# LOCATIVE SENTENCES AND RELATED CONSTRUCTIONS IN CATALAN: ÉSSER / HAVER ALTERNATION\*

### Gemma Rigau

(Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona)

# 1. Introduction

This article will illustrate the argument structure and the syntactic behavior of Catalan locative or existential verbs. It will also be concerned with the properties of the functional category Agreement-subject. Following Rigau (1991), it will be argued that Agreement-s can be split into two functional categories: Agreement-person and Agreement-number. Agreement-person is the category that licenses nominative case and, in some circumstances, dative case. Agreement-number was defined in Rigau (1991, 1994) as the category that manifests the relation between the verb and its prominent argument; namely, Agreement-number is the functional category where the Extended Projection Principle feature (Chomsky 1995) has to be satisfied. Therefore, a divorce is assumed between the functional category that licences the case properties of the subject of the sentence and the category that provides a prominent argument for the sentence. Generally, the external argument of the predicate is the DP that checks nominative case in Agreement-person and the EPP feature in Agreement-numberP. Nevertheless, in the sentences I will analyze, the argument that checks its case in Agreement-person may be different from the argument that checks the EPP feature in Agreement-NumberP.

Catalan has two locative or existential verbs: the verb *ésser* (or *ser*) 'be' and the verb *haver* 'have'. The verb *haver* appears obligatorily with the clitic *hi: haver-hi*. In essential accordance with Bach (1967), Fillmore (1968), Freeze (1992) and Kayne (1993), it will be argued that the Catalan locative verb *haver-hi* is an instance of the light verb *ésser* to which an abstract preposition has been incorporated. Both verbs act as a host verb, in the sense that they are in the sentence to help the real predicate. The predicate in locative sentences is a preposition, an abstract or overt preposition.

\* I am grateful to A. Ardid, A. Bartra, E. Benedicto, N. Chomsky, K. Hale, J. W. Harris, M. L. Hernarz, R. S. Kayne, S. J. Keyser, H. Lasnik, V. Longa, G. Lorenzo, F. Ordoñez, D. Pesetsky, C. Picallo, J. Solà-Pujols, M. Uribe-Etxebarria, X. Villalba, A. Zribi-Hertz, and two anonymous reviewers for discussion and suggestions on earlier versions of this paper. I have also benefited from opportunities to present this material at CUNY, University of Massachusetts, and MIT in the 1994 Spring semester. Of course, I alone am responsible for mistakes. This research was supported by grants from the Ministerio Educación y Ciencia (PR94-1C6; PB93-0893-C04-01) and grants from the Generalitat de Catalunya (EE93/2-241; 1995SGR-00486). Thanks are also due to the Department of Linguistics and Philosophy at MIT for providing me with the opportunity to be a Visiting Scholar there during 1994.

> [ASJU Geh 40, 1997, 395-421] http://www.ehu.es/ojs/index.php/asju

In Modern Catalan, the verb *haver* 'have' without the clitic hi is not a main verb, but rather an auxiliary verb, as shown in (1).

 La Maria ha comprat un llibre Mary has bought a book

Contrary to French or Italian, Catalan —like Spanish— uses the verb *tenir* 'have' in possesive constructions, as shown in (2).

(2)	a.	Marie a un chien	(French)	b.	La Maria té un gos
		Mary has a dog			Mary has a dog

Both Catalan locative verbs may appear with a definite DP, as shown in (3). Therefore, contrary to French or Spanish, there is no definiteness effect in sentences with the verb *haver-bi* 'have' in the majority of Catalan dialects.

(3)	a.	Hi havia el president	b.	El president hi era
		cl. had the president		the president cl. was
		'The president was here/there'		'The president was here/there'

In the case of the predicate *haver-bi*, the locative clitic *hi* is obligatory. Therefore, if a locative PP or AdvP appears in the sentence, it will have to occupy a peripheral position (a Topic position), and it will be licensed through the clitic *hi*, which will act as a resumptive pronoun. See the sentences in (4).

- (4) a. A la reunió hi havia el president at the meeting cl. had the president "The president was at the meeting"
  - b. Hi havia el president, a la reunió
    cl. had the president, at the meeting
    'The president was at the meeting'
  - c. \*Havia el president a la reunió had the president at the meeting
  - d. \*A la reunió havia el president at the meeting had the president

In (4a) and (4b) the PP *a la reunió* 'at the meeting' is in the left Topic position and in the right Topic position, respectively. Constructions (4c) and (4d) are ungrammatical because of the lack of the clitic *bi*.

In the case of the verb *ésser* 'be', the locative does not necessarily have to be expressed by the clitic hi, but rather the verb may coappear with a PP or an AdvP, as shown in (5). Construction (5c) is ungrammatical because of the lack of a locative element.

 b. El president hi era
c. \*El president era
the president cl. was
'The president was here/there'

As shown in Rigau (1994), the fact that the locative argument appears as a clitic in the sentences with the verb *haver* 'have' but not necessarily in the sentences with the verb *ésser* 'be' is not the only difference between these two verbs. In spite of the lack of definiteness effect shown in (3), the occurrence of one verb or the other is not optional. See the sentences in (6), where the complementary distribution of these verbs may be observed.

(6)	a.	Hi havia el president
		cl. had the president
		'The president was here/there'
	b.	*Hi era el president versus c. Hi era, el president
		cl. was the president cl. was, the president
	d.	El president hi era
		the president cl. was
		'The president was here/there'
	e.	*El president hi havia versus f. EL PRESIDENT hi havia
		the president cl. had the president cl. had
		'THE PRESIDENT was here/there'

Sentence (6b) contrasts with the grammatical sentence (6c), where the DP *el pre*sident is right-dislocated, whereas (6e) contrasts with the grammatical sentence (6f), where the DP receives emphatic focus interpretation.

In order to account for the semantic affinity between the verbs *haver-hi* 'have' and *ésser* 'be' that we have observed in (3), I will argue that their lexical relational structure or argument structure are similar.<sup>1</sup> Following Freeze (1992) and Kayne (1993), as a starting point I use the assumption that the lexical relational structure of *haver-hi* and *ésser* is formed by a preposition. The verbs *ésser* and *haver* have an auxiliary function within the lexical relational structure, in the sense that their function is to help the preposition. A preposition may not be adjoined to a verbal affix, therefore a verbal form is necessary. In the case of *haver-hi* sentences, the preposition is an abstract preposition of 'central coincidence'. According to Hale (1986) and Hale & Keyser (1993a, b), a preposition of central coincidence is a preposition that relates one entity (i.e., place) with another (i.e., a thing, a substance...).<sup>2</sup> In *ésser* sentences, the preposition is an overt locative preposition of central coincidence. Because of the

(2) The English preposition with or its Catalan equivalent amb are used as a preposition of central coincidence in (i) —from Fillmore (1968: fn. 49)— and (ii).

(i) a. Mary has the children with her (ii) Els nens són amb la Maria

'The children are with Mary'

The preposition with / amb in (i) and (ii) expresses a relation of coincidence, or contiguity, between the children and Mary. See also Guéron (1994).

<sup>(1)</sup> According to Hale & Keyser (1993a, b and this volume), the lexical relational structure is a representational level prior to overt syntax. Chomsky (1993: fn. 18), however, argues that operations on such structures are syntactic operations.

b. The children are with Mary

presence of an overt or covert central coincidence preposition, locative sentences lack a dynamic event; they are stative sentences.

The overt / covert character of the central coincidence preposition in the argument structure will determine:  $(1^{st})$  the complementary distribution of these verbs, as shown in (6), and  $(2^{nd})$  the personal / impersonal character of the sentence.

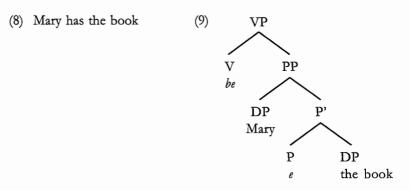
I argue that if the verb is *ésser* 'be', Agr-o will be inactive because of the properties of this verb, which has neither accusative nor partitive case properties.<sup>3</sup> However, with the verb *haver-hi*, it is Agr-s which will remain inactive. Depending on dialectal variation, this inactivity may be complete or partial. In (7a), a sentence belonging to Northwestern Catalan, no agreement is manifested between the DP *els estudiants* 'the students' and the verb, while in (7b), a sentence belonging to Central Catalan, number agreement is manifested.

(7)	a.	Hi ha els estudiants	b.	Hi han els estudiants
		cl. has the students		cl. have the students
		'The students are here/there'		'The students are here/there'
		(Northwestern Catalan)		(Central Catalan)

Following Chomsky (1993), I assume that structural case properties depend on the characteristics of Tense and Verb. The case property of T becomes overt only when T combines with the person feature of Agr-s, in the same way that structural case on V becomes overt when V is adjoined to Agr-o. Adopting the claim in Kayne (1989: fn. 1), I assume that a [-PERSON] Agr-s is not able to manifest the nominative property of T.

### 2. Lexical relational structure of haver- hi

Let us concentrate first on sentences with the verb *haver-hi*. Following Kayne (1993) and Hale & Keyser (1993b: fn.7), I have assumed that the verb *have / haver* corresponds to a verbal realization of an abstract preposition of central coincidence. The lexical relational structure assigned to *have* for a sentence like (8) is represented in  $(9)^4$ :



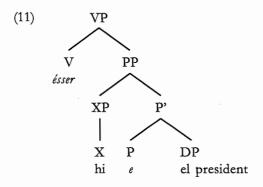
(3) See Kayne (1985, 1989).

(4) As shown in (2), Catalan does not have a possessive bave. The verb tenir, not haver, appears in the Catalan translation of (8): La Maria té el llibre.

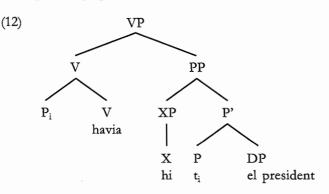
According to Kayne (1993), *have* is an instance of the light verb *be*, to which the abstract preposition has been incorporated. This preposition, defined as a central coincidence preposition, expresses the relation in which one entity is associated or in contact with another. The meaning of this abstract preposition could be defined more or less as 'with' (see fn.2). In a sentence like (8) the DP *the book* corresponds to an entity entering into the interrelation established by the abstract preposition. Therefore a subject is required to complete the interrelation. In (8), this subject is *Mary*. The verb in (8) merely acts as host for the preposition.

The lexical relational structure I assign to the Catalan verb *haver-hi* in (3a) —repeated in (10)— is represented in  $(11)^5$ :

(10) Hi havia el presidentcl. had the president"The president was here/there"



In (11), the head of the PP is a non-overt preposition that needs to incorporate another head in order to be licensed, as shown in (12). The spell-out of the verb with an incorporated preposition is the verb *haver* 'have', as in (9).



(5) XP stands for the projection of hi, traditionally considered an adverbial pronoun. It will be argued below that this clitic exhibits a double nature: D/P.

The complement of the central coincidence preposition, the DP *el president* in (12), corresponds to the entity in the interrelation established by the abstract preposition. The element in the subject position, the clitic *hi*, corresponds to an entity that completes the interrelation. Roughly, the complement of the preposition corresponds to the entity possessed, while the specifier corresponds to the possessor. Actually, it is the presence of the clitic *hi* that lends "locative / existential" meaning to sentences with the verb *haver-hi*. The sentence expresses either a temporary or enduring association between an entity (expressed by a DP, a NP or a small clause<sup>6</sup>) and some point in space or in time. This point may be the place or the time of the utterance or discourse.<sup>7</sup>

As a consequence of the incorporation of the abstract preposition to the verb, as in (12), the host verb gets case properties. Actually, the preposition triggers the case properties of the verb. Unlike the verb *ésser*, the verb *haver* is able to license either the partitive or the accusative case.<sup>8</sup> That the verb *haver* licenses partitive case is visible in (13), where a bare-NP or a partitive clitic appears (see Belletti 1988).

(13)	а.	No hi ha pa	ь.	No n'hi ha
		not cl. has bread		not cl. (=of it) cl. has
		'There is no bread'		'There isn't any'

The fact that the verb *haver* is able to check the accusative case in sentences like (14a) is not easy to show because of the impossibility of an accusative clitic appearing in the sentence. See (14b), which is ungrammatical.

(14)	a.	Hi havia el president	Ь.	*L' hi havia
		cl. had the president		cl. <sub>acc</sub> cl. had
		'The president was here'		

The problem may be expressed as follows: Why is it that (14b) may not exist as an equivalent of (14a), if I assume that the DP in (14a) is accusative? I will broach this matter in section 6.1.

First, however, I will analyze the consequences of the presence of the pronoun bi as the subject of the prepositional predicate in the argument structure of the verb

(6) In (i) the complement of the abstract preposition is a small clause:

(i) Hi ha [<sub>SC</sub> la porta oberta]
 cl. has the door open
 "The door is open here/there"

(7) Closely related languages, such as Spanish, Galician and Asturian have existential constructions with the same verb without a visible locative clitic pronoun. Following Longa, Lorenzo & Rigau (1995), I assume that these languages have an empty D/P element in existential constructions with *haber* 'have'.

(ï)	a.	[ <sub>D/P</sub> hi] havia alguns estudiants	ь.	[D/Pe] había algunos estudiantes	
		cl. had some students		cl. had some students	
		There were some students'		'There were some students'	

(8) In Modern Catalan some reminiscences of the old transitive predicate *baver* in the possessive meaning still remain in sentences like (i), where an accusative clitic is present.

 (i) Això, no ho podràs pas haver. this not it can neg. have 'You will not be able to have it' *haver-hi*. The clitic *hi*, referred to as an 'adverbial pronoun' by traditional Catalan grammarians, usually stands for a PP. From an etymological point of view, the Catalan clitic *hi* comes from the Latin demonstrative *hic* and the Latin adverb *ibi*. Therefore, it exhibits a double nature: It is a determiner and a preposition (see Longa, Lorenzo & Rigau 1995). I assume that the structure of the clitic *hi* in (11) is the same as that in (15), namely, XP in (11) stands for DP/PP.

(15)  $[_{DP/PP} [_{D/P} hi]]$ 

The case of the clitic hi selected as the subject of the abstract preposition of central coincidence is dative (or oblique).

In some Catalan dialects one can also find the use of the inanimate clitic *hi* as a dative clitic (see Rigau 1982). However, for the majority of speakers the  $3^{rd}$  person singular dative clitic is *h*, regardless of its [+/- animate] property. The two dialectal variations are shown in (16).<sup>9</sup>

- (16) a. Al teu cotxe, hi cal una roda de recanvi to your car, cl<sub>dat</sub> is necessary a spare tire 'Your car needs a spare tire'
  - b. Al teu cotxe, li cal una roda de recanvi to your car, him<sub>dat</sub> is necessary a spare tire 'Your car needs a spare tire'
  - c. A la jaqueta hi falta un botó
     d. A la jaqueta li falta un botó
     to the jacket cl. lacks a button.
     'The jacket is missing a button'
     C. A la jaqueta li falta un botó
     to the jacket cl. lacks a button.
     'The jacket is missing a button'
  - e. Al prestatge de dalt hi sobren llibres to the shelf of top cl. are-too-many books 'The top shelf has too many books'
  - f. Al prestatge de dalt li sobren llibres to the shelf of top him<sub>dat</sub> are-too-many books 'The top shelf has too many books'

However the inanimate dative clitic hi in existential sentences with the verb *haverhi* cannot be substituted by the animate clitic li, as shown in (17). *Haver-hi* has been considered a quasi-lexicalized form.<sup>10</sup>

- (17) a. Al menjador, hi ha una capa de pintura to the dining-room, cl has a coat of paint There is one coat of paint in the dining room'
- (9) Catalan impersonal existential sentences like those in (16) follow the Latin pattern shown in (i).
  - (i) Civi Romano licet esse Gaditanum (Cic. Balb. 29) citizen<sub>dat</sub> Roman<sub>dat</sub> is-permitted to-be Gaditan<sub>acc</sub>
     'A Roman citizen may become a citizen of Gades'

Sentences of this type have a verb that means modality, an object —the infinitive clause (esse Gaditanum)—, and a dative subject (*civi Romano*).

(10) For the crosslinguistic relationship between locative case and dative or benefactive case, see Baker (1988: 236f)

b. \*Al menjador, li ha una capa de pintura to the dining-room, him<sub>det</sub> has a coat of paint

In spite of this difference, I assume that the way to check case for the subject clitic in (17a) is essentially the same as for the subject clitic in (16). The clitic *hi* in (17a) checks its oblique or dative case with a [-person] Agreement head.<sup>11</sup> In a case where the clitic *hi* moves to a specifier position of a [+person] Agr-s, the derivation will crash either because this clitic does not manifest nominative case, or because the verb does not show person feature to check in a [+person] Agr-s.

I assume that the subject of the PP in (11) becomes the subject of the sentence and renders it impersonal. As we will see further on, because of the presence of the pronoun *hi* in the lexical relational structure, the sentence derivation will crash if the verb *haver* 'have' is adjoined to a [+person] affix in the structure below the word level, whereas the derivation may converge if the V is adjoined to a [-person] affix. It is possible to use the non-auxiliary verb *haver* 'have' in any tense or mood, but it always appears in impersonal sentences. This means that the person shown by the finite verb *haver* is morphologically the third person because this is the unmarked form in Catalan.

The question now arises as to where the dative or oblique case of the clitic *hi* is checked in sentences with *haver-hi*. I propose that the dative case in dative subject constructions is similar to a structural case in that it needs to be checked in a Spec-Head relationship.<sup>12</sup> This head is the same Agreement head where a subject checks the nominative case. However, the Agreement head is a [-person] Agreement, because the sentence in (14a) is impersonal. Given that, I assume that when +T adjoins to a [-person], Agreement triggers dative case.<sup>13</sup> This case will be checked against the DP in the specifier position. Therefore, dative case is a familiar strategy in Romance constructions expressing a relationship of possession or existence.<sup>14</sup>

(18) a. [+T, +Person Agr] checks nominative case
b. [+T, -Person Agr] checks dative case

Because of its dative subject, the verb *haver-hi* may only be licensed in structures with a [-person] Agr-subject. Consequently, the nominative case cannot be checked in these structures. This explains why the presence of a nominative pronoun like *jo* 'I' or *ella* 'she' is not possible in structures with *haver-hi*, as shown in (19).

(19)	a.	*Hi ha / he jo	ь.	*Hi ha ella
		cl has / have <sub>1-sing</sub> I		cl. has she

<sup>(11)</sup> On the similarity between dative and locative elements, see Jespersen (1924: chapter XIII)

<sup>(12)</sup> See Collins & Thráinsson (1993) for other contexts where dative case has to be considered a structural case.

<sup>(13)</sup> A third situation is possible: [-T] checks null case.

<sup>(14)</sup> See Kayne (1993, 1994). According to Tremblay (1991), dative case is the default case in French. Dative case rather than genitive case is the unmarked strategy to express possession in French.

### 3. Agreement between haver and DP/NP

Our proposal that the DP object in existential constructions is accusative allows us to explain the lack of agreement between the verb and the DP in the Northwestern Catalan dialect, where sentences like (20a) are grammatical, and sentences like (20b) are ungrammatical.

(20)	a.	Hi ha els estudiants (= 7a)	Ь.	*Hi han els estudiants
		cl. has the students		cl. have the students
		'The students are here/there'		'The students are here/there'
		(Northwestern Catalan)		

However, other Catalan dialects are problematic for the assumptions of this analysis. As we have already seen, in Central Catalan, agreement between the verb and the DP is grammatical. See (21b), where the verb is plural in agreement with the DP.

(21)	a.	*Hi ha els estudiants	b.	Hi han els estudiants (= 8b)
		cl. has the students		cl. have the students
		'The students are here/there'		'The students are here/there'
		(Central Catalan)		

It is my intention to propose that it is possible to view the clitic hi in the specifier of an Agr-s position, and to offer an explanation as to why this agreement between the verb and the DP is grammatical in some dialects if person agreement is distinguished from number agreement. In Rigau (1991), it was hypothesized that Agr-s may be split into two functional categories: an Agreement-person node and an Agreement-number node, as shown in (22).

(22)  $[_{CP} \dots [_{NumP} \dots [_{PersP} \dots [_{TP} \dots [_{AgrOP} \dots [_{VP}]]]]]$ 

Person is the functional category that licenses the nominative case (and, under certain conditions, dative case) when +T is adjoined to it, whereas Number is the functional category where the Extended Projection Principle feature (or DP feature) is satisfied (see Chomsky 1995). Specifically, agreement number manifests the relationship between the verb and its prominent argument, namely, the element able to establish a spec-head relationship with the verb in Agreement-number Phrase. In all Catalan dialects, the EPP feature and the case feature are weak. As a result, the checking operation is delayed until the LF. Generally, the external argument of the predicate is the element that is interpreted as the prominent argument of the predicate; it is the DP that moves to the specifier position of NumP in order to agree with the verb.<sup>15</sup>

In structures with the verb *haver-hi*, the dative subject is not able to satisfy the EPP feature (or DP feature) of NumberP because of its prepositional properties, that

<sup>(15)</sup> Following Solà-Pujols (1992), I argue that, when the subject DP appears in preverbal position, it is in a left-dislocated position and a *pro* is in the internal subject position, as shown in (i), where the *pro* acts as a resumptive pronoun.

 <sup>(</sup>i) a. La Maria parla b. [La Maria [<sub>CP...</sub> parla pro]] 'Mary speaks'

is, because of its  $D^{\circ}/P^{\circ}$  nature, and because of the lack of number property in this clitic.<sup>16</sup> Therefore, the dative clitic cannot express number agreement with the verb. In order to satisfy the EPP feature in sentences with *haver-hi*, Catalan dialects follow two different strategies. Northwestern Catalan follows the strategy of French whereby an expletive pronoun is present in the impersonal sentences, as shown in (23).

(23) a. Il y a des étudiants expl cl. has some students
 "There are some students'
 (French)
 b. pro<sub>expl</sub> hi ha estudiants expl cl has students
 b. pro<sub>expl</sub> hi ha estudiants
 expl cl has students
 "There are some students"

In contrast to Northwestern Catalan and French, in Central Catalan no expletive pronoun is present in *haver-bi* sentences. In Central Catalan, when the impersonal sentence has a DP/NP, that is, an element able to express number agreement, this element must agree with the verb. The expletive will appear in Central Catalan only when no argument can agree in number with the verb, as in (24).

As noted in Rigau (1991), in Northwestern Catalan, the absence of the functional property of person in Agr-s correlates with the absence of the number property, whereas in Central Catalan this is not necessarily the case. As we will see in section 6, the behavior of *haver-hi* is not an isolated case, but rather one instance of a phenomenon that is quite common in Catalan and other Romance languages. This phenomon may be observed in (25), which contains sentences with the arbitrary clitic *se* 'one', and in (26), which has sentences with an unaccusative verb.

(25)	а.	Es pot obrir les finestres.	(Northwestern Catalan)
		[+T, -P, -Num]	
		cl. <sub>arb.</sub> may <sub>3rd,sing</sub> open the wind The windows may/can be o	dows
	ь.	Es poden obrir les finestres.	(Central Catalan)
		[+T, -P, +Num]	
		cl., may and open the windo	ows
		cl. <sub>arb.</sub> may <sub>3rd,pl</sub> open the windo The windows may/can be c	opened'
(26)	a.	Ve pluges.	b. Vénen pluges.
		[+T, -P, -Num]	[+T, -P, +Num]
		comes showers	come showers

'Showers are coming'

(Northwestern Catalan)

(16) In structures with other existential verbs like those in (16), caldre 'to be necessary', faltar 'to lack', etc., the dative subject is not able to satisfy the EPP feature (or DP feature) of NumberP because of its prepositional properties, and its inherent morphological features. I assume that number property of clitics is bound to their other morphological features. Therefore, the dative clitic cannot express number agreement with the verb. In order to satisfy the EPP feature, sentences with caldre follow the general pattern of other constructions in which the incorporation of an empty central coincidence preposition into a verb takes place (see Rigau 1996).

'Showers are coming'

(Central Catalan)

In Northwestern Catalan, number agreement is only possible if the argument checks the nominative case. Therefore, number agreement is not possible in (25a) or in (26a). However, in Central Catalan, if the verb has a nominal argument, this argument is interpreted as the prominent argument whether the sentence is personal or impersonal, and it has to satisfy the EPP or DP feature of the sentence. Prominence is expressed through number agreement between the verb and the argument. In accordance with this, the sentences in (25b) and (26b) are as impersonal as their corresponding Northwestern Catalan counterparts. The arguments show the same case: accusative in the structures in (25) and partitive in those in (26). The only difference is that in the Central dialect the nominal argument of the predicate. Therefore, what distinguishes Northwestern Catalan sentences from Central Catalan sentences is the agreement in number —not in person— between the DP and the verb.

Therefore, in Northwestwern Catalan the expletive *pro* is inserted to satisfy the EPP feature of Agreement-number, whereas in Central Catalan the accusative or partitive DP<sup>17</sup> moves to the specifier position in Number Phrase to check its number feature and thus satisfy the EPP.

Why do these dialects show such different behavior when the sentence is impersonal? What prevents the insertion of the expletive element in Central Catalan? What prevents the accusative or partitive DP from rising to the specifier of the Number Phrase in Northwestern Catalan? The answer lies in the impersonal property of the sentences. In Northwestern Catalan [-Person] Phrase is selected by [-Number] Agreement, whereas in Central Catalan [-Person] Phrase is selected either by [-Number] Agreement or by [+Number] Agreement. In other words, the expletive pronoun is the last resort in both dialects. It appears in order to satisfy the EPP feature when Number Agr is negative.

A positive Number head always attracts a DP. A negative one does not. Therefore, Central Catalan shows a more restrictive use of the expletive pronoun in impersonal sentences than Northwestern Catalan does. In Central Catalan the EPP necessarily has to be satisfied whenever possible by a DP, and in this case Number head is positive. Only when there is no DP (or NP) present in the sentence may an expletive pronoun be inserted. Therefore, when an accusative or partitive DP is in an impersonal structure and the expletive pronoun is inserted, the derivation crashes. In contrast, in Northwestern Catalan the expletive pronoun is inserted when no nominative DP is in the sentence. Because of the negative feature of Number in impersonal structures, only an expletive pronoun can satisfy EPP.

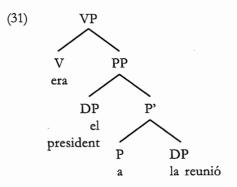
<sup>(17)</sup> Following Longobardi (1994), I assume that a bare NP may be analyzed as a DP with a covert determiner.

- (28) a. Northwestern Catalan: [-Person] Phrase is selected by [-Number] Agr.
   b. Central Catalan: [-Person] Phrase is selected either by [-Number] Agr, or by [+Number] Agreement.
- (29) a. [+Number] Agr attracts a DP to satisfy the EPP feature.
  - b. [-Number] Agr satisfies the EPP feature with pro<sub>expl</sub>

### 4. Lexical relational structure of *ésser*

Let us now analyze the locative verb *ésser* 'be'. (31) illustrates the lexical relational structure I assign to *ésser*. Its argument structure diverges from the argument structure of *haver* in its lack of preposition incorporation. In (30), whose lexical relational structure is (31), the preposition is an overt locative preposition. It does not then need to be adjoined to the verb. This preposition is a locative preposition of central coincidence —e.g., *a* 'in', *en* 'in', *damunt* 'on', *dins* 'within', etc.—, and selects one entity as its subject and another entity as its object. A locative preposition without a central coincidence meaning, like *des de* 'from' and *a través* 'through' is not possible in (31).

- (30) a. El president era a la reunió "The president was at the meeting"
  - El mal és a l'estómac the pain is in the stomach 'The pain is in the stomach'
  - L'estómac és dins l'abdomen the stomach is within the abdomen 'The stomach is in the abdomen'
  - d. \*El president és des de la reunió the president is from the meeting
  - e. \*El mal és a través de l'estómac the pain is through the stomach



I consider the verb *ésser* 'be' as a poorly specified element. It acts as an auxiliary verb in the sense that it does not act as a predicate. It is in the sentence in order to

host the tense features that the sentence needs to license the predication. The real predicate is the P'. Because of the lack of incorporation of the preposition, the verb remains caseless. This means that the case properties that were activated in the verb *haver* are not activated if the verb is *ésser* 'be'. In contrast to the verb *haver*, the verb *ésser* cannot assign partitive case and, although it is raised to Agr-o, it cannot license the accusative case. Consequently, Agr-o will be inactive. The DP *el president* in (30a) manifests nominative case. Therefore, a nominative pronoun may appear in *ésser* 'be' sentences, as shown in (32a) and (32b).

(32)	a.	Ell és a la reunió	c.	*Allà, no hi són nens
		'He is at the meeting'		there not cl. are boys
	b.	Jo hi sóc (, a la reunió)		
		I cl. am (at the meeting)		
		I am here/there'		

Sentence (32c) is ungrammatical because the bare-NP cannot receive partitive case. In (32b) the clitic *hi* stands for the PP. It acts as the predicate.<sup>18</sup>

### 5. Complementary distribution of the verbs haver-hi and ésser

The locative verbs *haver* and *ésser* in Catalan dialects show a complementary distribution. Compare the sentences in (33) and (34). The sentences in (33) belong to Alguerese, the Catalan dialect spoken in the island of Sardinia, and the sentences in (34) belong to Central Catalan.<sup>19</sup>

(33)	a.	Hi ha un home	(34)	a. Hi ha un home
		cl. has a man		cl. has a man
		'There is a man here'		'There is a man here'
	b.	Hi havia llibres		b. Hi havien llibres.
		cl. had books		cl. had <sub>pl.</sub> books
		'There were some books here'		'There were some books
				here'

(18) Unlike the DP/PP in *haver-hi* sentences, *hi* in (32b) does not move to the specifier position of Agr-pers before moving, as a head, to the functional category for clitics. It is not a 'subject clitic'. It acts as the predicate of the sentence.

Following Kayne (1994), I assume that Romance pronominal clitics are heads that adjoin to a functional head. It is interesting to note that Catalan offers evidence that pronominal clitics may not be adjoined to stems or finite verb forms. Clitics in Catalan may be separated from a finite verb by the adverbial element *ben*, which means "completely" or "very much". Because of its meaning, this adverb appears with action verbs, not with stative verbs like *haver-hi* 'have' or *ésser* 'be'. Consider the sentences in (i):

a. T'ho ben assegurem.
 cl. adv. garantee
 We fully guarantee it to you'
 b. La ben perdono.
 cl. adv. forgive
 I completely forgive her'

c. Us hi ben acostumareu. cl. cl. adv. will-accustomed 'You will become completely accustomed to it '

(19) A different analysis of the Alguerese and Central Catalan data based on the chomskyan economy conditions, was proposed in Rigau (1994).

- c. \*Hi havia/havien los hòmens
   cl. had<sub>sing</sub>/had<sub>pl</sub> the men
   'The men were here'
   (Alguerese Catalan)
- c. Hi havien els homes cl. had<sub>pl.</sub> the men 'The men were here' (Central Catalan)

The sentences in (33) show that in Alguerese, the verb *haver-hi* appears only with non-definite NPs and that there is no agreement between the NP and the verb. The sentences in (34) show that in Central Catalan the object of *haver-hi* may be a DP. From this, we can conclude that in Alguerese the verb *haver-hi* has only partitive case, whereas the same verb in Central or Northwestern Catalan has partitive and accusative case.

Compare now the Alguerese sentences with the verb ésser in (35), and the sentences with the same verb in (36), belonging to Northwestern and to Central Catalan.

(35)	a.	Hi era el president (36)	a.	*Hi era el president
		cl. was the president		cl. was the president
		"The president was here"	b.	El president hi era
	b.	El president hi era		the president cl. was
		the president cl. was		'The president was here'
		'The president was here'		(Northwestern & Central Catalan)
		(Alguerese Catalan)		

Examples (35a) and (36a) show that what is ungrammatical in Northwestern and Central Catalan is grammatical in Alguerese. Why may the subject of the verb *ésser* be postverbal in Alguerese, but not in other dialects? The answer probably has to do with some kind of 'economy conditions'.

According to the null theory of phrase stress presented by Cinque (1993), in languages like Italian, the greatest prominence of the sentence is, under normal conditions, the most deeply embedded (surface) constituent, that is, the rightmost phonologically-realized constituent. If this is the case, in (35a) the most prominent stress of the sentence falls on the DP *el president*. Because of this, this constituent receives a focus reading (see also Bonet 1990).

The reason why Alguerese allows the nominative DP to check its case from the postverbal position in the sentences with the verb *ésser* 'be', whereas Northwestern and Central Catalan do not allow it, may be that Northwestern and Central Catalan have the possibility of having the DP in final position, in a focus reading position through the other locative verb, *haver-hi* 'have', as shown in (37) where the DP is the most deeply embedded constituent.

(37) Hi havia el president (Northwestern & Central Catalan)cl. had the president'The president was here/there'

In Alguerese, (37) is not possible, because the verb *haver-hi* does not have the accusative case property. Therefore, (35a) is allowed in Alguerese, because it is the only way to focalize the DP in locative sentences. Specifically, what prevents Northwestern and Central Catalan from having sentences like (35a) is the existence of (37).

Apparently, we are faced with a last resort operation. The more economic derivation blocks the more marked or more expensive derivation. However, in Alguerese the more expensive derivation is licensed because the 'cheaper' derivation does not exist. Nevertheless, the problem lies in proving that the derivation of (35a) is more expensive than the derivation of (35b). They are non-equivalent derivations. Their lexical elements are different, given that I assume that when the subject DP appears in preverbal position, it is in a left-dislocated position and a pro is in the internal subject position acting as a resumptive pronoun (see fn. 15). Consequently, the derivations cannot be compared. In fact, this phenomenon might be related to the phenomena governed by the so-called Avoid Pronoun principle (Chomky 1981: 65). The contrasts shown in (33)-(34) and in (35)-(36) are similar to the contrast shown in (38) and (39), where (38a) is impossible given the alternative option (38b), a structure with a control verb. However, when the control structure is not possible, for instance, in sentences with the verb dir 'say', then the reference of the pronoun ell / pro may be the same as the subject of the main sentence, as shown in (39). These are cases related to the Avoid Pronoun principle (Chomsky: 1981: fn. 45).

(38)	a.	*En Pere, no intenta que ell, $/pro$ , guanyi
		Peter not tries that he pro wins subjunctive
	Ь.	En Pere no intenta PRO guanyar
		Peter not tries PRO to win
		Peter does not try to win'
(39)	a	En Pere no diu que ell / tra manvi

- (39) a. En Pere, no diu que ell, / pro, guanyi ...
   Peter not says that he / pro wins<sub>subjunctive</sub>
   Peter does not say that he will win'
  - b. \*En Pere no diu PRO guanyar Peter not says PRO to win

This principle also accounts for the contrast shown in (40), sentences belonging to Northwestern and Central Catalan.

(40)	а.	*Hi era el president (=	36	ba) (Northwestern & CC)
		cl. was the president		
	b.	Hi era ell	c.	Hi seré jo
		cl. was he		cl. will-be I
		'He was here/there'		'I will be here/there'

I have suggested that in Northwestern and Central Catalan, (40a) is ungrammatical due to the so-called Avoid Pronoun principle. However (40b) and (40c) are grammatical in these dialects. This may be the reason: because the strong pronouns *ell* 'he' and *jo* 'I' in (40) manifest nominative case, they may not appear in an impersonal sentence with *haver-hi*. Consequently, the presence of these pronouns in a postverbal position in sentences with the verb *ésser* is possible. In fact, this is the only way for a nominative pronoun to receive focus reading within a locative structure.

# 6. Other instances of abstract preposition incorporation

We will explore other instances of abstract preposition incorporation. In Catalan the abstract central coincidence preposition may be incorporated to verbs other than the abstract verb *be*. Some of these verbs are light transitive verbs, such as *posar* 'to put, *dir* 'to say' or *fer* 'to make, to do'. However, the incorporation of the abstract preposition is a productive strategy. It may also take place with some unergative verbs such as *dormir* 'to sleep', *estudiar* 'to study', *cantar* 'to sing', *menjar* 'to eat', etc.

### 6.1. Abstract preposition incorporation to transitive verbs

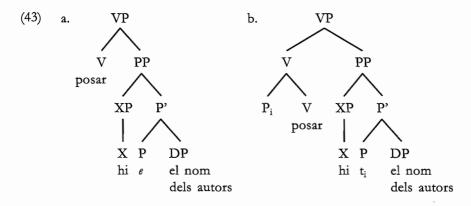
Let us first examine the preposition incorporation to the transitive verbs *posar* 'to put' and *dir* 'to say'. These verbs may appear in sentences that receive an impersonal reading. In these cases, the clitic pronoun *bi* is present (see Solà 1994). Other verbs syntactically and semantically similar to *posar* or *dir* —such as *col.locar* 'to place, to put', *expressar* 'to express', *afirmar* 'to claim', *confirmar* 'to confirm' etc.— may not receive an impersonal reading, because they cannot act as light verbs. Consider the sentences in (41). Similar examples can be found in Solà (1994).

(41) a. (A la portada), no hi posa els noms dels autors (impersonal reading) (on the cover) not cl. puts the name of the authors 'It doesn't say the names of the authors here' b. (A l'etiqueta), hi diu el preu (impersonal reading) (on the label) cl. says the price 'It says the price here' c. (A la portada), no hi col.loca els noms dels autors (\*impersonal reading) (on the cover) not cl. puts the name of the authors. 'he/she doesn't say the names of the authors here' d. (A l'etiqueta), hi confirma el preu (\*impers. reading) (on the label) cl. says the price 'He/she confirms the price here'

Sentences (41a) and (41b) may receive a personal or an impersonal reading, whereas sentences (41c) and (41d) receive only a personal reading. The verbs *posar* 'to put' and *dir* 'to say' in (41) have lost their agentive meaning because of the incorporation of a central coincidence preposition in their argument structure. Consequently, there is no place for an agent argument. In (41) these verbs act like stative verbs. Actually, sentences (41a) and (41b) may be paraphrased by the sentences in (42), where the verb *haver-hi* appears.

(42) a. (A la portada), no hi ha els noms dels autors (on the cover) not cl. has the name of the authors 'The name of the authors are not here' b. (A l'etiqueta), hi ha el preu (on the label) cl. has the price
"The price is here"

The lexical relational structure I assign to the verb posar 'to put' in (41) is in (43):



In (43) the verb *posar* acts like the abstract verb *be*. It is a verbal realization of a non-overt central coincidence preposition that is incorporated to it. Similar to *haver-bi*, *bi* raises to the Agr-person head, and the sentence receives an impersonal reading.

The verb *fer* is another Catalan light verb. In impersonal sentences like those in (44), that express atmospheric states, an abstract preposition of central coincidence has been incorporated to the verb. Consequently, the verb has lost its agentive meaning.<sup>20</sup>

(44)	a.	(Hi) feia fred	b. (Hi) fa bon dia	c.	(Hi) fa sol
		cl. made cold	cl. makes nice day		cl. makes sun
		'It was cold'	'It is a nice day'		'The sun is shining'

Before proceeding, let us return to the examples in (15), repeated in (45).

\_ ... .

(45)	a.	Hi havia	el	president	(=15a)	b.	*L'hi	havia	(=15b)
		cl. had	the	president			cl. <sub>acc.</sub> cl.	had	
		'The pre	side	nt was her	e'		200.		

Let us now recall the problem left open in reference to these sentences. The question was: Why does (45b) not exist as an equivalent of (45a), if it was assumed that the DP in (45a) is accusative? More precisely, why is (45b) ungrammatical, if the combination "accusative clitic + locative h" is possible in Catalan in contexts like those in (46)?

(20) In (44), the clitic bi is not physically present in the sentence when it has a deictic meaning; when it means the place where we are.

(46) La Maria l'hi ha posat, (el llibre, a la lleixa) Mary cl.<sub>acc</sub>+cl. has put (the book, on the shelf) 'Mary has put it there'

The reason for the ungrammaticality of (45b) has to do with the clitic *bi*. In (46), the element *bi* is not in the specifier of Agr-person; this clitic *bi* does not act as a subject of an impersonal construction, whereas in (45b) it does. That a subject clitic *bi* may not coappear with an accusative clitic is shown by the sentences in (47), where the transitive *posar* 'to put' and *dir* 'to say' appear, and a clitic stands for the direct object. It is important to note that only a personal reading is possible in the sentences in (47), as opposed to the sentences in (44), which receives an impersonal reading.

(47)	a.	No els hi posa l	Ь.	No l'hi diu
		no cl. <sub>acc.</sub> cl. put		no cl. <sub>acc.</sub> cl says
		'He does not put them there'		'He does not say it here'
		(* impersonal reading)		(* impersonal reading)

Why is the presence of an accusative clitic impossible in impersonal locative constructions? A syntactic answer following Kayne's (1994) proposal that clitics can adjoin each other before moving to the head position of a functional head for clitics or a morphological solution inspired by Bonet (1991) and by Harris (1994) could possibly explain the contrast between (45b) and (46). We would have to distinguish between two clitics *hi* with different syntactical /morphological features, where only the features of the non-subject clitic *hi* are compatible with the features of accusative clitics. We might assume that definite clitics, such as el, la, els, les, as opposed to nouns, have person properties in addition to case, gender and number features. On the other hand, we might assume that the subject clitic *bi* shows the [-person] property, whereas the clitic *bi* that stands for a PP is not characterized by the person property. There would be a conflict with the combination of an accusative clitic that is [+person] and a [-person] subject clitic bi. However, a definite accusative clitic and the clitic *hi* that stands for a PP would be grammatical because no conflict would arise, as shown in (46). Only one of the clitics would have person feature. Moreover, there is no restriction against the partitive/genitive clitic en and either the subject clitic hi or the PP clitic hi, because the clitic en manifests no person feature, as shown in (48).

(48) (De pa) n'hi ha (of bread) cl.<sub>(=of it)</sub> cl. has "There is some bread here/there"

Another possible explanation could be based on discourse conditions. According to McNally (1992: 111), in English, "a DP is licensed in the existential if it can be used to introduced a (persistent or temporary) hearer-new discourse referent". In constrast to English, Catalan is a language which, "rather than requiring the instantiated referent in the existential to be hearer-new, requires it merely to be discourse new" (McNally 1992: 110f). Proper names (and definite descriptions), but not pronouns, can identify a discourse new referent (see MacNally 1992: fn. 77, who follows Prince 1992). This may be the reason of the contrast in grammaticality shown in (45). The DP *el president* may identify a discourse new referent, whereas, the clitic pronoun *el* may not. Because of its anaphorical property, the accusative clitic in (45b) identifies a referent which has been previously introduced in the discourse.

Nevertheless, Catalan has two types of clitic pronouns. Definite clitic pronouns, (e.g., the definite accusative clitics *el*, *la*, *els*, *les*), identify a discourse referent through its referential character. Other clitic pronouns, e.g., the partitive/genitive clitic *en*, lack referential properties. The clitic *en* may relate to a noun, but not to a full DP. Consequently, this clitic may appear in locative/existential sentences, as shown in (48).

Whatever the explanation, the impossibility of pronominalizing the DP internal argument in Catalan locative sentences does not prevent us from analyzing this DP as accusative.<sup>21</sup>

Some mention must be made about the possibility of the presence of a definite accusative clitic in locative constructions in some Spanish dialects, a Romance language close to Catalan. The sentences in (49), which are ungrammatical in Catalan, are grammatical in some Spanish dialects.

(49)	а.	Los hay	Ь.	La había
		them there-is		her had
		'There are some'		'There used to be'

Interestingly, a definite DP may not appear in such constructions, as shown in (50).

(50)	а.	*Hay	los	niños	Ь.	*Había	la	parada	de	autobús
		there-is	the	boys		there-was	the	stop	of	bus

As the English glosses in (49) show, the definite accusative clitics in these constructions do not stand for a defined DP, but for a bare NP. Actually, the sentences in (49) may be paraphrased by the sentences in (51).

(51)	a.	Hay	niños	b.	Había	parada	de	autobús
		there-is	boys		had	stop	of	bus
		There	are some boys'		There	was a	bus	stop'

(21) According to Anne Zribi-Hertz (p.c.), there is a strong similarity between Catalan and (colloquial) French existential sentences. The French sentences in (i) are grammatical, but not the sentence in (ii) is not.

 a. La discussion a été très intéressante, car il y avait Jean the discussion was very interesting, because expl. cl. had John 'The discussion was very interesting, because John was there'

 b. Il y a le doyen expl. cl. has the dean The dean was there/here

(ii) \*II l' y a expl. him cl. has

I thank Anne Zribi-Hertz for these examples.

These Spanish dialects use the accusative clitics in the same way that Catalan, French or Italian use the partitive clitic *en*. The accusative clitic is 'recycled' as a partitive clitic. Clitic reycling is a strategy which allows certain clitics to be used for various purposes. In Longa, Lorenzo and Rigau (1995), clitic recycling operations are conceived as a kind of last resort strategy which consists in extending the use of an element of the clitic paradigm in order to fill a gap in the paradigm.<sup>22</sup>

### 6.2. Locative inversion cases

Let us now consider the preposition incorporation to unergative verbs. Torrego (1989) has shown the significant role of a locative element in the shifting of an unergative verb into an unaccusative verb. In Spanish and Catalan some unergative verbs may act like unaccusative verbs if they have a locative subject. According to Torrego, an initial locative phrase allows a bare-NP in Spanish sentences with an unergative verb. Similarly, in Catalan, the locative clitic *hi* allows the partitive clitic *en* in sentences with an unergative verb. See Torrego examples in (52).

(52)	a.	Aquí han dormido animales Here have slept animals 'Some animals have slept here'	b.	* Han dormido animales have slept animals
	c.	N' hi dormen molts cl. <sub>(=of them)</sub> cl. sleep many 'Many of them sleep there'	d.	(Spanish) (Torrego: 1989) *En dormen molts cl. <sub>(=of them)</sub> sleep many
		(Cat	tala	n)

Our analysis of Catalan locative sentences provides an explanation of the examples shown by Torrego. The non-overt central coincidence preposition can be incorporated to an unergative verb. Consequently, the verb loses its agentive meaning and becomes a stative verb. On the other hand, because of the clitic *hi* acting as the subject of the preposition, the sentence is impersonal. Consider the sentences in (53).

(53) a. Hi parlaran escriptors russos, en aquest col.loqui cl. will-speak writers Russian in this colloquium 'Some Russian writers will speak in this colloquium'

<sup>(22)</sup> Accusative clitics are used in locative constructions in some Spanish dialects (see Suñer 1982: 58-61). However in Northwestern Spanish the use of recycled accusative clitics is far more general than in Castilian, as can be observed in the constrast in (i) and (ii) from Longa, Lorenzo, and Rigau (1995).

(i)	a.	Fiebre, no la tengo (Northwestern Spanish)	(ii)	a.	*Fiebre, no la tengo (Castilian Spanish)
.,		fever not her have			fever not her have
		'Fever, I don't have'		ь.	Fiebre no tengo
	b.	Dolor, no lo siento			fever not have
		pain not it feel			'Fever, I don't have'
		Pain, I don't feel'		c.	*Dolor, no lo siento
					pain not it feel
				d.	Dolor, no siento
					pain not feel

Pain, I don't feel'

b. En aquesta coral, hi canten nens in this choir cl. sing boys 'Some boys sing in this choir'

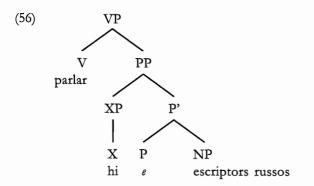
The sentences in (53) are synonymous to those in (54), which are sentences with the stative verb *haver-hi*.

- (54) a. Hi haurà(n) escriptors russos que parlaran, en aquest col·loqui 'There will be some Russian writers who will speak in this colloquium'
  - b. Hi ha(n) nens que canten en aquesta coral "There are some boys who sing in this choir"

Sentence (53b) and (54b), for instance, express a property of the choir: that the choir has some boys, or that some boys belong to the choir. It is important to note that in Northwestern Catalan, the sentences in (53) do not exhibit number agreement, as shown in (55).

- (55) a. Hi parlarà escriptors russos, en aquest col.loqui cl. will-speak<sub>sing</sub> writers Russian in this colloquium 'Some Russian writers will speak in this colloquium'
  - b. En aquesta coral, hi canta nens in this choir cl. sings boys 'Some boys sing in this choir'

The lexical relational structure of the verbs in (55) may not be different from the lexical relational structure of *haver-hi*. In (56), see the argument structure I assign to *parlar* 'speak' in sentences (53a) and (55a).<sup>23</sup>



(23) Following Hale-Keyser (1993a) (see also this volume), I assume that the lexical relational structure of intransitive verbs is due to the incorporation of a noun into a light verb, as in (i).



In a second step, the verb *parlar* or *cantar* may incorporate an abstract preposition of central coincidence. If this is the case, the verb acts as the host of the real predicate, the preposition. The sentence will acquire a stative meaning.

Once the abstract preposition is incorporated to the verb *parlar*, it allows the unergative verb to license the partitive case of the NP.

If we assume the analysis in (56) for the verbs in (53) and (55), then we must accept that these verbs have to be analyzed differently when they appear in other contexts, such as (57).

- (57) a. Tres escriptors russos parlaran en el col.loqui
  - "Three Russian writers will speak in the colloquium"
  - b. Aquests nens canten en aquesta coral 'These boys sing in this choir'

In (57) no preposition has been incorporated to the verb. Therefore, the verbs have an agentive meaning and the sentences are not impersonal. In (57) the verb needs an agent to satisfy predication. Furthermore, these sentences are not stative, they express a dynamic event.

# 6.3. Unaccusativity, a case of abstract preposition incorporation?

A stimulating conclusion follows from my approach. The idea is that the unaccusative verbs of motion do not form a class. There is no class of unaccusative verbs, but rather unaccusative argument structures. What we call an unaccusative verb of motion is an unergative verb to which an abstract preposition of central coincidence has been incorported.<sup>24</sup> I agree with Moro (1993), who argues that unaccusativity is an ephiphenomenon. But my idea is closer to Torrego's proposal, and diverges from Moro's approach in the sense that I do not accept a unique argument structure of a verb like *arribar* 'to arrive'. My hypothesis is that *arribar* is an unergative verb in (58a), but an unaccusative verb in (58b).

(58)	a.	La Maria arriba	ь.	(Hi) arriben/arriba pluges		
		'Mary arrives'		(cl.) arrive/arrives showers		
				'Showers are coming'		

In (58a) the verb is agentive and expresses a dynamic event, as argued by Gràcia (1989). In (58b) the verb has lost its agentive character because of the stative preposition incorporation. Its subject is an overt or a silent clitic hi, therefore the sentence is impersonal. Furthermore, as a consequence of the incorporation of the preposition, the verb is able to assign partitive case, an instance of the inherent case that a preposition is able to assign. In other words, the partitive case is the case that the preposition assigns when it is realized as a verb. Therefore, if preposition incorporation does not take place, the verb cannot assign partitive case. Specifically, transitive verbs only manifest accusative case, not partitive case. Consequently, the clitic *en* in (59) is the genitive case that an overt or non-overt quantifier assigns to the noun.

(59) a. La Maria compra llibres 'Mary buys some books' C. La Maria compra molts (de) llibres 'Mary buys many (of) books'

b.	La Maria	en	compra [Q t <sub>i</sub> ]	d.	La Maria	en,	compra	[molts	t <sub>i</sub> ]
	Mary	cl	buys		Mary	cl.	buys	many	
	'Mary buys some'				'Mary b	uys	many'		

An empty quantifier would assign genitive inherent case to *llibres* 'books' in (59a) and to the clitic *en* in (53b), in the same way that the quantifier *molts* 'many' would assign genitive case in (53c) and (53d). In contrast, partitive case would be assigned by a preposition realized as a verb. But other possibilities, such as auxiliary selection or past participial constructions, will have to be considered and analyzed from this new perspective. In section 6.3.1., I sketch an analysis of auxiliary selection in line with Kayne (1993).<sup>25</sup>

#### 6.3.1. Auxiliary selection

Since Perlmutter (1978) and Burzio (1986), it is well-known that in some Romance languages, the so-called unaccusative verbs select the auxiliary *be*, while transitive and unergative verbs select the auxiliary *have*. Some Catalan dialects, such as Alguerese and Rossillonese follow this pattern. In other dialects, however, *haver* 'have' is the only non-passive auxiliary.

(60)	а.	La mare és venguda	ь.	La mare ha cantat
		The mother is come		'Mother has sung'
		'Mother has come'		Ċ,

(Alguerese)

Recent research has shown that auxiliary selection depends on various factors.<sup>26</sup> Kayne (1993) proposes a highly modular approach of auxiliary selection, and shows that the distribution of the auxiliaries *have* and *be* depends on the structure of the sentence, on the presence of pure anaphoric clitics, and on sensitivity to tense and to person. Kayne (1993) analyzes the auxiliary *have* in parallel fashion to the main verb *have*. It is an instance of *be* to which an abstract preposition has been incorporated. My claim is that auxiliary selection may also show sensitivity to the nature of the preposition. Sensitivity to the lexical nature of the preposition will account for internal and cross-linguistic divergences. Actually, Rosen (1984), Levin

- (i) a. Falten forquilles / Rodolen pedres are lacking forks / roll stones
  - Some forks are missing / Some stones are rolling
  - b. \*Faltades dues forquilles, vam utilitzar dues culleres / \* Rodolades les pedres, vam desviar-nos missed two forks we used two spoons / rolled the stones we turned aside

Faltar 'be lacking' and rodar 'roll' are considered unaccusative verbs. However, they cannot be licensed in a past participial construction because their lexical aspect is imperfective. The grammatical aspect of past participial constructions is perfective.

(26) See Levin and Rappaport (1989), Hoekstra & Mulder (1990), Van Valin (1990), Kayne (1993), Borer (1994), Mahajan (1994), among others.

<sup>(25)</sup> I can offer no definitive explanation for the fact that the so-called unaccusative verbs may appear in past participial constructions, whereas unergative verbs may not. Nevertheless, the answer seems to be in the verbal aspectual properties. Some unaccusative verbs may not appear in past participial constructions (see De Miguel 1992), as shown in (i).

and Rappaport (1989) and Hoekstra and Mulder (1990) observed that in some languages, such as Italian, auxiliary selection is associated with a directional PP.

 (61) a. Ugo ha corso meglio ieri Ugo has run better yestesday 'Ugo ran better yesterday'
 b. Ugo è corso a casa Ugo is run home yesterday 'Ugo ran home yesterday'
 (Rosen 1984)

Italian verbs that take either *have* or *be*—*correre* 'to run'; *saltare* 'to jump'; *volare* 'to fly', *fiorire* 'to bloom'— are verbs that can take a terminal (or non-central) coincidence PP as an argument. Terminal coincidence prepositions express a trajectory, which can be viewed as ending at the place, in the case of allative prepositions, or as beginning at the place, in the case of elative prepositions (see Hale 1986). Sentences (61) and (62) show that if a PP headed by a terminal coincidence preposition is present in the sentence, the auxiliary is *be*. However, when the preposition is a central-coincidence preposition, the auxiliary is *have*. The preposition in (61b) is allative (*a*, 'to'), while in (62b) it is elative (*da* 'from').

(62)	a.	Ida ha saltato sul letto <sup>27</sup>	(Van Valin 1990)
		Ida has jumped on the bed	
		'Ida jumped (up and down)	on the bed'
	b.	Ida è saltata dalla finestra	
		Ida is jumped from the wind	low
		Ida jumped out of the wind	low'

We can conclude from these example that the abstract preposition postulated by Kayne (1993) in structures with an auxiliary verb may be related to a preposition of central coincidence or to a preposition of non-central coincidence (allatives or elatives). According to Kayne (1993), the abstract preposition selects the Agr nodes that dominate the VP.

The ungrammaticality of sentence (63a) may be derived from my hypothesis. In Alguerese Catalan, the auxiliary verb *essere* is unacceptable in constructions where an unacusative argument structure appears.

(63)	a.	*En aquesta casa, són venguts hòmens (Alguerese Catalan)
		in this house are come men
	b.	En aquesta casa, hi ha vengut hòmens
		in this house cl. has come men
		'In this house, some men have arrived'

In (63) an abstract central coincidence preposition has been incorporated to the verb *venir* 'come'. As shown in (61) and (62), the auxiliary verb *essere* appears when no central coincidence preposition is available, but when such a preposition is

 (i) Sono (\*ho) salito sulla montagna am have climbed on the mountain I am climbed/went up the mountain'

<sup>(27)</sup> The Italian preposition sw may be used as central coincidence preposition, as in (62a) or as a terminal coincidence preposition, as in (i), an example from Levin-Rappoport (1995: 163).

present in the structure, it is incorporated to the abstract auxiliary and becomes *avere.*<sup>28</sup> It is reasonable to argue that the preposition in the structure of auxiliaries and that of the main verb —if there is one— must be semantically compatible.<sup>29</sup> Sentence (63b) expresses a property of the house. It is a non-agentive sentence with a stative meaning.

# 7. Conclusion

The complementary distribution of the locative verbs *haver-hi* and *esser* in Catalan is due to the overt/covert character of a central coincidence preposition, and to conditions close to the Avoid Pronoun principle. When an abstract central coincidence preposition is incorporated to a transitive or intransitive light verb, the process has an impersonalizing effect and Agr-s heads become partially or totally inactive depending on the dialect.

### References

- Bach, E., 1967, "Have and be in English syntax", Lg 43, 462-485.
- Belletti, A., 1988, "The case of unaccusatives", LI 19: 1, 1-34.
- Bonet, E., 1990, "Postverbal subjects in Catalan", MIT Working Papers in Linguistics 13, Cambridge, Mass., 1-26.
- -----, 1991, Morphology after syntax, MIT, Ph. D. dissertation.
- Borer, H., 1994, "The Projection of Arguments", in E. Benedicto-J. Runner (eds.) 1994, *Functional Projections*, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, 18-48.

Chomsky, N., 1981, Lectures on government and binding, Dordrecht, Foris.

—, 1989, "Some notes on economy of derivation and representation", MIT Working Papers in Linguistics, vol. 10, Cambridge, Mass., 43-74. [Spanish translation by J. Ormazabal & M. Uribe-Etxebarria in ASJU 25.3 (1990), 659-696].

—, 1993, "A minimalist program for linguistic theory", in K. Hale, and S. J. Keyser (eds.) 1993, 1-51.

—, 1995, The Minimalist Program, The MIT Press.

Cinque, G., 1990, "Ergative adjectives and the Lexicalist Hypothesis", NLLT 8: 1-41.

- Collins, C. & Tráinsson, H., 1993, "Object shift in Double Object Constructions and the theory of Case", in Papers on Case and Agreement II. MIT Working Papers in Linguistics 19, 131-174.
- De Miguel, E., 1992, *El aspecto en la sintaxis del español: Perfectividad e impersonalidad*, Madrid, Ediciones de la Universidad Autónoma de Madrid.
- Fillmore, C. J., 1968, "The case for Case". In E. Bach and R. T. Harms (eds.) 1968, Universals in linguistic theory, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York, 1-88.
  - (28) The Italian sentences in (i) --from Hoeskstra & Mulder (1990)--- show doubtful grammaticality.
    - (i) a. ??Sono arrivati turisti b. ??Sono andati bambini are arrived tourists are gone children

However, the verb *avere* is not possible in (i). In fact, in Alguerese the verb *haver* without the clitic *hi* is not able to appear in (63b). Traditional grammarians argue that Alguerese has three auxiliary verbs: *haver*, *ásser*, and *haver-hi*.

(29) In those languages or dialects without auxiliary selection, the abstract preposition is able to incorporate the abstract verb be whatever its nature.

- Freeze, R., 1992, "Existential and other locatives", Lg 68, 3, 553-595.
- Gràcia, L., 1989, Els verb ergatius en català, Institut Menorquí d' Estudis, Ciutadella de Menorca.
- Guéron, J., 1994, "On HAVE and BE", paper read at NELS 25.
- Hale, K., 1986, "Notes on world view and semantic categories: some Warlpiri examples", in P. Muysken - H. van Riemsdijk (eds.), 1986, Features and projections, Foris, Dordrecht, 233-254.
- -, and S. J. Keyser, 1993a, "On argument structure and the lexical expression of syntactic relations", in K. Hale, and S. J. Keyser (eds.) 1993, 53-109.
- -, and -----, 1993b, "On the complex nature of simple predicators", MIT, ms. -, and -----, (eds.) 1993, *The view from building 20*, Cambridge, Mass., MIT Press.
- Harris, J., 1994, "The syntax-phonology mapping in Catalan and Spanish clitics", MIT Working Papers in Linguistics 21, Cambridge, Mass.
- Hoekstra, T. & R. Mulder, 1990, "Unaccusatives as copular verbs, locational and existential predication", The Linguistic Review 7, 1-79.
- Jespersen, O., 1924, The philosophy of grammar, London: George Alen & Unwin Ltd.
- Kayne, R., 1985, "Accord du participe passé en français et en italien", Modèles linguistiques 7, 72-89.
- -, 1989, "Facets of Romance past participle agreement" in P. Benincà (ed.) 1989, Dialect variation and the theory of grammar, Dordrecht, Foris, 85-103.
- -, 1993, "Toward a modular theory of auxiliary selection", Studia Linguistica 47, 3-31.
- -----, 1994, The antisymmetry of syntax, Cambridge, Mass., MIT Press.
- Levin, B.-M. Rappaport, 1989, "An approach to unaccusative mismatches", NELS 19, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, 314-329.
- Longa, V., G. Lorenzo, and G. Rigau, 1995, "Subject clitics and clitic recycling: Locative sentences in some Iberian Romance languages", ms. MIT/UMass.
- Longobardi, G., 1994, "Reference and Proper Names», LI 25, 4, 609-666.
- McNally, L., 1992, An interpretation for the English existential construction, Ph. D., University of California, Santa Cruz.
- Mahajan, A., 1994, "The Ergativity Parameter: have-be alternation, word order and split ergativity", NELS 24, vol. 1, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, 317-331.
- Moro, A., 1993, I predicati nominali e la struttura della frase, Padova, Unipress.
- Prince, E., 1992, "The ZPG letter: Subjects, definiteness, and information-status", in W. Mann and Thompson, S. (eds.), Discourse description: Diverse linguistic analyses of a fund raising text, Philadelphia, John Benjamins: 295-325.
- Rigau, G., 1982, "Inanimate Indirect Object in Catalan", LI 13, 1, 146-150.
- -, 1991, "On the functional properties of Agr", Catalan Working Papers in Linguistics. 1991, Bellaterra, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 235-260.
  - -, 1994, "Catalan presentational sentences and the properties of Agr nodes", in G. Cinque et al. (eds.), 1994, Path Towards Universal Grammar. Studies in Honor of Richard S. Kayne, Georgetown University Press, Washington DC, 343-359.
- -, 1996, "Relativized impersonality: Deontic sentences in Catalan", ms. Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona.
- Rosen, C., 1984, "The interface between the semantic roles and initial grammatical relations", in D. Perlmutter-C. Rosen (eds.), 1984, Studies in Relational Grammar 2, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 38-77.
- Solà, J., 1994, Sintaxi normativa. Estat de la qüestió, Barcelona, Empúries.
- Solà-Pujols, J., 1992, Agreement and subjects, UAB, Ph. D. dissertation.
- Suñer, M., 1992, Syntax and semantics of Spanish presentational sentence-types, Washington DC, Georgetown University Press.

Torrego, E., 1989, "Unergative-unaccusative alternations in Spanish", MIT Working Papers in Linguistics, vol. 10, Cambridge, Mass., MIT, 253-272.

Tremblay, M., 1991, Possession and datives: Binary branching from the lexicon to syntax, Doctoral dissertation, McGill University.

Van Valin, R. D., 1990, "Semantic parameters of split intransitive", Lg 66, 221-260.

Departament de Filologia Catalana Edifici B Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona 08193 Bellaterra (Barcelona) Spain

e-mail: rigau @ cc.uab.es