

# Clause-final subjects in English and Scandinavian

Marit Julien

In English and in Scandinavian, presentational expletive constructions with clause-final subjects can be derived by moving the subject to a Spec position in the C-domain, and then raising the remainder of the clause across the subject to an even higher position. The discourse properties of the clause-final subjects then follow without further stipulations. Moreover, the view that the clause-final position of the subject is the result of a phonological operation is not tenable, which means that various problems that would arise from this view are avoided after all. The differences between English constructions with clause-final subjects and their Scandinavian counterparts are consequences of the properties of the respective expletives. While the English expletive *there* can be the partial spellout of a subject copy, Scandinavian expletives are always syntactic elements in their own right. Two constructions that to some degree resemble the construction under discussion are shown not to be derived in a parallel fashion. For locative inversion, no analysis is given, but it is shown that it is syntactically rather different from the presentational expletive construction. For the English construction with an expletive and a divalent verb, which Chomsky (2001) takes to involve obligatory movement of the subject to clause-final position, it is argued that it involves a verb with two internal arguments appearing in their base order. The same holds for the corresponding Norwegian construction.

**Keywords** antitopic, clause-final subject, divalent verb, expletive, focus, presentational construction

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

In English, and also in Scandinavian, it is possible for the lexical subject of an unaccusative (or passive) verb to appear in clause-final position, as long as an expletive fills the surface subject position.<sup>1</sup> An English example is seen in (1), and one from Norwegian is given in (2) to represent Scandinavian.<sup>2</sup>

(1) There came into the room **several angry men**.

(2) Det kom til kontoret mitt **noen misnøgde studentar**.

*EXPL came to office.DEF my some dissatisfied students*

‘There came to my office some dissatisfied students.’

In other words, what we have in (1) and (2) is a presentational expletive construction with the lexical subject (the associate of the expletive) displaced to clause-final position. The clause-final position of the subject has received a number of different analyses. For example, Williams (1994:138) sees it as a case of VP-adjunction, whereas Chomsky (2001) takes it to be the outcome of a phonological operation. I will instead propose an analysis that takes as its starting point the observation that the clause-final subjects in (1) and (2) have discourse properties that are otherwise associated with the left periphery of the clause. Because of this, I think it is interesting to try out the idea that the clause-final subject has actually moved to the left periphery of the clause. If such an analysis can be maintained, one welcome consequence is that we can also maintain the idea that there is a certain division of labour between the domains of a clause: thematic relations are established in the vP, which is the lowest domain, grammatical relations are established in the IP, which is the middle domain, and relations that are relevant to the discourse are established in the highest part of the clause, the C-domain.

My analysis builds on the proposal in Rizzi (1997) that the C-domain of a clause can contain a focus position layered between topic positions, and also on the proposal in Julien (2002) that many cases of intralinguistic word order variation are due to movement of smaller or larger constituents, and sometimes even of the whole IP, into these high focus and topic positions.

For a precise understanding of the notions ‘focus’ and ‘topic’, I adopt the definitions given in Lambrecht (1994), according to which focus is ‘the semantic component of a pragmatically structured proposition whereby the assertion differs from the presupposition’ (p. 213) and topic is a referent such that the proposition ‘is relevant to and increases the addressee’s knowledge of this referent’ (p. 131).

English clause-final subjects will be discussed later. In order to give a brief introduction to my analysis I will concentrate first on the Norwegian construction in (2). In this example, the clause-final DP will most naturally be interpreted as focus. That is, in a situation where there is a presupposition that somebody came to my office, the sentence in (2) can be used to correct or fill in this presupposition with the information that some dissatisfied students did so.

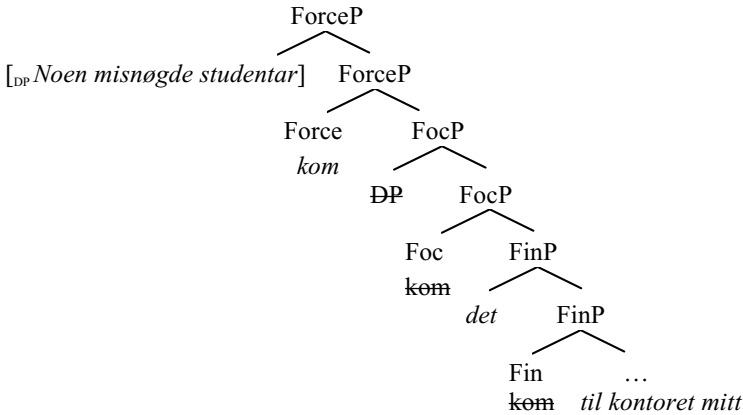
This is the same reading that we have in (3), where the lexical subject is in clause-initial position. Note that I include an expletive in (3), to make it clear that the lexical subject is not in the canonical surface subject position, but higher up.

- (3) **Noen misnøgde studentar** kom det til kontoret mitt.  
*some dissatisfied students came EXPL to office.DEF my*  
 ‘Some dissatisfied students came to my office.’

On my analysis the clause in (3) has the syntactic structure shown in (4). The lexical subject sits in the Spec of Force, which is the highest head of the clause, and the one that encodes the illocutionary force of the clause (cf. Rizzi 1997). However, the lexical subject has not moved directly to Spec-ForceP from its base position. It has

first, because of its focus feature, been attracted to the Spec of Foc, which is the head immediately below Force in this case (there are no Topic heads and no topic). But Norwegian is a V2 language, and I take this to mean that Force has special properties: it has an unvalued finiteness feature, which causes it to attract the finite verb to value that feature, and it has an EPP feature, which causes it to attract the closest available phrase to its Spec (this conception of V2 is taken from Julien 2007). Consequently, the subject moves from FocP to Spec-ForceP, and the finite verb moves all the way to Force from its base position in VP.

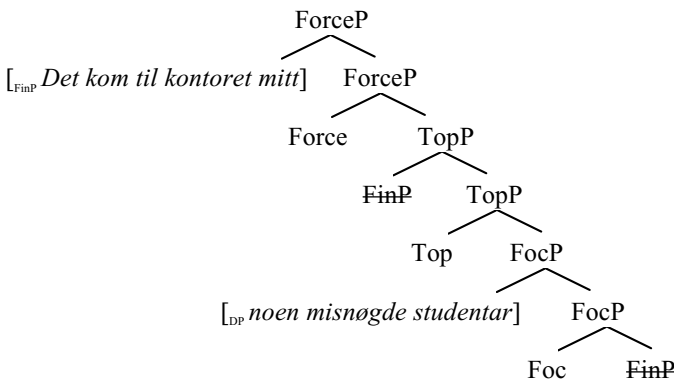
(4)



Note here that I use the term FinP instead of IP, since I believe that the highest head of ‘IP’ is a Finite head, and not Tense or AgrS (cf. Rizzi 1997, Platzack 1998, Julien 2002). Hence, I take the expletive to be located in Spec-FinP, while the directional PP *til kontoret mitt* ‘to my office’ is in some lower position inside FinP.

Turning now to (2), I suggest that when the clause-final subject here is interpreted as focus, the clause has the syntactic structure shown in (5). As we see, the subject has moved to Spec-FocP, just like in (4), but then the FinP has moved across it to the Spec of a higher head. I call this head Top here, but if my analysis is correct, it is related not only to topics but to presupposition more generally.

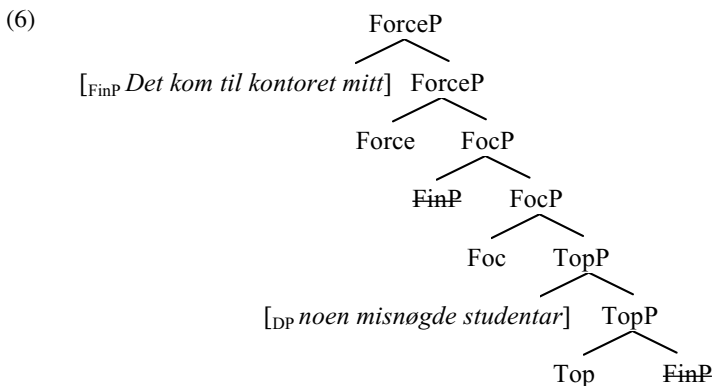
(5)



With FinP sitting in Spec-TopP, Force cannot attract the finite verb. Instead, it attracts the whole FinP to its Spec, thereby satisfying its EPP feature and at the same time getting its unvalued finiteness feature valued. We nevertheless have a V2 clause, not as a consequence of a phrase moving to Spec-ForceP and the finite verb moving to Force, but because FinP has the finite verb in second position, following the expletive.

More marginally, it is also possible to utter (2) in a context where the lexical subject *noen misnøgde studentar* ‘some dissatisfied students’ is already an established topic. In that case, the lexical subject will have the discourse function that Lambrecht (1994:202) refers to as ANTITOPIC. For Lambrecht, an antitopic is partly recognised by its position, which is clause-final and preceded by a focused constituent, but in addition, it can be characterised as an unaccented lexical topic. Further, the referent of the antitopic must be highly accessible to the speaker and to the listener, and it cannot have a contrasting function or mark a new topic or a topic shift. This description is consistent with the discourse function that the clause-final subject in (2) takes on when it is not focused.

When the clause-final subject is an antitopic, we arguably have the structure in (6). Here I follow the proposal concerning the syntactic position of antitopics found in Julien (2002), according to which antitopics are located in the topic position below Focus. The constituent immediately preceding an antitopic will then be the focus of the clause. In this particular case, the whole FinP has moved to Spec-FocP, following the extraction of the antitopic. This gives the same word order as in (5), but with a different distribution of discourse functions.



In the next section, section 2, I deal in more detail with the syntax of clause-final subjects in Scandinavian. Then in section 3 I turn to English, and I argue that the syntactic structure sketched in (5) is also a possible analysis of English presentational expletive constructions with clause-final subjects. However, the relation between the expletive and its associate is different in English from that in Scandinavian. In

Scandinavian, the expletive is merged as such from the outset, whereas in the English constructions under discussion, the expletive *there* is the partial spellout of a copy of the associate. The observed differences between the English constructions and their counterparts in Scandinavian follow from this. I also look briefly at English LOCATIVE INVERSION and conclude that the analysis in (5) does not apply to it, although there are certain similarities between expletive constructions with clause-final subjects and locative inversion.

The topic of section 4 is the interaction between clause-final subjects and *wh*-movement. The reason why I deal with this is that Chomsky (2001:22–23) sees the inability of English clause-final subjects to undergo *wh*-movement as evidence that their clause-final position is the result of a phonological operation. I show that there are problems with Chomsky's assumption even as far as English is concerned, and I then compare English to Scandinavian, where question formation applies more freely to presentational expletive constructions. Hence, Chomsky's analysis cannot in any case be extended to Scandinavian. However, the differences between English and Scandinavian follow from my proposal that the relation between the expletive and the associate is different in English from that in Scandinavian.

In the last main section, section 5, I discuss the divalent expletive construction found in English and Norwegian, a construction where a verb appears with two lexical arguments and an expletive. Chomsky (2001) refers to these constructions as 'transitive expletive' constructions, and claims that they too involve obligatory rightward displacement of the subject. I argue that they do not; instead, in these constructions the verb combines with two internal arguments that may appear in their base order.

Having shown that neither locative inversion nor the divalent expletive construction involves the same syntactic movements as the presentational expletive construction, we can identify the constructions that the analysis sketched in (5) and (6) applies to as presentational expletive constructions with the single lexical argument in clause-final position.

## 2. CLAUSE-FINAL SUBJECTS IN SCANDINAVIAN

I will now take a closer look at presentational constructions with clause-final subjects in Scandinavian, for the most part exemplified by Norwegian. First, in section 2.1, I show that the effect of negation indicates that clause-final subjects are either foci or antitopics. In 2.2 I argue that the movements to the C-domain that cause the subject to end up in clause-final position can and must undergo reconstruction. This explains the binding relations seen with clause-final subjects. In 2.3 I show how it follows under my analysis that clause-final subjects in Mainland Scandinavian must be indefinite and never have a generic reading. Finally, in 2.4, I show that Scandinavian expletives

can value the features of Fin without help from a nominal associate. The relevance of this will become clear in section 3, where I turn to English.

## 2.1 The effect of negation

In order to see more clearly the discourse functions of Scandinavian clause-final subjects, we can make use of the fact that negation, like other operators, targets the focus of the clause. Consider the Norwegian examples in (7).

- (7) a. Eg ÅT ikkje eplet.  
*I ate not apple.DEF*  
 ‘I didn’t EAT the apple.’
- b. Eg åt ikkje EPLET.  
*I ate not apple.DEF*  
 ‘I didn’t eat THE APPLE.’
- c. EG åt ikkje eplet.  
*I ate not apple.DEF*  
 ‘I [focused] didn’t eat the apple.’

In all three examples in (7) it is the negation of the accentuated constituent that distinguishes the assertion from the presupposition. That is, the focus is the accented constituent with the negation applied to it.

Now consider the example in (8a), which is a negated clause with a clause-final subject. The most natural reading is one where the negation applies to the subject, so that the negated subject represents the focus of the clause.

- (8) a. Det kom ikkje inn på kontoret EIN MISNØGD STUDENT.  
*EXPL came not in at office.DEF a dissatisfied student*  
 ‘There didn’t come into the office A DISSATISFIED STUDENT.’
- b. Det kom ikkje inn på KONTORET ein misnøgd student.  
*EXPL came not in at office.DEF a dissatisfied student*  
 ‘There didn’t come a dissatisfied student into the OFFICE.’

It is however possible to force other constituents to be interpreted as focus. In (8b), accentuation falls within the locational phrase, and accordingly, the focus is taken to be the negation of this phrase. The subject must then be an antitopic, and it will receive a characteristic flat intonation. That is, the two varieties in (8) are exactly parallel to the two options that were noted with respect to discourse functions in (2). I therefore conclude that the syntactic structure of (8a) is like the one shown in (5), with FinP moved to Spec-ForceP via Spec-TopP, and with the clause-final subject sitting in Spec-FocP, whereas the (8b) has the syntactic structure that was shown in (6), with the subject in the Spec of the lower TopP and the FinP raised to Spec-FocP and Spec-ForceP.

**2.2 Clause-final subjects and reconstruction**

A possible objection to my analysis of (8a) is that the focused constituent is not within the scope of the negation if the surface structure is as shown in (5). The negation will be too deeply embedded in FinP to be able to c-command the constituent in Spec-FocP. However, it is easy to show that a focused element is allowed to move out of the scope of the negation in the syntax while still being interpreted within that scope. Consider (9), where the negation clearly targets the fronted focus phrase. This is not very surprising given that the movement that the focus phrase has undergone is A'-movement, which generally allows reconstruction. Thus, at the semantic interface the focus phrase IS within the scope of the negation.

- (9) [DP MISNØGDE STUDENTAR] har eg ikkje møtt DP.  
*dissatisfied students have I not met*  
 'DISSATISFIED STUDENTS, I have not met.'

The structure in (5) is admittedly more complicated. Not only has the focus expression been extracted out of FinP, but FinP has also moved across the extracted phrase. Hence, interpreting the focused element as being inside the scope of the negation would require not only the focused phrase but in fact the whole FinP to reconstruct, that is, to be interpreted in the position where it appeared before movement. I will argue that this is what happens.

First, note that in Norwegian a clause-final subject can bind into a preceding constituent, as in (10a), but as (10b) shows, the converse is not possible. The example in (10c) is to show that under normal circumstances, the possessor in the partitive possessive construction can indeed be reflexive, so the problem with (10b) must lie elsewhere.

- (10) a. Det låg DP<sub>i</sub> på teppet sitt<sub>i</sub> [DP ein søt liten katt]<sub>i</sub>.  
*EXPL lay on blanket.DEF REFL.POSS a cute little cat*  
 'A cute little cat was lying on its blanket.'
- b. Det kom DP<sub>i</sub> saman med Anne<sub>i</sub> [DP ein ven av henne<sub>i</sub>/\*seg<sub>i</sub>].  
*EXPL came together with Anne a friend of hers/REFL*  
 'Together with Anne came a friend of hers.'
- c. Anne<sub>i</sub> kom saman med ein ven av seg<sub>i</sub>.  
*Anne came together with a friend of REFL*  
 'Anne came together with a friend of hers.'

The binding relation in (10a) and the unavailability of the reflexive in (10b) might be taken to indicate that the clause-final subjects have right-adjoined in a position which is high enough to allow it to bind into the FinP. However, certain facts from Turkish suggest that this is not the case.

Like many other verb-final languages, Turkish allows various constituents, even subjects, to appear in postverbal position. An example is given in (11) (from Kornfilt 1997:206).

- (11) Ali-ye kitab-ı ver-di Hasan.  
*Ali-DAT book-ACC give-PAST Hasan*  
 ‘He<sub>i</sub> gave the book to Ali, Hasan<sub>i</sub>.’

As indicated, the postverbal subject has a marked status in the discourse. Kornfilt (1997:206) says that postverbal constituents in Turkish represent the shared presuppositions of the speaker and the hearer, while Erguvanlı (1984:50ff.) and Kural (1997:499) characterise their discourse function as background. Either formulation seems to be compatible with the postverbal constituents being antitopics, which is also a possible reading of Scandinavian clause-final subjects, as we have seen.

Since the unmarked order in Turkish is SOV, it is more evident in Turkish than in Norwegian that a clause-final argument must have left the position where it was first merged. Now as Kural (1997) notes, it is possible for a postverbal anaphor or pronoun in Turkish to be bound from a preverbal position. This is shown in (12) (from Kural 1997:506).

- (12) a. Herkes<sub>i</sub> dün ara-mış [*pro*<sub>i</sub> anne-sin-i].  
*everyone yesterday call-PAST mother-3SG-ACC*  
 ‘Everyone<sub>i</sub> called his<sub>i</sub> mother yesterday.’  
 b. Herkes<sub>i</sub> dün ara-mış birbir-in-i.  
*everyone yesterday call-PAST each.other-3SG-ACC*  
 ‘Everyone called each other yesterday.’

According to Kural (1997), Turkish postverbal constituents are right-adjoined to CP, and they undergo reconstruction at LF whenever it is required by the binding relations, but not otherwise. We would then expect there to be no reconstruction if appropriate binding relations can be established without reconstruction. This means that if Kural’s proposal is correct, a postverbal object should be able to bind into a preverbal subject. But as (13) demonstrates, this is not possible (Murat Kural, p.c.).

- (13) \*Birbir-ler-in-in anne-ler-i ara-dı adam-lar-ı.  
*each.other-PL-3-GEN mother-PL-3SG call-PAST man-PL-ACC*  
 ‘Each other’s mothers called the men.’

Whereas the ungrammaticality of (13) requires some additional stipulation if Kural’s (1997) analysis is adopted, it follows naturally from the analysis I am proposing. After the object and the FinP have moved separately to the C-domain, there is no c-command relation between the subject and the object. A binding relation between these arguments must therefore be established before movement to the C-domain. But at that stage, the object is lower than the subject, and consequently, binding into the subject by the object is impossible whether or not there is reconstruction.<sup>3</sup>



In (12a, b), on the other hand, the binding relations that we see are compatible with the structural relations before movement to the C-domain. Hence, if the word order at Spellout is derived as indicated in (5), it must be the case that at the semantic interface, both the fronted FinP and the postverbal constituent are read off in the positions where they appeared before they moved to the C-domain. That is, at the semantic interface the FinP is back in its position below the C-domain, and the object is back inside FinP. Now if this is possible in Turkish, it should be possible in Norwegian as well, and accordingly, I maintain that (8a) is derived as shown in (5), and that the binding relations in (10a, b) involve reconstruction.

### 2.3 Other properties of Scandinavian clause-final subjects

Let us now consider the Norwegian paradigm given in (14), which is representative of Scandinavian more generally. We see that an indefinite plural subject positioned in Spec-FinP, as in (14a), can have a generic reading (GEN) or, perhaps with some effort, an existential (EX) reading. But with an expletive in Spec-FinP, its associate, the lexical subject, can only have an existential reading, regardless of whether it appears in its FinP-internal position, as in (14b), in a focus position at the left periphery, as in (14c), or in clause-final position, as in (14d).

- (14) a. Dårleg motiverte studentar kjem sjeldan på forelesningane.      GEN/?EX  
*poorly motivated students come seldom on lectures.DEF*  
 ‘Poorly motivated students rarely come to the lectures.’
- b. Det kjem sjeldan dårleg motiverte studentar på forelesningane.      EX  
*EXPL come seldom poorly motivated students on lectures.DEF*
- c. Dårleg motiverte studentar kjem det sjeldan på forelesningane.      EX  
*poorly motivated students come EXPL seldom on lectures.DEF*
- d. Det kjem sjeldan på forelesningane dårleg motiverte studentar.      EX  
*EXPL come seldom on lectures.DEF poorly motivated students*

The readings in (14) can be explained as follows. Generic indefinite subjects in Scandinavian must move to Spec-FinP, as in (14a). Existential indefinite subjects can also move to this position, or alternatively appear in a lower (possibly vP-internal) position. Both findings are consistent with the generalisations in Diesing (1992). When the lexical subject appears in the lower position, Spec-FinP is obligatorily filled by an expletive, as in (14b). When a subject in the lower position is fronted across the expletive, as in (14c), the existential reading is retained. This is also the case if the FinP is fronted across a subject that has been so extracted, as in (14d).

In Scandinavian, the FinP can move across an extracted subject only if there is an expletive in Spec-FinP. But the expletive appears in Spec-FinP only if the lexical subject itself has not moved to Spec-FinP. Hence, a clause-final subject must have been extracted from a position below Spec-FinP. This is reflected in the fact that

unlike a subject in Spec-FinP, but like a subject in the lower FinP-internal position, a clause-final subject must be indefinite – compare the examples in (14) to (15a, b, d). The same holds for a subject that has been fronted across an expletive – compare (14c) and (15c).

- (15) a. Dei dårlegast motiverte studentane kjem sjeldan på forelesningane.  
*the poorly.SUP motivated students.DEF come seldom on lectures.DEF*  
 ‘The most poorly motivated students rarely come to the lectures.’
- b. \*Det kjem sjeldan dei dårlegast motiverte studentane på forelesningane.  
*EXPL come seldom the poorly.SUP motivated students.DEF on lectures.DEF*
- c. \*Dei dårlegast motiverte studentane kjem det sjeldan på forelesningane.  
*the poorly.SUP motivated students.DEF come EXPL seldom on lectures.DEF*
- d. \*Det kjem sjeldan på forelesningane dei dårlegast motiverte studentane.  
*EXPL come seldom on lectures.DEF the poorly.SUP motivated students.DEF*

In other words, it seems that subjects can be definite only if they move to Spec-FinP at some point of the derivation. But note that it is arguably not the case that there must be an expletive in Spec-FinP whenever the lexical subject is not in that position. In (16) the clause-initial subject has probably raised to Spec-ForceP via Spec-FinP (since there is no expletive in that position) and Spec-FocP (since the subject is focused). And just like in (14a), it can have a generic or an existential reading. That is, either reading is allowed as long as the subject has touched down in Spec-FinP, which is where the generic reading arises.

- (16) DÅRLEG MOTIVERTE STUDENTAR kjem sjeldan på forelesningane. EX/GEN  
*poorly motivated students come seldom on lectures.DEF*  
 ‘POORLY MOTIVATED STUDENTS rarely come to the lectures.’

If the subject in (16) is in Spec-ForceP, there must be a trace or, in other words, a copy that is not spelled out, in Spec-FinP. This is expected to be possible as long as Spec-FinP is c-commanded by the moved subject. The difference between (16) and the example in (14d), where the subject is also in the C-domain, according to my analysis, is that in the latter case, the FinP is shifted leftwards over the subject. The result is that the subject does not c-command Spec-FinP, and consequently, the expletive becomes obligatory.

To be more explicit, raising of FinP to Spec-XP is allowed in the configuration in (17a), but not in (17b).

- (17) a. [<sub>XP</sub> X [<sub>YP</sub> Subj Y [<sub>FinP</sub> EXPL . . . **Subj** . . . ]]]  
 b. [<sub>XP</sub> X [<sub>YP</sub> Subj Y [<sub>FinP</sub> **Subj** . . . ]]]

In (17a), the FinP-internal subject copy is licensed through c-command by the expletive in Spec-FinP, and it will still be c-commanded by the expletive even if FinP moves to a higher position. Hence, the structure is still legitimate after raising

of FinP across the extracted lexical subject. In (17b), on the other hand, the lower subject copy is c-commanded by the higher subject copy. In this configuration, raising of FinP will result in an unlicensed copy in Spec-FinP, since this copy will then end up in sentence-initial position and it will not be c-commanded by another constituent in subject position.

**2.4 On expletives in Scandinavian**

It should be noted that the expletive *det*, seen in several of the preceding Norwegian examples, is formally identical to the third person singular neuter personal pronoun. This can be seen from (18).

- (18) Hus-et,                    det var stor-t.  
       *house-DEF.N.SG it<sub>N</sub> was big-N.SG*  
       ‘The house, it was big.’

*Det* is also the subject of weather verbs (i.e. it functions as a quasi-argument), and it fills the canonical subject position when the lexical subject is a postverbal clause. This is shown in (19).

- (19) a. Det regnar.  
       *it rains*  
       ‘It is raining.’
- b. Det blir sagt at Veronica er skuldig.  
       *it becomes said that Veronica is guilty*  
       ‘It is said that Veronica is guilty.’

These facts indicate that *det* has a full set of nominal features, and it can value the features of Fin without help from a nominal associate.

Swedish *det* has the same properties as Norwegian *det* – in fact, examples (18) and (19a) could also be Swedish, and in (19b), only a few words would be spelled differently. In Faroese, the form of the pronoun/expletive is *tað*, and in Icelandic, it is *það*. In (20), I show that the Icelandic *það* is the subject of weather verbs, it fills the subject position when the lexical subject is a postverbal clause, and it is also used as an expletive in presentational constructions with clause-final subjects.

- (20) a. Það rignir í Reykjavík.  
       *EXPL rains in Reykjavik*  
       ‘It is raining in Reykjavik.’
- b. Það er sagt að hann hafi fæðst árið 1970.  
       *it is said that he has born.PASS year.DEF 1970*  
       ‘It is said that he was born in 1970.’
- c. Það kom til mín stúlka sem hafði lent í alvarlegu bílslysi.  
       *EXPL came to me girl that had fallen in serious car.accident*  
       ‘There came to me a girl who had been in a serious car accident.’

With weather verbs, Danish also uses the pronominal quasi-argument *det*, as the example in (21a) illustrates. But as (21b) shows, as an expletive with a clausal subject associate, *det* alternates freely with *der* (see Vikner 1995:243–244). *Der* parallels the English *there* in that it is otherwise a locative adverbial.

- (21) a. Det regner.  
*it rains*  
 ‘It is raining.’
- b. Det/der bliver sagt, at vi er hvad vi spiser.  
*it/there becomes said that we are what we eat*  
 ‘It is said that we are what we eat.’

When the associate is a DP, on the other hand, only *der* is possible:

- (22) Der kom en pakke med posten.  
*EXPL came a package with mail.DEF*  
 ‘There arrived a package in the mail.’

Nevertheless, expletive *der*-constructions in Danish have the same syntactic properties as other Scandinavian expletive constructions. While a non-expletive DP in the canonical subject position can have a generic or an existential interpretation, the DP associate of *der* only has an existential interpretation, regardless of its linear position relative to the expletive. Moreover, the associate of *der* must be indefinite. These properties are illustrated in (23) and (24).

- (23) a. Dårligt motiverede studerende kommer sjældent  
*poorly motivated students come seldom*  
 til forelæsningerne. GEN/?EX  
*to lectures.DEF*  
 ‘Poorly motivated students rarely come to the lectures.’
- b. Der kommer sjældent dårligt motiverede studerende  
*EXPL come seldom poorly motivated students*  
 til forelæsningerne. EX  
*to lectures.DEF*
- c. Dårligt motiverede studerende kommer der sjældent  
*poorly motivated students come EXPL seldom*  
 til forelæsningerne. EX  
 to lectures.DEF
- d. Der kommer sjældent til forelæsningerne dårligt  
*EXPL come seldom to lectures.DEF poorly*  
 motiverede studerende. EX  
*motivated students*

- (24) a. De dårligst motiverede studerende kommer sjældent  
*the poorly.SUP motivated students come seldom*  
 til forelæsningerne.  
*to lectures.DEF*  
 ‘The most poorly motivated students rarely come to the lectures.’
- b. \*Der kommer sjældent de dårligst motiverede studerende  
*EXPL come seldom the poorly.SUP motivated students*  
 til forelæsningerne.  
*to lectures.DEF*
- c. \*De dårligst motiverede studerende kommer der sjældent til  
*the poorly.SUP motivated students come EXPL seldom to*  
 forelæsningerne.  
*lectures.DEF*
- d. \*Der kommer sjældent til forelæsningerne de dårligst motiverede  
*EXPL come seldom to lectures.DEF the poorly.SUP motivated*  
 studerende.  
*students*

These data indicate that the subject in presentational expletive constructions in Danish, when it appears outside FinP, has not moved via Spec-FinP. Instead, it has crossed the expletive that sits in Spec-FinP. Moreover, the Danish expletive *der* has the same syntactic properties as the Norwegian/Swedish expletive *det*.<sup>4</sup>

### 3. CLAUSE-FINAL SUBJECTS IN ENGLISH

It is now time to consider English presentational expletive constructions with clause-final subjects. In section 3.1 I look at the clause-final subjects themselves, and in 3.2 I discuss the relation between the subject and the expletive *there*. I propose that *there* can be the partial spellout of a copy of the subject. In 3.3, I show how it follows from this relation that clause-final subjects are not generic. Finally, in 3.4 I briefly compare the English expletive clause-final subject construction to the locative inversion construction, and I conclude that although the two constructions are similar in some ways, there are also important differences.

#### 3.1 Some properties of clause-final subjects in English

In English, clause-final subjects are normally associated with focus – see, for example, Rochemont & Culicover (1990:25). Thus, there is a clear contrast between the sentences in (25a) and (25b).

- (25) a. There came to my office a horde of angry students after the meeting.  
 b. There came to my office after the meeting A HORDE OF ANGRY STUDENTS.

In (25a), no particular presuppositions need be invoked, and the focus domain may extend over the whole proposition. In (25b), the displaced subject phrase stands out as where the assertion differs from the presupposition. That is, the subject is unambiguously focused. This indicates that the structure in (5) is available in English as well.

A more remarkable property of English clause-final subject constructions is that there is no definiteness effect. In (26), the definite subject is acceptable (see e.g. Rochemont & Culicover 1990:29). By contrast, when the subject is in a low FinP-internal position, as in (27), it must be indefinite.

(26) There walked into the room the man she had no desire to see.

- (27) a. There was a man walking into the room.  
 b. \*There was the man walking into the room.

The facts are similar when it comes to expletive passive constructions. If the stative reading is ignored, the real argument in an expletive passive construction cannot be definite if it is spelled out below Spec-FinP, as in (28a). But if it is in Spec-FinP, as in (28b), or in clause-final position, as in (28c), it can be definite.

- (28) a. \*There was the book placed on the table.  
 b. The book that Mary wanted everyone to see was placed on the table.  
 c. There was placed on the table the book that Mary wanted everyone to see.

The absence of definiteness effect in (26) and (28c) is clearly a problem for the analysis given in Chomsky (2001), according to which a phonological operation puts the lexical subject in clause-final position in constructions of this type. This means that (26), for example, is derived from (29) by an essentially phonological operation.

(29) \*There walked the man she had no desire to see into the room.

As we see, (29) is completely ungrammatical, and the reason is that the lexical subject is definite and appears in a position where definite DPs are not allowed. If the definiteness effect has to do with licensing conditions for DPs (see e.g. Belletti 1988), it is rather unlikely that a non-syntactic operation can make the subject escape the requirement that it should be indefinite. Instead, the operation must be syntactic.

### **3.2 The relation between the expletive and its associate**

Another fact about English expletive constructions is that the associate may not c-command the expletive. Consider the English paradigm in (30), which parallels

the Scandinavian paradigms given in (14) and (23).

- |         |  |        |
|---------|--|--------|
| (30) a. | Poorly motivated students rarely come to my lectures.        | EX/GEN |
| b.      | There rarely come poorly motivated students to my lectures.  | EX     |
| c.      | *Poorly motivated students there rarely come to my lectures. | —      |
| d.      | There rarely come to my lectures poorly motivated students.  | EX     |

We see that English is like Scandinavian in that a full subject in the canonical subject position can have a generic or an existential interpretation, while only the existential interpretation is available for the associate of an expletive. The difference between English and Scandinavian is that the English (30c), with a topicalised associate c-commanding the expletive, is ungrammatical, whereas the corresponding Scandinavian constructions in (14c) and (23c) are fine. But the ungrammaticality of (30c) cannot be blamed on the properties of *there* as such, since, as we have seen, Danish uses a similar expletive in exactly parallel constructions. Instead, it must be the RELATION between the expletive and its associate that is different in English.

Let us nevertheless first look at the properties of the expletive. Just like the Danish expletive *der*, English *there* is always coindexed with an associate DP. When there is no associate DP, *there* cannot fill the subject position in English. Thus, we find *it* and not *there* as the subject of weather verbs, as in (31a), and where the lexical subject is a clause, as in (31b).

- |         |  |
|---------|--|
| (31) a. | {It/*there} is raining.                  |
| b.      | {It/*there} was said that he was guilty. |

The impossibility of having expletive *there* in (31a, b) follows if *there* does not have a full set of nominal features. I will assume, with Chomsky (2001:16), that *there* has only a person feature. The number feature must then be filled in by a fully specified DP. A well-known consequence is that the verb shows number agreement with the associate in constructions with expletive *there*.

So far, English *there* is like Danish *der*. But as we have seen, English expletive constructions are different from their Danish counterparts.<sup>5</sup> My proposal is that the differences are due to a special property of English expletive constructions, namely, that while Scandinavian expletives are merged in positions that the associate has not moved to, the English expletive *there* can be inserted in positions that the associate has moved out of. In other words, *there* can spell out the person feature of a copy of the associate.<sup>6</sup> However, for economy reasons, this may only happen when it is necessary for convergence. The properties of English expletive constructions now follow.

Firstly, if *there* can spell out a copy of its associate, the absence of definiteness effect in constructions like (26) is expected. On my analysis, (26), repeated below as (32a), is derived by moving the lexical subject to Spec-FinP, which is the only FinP-internal position where definite subjects can appear. After that, the definite subject

moves out of FinP to Spec-FocP, and then the FinP raises to a topic position above where the subject has ended up. The result is the syntactic structure shown in (32b).<sup>7</sup>

(32) a. There walked into the room the man she had no desire to see.

b. [<sub>TopP</sub> [<sub>FinP</sub> **Subj** . . . **Subj** . . . ] Top [<sub>FocP</sub> Subj Foc **FinP**]]

↓  
*there*

In this structure, the subject does not c-command its copy in Spec-FinP. Hence, English does not allow that copy to be phonologically null, and consequently, it is spelled out as *there* instead.

Secondly, if *there* has only a person feature it must be a third person feature. It follows that the associate of *there* cannot be first or second person. Hence, the construction in (33), with a first person pronoun in the clause-final subject, is much worse than (32a).

(33) \*There walked into the room me/I and my two faithful followers.

Now consider the example in (34a), which shares with (32a) the movement of the lexical subject to Spec-FinP and then to a focus position in the C-domain, but differs in that the subsequent raising of FinP has not taken place.

(34) a. POORLY MOTIVATED STUDENTS (\*there) rarely come to my lectures.

b. [<sub>FocP</sub> Subj Foc [<sub>FinP</sub> **Subj** . . . **Subj** . . . ]]

c. \* [<sub>FocP</sub> Subj Foc [<sub>FinP</sub> *there* . . . **Subj** . . . ]]

As indicated, it is not grammatical to spell out the subject copy in Spec-FinP as *there* in this case. Since the higher subject copy c-commands Spec-FinP, it is OK to leave Spec-FinP phonologically empty, as in (34b), and consequently, spelling it out as *there*, as in (34c), is not allowed.

### 3.3 English clause-final subjects and genericity

Another contrast between constructions like (34a), with the focused subject in clause-initial position, and constructions like (26) and (30d), with the focused subject in clause-final position, is that the subject can have an existential or a generic reading in the former but only an existential reading in the latter. I sum this up in (35).

(35) a. POORLY MOTIVATED STUDENTS rarely come to my lectures. EX/GEN

b. There rarely come to my lectures POORLY MOTIVATED STUDENTS. EX/\*GEN

Intuitively, the contrast seen here is unexpected on my analysis. If the subject has moved via Spec-FinP, we would expect it to retain a possible generic reading whenever it raises to Spec-FocP, and we would also expect the raising of FinP across the extracted subject to have no influence on the interpretation of the subject. So why does (35b) not allow a generic reading of the subject?



It has been observed before that the presentational *there*-construction, exemplified by (35b), is only possible with stage level predicates. This is noted by Chierchia (1995), who proposes that individual level predicates involve a generic operator which competes with the existential operator supplied by the *there*-construction in such a way that the two are incompatible. He also points out that individual level predicates, but not stage level predicates, assign a generic reading to bare plural subjects. It follows that bare plural subjects in *there*-constructions cannot have a generic reading.

Inspired by Milsark (1979), Chierchia suggests that the generic operator supplied by individual level predicates turns the subject into a strong NP. Hence, in expressions like (36) we have something very similar to the definiteness effect: since it is bound by the generic operator of the predicate *tall*, the subject *a man* is a strong NP, and consequently, it is not acceptable in *there*-constructions.

(36) ??There is a man tall.

Note, however, that (36) is an example of an EXISTENTIAL expletive construction, whereas (35b) is a PRESENTATIONAL expletive construction. It has been known since Aissen (1975) that the two construction types are different. For example, as we have seen, the associate in presentational expletive construction can be definite. This means that it is not the resulting strength that prevents the subject in (35b) from receiving an individual level interpretation. Nevertheless, the generalisation that the presentational expletive construction only allows stage level predicates seems to hold, whatever the reason might be. Since a generic reading of the subject in (35b) would require an individual level predicate, a generic reading is not available here.

It is not the case, though, that the presentational *there*-construction disallows genericity in general. If we take (35b) as an example, we see that this sentence can be interpreted generically with a reading that can be rendered informally as ‘for my lectures it holds that poorly motivated students rarely come to them’, although the reading ‘for poorly motivated students it holds that they rarely come to my lectures’ is not available. In terms of Krifka et al. (1995:25), the sentence allows a reading where *my lectures* is the restrictor, but not a reading where *poorly motivated students* is the restrictor. The deeper reason for this contrast will have to be worked out.

### 3.4 Presentational *there* and locative inversion

Given the analysis I have proposed of presentational constructions with clause-final subjects, a question arises concerning constructions with locative inversion, as exemplified in (37).

(37) Into the room walked John.

Locative inversion is known to have several properties in common with presentational *there*-constructions. For example, Rochemont & Culicover (1990) point out that

the subject is postverbal and focused in both constructions, and moreover, neither construction allows *wh*-movement of the subject or out of the subject. Furthermore, locative inversion allows the subject to be definite, as (37) demonstrates. The same holds of a clause-final subject in the presentational *there*-construction, as we have seen. The similarities between presentational *there* and locative inversion might be taken to suggest that the two construction types are derived in a parallel fashion.

Now if my analysis of presentational *there*-constructions were to be extended to locative inversion constructions, it would mean that locative inversion is the result of raising the subject out of FinP and then raising the FinP, with an initial PP, to a position above the landing site of the subject. This is not totally implausible, since it has been proposed, by Hoekstra & Mulder (1990), Bresnan (1994), Collins (1997), and others, that the locative PP fills the canonical subject position in locative inversion constructions (but see Culicover & Levine 2001 for some refinement).

However, in spite of the observed similarities, there are also differences between the presentational *there*-construction and the locative inversion construction. Firstly, unlike clause-final subjects in presentational *there*-constructions, the subject in locative inversion constructions shows no heaviness effect. This is seen already in (37). Secondly, while the displaced subject in the presentational *there*-construction is strictly clause-final, as shown in (38), the subject in the locative inversion construction is not necessarily clause-final. It can, for example, be followed by a secondary predicate, as in (39) (the examples in (38) and (39) are from Rochemont & Culicover 1990:76–77).

- (38) a. There walked into the room nude a man no one knew.  
 b. \*There walked into the room a man no one knew nude.
- (39) a. \*Into the room walked nude John.  
 b. Into the room walked John nude.

These differences indicate that the two constructions are rather different after all. In particular, it appears that the clause-final constituent in locative inversion is not just the subject; it is a larger phrase containing the subject.

Given the facts listed above, I conclude that locative inversion differs from the presentational *there*-construction to such a degree that it falls outside the scope of this article.

#### 4. CLAUSE-FINAL SUBJECTS AND *WH*-MOVEMENT

As I have already mentioned, Chomsky (2001) sees the position of clause-final subjects in presentational constructions as the result of a phonological movement operation. One of the arguments he presents in support for his view is that the clause-final subjects cannot undergo *wh*-movement. His reasoning goes as follows: if the

subject in (40a) has been put in clause-final position by a phonological operation, it follows that a syntactic operation like *wh*-movement cannot subsequently apply to it, and that (40b) is ungrammatical.

- (40) a. There arrived in the mail five heavy packages.
- b. \*How many packages did there arrive in the mail?

However, as I will demonstrate in this section, an alternative and in fact more convincing explanation is available. In section 4.1 I give an analysis of cases where *wh*-movement applies in constructions that also have a clause-final subject. In 4.2 I show that the impossibility of *wh*-moving the subject of an English presentational expletive construction, or of *wh*-moving a part of this subject, follows from the analysis that I have already given of the expletive *there* in this construction. Hence, there is no need to assume that the clause-final subject has undergone phonological movement. On the contrary, there are problems with the phonological approach which disappear under my analysis. Moreover, in 4.3 we will see that *wh*-movement can in fact apply to clause-final subjects in Scandinavian. Here, at least, the phonological approach to clause-final subject fails.

**4.1 Clause-final subjects and wh-movement in a single clause**

An interesting fact pointed out by Chomsky (2001) is that in a clause with a subject in final position, *wh*-movement is possible as long as it does not apply to the subject. This is shown for English in (41) and for Norwegian in (42). In each example, there is a *wh*-moved locative phrase (in boldface) in clause-initial position and a subject (in small capitals) in clause-final position.

- (41) **At which airport** did there arrive yesterday THREE STRANGE MEN?
- (42) **Til kva for flyplass** kom det i går TRE UNDERLEGE KARAR?  
*to which airport came EXPL yesterday three strange guys*  
 ‘At which airport arrived yesterday three strange guys?’

If the postverbal subjects in these examples are in a Spec position in the C-domain, as I am claiming, more precisely in Spec-FocP, they must nevertheless be in a position different from where the *wh*-phrases are located. This is unexpected on the common assumption that *wh*-movement and focus movement target the same position. However, Tsimpli (1998) shows that in Greek, focus movement and *wh*-movement may co-occur in one single embedded clause. The following example, with a focused phrase followed by a *wh*-moved phrase inside an indirect question, is from Tsimpli (1998:204).<sup>8</sup>

- (43) Me-rotisan O JANIS pjon sinandise.  
*me-asked.3PL the.NOM Janis who.ACC met.3SG*  
 ‘They asked me who JANIS met.’

In Greek, a focused phrase and a *wh*-phrase may not co-occur at the left periphery of a matrix clause, though. The explanation that Tsimplici (1998) suggests is that matrix clauses are smaller than embedded clauses, so that in matrix clauses, focused phrases and *wh*-phrases compete for one single position. But there appears to be another possible explanation for the observed fact. As Tsimplici notes, when focus fronting and *wh*-movement co-occur, the focused phrase must precede and take scope over the *wh*-phrase. On the other hand, she assumes that interrogative type-marking of a matrix clause depends on the movement of the *wh*-operator. An embedded interrogative clause, by contrast, is type-marked by selection. This must mean that having a focused phrase in front of a *wh*-phrase does not interfere with the type-marking of an embedded clause. For matrix clauses, however, it is likely that the *wh*-operator must be the highest operator if the clause is to count as interrogative. Hence, a fronted *wh*-phrase cannot be preceded by a focused phrase in a matrix clause. But since a phrase that has undergone focus movement cannot follow the *wh*-phrase either, it follows that focus movement and *wh*-movement cannot both apply in one single matrix clause.<sup>9</sup>

Nevertheless, I will hypothesise that the positions for focused phrases and for *wh*-phrases that we see in (43) are in principle available in all clauses. If so, it should be possible to derive (44b) from (44a) by moving *three strange men* to a focus position above the position where the fronted *wh*-phrase is located. However, (44b) is not well formed, since the *wh*-operator is not the highest operator. But since the *wh*-operator cannot take scope over the focus operator, it is not possible to move the *wh*-phrase across the focused constituent, for example to Spec-ForceP. The only way to save (44b) is by moving the constituent containing the *wh*-phrase and the remainder of FinP – that is, QP – to the Spec of ForceP. This is sketched in (44c).

- (44) a. [<sub>QP</sub> at which airport did three strange men arrive ~~at which airport~~ yesterday]  
 → (merge Foc, focus movement to Spec-FocP)
- b. [<sub>FocP</sub> [three strange men] Foc [<sub>QP</sub>at which airport did ~~three strange men~~ arrive yesterday]] → (merge Force, raising of QP to Spec-ForceP)  
 ⇒ *there*
- c. [<sub>ForceP</sub> [<sub>QP</sub> at which airport did ~~three strange men~~ arrive yesterday]  
 Force [<sub>FocP</sub> [three strange men] Foc QP]]

In this configuration, the *wh*-operator is higher than the focus operator, but the *wh*-phrase does not c-command the focused phrase. Thus, the structure in (44c) is licit. Moreover, the constituent in Spec-FinP is now spelled out as *there*, since it is no longer c-commanded by the raised associate. My proposal is therefore that (41) is derived as indicated in (44), and that (42) is derived in a parallel fashion, except that the expletive sits in Spec-FinP from the beginning and the lexical subject moves across it.

A fact that needs some comment is that both (41) and (42) are V2 clauses. In these cases it is likely that V2 is induced by Q, the head that attracts the *wh*-phrase to its Spec. Q also attracts the finite verb, so that QP becomes headed by the finite verb. Consequently, it is the whole QP that is attracted to ForceP by the finiteness feature of Force. Since QP is a phrase and not a head, it ends up as the specifier of ForceP, thereby also satisfying the EPP feature of ForceP.

For some speakers of English, it is also possible to have polarity questions with clause-final subjects, as in (45).<sup>10</sup>

(45) %Did there run into the room several overexcited fans?

We now see that they can be derived as sketched in (46), on the assumption that the fronted auxiliary in English polarity questions raises to the head of QP.

- (46) a. [<sub>FinP</sub> several overexcited fans did run into the room]  
 → (merge Q, question movement to Q)
- b. [<sub>QP</sub> did [<sub>FinP</sub> several overexcited fans ~~did~~ run into the room]]  
 → (merge Foc, focus movement to Spec-FocP)
- c. [<sub>FocP</sub> [several overexcited fans] Foc [<sub>QP</sub> did [<sub>FinP</sub> ~~several overexcited fans did~~ run into the room]]] → (merge Force, raising of QP to Spec-ForceP)  
 ⇒ *there*
- d. [<sub>ForceP</sub> [<sub>QP</sub> did [<sub>FinP</sub> ~~several overexcited fans did~~ run into the room]  
 Force [<sub>FocP</sub> [several overexcited fans] Foc QP]]]

After the FinP is completed, as in (46a), Q is merged, and the finite verb *did* is attracted to Q – see (46b). Then a Foc head is merged over QP, and the focused subject, *several overexcited fans*, moves to Spec-FocP, as shown in (46c). Finally, Force is merged, and QP, headed by the finite verb, moves to Spec-ForceP. In the resulting configuration, the (person feature of the) subject copy in Spec-FinP is spelled out as *there* – see (46d).

## 4.2 *Wh*-movement applying to the clause-final subject in English

While *wh*-movement and focus movement are combined in the examples we have just considered, ungrammaticality results, in English, if we try to *wh*-move a clause-final subject or an element belonging to it. The impossibility of *wh*-moving the clause-final subject as a whole was demonstrated in (40), which I repeat here as (47).

- (47) a. There arrived in the mail five heavy packages.  
 b. \*How many packages did there arrive in the mail?

*Wh*-movement out of a clause-final subject is shown in (48). We see that (48a), with a clause-final subject, is relatively acceptable, but *wh*-moving a phrase out of this subject is not possible – see (48b).

- (48) a. ?There was delivered to my office a picture of Chomsky.  
 b. \*Who was there delivered to your office a picture of ~~who~~?

Recall that Chomsky (2001) takes the ungrammaticality of the constructions in (47b) and (48b) as evidence that movement of the subject to clause-final position is a phonological operation. If it is a phonological operation, it follows that *wh*-movement cannot subsequently apply to the subject. But notably, it is not necessarily the case that the *wh*-phrase in (47b) has been extracted from clause-final position. It could have been extracted from the position where it was originally merged. In other words, the position of the *wh*-copy could be as in (49b) rather than (49a).

- (49) a. \*How many packages did there arrive in the mail ~~how many packages~~?  
 b. \*How many packages did there arrive ~~how many packages~~ in the mail?

In Chomsky (2001) it is also suggested that there is a requirement in English that the single argument of a passive or unaccusative verb should move out of VP, and that this is why that argument tends to appear in clause-final position when the canonical surface subject position is filled by an expletive. One might then wonder why *wh*-movement alone does not suffice to meet the requirement that the argument should move out of VP. If this were the case, (47b) should be grammatical, contrary to fact. Hence, we have identified a problem with Chomsky's analysis.

The right solution is, in my view, that the ungrammaticality of the constructions in (47b), (48b) and (49) has nothing to do with the subject having moved to clause-final position before it *wh*-moves. It is a consequence of the presence of the expletive *there* in a position that is *c*-commanded by the *wh*-moved associate. Since Spec-FinP is *c*-commanded by and coindexed with the *wh*-phrase, it is licit to have a phonologically empty constituent in Spec-FinP. Accordingly, Spec-FinP cannot be realised as *there*. In other words, the impossibility of applying *wh*-movement to the associate in English presentational expletive constructions has the same source as the ungrammaticality of (30c), where the expletive in Spec-FinP is *c*-commanded by the associate in Spec-FocP.

Now consider how the derivation of (48b) would proceed, if the suggestions in (44) are correct. The derivation is shown in (50). In (50a), *a picture of who* has raised to Spec-FinP. Then *who* is extracted by *wh*-movement and the finite verb moves to Q – see (50b). The DP containing the copy of *who* is then raised across the *wh*-phrase to Spec-FocP – see (50c). The final step is raising of QP, containing the *wh*-phrase and the rest of FinP, to Spec-ForceP, across the focused phrase – see (50d).

- (50) a. [<sub>FinP</sub> a picture of who was delivered ~~a picture of who~~ to your office]  
 → (merge Q, *wh*-movement of *who* to Spec-QP, movement of *was* to Q)  
 b. [<sub>QP</sub> who was [<sub>FinP</sub> a picture of ~~who~~ was delivered ~~a picture of who~~ to your office]] → (merge Foc, focus movement to Spec-FocP)



(53) What is there left in the fridge?

The difference between existential expletive constructions and presentational expletive construction with respect to *wh*-movement was first pointed out by Aissen (1975), who also listed a number of additional differences between the two constructions. In our present context, the more interesting of these differences is that an existential expletive construction can be embedded under any predicate that takes a propositional complement, whereas presentational expletive constructions can only be embedded under predicates that allow root phenomena in their complements. Thus, a factive verb like *regret* can embed an existential expletive construction but not a presentational expletive construction. This is illustrated in (54a, b) (Aissen's examples (24a) and (22b)).

- (54) a. We regret that there is no possibility of a job here.  
 b. \*The driver regrets that there stepped out in front of his car a pedestrian.

This suggests that the presentational expletive construction involves the higher part of the clause whereas the existential expletive construction does not. It is, then, not likely that the operation that puts the subject in clause-final position in the presentational expletive construction is phonological or only affects the lower part of the clause. The facts are better explained by my analysis, which takes the word order of the presentational expletive construction to involve high heads that may not even be present in embedded clauses without root properties.

Aissen's account of the difference between the existential construction and the presentational construction is that the latter results from a root transformation, and because of this the whole clause is in principle an island. Existential constructions, by contrast, do not involve root transformations and are not islands. Now for my explanation of the ungrammaticality of *wh*-movement applying to the associate in presentational expletive constructions to go through, it is necessary that the expletive in existential expletive constructions is NOT the partial spellout of a copy of the associate. If it were, (54a) would also be predicted to be ungrammatical. Several analyses have been proposed that could be relevant here, for example the analysis in Williams (1994:135), according to which the associate in existential expletive constructions is a predicate, and the expletive is structurally its subject. The analysis in Hazout (2004) is nearly identical (as Williams 2006 points out). But if the expletive is the structural subject of its associate, it is not surprising that the associate can be *wh*-moved across the expletive to a position where it c-commands it. This would be parallel to *wh*-moving any predicate across its subject. Hence, if Williams (1994) is right, the grammaticality of (54a) is no problem for my analysis of *wh*-movement in presentational expletive constructions.



### 4.3 Clause-final subjects and *wh*-movement in Scandinavian

Potential support for my analysis of the English constructions that we have just looked at is found in Scandinavian. In Norwegian, for example, the counterpart to (47b) is perfectly grammatical, as shown in (55).

- (55) Kor mange pakkar kom det i posten?  
*how many packages came EXPL in mail.DEF*  
 ‘How many packages did there arrive in the mail?’

Norwegian also has grammatical constructions that are not very different from (51b):

- (56) Kva blir det selt (mange) bøker om kva i Tromsø?  
*what becomes EXPL sold many books about in Tromsø*  
 ‘What are there sold (many) books about in Tromsø?’

One difference between the Norwegian (56) and the English (51b) is that *wh*-extraction in (56) no doubt takes place from a phrase that has not moved, whereas in (51b), the lexical argument moves to a position in front of the auxiliary *being* before extraction takes place. One might want to claim that (A-)movement blocks subsequent *wh*-movement, and that this is the main reason for the contrast in grammaticality between the English examples in (47b) and (51b) on the one hand and the Norwegian examples in (55) and (56) on the other. In the Norwegian examples, *wh*-movement targets a constituent that has not moved previously, but in the English examples, the relevant constituent undergoes movement before *wh*-movement (unsuccessfully) applies. But, as we will see in a moment, the relevant contrast has to do instead with the expletive.

But let us first note that certain facts about Scandinavian might also lead to the conclusion that *wh*-movement in expletive constructions cannot apply to associates that have moved. In Swedish and in some varieties of Norwegian, both the order participle > object and the order object > participle is possible in expletive passive constructions (other varieties of Norwegian allow only the participle > object order), and while the participle then agrees with the object in gender and number in the object > participle order, the participle has the default neuter singular form in the participle > object order. The examples in (57) are Norwegian.

- (57) a. Det vart skoti / \*skotne fem ulvar.  
*EXPL became shoot.PTC.N.SG shoot.PTC.PL five wolves*  
 ‘There were shot five wolves.’  
 b. Det vart fem ulvar skotne / \*skoti.  
*EXPL became five wolves shoot.PTC.PL shoot.PTC.N.SG*  
 ‘There were five wolves shot.’

When the associate undergoes *wh*-movement, the participle does not normally agree with it, as illustrated in (58) (see Holmberg 2001:108).

- (58) Kor mange ulvar vart det skot-i / \*skot-ne?  
*how many wolves became EXPL shoot-PTC.N.SG shoot-PTC.PL*  
 ‘How many wolves were shot?’

This fact suggests that *wh*-movement of the associate is only possible from the postparticipial position, not from the preparticipial position.

However, it appears that *wh*-movement of a part of a clause-final subject in a presentational expletive constructions is not totally out in Scandinavian. This is shown in (59) and (60). Both in (59), which is Norwegian, and in (60), which is Swedish, the lexical argument is clearly displaced, since it follows an adverbial that follows the nonfinite verb. The declarative versions (59a) and (60a) are fully grammatical. The corresponding questions in (59b) and (60b) receive judgements that range from ‘perfectly OK’ to ‘very clumsy’, but they are never deemed totally ungrammatical. (As indicated, my Swedish informants are slightly more positive than my Norwegian informants, but this might be purely accidental, due to the small number of informants.)

- (59) a. Det blir selt i Tromsø for tida mange bøker om Svalbard.  
*EXPL become sold in Tromsø these days many books about Svalbard*  
 ‘In Tromsø these days there are being sold many books about Svalbard.’  
 b. ??Kva blir det selt i Tromsø for tida mange bøker om kva?  
*what become EXPL sold in Tromsø these days many books about*  
 ‘What is there sold in Tromsø these days many books about?’
- (60) a. Det har sålt-s på sistone många böcker om Svalbard.  
*EXPL has sold-PASS lately many books about Svalbard*  
 ‘There have been sold lately many books about Svalbard.’  
 b. ?Vad har det sålt-s på sistone många böcker om vad?  
*what has EXPL sold-PASS lately many books about*  
 ‘What has there been sold lately many books about?’

The derivation of (60b) is shown in (61), starting from the point where FinP is completed and has the expletive *det* in its highest Spec, as shown in (61a). After that, Q is merged, the *wh*-word *vad* ‘what’ moves from within the nominal argument to Spec-QP, and the finite verb moves to Q – see (61b). Then Foc is merged, and the remainder of the nominal argument moves to Spec-FocP – see (61c). Finally, Force is merged, and QP, now headed by the finite verb, moves to Spec-ForceP – see (61d).

- (61) a. [<sub>FinP</sub> Det har sålts många böcker om vad på sistone]  
 → (merge Q, *wh*-movement of *vad* to Spec-QP, movement of *har* to Q)  
 b. [<sub>QP</sub> vad har [<sub>FinP</sub> det har sålts många böcker om vad på sistone]]  
 → (merge Foc, focus movement to Spec-FocP)

- c. [<sub>FocP</sub> [många böcker om vad] Foc [<sub>QP</sub> vad har det har sålts många böcker om vad på sistone]] → (merge Force, raising of QP to Spec-ForceP)
- d. [<sub>ForceP</sub> [<sub>QP</sub> vad har det har sålts många böcker om vad på sistone] Force [<sub>FocP</sub> [många böcker om vad] Foc QP]]

The resulting construction is a little hard to parse, harder than its declarative counterpart, since there is a *wh*-dependency as well as a focus dependency, and the question word *vad* is involved in both dependencies. Similar problems are felt in (59b). But despite the parsing difficulties the construction is in principle allowed in Scandinavian. The fact that (59b) and (60b) are structurally parallel to the ungrammatical English example in (48b) then tells us that the reason why (48b) is ungrammatical is not that illicit movements have taken place, as Chomsky (2001) would have it. Rather, it is likely that the crucial difference between (48b) on the one hand and (59b) and (60b) on the other lies in the expletive. On my analysis, the English (48b) is ungrammatical because *there* ends up being c-commanded with an element that is a part of the underlying representation of *there*. But in Scandinavian, expletives do not spell out copies of moved constituents. This holds for *der* as well as for *det*. Hence, the fact that the fronted *wh*-constituent c-commands the expletive in the examples above does not lead to ungrammaticality. More generally, the problems that we see in English when an associate is *wh*-moved across an expletive do not arise in Scandinavian.<sup>13</sup>

## 5. THE DIVALENT EXPLETIVE CONSTRUCTION

We will now take a look at the apparent transitive expletive construction found in English and Scandinavian. Chomsky (2001:29) suggests, for English, that this construction is another example of obligatory displacement of the subject to clause-final position. However, we will see that the word order in question does not necessarily involve dislocation of arguments, neither in English, which is discussed in section 5.1, nor in Norwegian, which is addressed in 5.2. Instead, the two arguments in these expletive constructions are both internal, and they may show up in their base-generated order. However, one of several alternative word orders involves focus movement of one of the arguments, followed by movement of the whole FinP across it.

### 5.1 *The divalent expletive construction in English*

The English ‘transitive expletive’ construction, as Chomsky (2001) terms it, is exemplified in (62). As we see, the verb has two arguments, and in addition an expletive appears in the canonical surface subject position. The argument that seems to be the subject must follow what appears to be the object. Because of this, Chomsky (2001) concludes that rightward displacement of the subject is obligatory even here.

- (62) a. There hit the stands a new journal.  
 b. \*There hit a new journal the stands.  
 c. There entered the room a strange man.  
 d. \*There entered a strange man the room.

However, the ordering restrictions illustrated in (62) should not necessarily be taken to mean that there is a subject which is obligatorily displaced to the right. Rather, I would claim that the verbs that appear in the English ‘transitive expletive’ construction are not really transitive; that is, they have no external argument. As demonstrated in (63), verbs with external arguments cannot appear in the ‘transitive expletive’ frame.

- (63) a. \*There hit the stands a juvenile delinquent.  
 b. \*There boiled the eggs a new chef.  
 c. \*There boiled a new chef some eggs.

What we see in the grammatical (62a) and (62c) is a verb with two internal arguments possibly appearing in their base-generated order; that is, with either the goal argument or indirect object preceding the theme argument or direct object. This means that this is not really a ‘transitive expletive’ construction although it is an expletive construction with a divalent verb.

Significantly, it is possible, at least for some speakers, to have an adverbial following the two arguments in the divalent expletive construction, as in (64a). In this case, the direct object must be indefinite, hence the ungrammaticality of (64b).

- (64) a. There entered the classroom a strange man yesterday.  
 b. \*There entered the room the Russian student the next minute.

Both the fact that the second argument in the English ‘transitive expletive’ construction can be followed by an adverbial and the fact that the second argument must then be indefinite suggest that both arguments are licensed within vP, or at least lower than Spec-FinP. In other words, there is no indication that there is obligatory displacement of any argument in this construction, and the claim to this effect put forward by Chomsky (2001) does not hold.

However, displacing the associate of the expletive to clause-final position is an OPTION in the divalent expletive construction, in the same way as it is an option in unaccusative expletive constructions and passive expletive constructions. Strikingly, the definiteness effect then disappears:

- (65) a. ?There entered the classroom yesterday a very strange man.  
 b. ?There entered the room the next minute the new student from Russia.

My proposal is therefore that the constructions in (65a) and (65b) are derived by raising of the underlying direct object to the canonical surface subject position

Spec-FinP, followed by raising of that argument to Spec-FocP and subsequent topicalisation of FinP, with the direct object copy in Spec-FinP spelled out as *there*. That is, my analysis of clause-final surface subjects of verbs with two internal arguments is similar to my analysis of clause-final subjects of unaccusative and passive verbs.

It follows that the reason why *wh*-movement of the associate of the expletive *there* is ungrammatical in the divalent expletive construction, as demonstrated in (66), is again that if the associate raises above *there*, it ends up *c*-commanding *there*, which is not allowed.

- (66) a. \*How many men did there enter the room?  
 b. \*How many journals did there hit the stands?

Given the analysis of (65a) and (65b) that I have just sketched, it is perhaps a little surprising that the subject of a true transitive verb cannot appear in clause-final position. In this respect, there is a sharp contrast between verbs with two internal arguments, shown in (67a) and (67b), and true transitive verbs, having an external and an internal argument, shown in (67c) and (67d).

- (67) a. There hit the stands (yesterday) the new journal that Peter is editing.  
 b. There entered the room (yesterday) the man she had no desire to see.  
 c. \*There hit the stands (yesterday) the gang that is terrorising the neighbourhood.  
 d. \*There boiled some eggs (yesterday) the new chef from France.

On my analysis, in every clause in (67) the associate of *there* has raised from Spec-FinP to Spec-FocP at one stage of the derivation, since it ends up following the adverbial. The ungrammaticality of (67c) and (67d) must then be taken to mean that a FinP containing a true transitive verb cannot be topicalised across a focused subject, at least not in English. It is not immediately obvious why this is so – if the expletive *there* can be the spellout of a subject copy in Spec-FinP, we would expect all the examples in (67) to have the same status.

Let us consider the derivation of (67a), which is shown in (68) below. Here the two arguments both follow the verb when the *vP* is completed, as seen in (68a). When Fin is subsequently merged, one alternative is to insert an expletive in Spec-FinP, which, without the adverbial, would give *There hit the stands the new journal*, an order that is similar to (62a) and (62c). This means that as long as there are no adverbials, we cannot tell whether the last argument is still inside the *vP*. Another alternative is to raise the second argument to Spec-FinP, as in (68b). In the case at hand, this argument is focused and moves on to Spec-FocP after Foc is merged – see (68c). After that, Top is merged, and the remnant FinP moves to Spec-TopP, as shown in (68d). And as indicated, Force is merged on top of TopP, but since the syntax of

ForceP is not under discussion here, I leave it out (but see note 7).

- (68) a. [<sub>vP</sub> hit the stands the new journal that Peter is editing (yesterday)]  
 → merge T and Fin, move the DO to Spec-FinP)  
 b. [<sub>FinP</sub> the new journal that Peter is editing hit the stands (yesterday)]  
 → (merge Foc, focus movement to Spec-FocP)  
 c. [<sub>FocP</sub> [<sub>DP</sub> the new journal that Peter is editing] Foc [<sub>FinP</sub>  $\bar{\text{DP}}$  hit the stands (yesterday)]] → (Merge Top, movement of FinP to Spec-TopP)  
 d. [<sub>TopP</sub> [<sub>FinP</sub> *there* hit the stands (yesterday)] Top [<sub>FocP</sub> [<sub>DP</sub> the new journal that Peter is editing] Foc  $\bar{\text{FinP}}$ ]] → (Merge Force)

Let us now compare (68) to the derivation of (67d), which is shown in (69) (the cross indicates where the fatal move occurs).

- (69) a. [<sub>vP</sub> the new chef boiled some eggs]  
 → (merge T and Fin, move the SUBJ to Spec-FinP)  
 b. [<sub>FinP</sub> the new chef boiled some eggs]  
 → (merge Foc, focus movement to Spec-FocP)  
 c. [<sub>FocP</sub> [<sub>DP</sub> the new chef] Foc [<sub>FinP</sub>  $\bar{\text{DP}}$  boiled some eggs]]  
 → (Merge Top, movement of FinP to Spec-TopP)  
 d. †[<sub>TopP</sub> [<sub>FinP</sub> *there* boiled some eggs] Top [<sub>FocP</sub> [<sub>DP</sub> the new chef] Foc  $\bar{\text{DP}}$ ]]

Here one argument (the agent) precedes the verb and one argument follows it when the vP is completed – see (69a). The agent also occupies Spec-FinP when FinP is completed – see (69b). Since it is focused, it moves on to Spec-FocP after Foc is merged, as shown in (69c). So far, we have derived structures that are perfectly fine. It appears that the ungrammaticality of (68d) arises when FinP is moved across the focused subject, as in (69d). The explanation I will offer is based on the proposal in Chomsky (2001) that a transitive v defines a strong phase v\*P, and on the proposal in Fox & Pesetsky (2004) that linearisation takes place cyclically, at the completion of each spellout domain. If we assume that the transitive v\*P constitutes a spellout domain, while the intransitive vP does not, it follows that once the transitive v\*P is completed, the relative linear order of the elements inside that v\*P will be fixed once and for all. It is still possible to move the subject to a higher position, as in (69b) and (69c), since this movement will not alter the relative order of the subject and other elements inside v\*P. Similarly, it will be possible to move further a *wh*-element or focused element that has got to the escape hatch in the initial position of v\*P at the point when the v\*P is completed. It is however forbidden to raise the remaining FinP over the subject, since this would reverse the ordering relation between the subject and all other elements inside v\*P.<sup>14</sup> But when the verb has no external argument, as in (68), the vP does not constitute a spellout domain. The smallest spellout domain is ForceP. Hence, reordering of the verb and the arguments is allowed even after the vP is built. For example, one can extract one argument and then raise the whole FinP

over it. The relative order of the elements that originate within vP will be fixed later, when the whole ForceP is completed.

## 5.2 Divalent expletive constructions in Norwegian

A divalent expletive construction similar to the English one is also found in Norwegian. Note first that Norwegian, unlike Icelandic, does not allow true transitive expletive constructions, regardless of the order of the nominal arguments. This is illustrated in (70).

- (70) a. \*Det skreiv nokre studentar ei bok om Kotoko i vinter.  
*EXPL wrote some students a book about Kotoko this winter*  
 b. \*Det skreiv ei bok om Kotoko i vinter nokre studentar.  
*EXPL wrote a book about Kotoko this winter some students*

Nevertheless, certain verbs, such as *møte* ‘meet’ and *vente* ‘await’, can be followed by two arguments, as demonstrated in (71).

- (71) a. Det møtte Marit nokre studentar utanfor kontoret.  
*EXPL met Marit some students outside office.DEF*  
 ‘Some students met with Marit outside her office.’  
 b. \*Det møtte nokre studentar Marit utanfor kontoret.  
*EXPL met some students Marit outside office.DEF*  
 c. Det venta Tarald ei overrasking etter arbeidet.  
*EXPL awaited Tarald a surprise after work.DEF*  
 ‘There awaited Tarald a surprise after work.’  
 d. \*Det venta ei overrasking Tarald etter arbeidet.  
*EXPL awaited a surprise Tarald after work.DEF*

We also see that the order of the arguments is fixed in these cases. Again, both arguments are arguably internal, on this particular use of the two verbs, and they appear in the order goal/IO > theme/DO (see Lødrup 1995, Vikner 1995:219). Note that since the argument sequence can be followed by adverbials, it must be the case that both arguments can be spelled out inside FinP.

Just like in English, the underlying direct object of a divalent expletive construction can be displaced to clause-final position, as in (72a). However, as shown in (72b), the clause-final argument does not escape the definiteness effect in Norwegian.

- (72) a. Det møtte Marit utanfor kontoret to nye studentar.  
*EXPL met Marit outside office.DEF two new students*  
 ‘There met with Marit outside her office some new students.’  
 b. \*Det møtte Marit utanfor kontoret dei nye studentane.  
*EXPL met Marit outside office.DEF the new students.DEF*

The ungrammaticality of (72b) is expected given that a displaced subject in Norwegian expletive constructions has been extracted from a position lower than Spec-FinP. That is, the subject cannot have touched down in Spec-FinP – it must have been A'-moved across that position. It follows that the subject must be indefinite, and it also follows that transitive verbs, that is, verbs with one external and one or two internal arguments, never appear in expletive constructions. In constructions with transitive verbs, one argument must be licensed in Spec-FinP, and consequently, the expletive *det* cannot appear. Alternatively, since the Scandinavian element *det* does not need an associate, but can fulfil the requirements of T on its own (see (19) above), we must conclude that it has a full set of nominal features and that it can serve as a goal for the probe T. It is therefore likely that the expletive *det* starts out in Spec-vP, and again it follows that active transitive verbs cannot appear in expletive constructions.

Just like the presentational expletive construction, the divalent expletive construction allows *wh*-movement of the associate of the expletive in Norwegian:

- (73) Kor mange studentar møtte det deg utafor kontoret?  
*how many students met EXPL you.SG outside office.DEF*  
 'How many students met you outside your office?'

Once more, Norwegian differs from English, and again, I take the difference to be due to the relation between the expletive and the associate. As I have argued above, the expletive *det* is not the spellout of a copy of the associate, and accordingly, it may be c-commanded by the raised associate. In English, as we have seen, a similar situation leads to ungrammaticality.

## 6. CONCLUSION

Clause-final subjects in English and Scandinavian presentational expletive constructions are normally focused. Alternatively, they are antitopics. Both these discourse functions can be associated with the higher part of the clause, the C-domain. Accordingly, presentational expletive constructions with clause-final subjects can be analysed as the result of moving the subject to a Spec position in the C-domain, and then raising the remainder of the clause across the subject to an even higher position.

The constructions derived in this manner do not have exactly the same syntactic properties in all languages, though. In Scandinavian, a clause-final subject must have been extracted from a position below the expletive in Spec-FinP, and consequently, such subjects share some properties with subjects that surface in the lower position: they must be indefinite but not generic. In English, by contrast, clause-final subjects escape the indefiniteness requirement. This suggests that they move to the C-domain from Spec-FinP. Hence, the expletive *there* in presentational constructions must be



the partial spellout of a subject copy. The distribution of the expletive *there* then follows on the (reasonable) assumption that a subject copy is spelled out as *there* only if it is not c-commanded by the moved subject.

It also follows that it is impossible in English to *wh*-move the subject in a presentational expletive construction. However, the corresponding constructions are grammatical in Mainland Scandinavian. This indicates that the explanation given in Chomsky (2001), according to which *wh*-movement cannot apply to a rightward-displaced subject because that displacement is a phonological operation, cannot be correct. If it were, we would expect the same effect in Scandinavian. However, since it can be shown that the expletive *det* in Scandinavian is different from the expletive *there* in English, it is possible to connect the observed contrast to the different properties of the expletives.

Finally, we have seen that divalent expletive constructions, in English and Norwegian, do not obligatorily involve rightward displacement of an argument, which Chomsky (2001) claims they do. Instead, the word order in question displays two internal arguments that may surface in their base-generated order, or, when one argument is strictly clause-final, be derived in the same way as presentational expletive construction.

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## NOTES

1. In Scandinavian, the construction is even possible with unergative verbs, as the Norwegian example in (i) shows (EXPL = expletive; see note 2):

(i) Det hadde ringt same kveld ein påtrengande telefonseljar.  
 EXPL had rung same night an insistent telemarketer  
 'The same night an insistent telemarketer had called.'

Note that it would also be grammatical to have the lexical subject in front of the temporal adverbial, as in (ii) (see Börjars & Vincent 2005):

(ii) Det hadde ringt ein påtrengande telefonseljar same kveld.  
 EXPL had rung an insistent telemarketer same night  
 'An insistent telemarketer had called the same night.'

Hence, it appears that subjects of unergative verbs in Scandinavian are not very different from subjects of unaccusative verbs in their syntactic behaviour. Possible reasons for this will not be discussed here. Let me just point out that unergative VERBS can still be distinguished from unaccusative VERBS. For example, the former but not the latter can appear in the periphrastic passive (Áfarli 1992).

2. The following abbreviations are used in the glosses: ACC = accusative, CG = common gender, DAT = dative, DEF = definite, EXPL = expletive, GEN = genitive, N = neuter, NOM = nominative, PL = plural, POSS = possessive, PRES = present, PTC = participle, REFL = reflexive, SG = singular, SUP = superlative.
3. See Haider (1997) for further criticism of Kural (1997).
4. In most varieties of Norwegian and Swedish, *der*(Nor)/*där*(Swe) ‘there’ is only a locative adverbial, but in some varieties, *der/där* is also an expletive, just like in Danish.
5. A fact that I have not mentioned is the absence of visible agreement in Danish (and Norwegian and Swedish) verbs. However, I do not see this as very relevant to the present discussion, since the underlying feature content of the verb might be the same in Danish as in English, and besides, it is the relation between the expletive and the associate I focus on here.
6. This proposal is related to the suggestion in Rochemont & Culicover (1990:123) that *there* replaces a trace in presentational constructions.
7. I leave open the question of whether FinP moves on to Spec-ForceP. Since English is not a strict V2 language, it is possible that Force does not function as an attractor in every clause, if the analysis of V2 proposed by Julien (2007) is correct.
8. Benincà (2001) also suggests that the focus position is not necessarily identical to the *wh*-position.
9. Apparent cases of a focused constituent preceding a *wh*-phrase in the left periphery of a matrix clause are probably instances of spurious focalisation, as discussed by Benincà (2001). Benincà notes that a constituent that has been moved to the left periphery for some kind of markedness other than focus can nevertheless receive intonational emphasis. For example, in the right context a left dislocated constituent can be emphasised and interpreted contrastively. One of Benincà’s examples is the following, which is felicitous in a context where a parallel sentence concerning someone other than Gianni has been uttered:

- (i) GIANNI<sub>i</sub>, suoi padre l’ha licenziato.  
*Gianni his father him-has fired*

As we see, GIANNI in (i) does not induce a weak crossover-effect. This shows that it does not have operator properties. In other words, it has not been focus moved, which is also seen from the presence of the resumptive clitic pronoun. Consequently, GIANNI does not interfere with the type marking of the clause. The intonational emphasis must then be understood as spurious focalisation.

10. Rochemont & Culicover (1990:132) state that questions of this type are ungrammatical. It is clear, though, that not all English speakers agree with them.
11. A priori, another option in (50d) would be not to spell out the constituent in FinP as *there*, but instead spell it out in full or not at all. Spelling it out in full gives two spelled-out copies of the same DP, which is generally not allowed. Not spelling it out at all gives (i), which is just as ungrammatical as (48b).

- (i) \*Who was delivered to your office a picture of?

The problem here is that the phonologically unrealised subject in Spec-FinP is not in its entirety connected to a c-commanding constituent that can license it (a subject or an expletive). Hence, (i) contrasts with the Scandinavian examples in (60b) and (61b), where the corresponding constituent is c-commanded by the expletive and thereby licensed.

12. I thank Peter Svenonius for making me aware of this contrast between presentational and existential constructions.

13. Questions based on presentational constructions are ungrammatical in Scandinavian if the *wh*-phrase has a definite interpretation (as noted by Taraldsen 1986:180, fn. 9). For example, from (i) one cannot form the question in (ii).

(i) Det kom nokre studentar til kontoret mitt.

*EXPL came some students to office.DEF my*

'There came some students to my office.'

(ii) \*Kven kom det til kontoret ditt?

*who came EXPL to office.DEF your*

This is in accordance with the generalisation that a Scandinavian expletive cannot have a definite associate. But if we use an indefinite *wh*-phrase instead, such as *kor mange* 'how many' it is perfectly fine to form a question from (i). This is demonstrated in (iii). And interestingly, the grammaticality of (iv) indicates that *kva* 'what' is indefinite, unlike *kven* 'who'.

(iii) Kor mange studentar kom det til kontoret ditt?

*how many students came EXPL to office.DEF your*

'How many students came to your office?'

(iv) Kva kom det ut av møtet?

*what came EXPL out of meeting.DEF*

'What came out of the meeting?'

The English direct counterparts of (iii) and (iv) are still ungrammatical. I maintain that this has to do with the relation between the expletive and the associate.

14. As an alternative to fronting the whole FinP, the VP could raise, after first having targeted the left edge of vP. In this way, the verb and the internal argument would both precede the subject in a grammatical structure.

However, this would not result in an expletive construction. It would be a case of so-called VP-topicalisation, as in (i), where the VP, containing the verb and the object, is focused:

(i) Boil the eggs the new chef did.

The derivation that I sketch out in (69) is crucially different. Only the subject is focused, so at the point when the vP is completed, the order of elements has to be as shown in (69a), and it is the subject and no other constituent that moves to Spec-FocP, as in (69c). From here, it is not possible to derive a structure where the verb and the object precede the subject.

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