known that in French, I is incapable of entering into a checking relation with an NP situated inside VP.[75] This trait accounts for the absence of the I+V complex in these constructions - a deficiency that is somewhat made up for by the extensive ability of French unaccusative and passive verbs to assign inherent nominative to their postverbal arguments.

4.3   Underspecified I and Quirky Case

In the first chapter of this work, section (1.3), it was shown that languages like Russian and Icelandic allow quirky NPs in the subject position. Those NPs are internal arguments that are Case-marked by the verb in their base position and move to SpecIP to satisfy the EPP.

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[75]See Belletti (1988), for instance.

Their subject status has been established on the basis of their passing various subjecthood tests. In the absence of another argument that gets nominative Case, such constructions always exhibit default agreement. One such example from Russian, discussed there is repeated below with minor variations aimed at simplifying the data.

(194) a. Ivanu   xvata'et   problem
          Ivan DAT   suffices NEUT SG   problems PART-GEN
          'Ivan has enough problems of his own'

       b.*pro$_{il}$ xvata'et   Ivanu   problem
                  suffices NEUT SG   Ivan DAT   problems GEN

The ungrammaticality of (194b) suggests that no pro$_{il}$ is licensed in such cases because if it were, we would not expect A-movement of the dative NP, *Ivanu*, to be obligatory. The question is what makes this pro illicit. It is clear that the verb *xvata'et* has no inherent nominative Case-feature, but it has already been shown that the underspecified I does have a Case-feature, and when the verb or the V+P complex assigns Case to the postverbal argument, the underspecified I needs pro$_{il}$ in its Spec to check the structural component of nominative. To formulate the question more precisely, we must determine what makes the underspecified I, whose Spec is occupied by a quirky NP, different from the underspecified I, whose Spec is occupied by pro$_{il}$. In principle, there could exist two options. Either the underspecified I in such instances has no Case-feature at all, or the Case-feature it is specified for is dative rather than nominative.

Assuming the latter, when the verb assigns inherent dative to its complement, and there is no other complement that requires nominative Case, no I with the nominative Case-feature is licensed, which automatically means that pro$_{il}$ that requires structural nominative cannot be licensed either. Since as suggested above, inside VP, inherent Case is assigned, and no I+V complex is formed to check nominative Case, the syntactic environment necessary for the emergence of the underspecified I is established. However, due to the fact that the inherent Case assigned by the verb is dative rather than nominative, the deficient I that is licensed in such a case is the one that can check the structural component of dative. This I cannot select pro$_{il,}$ compatible only with nominative Case, to fill its Spec. Instead, it attracts the dative NP to that position, and thus, both the EPP and the dative Case-features of I are satisfied. What this I, bearing the dative Case-feature has in common with the deficient I with the nominative Case-feature is that both show up in instances where Case is assigned

inside VP, and no I+V complex is formed, which results in the emergence of I that lacks φ-features in both cases.

The assumption that the underspecified I in (194) has no Case-feature altogether looks rather ad hoc and does not explain the ungrammaticality of (195).

(195) *Problem   xvataet   Ivanu
        problems PART-GEN suffices NEUT SG Ivan DAT

If the underspecified I had only the EPP-feature, it would not be selective with regard to the Case of the NP in its Spec, and we would expect it to allow a partitive –genitive NP in that position. The fact that it does not allow such NP, but does allow a dative NP in (194) seems to suggest that it has a Case-feature, and since it is not nominative, but dative, no pro$_{il}$ is licensed in SpecIP.

Evidence for the above assumption can be found in the Russian data from Franks (1995) and Moore and Perlmutter (2000), as presented in Sigurðsson (2002). Franks shows that in sentences like (196), the dative NP is a subject, which is not lexically selected by the verb, and because of that it can combine with most infinitives in Russian.

(196)   Mne   uxodit'
          me DAT to-leave
          'I have to leave'

Similarly, Moore and Perlmutter claim that most Russian infinitives can combine with dative NPs to express a certain deontic modality of obligation or destiny, which is best captured with 'in the cards' translation, as shown in (197).

(197) Borisu   ne   istratit' tak mnogo deneg   na sebja
        Boris DAT NEG to-spend so much   money GEN on himself
        'It is not in the cards for Boris to spend so much money on himself'

According to the authors, such dative NPs pass various subjecthood tests, which is why it would be reasonable to assume that they occupy the SpecIP position.

In contrast, to (194), where the verb assigns inherent dative Case to the NP, *Ivanu*, the dative NPs in (196) - (197) are not lexically selected by the verbs. Hence, it appears that in

such cases the infinitival I in Russian checks the structural dative of the NP in its Spec. Moreover, since like the underspecified I discussed in this work, the infinitival I is not specified for φ-features either, and the only difference between the two lies in the feature [+/-tense], it seems plausible to suggest that if the infinitival I is capable of checking structural dative, so is the underspecified I in tensed clauses.

Icelandic is a language that allows a larger variety of non-nominative NPs in SpecIP. The original Icelandic examples numbered (6) - (8), are repeated in (198) - (200), respectively.

(198)   a. Mér   kólnar
            me DAT is getting cold

        b. Þeim   var hjálpað
           them DAT was helped
           'They were helped'

(199)   Hana   vantaði vinnu
        her ACC lacked   job ACC
        'She lacked/needed a job'

(200)   Hennar   var saknað
        her GEN was missed
        'She was missed'

As opposed to Russian, whose quirky subjects can only be dative, Icelandic has also accusative and genitive subjects, (199) - (200). If the suggestion, regarding the underspecified I with a dative Case-feature in Russian is on the right track, it would mean that in Icelandic, the underspecified I can possess accusative and genitive Case-features, and what distinguishes languages with quirky subjects from those where such subjects do not exist is the ability of the underspecified I to check Cases other than nominative. Alternatively, it could be claimed that the structural component of various quirky Cases is checked by affixes. However, this matter cannot be investigated in this work for scope reasons, and I leave it for future research.

In the meantime, sentences with quirky subjects and verbs that possess no nominative Case-feature support the conclusions arrived at with respect to the distribution of the

underspecified I, which invariably surfaces in all the instances where no I+V complex is formed to check the structural and inherent components of nominative Case. A similar observation was made in Vainikka and Maling (1996), who also note a connection between a lack of agreement and inherent Case and claim that NPs bearing inherent (lexically assigned) Case block verbal agreement cross-linguistically.

In the first chapter, example (16), repeated in (201) in a modified version, it was shown that Russian also has sentences with quirky subjects where nominative Case shows up on another NP.

(201) a. Ivanu   ponravilsja   dom
         Ivan DAT   liked MASC SG   house NOM MASC SG
         'Ivan liked the house'

      b.*pro$_{there}$ ponravilsja   Ivanu   dom
              liked MASC SG   Ivan DAT house NOM MASC SG

The verb *ponravilsja* takes two internal complements: an experiencer and a theme. The theme gets nominative Case in its base position from the I+V complex, hence the postverbal agreement, while the experiencer, which is assigned dative by the verb, moves to SpecIP. No pro$_{there}$ is licensed in such a case because the EPP is satisfied by the dative NP, attracted by I to its Spec. The crucial point here is that when the verb assigns inherent Case to one of its arguments, it cannot assign inherent nominative to another. Consequently, it is incompatible with the underspecified I. Such verb requires the assistance of I to discharge the inherent component of nominative and selects a fully specified I to form the I+V nominative checking complex. This analysis also explains why the underspecified I is impossible with transitive verbs, where the external argument is always nominative.

To sum up, sentences with quirky subjects support my claim that the underspecified I surfaces when no I+V complex, aimed at checking the structural and inherent components of nominative Case is formed. Together with all the conclusions arrived at in the previous sections of this chapter, sentences with quirky subjects show that when arguments of unaccusative/passive verbs are Case-marked inside VP, be it by the verb or by the V+P complex, the underspecified I invariably emerges.

4.4   Underspecified I and Structural Nominative

In the previous chapter, it was argued that in French, Russian and Hebrew the underspecified I shows up in sentences with weather predicates, temporal predicates and predicates that take clausal complements. The original (153), (156) and (164) are repeated in (202) - (204).

(202)   a. Il pleut/   neige
            it is raining / snowing

        b. Il fait   chaud/froid dehors
           it makes hot/ cold   outside
           'It is hot/cold outside'

        c. Il était trop tard
           it was too late

        d. Il est clair que Jean est intelligent.
            it is clear that Jean is intelligent

        e. Il est nécessaire de chanter
           it is necessary   for to-sing
           'It is necessary to sing'

(203)   a. pro$_{il}$ poxolodalo
            it   became-cold NEUT SG
           'It became cold'

        b. pro$_{il}$ moros'it
           it   is drizzling NEUT SG
           'It is drizzling'

        c. pro$_{il}$ xolodno /žarko na   ulice
           it   cold   / hot   on street
           'It is cold/hot outside'

        d. pro$_{il}$ bylo   očen' pozdno/sliškom rano
           it   was NEUT SG   very   late   / too   early
           'It was very late/too early'

        e. pro$_{il}$ vyjasnilos'   čto Maša   zabol'ela
           it   became-clear NEUT SG   that Masha NOM got-sick FEM SING
           'It turned out that Maša got sick'

f. pro$_{il}$ bylo   žalko   tratit'   vremja popustu
     it   was NEUT SG   pity   to-waste time   in vain
     'It was a pity to waste time in vain'

(204) a. pro$_{il}$ hexšix
          it   grew-dark 3rd person MASC SG

     b. pro$_{il}$ ihiye   kar/xam   ba-   xuc
          it   will-be 3rd person MASC SG cold/hot   in-the outside
          'It will be cold/hot outside'

     c. pro$_{il}$ haya   me'uxar
          it   was MASC   late
     d. pro$_{il}$ barur   še Moše   ohev et Šula
          it   clear 3rd person MASC SG that Moses loves et Shula
          'It is clear that Moses loves Shula'

     e. pro$_{il}$ haya carix   la'avod kaše
          it   was   necessary to-work hard

The fact that the underspecified I invariably surfaces in the above constructions is hardly surprising because in none of them the I+V complex is formed. According to my analysis, this comlex is formed once the verb has to discharge its inherent nominative Case and cannot do so without the help of I. However, in order to have such Case-feature the verb must be subcategorized for an NP to which it can be assigned. Since in all the above examples, there is no verb that takes an NP complement, there can be no question of inherent nominative assignment. The verbs in these constructions are either weather verbs, or the verb *be* that has no θ-role to assign, or verbs that assign a θ-role to a clause and not to an NP, as in (203e).[76] Having no inherent Case-feature to discharge, the above verbs do not select a fully specified I. The underspecified I surfaces as a default option and checks its Case and EPP-features against pro$_{il}$. The claim that this type of I is a default option is further supported by sentences like (203c) in Russian and ((204d) in Hebrew, where the underspecified I emerges when no verb is present at all.

Finally, although this analysis of the sentences in (202) - (204) suggests that in such instances only the structural component of nominative Case is checked, it does not contradict the theory of Reinhart and Siloni (2005), who claim that the inherent component of Case has to be universal. If the inherent component of Case is an implementation of the

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[76]I assume that clausal arguments require nothing beyond thematic licensing.

θ-criterion, there can be no question of its assignment if the verb's θ-grid contains no argument to which it can be assigned. It thus turns out that when the inherent component of nominative is checked, its structural component must be checked as well; however, there are cases where the structural component of nominative is checked without the inherent one.

5. Case-Checking Mechanism of Inherent and Structural Nominative

The purpose of this chapter is to complete the picture of the Case-checking mechanism of both components of nominative Case across languages. In the first part of this chapter, it will be shown how this mechanism operates in languages where no underspecified I exists and what economy condition should be stipulated to avoid overgeneration. The last two sections of this chapter deal with two unresolved matters that have arisen in the process of developing this theory: the verb *be* and unergative verbs as Case-assigners.

5.1 Fully Specified I and Inherent Nominative

Having dealt with languages where the underspecified I is an available option, it is time to return to English and Italian - two languages, which do not allow the underspecified I in tensed clauses. The fact that pro$_{there}$/*there*-constructions in Italian and English do not have non-agreeing counterparts does not mean that English and Italian unaccusatives do not assign inherent nominative to their complements. If that were the case, the adjacency requirement exhibited by the unaccusatives in English and the DE in both languages would remain unexplained.

The fact that Case-assignment in English is subject to an adjacency requirement has become a matter of consensus by now. In section (2.3), it was shown that it affects the unaccusative verbs in *there*-constructions. (The examples below appeared in (113) - (114), respectively.)

(205) a. There always arise bitter arguments about politics at Dan's parties.
　　　b.*There arise always bitter arguments about politics at Dan's parties.

(206) a. There usually arrives a bus at this time.
　　　b.*There arrives usually a bus at this time.

The ungrammaticality of (205b) and (206b) becomes clear if we assume that the adverb, interfering between the verb and its complement prevents the former from Case-marking the latter.

In the same section, it was also shown that these constructions in English and Italian are subject to the DE. The original English examples in (117) are repeated in (207), and their Italian counterparts, numbered (118) – (119) originally, are repeated in (208) - (209), respectively.

(207) a. There are three men in the garden.
     b.*There are the three men in the garden.

(208) a. pro$_{there}$ è stato messo un libro sul tavolo
                is been put   a   book on table
      'A book has been put on the table'

      b.*pro$_{there}$ è   stato messo il libro sul tavolo
                 is   been put   the book on table

(209) a.All'improvviso pro$_{there}$ è entrato un uomo   dalla finestra
      suddenly   is entered a   man   from window
      'A man suddenly entered from the window'

      b.*All'improvviso pro$_{there}$ è entrato   l'uomo dalla finestra
       suddenly   is entered the man from window

The definite NPs in (207b) - (209b) are invisible to the above verbs for the purpose of Case-marking. These verbs cannot discharge their nominative Case-feature and the NPs remain Caseless.

Unless we assume that the DE in the above constructions results from the inability of English and Italian unaccusatives/passives to Case-mark their definite complements, exactly like in French, Russian and Hebrew, we reduce this striking similarity to mere coincidence and miss important cross-linguistic generalizations.

The difference between Hebrew, French and Russian, on the one hand, and English and Italian, on the other hand, lies in the absence of the underspecified I in the latter two, as was shown in the previous chapters. However, this fact does not indicate that their unaccusatives/passives are not Case-assigners. It only shows that whether or not I is

specified for φ-features in such constructions is subject to parametrization. These considerations render it plausible to assume that inherent nominative is assigned by English and Italian unaccusatives as well, though the different feature-specification of I in these languages makes the checking process slightly different.

When the verb assigns inherent nominative to its complement, a fully specified I - the only existing option, invariably emerges. This I checks its Case and φ-features against the matching features of the postverbal NP that has already been assigned inherent nominative by the verb. As opposed to French, Russian and Colloquial Hebrew, in the English and Italian unaccusative/passive constructions, the postverbal NP enters separately into a checking relation with the fully specified I in addition to its being assigned inherent nominative by the verb. It thus turns out that the same NP enters into a checking relation with two Case-checkers: with the verb - to check the inherent component of nominative and with I to check the structural component of this Case.

This behavior is not a function of the needs of the postverbal NP, for it makes no difference to it whether its Case is checked by an inherent Case-checker or a structural one, as observed by Reinhart and Siloni (2005). This checking relation is dictated by the needs of the fully specified I, which automatically enters into a checking relation with the first available NP. This NP checks its Case and φ-features, and in order to check its last uninterpretable feature - the EPP, the fully specified I selects an expletive that answers only this need, namely, *there*/pro*there*.

The crucial point, however, is that in spite of the fact that English and Italian do not have an underspecified I in tensed clauses, and therefore, do not exhibit default agreement, what these two languages have in common with Russian, Colloquial Hebrew and French is that in all these languages when the conditions for the assignment of inherent nominative are met, it is assigned by the verb alone, and not by the I+V complex.

Another interesting parallel between English and French is that in English, when the verb cannot discharge its inherent nominative, like in (205b) - (207b), no I+V complex can be formed to save the derivation, exactly like was noted in section (4.2) with respect to *il*-constructions in French, repeated in (210) below.

(210) a. Il   a   été tué   un homme
         there has been killed a   man

     b.*Il   a   été tué   l' homme
        there has been killed the man

This similarity indicates that English unaccusatives that appear in *there*-constructions must assign inherent nominative to their complement, exactly like their French counterparts that appear in *il*-constructions. The difference between the two languages lies in the fact that in French, this Case-assigning ability characterizes a larger variety of unaccusatives and passives, which is why they are able to appear in *il*-constructions, while in English, it is an idiosyncratic property of a very small number of unaccusatives. Consequently, the distribution *there*-constructions is extremely limited, as was shown in section (3.1).

The suggestion that English unaccusatives that appear in *there*-constructions must assign inherent nominative to their complement, and therefore, they do not form an I+V complex, is supported by instances of a Heavy NP Shift in (211b).

 (211) a.*There hung the coat on the wall.
        b. There hung on the wall [the flag of the country that John had fled].

(Belletti 1988:9, fn.20)

The reason for the ungrammaticality of (211a) has become clear by now. The definite NP is invisible to the verb for the purpose of Case-marking: the verb cannot discharge its Case-feature and the NP cannot get its Case checked. No I+V complex can be formed to check both components of nominative Case. In contrast, (211b) is grammatical in spite of the fact that the postverbal NP is definite and not adjacent to the verb. The different grammatical status of these examples can be accounted for by the different position of the relevant NPs. In (211a), the definite complement is situated in its base position, while in (211b), it complement has undergone a Heavy NP Shift, by means of which it has been extracted from its base position and presumably adjoined to VP. The fact that in the derived position, we see neither adjacency effect nor DE, suggests that these effects are relevant only to the NP_2 position, as illustrated in (212).[77]

(212) $[_{VP} V NP_2]$

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[77]For a similar explanation, see Belletti (1988) and Vainikka and Maling (1996), footnote 30.

Since the above restrictions that appear in Case-assigning configurations apply only to the NP$_2$ position, it may be concluded that English unaccusatives that appear in *there*-constructions must assign inherent nominative only in that position, which is why they are unable to form an I+V complex when the NP$_2$ position is occupied. If, however, the argument has moved from that position, this stipulation is no longer valid. There is no candidate for the verb to assign inherent nominative Case to in the NP$_2$ position. Nevertheless, it still has to discharge its inherent nominative Case-feature, so the I+V complex is formed, both the structural and inherent components of nominative Case are checked against the heavy NP in its derived position, and the derivation converges.

In conclusion, in spite of a lack of the underspecified I in English and Italian, there are good reasons to assume that unaccusative verbs in these two languages (in Italian it is also true of passives) assign inherent nominative to their complements, similarly to French, Colloquial Hebrew and Russian. Moreover, the English data indicate that the relevant position for this Case-assignment is NP$_2$.

The most important conclusion arrived at based on the the above observations is that in all the languages examined here, once the unaccusative/passive verb assigns inherent nominative to its complement, it is no longer able to form an I+V complex. As a result of that, the structural component of nominative is checked separately by I, be it underspecified like in Russian, French and Colloquial Hebrew or fully specified, like in English and Italian.

If we dismissed the assumption that such verbs are Case-assigners in English and Italian as well, we might miss an important generalization that this quality appears to be universal. The DE exhibited by *there/*pro$_{there}$-constructions in English and Italian and *il/*pro$_{il}$-constructions in French, Russian and Colloquial Hebrew along with the adjacency requirement, which pro$_{il}$-constructions in Russian and *there*-constructions in English are subject to, would remain a puzzle. The similarities are too striking to give up the assumption that they stem from Case-assigning properties of unaccusatives/passives in **all** the languages studied here.

The conclusions reached in the process of developing the theory presented in this work are summarized in (213) below.

(213)

	Expletive	I	V / Pred.	Complement	Language
a	there/pro_there [EPP-feature]	I [EPP-feature, Str. Nom., φ-features]	I+V [+Str. Nom., +Inher. Nom.] V[+Inher. Nom.]	NP	Russian, Hebrew
b	there/pro_there [EPP-feature]	I [EPP-feature, Str. Nom., φ-features]	V[+Inher. Nom.]	NP	English, Italian
c	it/pro_it [EPP-feature, Case-feature, φ-features]	I [EPP-feature, Str. Nom., φ-features]	V/Pred.[-Inher. Nom.]	*NP (CP)	English, Italian
d	il/pro_il [EPP-feature, Case-feature]	I [EPP-feature, Str. Nom.]	V[+Inher. Nom.]	NP	Russian, French, Colloquial Hebrew
			V[+Inher. Nom.] V+P [P[+Str. Case], +Inher. Nom., +Str. Case]	PP	Colloquial Hebrew
e	il/pro_il [EPP-feature, Case-feature]	I [EPP-feature, Str. Nom.]	V[-Inher. Nom., +Inher. Oblique] V+P [P[+Str. Oblique], +Inher. Oblique, +Str. Oblique]	PP	French, Hebrew
f	il/pro_il [EPP-feature, Case-feature]	I [EPP-feature, Str. Nom.]	V/Pred.[-Inher. Nom.]	*NP (CP)	Russian, French, Hebrew

In the next section it will be shown that in addition to the analysis suggested here, we must rely on considerations of economy in order to avoid overgeneration.

5.2   Merge-over-Move

Bearing in mind the ability of certain Colloquial Hebrew unaccusatives to assign inherent nominative to their postverbal arguments, as in (214a), why are (214b) and (214c) ungrammatical?[78]

(214) a. pro_{il} kara   kama   dvarim
                 happened 3rd person MASC SG several things NOM
          'Several things happened'

    b.*ani   roce   [[kama   dvarim]$_i$ likrot t$_i$]
         I NOM want MASC SG   several things NOM   to-happen

    c. *ani   roce   [likrot   kama   dvarim   ]
         I NOM want MASC SG   to-happen several things NOM

The ungrammaticality of the above sentences is Case-related. When the unaccusative verb assigns inherent nominative to its complement, there still remains the structural component of this Case that requires separate checking, as was concluded in (4.4). In (214a), this is exactly what happens: the underspecified tensed I checks this component against $\text{pro}_{il.}$ In (214b) and (214c), on the other hand, the structural component of nominative cannot be checked, for the embedded I is [-tense] and is incapable of doing so because it has no structural nominative Case-feature, while the Case-feature of the matrix I is checked by the pronoun *ani*.[79]

The analysis of Hazout (1995) introduced in (2.4.1), also implies that when an unaccusative verb Case-marks its complement, the structural component of nominative has to be checked as well. Though he does not say that explicitly, this assumption lies behind his *Nominative Rule,* presented in (125) and repeated in (215) below.

[78]I thank Tal Siloni for drawing my attention to this kind of examples.

[79]The ungrammaticality of (214c) can also be viewed as a violation of the EPP. If the NP, *kama dvarim*, remains in situ, where it is assigned inherent nominative by the verb *likrot*, the embedded SpecIP remains empty. It cannot be occupied by PRO since there is no expletive PRO, and pro cannot be licensed in this position since I is [-tense].

(215) Coindex a nominative NP with the first c-commanding AGR [that has features to share].

The fact that the structural component of nominative requires checking in addition to the inherent one is also exhibited by the raising constructions in (216a). When the verb *likrot* is embedded under a raising predicate and its complement remains in situ, as in (216a), the sentence is grammatical, in contrast to (215c).

(216) a. pro$_{il}$ omed/asui/alul   [t likrot   kama   dvarim   ]
         bound/may MASC SG   to-happen several things NOM
      'Several things are bound to/may happen'

     b.*pro$_{il}$ omed/asui/alul   [[kama   dvarim]$_i$ likrot t$_i$]
         bound/may MASC SG   several things NOM to-happen

This contrast can be accounted for rather easily. Although in both cases, the embedded I is [-tense] and cannot check the structural component of nominative, the matrix I in (216a) is in need of a candidate that will check this feature. The expletive that may not remain in the embedded SpecIP of the infinitival clause anyway, moves to the matrix SpecIP, and thus a checking relation is established. Due to the fact that in (216a), both the structural and inherent components of nominative Case are checked, the sentence is grammatical.

To sum up, it has become clear by now that although there are good reasons to assume that unaccusative/passive verbs assign inherent nominative Case to their complement, the derivation does not converge if the structural component of this Case remains unchecked. What still has to be thought of is the licensing condition that has to be formulated on the basis of the above observation.

Another question that should be dealt with is the ungrammaticality of (216b), where the expletive is merged in the matrix SpecIP and the embedded SpecIP is filled with the NP, *kama dvarim*, which moves there from its base position in order to satisfy the EPP. One reason for this ungrammaticality has already been discussed in chapter 2, sections (2.1) and (2.4.1). Having been assigned inherent nominative by the verb, *kama dvarim* has no unchecked uninterpretable features and has no reason to move. As for the embedded I and

its EPP-feature, Chomsky (1995) explains that considerations of economy account for the reason why (216a) is preferred to (216b).[80]

In cases like (216a&b) the numeration contains both the NP, *kama dvarim*, and pro$_{il}$. Consequently, when the embedded IP is built, a priori, there exist two options: either to merge the above expletive in its Spec to satisfy the EPP and then move it to the matrix SpecIP to check structural nominative and the EPP, leaving the postverbal NP in situ, as in (216a), or to move the NP from its postverbal base position to the embedded SpecIP to satisfy the EPP and to merge pro$_{il}$ in the matrix SpecIP for the EPP and Case-reasons, (216b).

Chomsky claims that Merge should be preferred over Move since lexical insertion is a simpler operation than movement. (This economy condition is often referred to as Merge-over-Move). Thus, the possibility of expletive insertion into the embedded SpecIP in (216a) blocks NP movement, accounting for the ungrammaticality of (216b).

Exactly the same behavior is exhibited by raising constructions in English - (217) and Italian - (218).

(217) a. There seems [t to be a man in the garden]
       b.*There seems [a man$_i$ to be t$_i$ in the garden]

(218) a. pro$_{there}$ sembrano [t essere arrivati tre ragazzi]
              seem   to-be   arrived three boys
          'There seem to have arrived three boys'

     b. *pro$_{there}$ sembrano [[tre ragazzi]$_i$ essere arrivati t$_i$]
              seem   three boys   to-be arrived

The above examples show that the option of merging *there*/pro$_{there}$ in the embedded SpecIP and its subsequent movement to the matrix SpecIP is preferred to the movement of the postverbal NP which has no reason to move, having been assigned inherent nominative, exactly like in Hebrew.

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[80]His explanation is based on the English examples discussed below.

In conclusion, when an unaccusative/passive verb assigns inherent nominative to its complement, the structural component of this Case must be checked separately. This requirement combined with the EPP and Chomsky's economy condition, Merge-over-Move, accounts for the data analyzed in this work and prevents overgeneration.

5.3   The Verb *Be* as a Case-Assigner

The assumption that, like other unaccusative verbs, the verb *be* is capable of assigning inherent nominative Case to the postverbal NP in sentences like (219) poses two problems.[81]

(219) There will be a man available

First, the verb *be* assigns no θ-roles, and if, as assumed here, following Reinhart and Siloni (2005), the inherent component of Case is a reflection of the θ-criterion, how can such a verb be able to check the inherent component of Case? Secondly, it has been suggested by Chomsky (1986a) that the standard configuration for inherent Case-assignment is the head-complement relation between assigner and assignee, while the NP in cases like (219) cannot be considered the complement of *be* even in a strictly structural sense. It has been shown by various linguists that it is the subject of a small clause, and the structure of (219) is (220).[82]

(220) There will be [$_{SC}$ a man available]

Lasnik (1995) distinguishes between the verb *be* and other unaccusative verbs, claiming that while the latter are contentful verbs, the former is a "light verb". He adopts the analysis of Saito and Hoshi (1994), which concentrates on the Japanese light verb constructions, and suggests that in cases like (220), the next lower predicate *available* raises covertly to the light verb *be* forming a merged predicate. This predicate combines the Case-feature of *be* with the θ-marking property of *available*, satisfying all the requirements that are necessary for inherent Case-marking. The author also claims that the merged predicate raises covertly

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[81]The forthcoming analysis does not apply to *be* of identity in sentences like the one presented below, since its discussion goes beyond the scope of this work.
  It is John
[82]See Stowell (1981), Safir (1987), Lasnik (1992) and Rothstein (1995) for arguments in support of the small clause analysis in such constructions.

to Agr_o and the NP, *a man* – to $SpecAgr_o$.[83] Since such raising process is limited to light predicates only, it cannot take place with contentful unaccusatives.[84]

Although Lasnik's analysis is extremely important because it shows how it is possible for the verb *be* to assign inherent Case without being a θ-role assigner in sentences like (220), it cannot account for the postverbal agreement exhibited by the sentences in (221a&b). When he came up with the above analysis, the author still believed that the associate of *there* raises covertly to satisfy the LF affixal requirement of the latter, a suggestion that was abandoned by the author himself in Lasnik (1999) and discussed at length in the first chapter.

(221) a. There has been a book put on the table
     b.*There has been books put on the table
     c.*There has been put a book on the table

In the framework of the analysis suggested in this work, the above data receive a somewhat different explanation, assuming together with Lasnik (1995), that the structure of (221a) is as shown in (222).

(222) There has been [$_{SC}$ a book$_i$ put t_i on the table]

Similarly, to (220), where the NP, *a man*, receives its θ-role from the adjective *available,* which has no Case-assigning properties, in (222), the passive verb *put*, which assigns a θ-role to the NP, *a book*, is incapable of assigning inherent nominative Case to it since passive verbs in English do not seem to have this ability.[85] Consequently, this function is fulfilled by the verb *been*. Thus, the passive verb *put* raises covertly to this light verb to create a Case-checking configuration. However, since Case-assignment in English is

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[83]The plausibility of this suggestion with respect to Russian unergatives will be discussed in the next section.
[84]Recall that Lasnik believes that unaccusatives and the verb *be* assign inherent partitive in the spirit of Belletti (1988). In this work, it is also believed that such verbs are inherent Case-assigners, but for reasons mentioned earlier, it is suggested that the Case in question is inherent nominative.
[85]The different grammatical status of the pairs of sentences presented below supports this claim.

(i) a. There were two books left on the table
   b.*There were left two books on the table

(ii) a. There was a man killed
    b.*There was killed a man

subject to the adjacency requirement, the NP has to be adjacent to its Case-assigner, the verb *been*, which accounts for the different grammatical status of (221a) and (221c).

The above analysis receives further support from Italian. As noted by Belletti (1988), Lasnik (1995) and other linguists, in contrast to English passives, their Italian counterparts are Case-assigners, which is why in (223), the postverbal NP remains in situ, as opposed to (222) in English.

(223) pro_{there} è stato messo un libro sul tavolo
           is been put   a   book on table

Moreover, Lasnik shows that in Italian, the NP *un libro* must remain in its base position. The sentence in (224) indicates that an attempt to move this NP to the subject position of a small clause results in ungrammaticality.

(224) *È stato un libro messo sul tavolo
      is been a book put   on table

With the analysis suggested in this work, this ungrammaticality is easily accounted for. The structure of (223) is as illustrated in (225).

(225) pro_{there} è stato [_{SC} t messo [_{NP2} un libro] sul tavolo]

The postverbal NP, *un libro,* is merged in the NP_2 position in the small clause, where it is assigned inherent nominative by the verb, and hence has no reason to move. Pro_{there} is merged in the subject position of the small clause and then moves to the matrix SpecIP, in compliance with Merge-over-Move. As shown in the previous section, this option is preferred to the overt movement of *un libro*, accounting for the ungrammaticality of (224).

In conclusion, passive verbs in English are not Case-assigners. However, inherent nominative is assigned in these constructions by the light verb *be* that forms a complex predicate with the passive verb, which like predicative adjectives, raises to join this light verb covertly. This newly formed complex predicate possesses both a θ-role and a Case-assigning ability, necessary for the assignment of inherent nominative.

5.4   Unergative Verbs and Inherent Nominative

Having established that there are good reasons to suggest that unaccusative and passive verbs in Russian, French and Italian, as well as certain unaccusative verbs in Colloquial Hebrew and unaccusative verbs that appear in *there*-constructions in English assign inherent nominative to their argument in the NP_2 position, the last question that has to be examined is whether unergative verbs in these languages are capable of assigning inherent nominative to their external argument. Based on the VP-Internal Subject Hypothesis, this argument is merged in the NP_1 position, as shown in (226), and the question is whether inherent nominative is available there.

(226) $[_{VP} NP_1 V]$

The Hebrew data indicate that in this language, the answer to the above question is negative. Recall that it has been suggested in this work that the assignment of inherent nominative by the verb in this language is contingent upon the appearance of the underspecified I that selects pro_{il} to fill its Spec. If Hebrew unergatives were Case-assigners, we would expect to find sentences like (227a) in this language, under the assumption that the verb does not raise to I, or sentences like (227b), if we assume that it does.

(227) a.*pro_{il} talmidim xadašim   avad   kaše
           pupils   new NOM PL   worked 3rd person MASC SG hard

   b.*pro_{il} avad   talmidim xadašim   kaše
        worked 3rd person MASC SG pupils   new NOM PL   hard

   c. talmidim xadašim   avdu   kaše
      pupils   new NOM PL worked 3rd person PL hard
      'New pupils worked hard'

The fact that structures of the (227a&b) type are never possible shows that arguments of unergative verbs in Hebrew must end up in SpecIP, as in (227c), because in their base position they are Caseless. Assuming that every Case has both inherent and structural components, the two components of nominative are checked in SpecIP by the I+V complex. In compliance with the theory developed here, when the I+V complex is formed,

the underspecified I is impossible; consequently, no pro$_{il}$ can be licensed, and the movement of the NP in question is driven by both the EPP and Case-requirements.

However, the above analysis is still insufficient to explain why in (227c), both components of nominative cannot be checked in situ by the I+V complex. In other words, what prevents us from assuming that the structure of (227c) is (228)?[86]

(228) *pro$_{there}$ [$_I$·I [$_{VP}$ talmidim xadašim   avdu   kaše]]
                        pupils   new NOM PL worked 3rd person PL   hard

The above question becomes even more intriguing when we recall that with passives that are not Case-assigners in Hebrew and unaccusatives, which do not assign inherent nominative, the postverbal argument is Case-marked in situ by the I+V complex. This Case-checking configuration characterizes the phenomenon of *simple inversion*, instances of which are very common in Hebrew and are allowed only with unaccusative and passive verbs. These instances, already dealt with in (121) - (122), are repeated in (229) - (230), respectively.

(229) a. nišbar mašehu
          broke something
          'Something broke'

      b. neecru   šloša xayalim ba-   hafgana
         were-arrested three soldiers at-the demonstration
         'There were three soldiers arrested at the demonstration'

      c. hit'alfu šloša xayalim ba-   hafgana
         fainted three soldiers at-the demonstration
         'Three soldiers fainted at the demonstration'

(230) nišma   cilcul pa'amon
      was heard   ringing bell
      'The ringing of a bell was heard'

The reason why Hebrew allows such constructions only when the postverbal subject is an internal argument lies in the compatibility of its unaccusatives and passives with pro$_{there.}$ When this expletive is present to satisfy the EPP, both components of nominative Case are checked in situ by the I+V complex, and the postverbal NP remains in its base position. As

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[86]Under the assumption that the verb does not raise to I.

opposed to that, unergative verbs in Hebrew are incompatible with pro$_{there}$, exactly like their English counterparts, which are never possible with *there*. Due to the fact that neither pro$_{il}$, nor pro$_{there}$ is licensed in Hebrew when the verb is unergative, the external argument has to move to SpecIP to satisfy the EPP.

Another type of postverbal subjects in Hebrew appears in the so-called *stylistic* or *triggered inversion*, which is licensed only if there is some XP immediately preceding the verb, as was originally shown in (123). The XP trigger is the only way that enables the subject of an unergative verb to appear postverbally - (231a), while in its absence, no inversion is possible - (231b).

(231) a. ba-   mesiba rakdu   šloša yeladim
          at-the party   danced 3rd person PL three children NOM
          'Three children danced at the party'

      b.*rakdu   šloša yeladim   ba-   mesiba
          danced three children NOM at-the party

According to Shlonsky and Doron (1992), *stylistic inversion* involves V-raising out of IP and subject raising to SpecIP, since no expletive is selected. These findings support my conclusion that Hebrew unergatives are incompatible with pro$_{there}$. Furthermore, they suggest that the availability of expletives is determined not only by the checking needs of I, but also by the diathesis of the verb.

Having established that Hebrew and English unergatives are not Case-assigners and that they are incompatible with expletives, the Russian data in (232) seem to be rather puzzling.

(232) a. V kupe /*   **pro$_{il}$ sidelo**   [$_{NOM}$ pjat' passažirov   ]
          in compartment   sat NEUT SG   five passengers GEN PL
          'Five passengers sat in the compartment'

      b. V zale /*   **pro$_{il}$ tancevalo**   [$_{NOM}$ sem'   par   ]
          in hall   danced NEUT SG   seven couples GEN PL
          'Seven couples danced the hall'

The non-agreeing pattern exhibited by the above constructions points at the presence of the

underspecified I, which as suggested in this work, appears in cases where the inherent and structural components of nominative are checked separately: the former by the verb and the latter by the underspecified I. Thus, in contrast to unergative constructions in Hebrew, Russian unergatives do seem to Case-mark their argument and license pro_{il}. Nevertheless, the above constructions are also reminiscent of the cases of *stylistic inversion* in Hebrew, resorting to a trigger, without which, an external argument cannot appear postverbally. A plausible explanation of the above data would be to assume that the verb undergoes overt movement to some intermediate functional projection, like Agr_o in the spirit of Lasnik's suggestion, discussed in connection with merged English predicates in the previous section. The question why such movement is necessary in order for unergatives to Case-mark their arguments requires further investigation.

Moreover, what makes the assumption that Russian unergatives assign inherent nominative postverbally even more plausible is the fact that if one of the conditions for such Case-assignment is not met, for example, when the quantifier constraint is violated, the non-agreeing pattern is impossible, (cf. (233a&b).

(233) a. V kupe   **sideli** /*sidelo $_{NOM}$[pjanye   passažiry]
         in compartment sat PL/ sat NEUT SG   drunk PL passengers PL
         'Drunk passengers sat in the compartment'

     b. V zale **tancevali** /*tancevalo $_{NOM}$ [molodye pary]
        in hall danced PL/   danced NEUT SG   young PL couples PL
        'Young couples danced in the hall'

The above agreeing constructions behave exactly like instances of *stylistic inversion* in Hebrew: they do not license pro_{there}, the postverbal NP ends up in SpecIP and the verb raises out of IP. This conclusion is based on the fact that such NPs can bind anaphors only in agreeing constructions but not in the non-agreeing constructions of the (232) type, as illustrated in (234).

(234) a. V kupe   **sideli**   [$_{NOM}$ pjat' passažirov]$_i$ na svoix$_i$ čemodanax
          in compartment sat PL   five passengers on [+REFL] suitcases
          'Five passengers sat on their own suitcases in the compartment'

     b. *V kupe   **pro$_{il}$ sidelo**   [$_{NOM}$ pjat' passažirov]$_i$ na svoix$_i$ čemodanax
        in compartment   sat NEUT SG   five passengers   on [+REFL] suitcases

The difference between the above binding phenomena can partially be accounted for if we assume that in (234a) the postverbal NP ends up in SpecIP - a position where it checks both components of nominative Case and binds the anaphor. However, what still remains to be thought about is why the postverbal NP in (234b) is incapable of binding the anaphor, bearing in mind that segments of the same category do not block c-command , as was shown in the first chapter with respect to unaccusatives.

Finally, there remains the issue of French unergatives and their Case-assigning ability. Reinhart and Siloni (2005) claim that the sentences in (235) are marginally acceptable.

(235) a.?Il   s' est dénoncé   trois mille   hommes ce mois-ci
            there SE is denounced three thousand men   this month-here
            'Three thousand men denounced themselves this month'

       b.?Il   s'est lavé   beaucoup de tourists dans ces   douches publiques, recemment
            there SE-is washed many   tourists in   these showers public   recently
            'Many tourists washed in these public showers recently'

The questionable status of these sentences makes it difficult to form a firm opinion with regard to French unergatives. However, to the extent that they are possible, it would be reasonable to assume that they behave similarly to their Russian counterparts in (232), with one difference: French unergatives do not require a trigger to raise out of VP. If, however, they are impossible, the most reasonable explanation would be that French unergatives do not Case-mark their subject, exactly like their Hebrew and English counterparts. I leave this matter, together with the Case-assigning ability of Russian unergatives, with respect to which quite a few questions remain unanswered, for future research.

6. Conclusion

One of the basic premises that lies behind this research is the conviction that a comparative analysis of languages with overt syntactic phenomena helps us gain insights into languages where such phenomena are covert, giving rise to important cross-linguistic generalizations.

Following this guideline, it was shown that there are good reasons to regard the EPP as an independent principle of grammar not only in languages with overt expletives, such as English and French, but also in Hebrew, Italian and Russian - languages where these

expletives are not realized overtly. In compliance with this principle, it was suggested that if the functional head, I, requires that its Spec be filled, it is only natural for its feature-specification to dictate the feature-specification of the element it is filled with.

A close examination of the syntactic environments of expletives and the functional head that licenses them reveals that there are languages in which I is not always specified for φ-features in tensed clauses. The underspecified I surfaces as a default option when its assistance in checking the inherent component of nominative Case is not required. It happens in instances where Case is assigned VP-internally or no Case is assigned by the verb at all, either because it has no Case-feature (e.g. weather verbs) or because the verb is absent altogether. The morphology of Russian was instrumental in reaching this conclusion and extending it to French and Hebrew.

In languages like Italian and English, where the underspecified I is non-existent, no default agreement is possible in similar cases. They show either postverbal agreement in unaccusative/passive constructions or SPEC-HEAD agreement between a fully specified I and a fully specified expletive, which has no parallel counterpart in languages that allow the underspecified I in tensed clauses.

Among the various Cases that are assigned VP-internally, it was suggested that unaccusative verbs assign inherent nominative Case cross-linguitically and that the common perception of nominative Case as purely structural seems to be on the wrong track. Only by assuming that it consists of both inherent and structural components, as claimed by Reinhart and Siloni (2005), can we account for the similar patterns of behavior exhibited by unaccusatives in various unrelated languages. Their Case-assigning ability was noted long ago by Belletti (1988). What makes her proposal different from the analysis suggested in this work is the nature of the Case they are claimed to assign, but not the basic insight that under certain conitions, they do assign Case.

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