

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

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## 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 licenses 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.

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

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 president* 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

(1) 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.

(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'
- b. 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).

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<sup>st</sup>) the complementary distribution of these verbs, as shown in (6), and (2<sup>nd</sup>) 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.

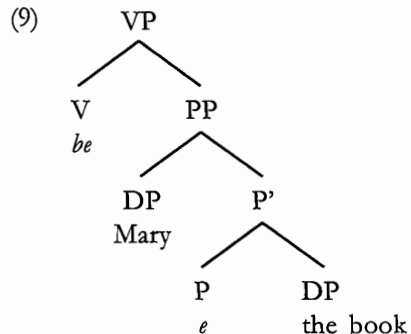
- (7) a. *Hi ha els estudiants*                      b. *Hi han els estudiants*  
       cl. has the students                        cl. have the students  
       'The students are here/there'        'The students are here/there'  
       (Northwestern Catalan)                (Central Catalan)

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)<sup>4</sup>:

- (8) Mary has the book



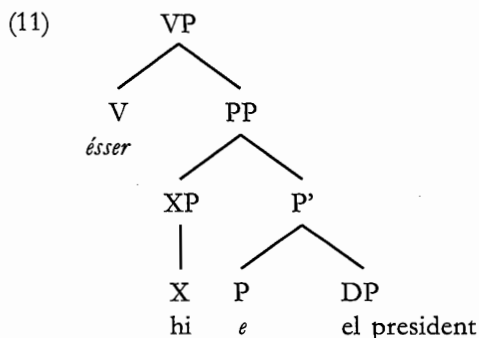
(3) See Kayne (1985, 1989).

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

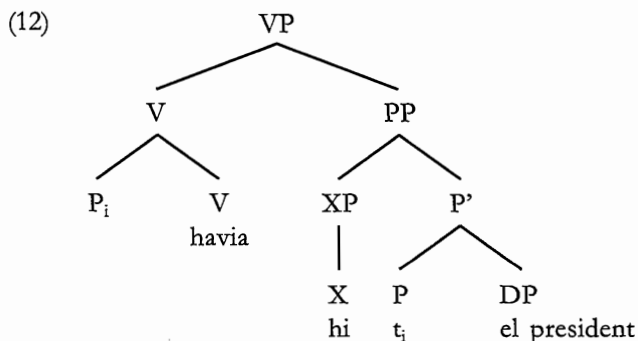
According to Kayne (1993), *have* is an instance of the light verb *be*, to which the abstract preposition has been incorporated. This preposition, defined as a central coincidence preposition, expresses the relation in which one entity is associated or in contact with another. The meaning of this abstract 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)<sup>5</sup>:

- (10) *Hi havia el president*  
 cl. 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.



*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<sup>rd</sup> person singular dative clitic is *li*, 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.      to the jacket cl. lacks a button.  
'The jacket is missing 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 *haver-hi* 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>dat</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 may be considered a default case. Indeed, the assignment or checking of 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                      b. \*Hi ha ella  
cl has / have<sub>1-sing</sub> I                      cl. has she

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

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

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

(14) 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)*  
 cl. has the students  
 'The students are here/there'  
 (Northwestern Catalan)
- b. \**Hi han els estudiants*  
 cl. have the students  
 'The students are here/there'

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

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) [<sub>CP</sub> ... [<sub>NumP</sub> ... [<sub>PersP</sub> ... [<sub>TP</sub> ... [<sub>AgrOP</sub> ... [<sub>VP</sub> ]]]]]]]]

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

(15) 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.

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

is, because of its  $D^0/P^0$  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      b.  $pro_{expl}$  hi ha estudiants  
 expl cl. has some students      expl<sup>1</sup> cl has students  
 'There are some students'      'There are some students'  
 (French)

In contrast to Northwestern Catalan and French, in Central Catalan no expletive pronoun is present in *haver-hi* 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).

- (24) a.  $pro_{expl}$  plou      b.  $pro_{expl}$  sembla que en Joan és aquí  
 'It rains'      'It seems that John is here'

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 phenomenon 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) a. Es pot obrir les finestres.      (Northwestern Catalan)  
 [+T, -P, -Num]  
 cl<sub>arb.</sub> may<sub>3rd,sing</sub> open the windows  
 'The windows may/can be opened'
- b. Es poden obrir les finestres.      (Central Catalan)  
 [+T, -P, +Num]  
 cl<sub>arb.</sub> may<sub>3rd,pl</sub> open the windows  
 'The windows may/can be opened'
- (26) a. Ve pluges.      b. Vénen pluges.  
 [+T, -P, -Num]      [+T, -P, +Num]  
 comes showers      come showers  
 'Showers are coming'      'Showers are coming'  
 (Northwestern Catalan)      (Central 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).

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 clearly shows that it acts as the prominent 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 Northwestern 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.

- (27) a. ...<sub>[NumP]</sub> [<sub>pro<sub>expl</sub></sub>] Num<sup>o</sup> [...<sub>[Agr-OP]</sub> DP Agr-o... (Northwestern Catalan)  
 b. ...<sub>[NumP]</sub> [<sub>DP<sub>i</sub></sub>] Num<sup>o</sup> [...<sub>[Agr-OP]</sub> t<sub>i</sub> Agr-o... (Central Catalan)

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.

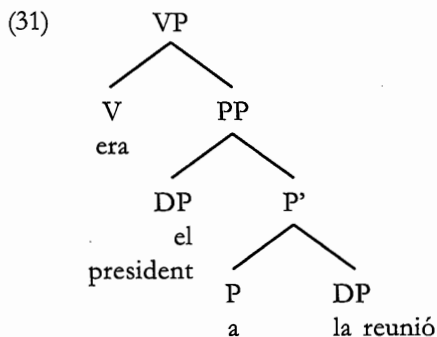
(17) Following Longobardi (1994), I assume that a bare NP may be analyzed as a DP with a covert determiner.

- (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'  
 b. El mal és a l'estómac  
 the pain is in the stomach  
 'The pain is in the stomach'  
 c. 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



- |  |  |
|--|--|
| c. *Hi havia/havien los hòmens<br>cl. had <sub>sing.</sub> /had <sub>pl.</sub> the men<br>'The men were here'<br>(Alguerese Catalan) | c. Hi havien els homes<br>cl. had <sub>pl.</sub> the men<br>'The men were here'<br>(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<br>cl. was the president<br>'The president was here'<br>b. El president hi era<br>the president cl. was<br>'The president was here'<br>(Alguerese Catalan) | (36) a. *Hi era el president<br>cl. was the president<br>b. El president hi era<br>the president cl. was<br>'The president was here'<br>(Northwestern & Central 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 (Chomsky 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<sub>i</sub> no intenta que ell<sub>i</sub> / *pro*<sub>i</sub> guanyi  
 Peter not tries that he / *pro* wins<sub>subjunctive</sub>  
 b. En Pere no intenta PRO guanyar  
 Peter not tries PRO to win  
 'Peter does not try to win'
- (39) a. En Pere<sub>i</sub> no diu que ell<sub>i</sub> / *pro*<sub>i</sub> 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) a. \*Hi era el president (= 36a) (Northwestern & CC)  
 cl. was the president  
 b. Hi era ell  
 cl. was he  
 'He was here/there'  
 c. Hi seré jo  
 cl. will-be I  
 'I will be here/there'

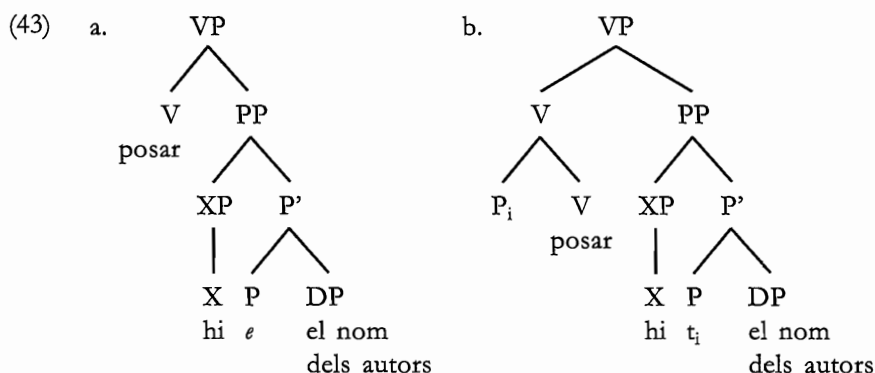
I have suggested that in Northwestern and Central Catalan, (40a) is ungrammatical due to the so-called Avoid Pronoun principle. However (40b) and (40c) are grammatical in these dialects. This may be the reason: because the strong pronouns *ell* 'he' and *jo* 'I' in (40) manifest nominative case, they 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.





- 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-hi*, *hi* 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 president was here'

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 *hi*?" is possible in Catalan in contexts like those in (46)?

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



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) a. Los hay                      b. 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) a. \*Hay los niños            b. \*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.

- (i) a. La discussion a été très intéressante, car il y avait Jean            b. Il y a le doyen  
           the discussion was very interesting, because expl. cl. had John            expl. cl. has the dean  
           'The discussion was very interesting, because John was there'            The dean was there/here
- (ii) \*Il l' y a  
           expl. him cl. has



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

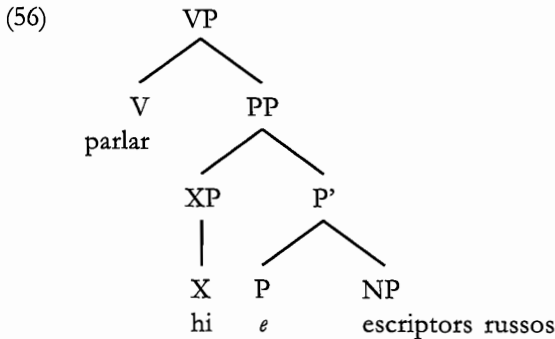
The sentences in (53) are synonymous to those in (54), which are sentences with the stative verb *haver-hi*.

- (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’

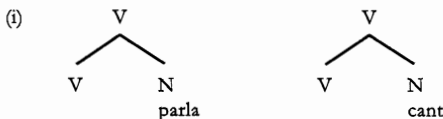
Sentence (53b) and (54b), for instance, express a property of the choir: that the choir has some boys, or that some boys belong to the choir. It is important to note that in Northwestern Catalan, the sentences in (53) do not exhibit number agreement, as shown in (55).

- (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.



- b. La Maria en<sub>i</sub> compra [Q t<sub>j</sub>] d. La Maria en<sub>i</sub> compra [molts t<sub>j</sub>]  
 Mary cl buys Mary cl. buys many  
 'Mary buys some' 'Mary buys 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) a. La mare és venguda                      b. La mare ha cantat  
 The mother is come                              'Mother has sung'  
 'Mother has come'

(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

(25) 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).

- (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.





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 *ésser* 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.

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(28) The Italian sentences in (i) —from Hoekstra & 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 Algerese the verb *haver* without the clitic *hi* is not able to appear in (63b). Traditional grammarians argue that Algerese has three auxiliary verbs: *haver*, *ésser*, 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.

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