A Minimalist Analysis of Expletive *daar* ("there") and *dit* ("it") Constructions in Afrikaans

by
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Abstract

This study deals with syntactic aspects of expletive *daar* ("there") and *dit* ("it") constructions in Afrikaans. Previous analyses of these constructions have mostly been of a non-formalistic nature (e.g. Barnes 1984; Donaldson 1993; Du Plessis 1977; Ponelis 1979, 1993). The present study investigates the properties of Afrikaans expletive constructions within the broad theoretical framework of Minimalist Syntax. Four recent minimalist analyses of expletive constructions in English, Dutch and German are set out, namely those proposed by Bowers (2002), Felser and Rupp (2001), Richards and Biberauer (2005), and Radford (2009). Against this background, an analysis is proposed of transitive, non-passive unaccusative, passive unaccusative, and unergative expletive constructions in Afrikaans. Throughout, the focus is on whether the devices available within Minimalist Syntax, and specifically the Expletive Conditions proposed by Radford (2009), provide an adequate framework in which the relevant facts of Afrikaans can be described and explained. Where required, modifications to the devices in question are proposed.

Opsomming

Hierdie studie handel oor sintaktiese aspekte van ekspletiewe *daar-* en *dit*-konstruksies in Afrikaans. Vorige analises van dié konstruksies was grootliks nie-formalisties van aard (bv. Barnes 1984; Donaldson 1993; Du Plessis 1977; Ponelis 1979, 1993). Die huidige studie ondersoek die eienskappe van Afrikaanse ekspletiewe konstruksies binne die breë teoretiese raamwerk van Minimalistiese Sintaksis. Vier onlangse minimalistiese analises van ekspletiewe konstruksies in Engels, Nederlands en Duits word uiteengesit, naamlik dié wat voorgestel is deur Bowers (2002), Felser en Rupp (2001), Richards en Biberauer (2005), en Radford (2009). Teen hierdie agtergrond word 'n analise voorgestel van transitiewe, nie-passiewe onakkusatiewe, passiewe onakkusatiewe, en onergatiewe ekspletiewe konstruksies in Afrikaans. Die fokus is deurgaans op die vraag of die meganismes wat beskikbaar is binne Minimalistiese Sintaksis, en spesifiek die drie Ekspletiewe Voorwaardes wat voorgestel word deur Radford (2009), 'n toereikende raamwerk bied waarbinne die tersaaklike feite van Afrikaans beskryf en verklaar kan word. Waar nodig, word aanpassings aan die betrokke meganismes voorgestel.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

This study focuses on the grammatical properties of the expletive elements *daar* ("there") and *dit* ("it") in Afrikaans existential (or expletive) constructions. Studies within a minimalist framework have been done on expletive elements in various other languages, including English *there*, German *daβ* and Icelandic *það* (cf. e.g. Bobaljik and Jonas 1996; Bowers 2002; Felser and Rupp 2001, Hornstein 2009; Lasnik 2003; Rezac 2006; Richards and Biberauer 2005; Sobin 1997, 2004). These studies gave rise to different theories and analyses regarding the initial position in which expletive elements are merged, as well as the restrictions that regulate their syntactic distribution. However, very little work has been done on the derivation of expletive constructions in Afrikaans. Afrikaans seems to allow a bigger variety of existential constructions than English; and although there are similarities, Afrikaans existential constructions also differ in some respects from their counterparts in Dutch and German.

As far as could be ascertained, no detailed study has been made of the syntax of Afrikaans existential constructions within the framework of Minimalist Syntax, although some aspects of such Afrikaans constructions are considered by Bowers (2002) and Richards and Biberauer (2005). The most recent detailed analysis of existential constructions in English within Minimalist Syntax is the one in Radford (2009). The main objective of the present study is to determine whether the analysis set out by Radford provides an adequate framework to account for Afrikaans existential constructions and, if not, how Radford's analysis could be adapted to explain the relevant facts of Afrikaans.

1.2 Some Background

According to Adger (2004:209), an expletive is a semantically empty element which can "fill the surface subject position but does not receive a θ-role"; it has no locational semantic content like locative *there* and is always unstressed. In existential constructions, *there* seems merely to satisfy the EPP feature of the T by acting as the syntactic subject.

It was generally assumed in earlier versions of generative grammar that expletive constructions are derived by means of a rule of *there*-insertion; a transformational rule which replaces an indefinite noun phrase with *there* and copies the noun phrase after the appropriate verb or *be* (Bach 1974:143). An alternative analysis proposed by Chomsky (1986, in Lasnik 2003:26), involved inserting *there* in the syntactic subject position, and then substituting it by the indefinite noun phrase, that is, the associate of *there*. Chomsky (1991) revised this proposal claiming that *there* is an "LF affix" which is attached to the subject under the functional head Agreement Subject (AgrS); he subsequently proposed that instead of merging with AgrS, *there* is merged in [spec-T] where it is ultimately spelled out (Groat 1995:355).

Merger of *there* in [spec-T] is, however, potentially problematic from the viewpoint of establishing a grammatical relation between *there* and its associate. Within Minimalist Syntax, such a relation would be established in a probe-goal fashion. The problem with the two merger possibilities is that *there* will have to act as a probe; but since *there* is arguably not the head of a phrase and only heads of phrases can act as a probe (Radford 2009:293), it is not possible for *there* to probe which means that the relevant features (e.g. person, number, gender) of its associate will be left unchecked. Another possibility would be to posit a movement operation by which the associate is adjoined to the expletive in [spec-T] where, in older versions of case theory, the associate can be assigned case. According to

Lasnik (2003:27), however, a verb such as *be* can assign case to the associate without the latter having to adjoin to the expletive.

Moving away from the idea that *there* is merged directly in [spec-T] or with the T head, various alternative initial merger positions for *there* have been proposed in more recent studies. Bowers (2002) proposed that a light verb *v* actually comprises two functional heads, namely Tr(ansitivity) and Pr(edication), and that the expletive is merged in [spec-Pr] from where it is moved to [spec-T]. Nomura (2003), on the other hand, proposed that *there* initially merges in [spec-*v*] and *it* in [spec-V]. On this proposal, merger of *there* in [spec-*v*] would result in T agreeing with both the expletive and its associate; by contrast, merger of *it* in [spec-V] would account for the lack of case of the clausal complement.

Richards and Biberauer (2005:123) claim that *there* and *it* are both merged in [spec-*v*] and are subsequently raised to T "on the back of an Agree relation like any other formal subject". Since *there* is not initially merged in [spec-T], it is only the T that acts as a probe and both the expletive and its associate will be checked for case and any other φ-features, while the T's EPP feature is satisfied by the overt movement of the expletive (Richards and Biberauer 2005:123). Radford (2009) also assumes the idea that expletives are initially merged in [spec-*v*]. He (2009:298) furthermore posits three specific conditions regulating the syntactic distribution of the expletives *there* and *it* in standard varieties of English, namely the External Argument condition, the Indefiniteness Condition and the Inactivity Condition. A core question addressed in the present study is whether these "Expletive Conditions" provide an adequate framework for describing the syntactic distribution of the Afrikaans expletives *daar* ("there") and *dit* ("it"). This question has not yet been addressed in the literature; it is moreover not clear whether the Afrikaans expletives show the same syntactic properties as their English counterparts. Against this background, the main research questions of the present study may be formulated as follows:

1. Can the syntactic distribution of Afrikaans expletive *daar* and *dit* be adequately accounted for in terms of the expletive conditions posited by Radford (2009:298)?

2. If not, how can these conditions be modified to accommodate the properties of Afrikaans expletive constructions?

The rest of the study is organised as follows. Chapter 2 provides a brief overview of some of the key assumptions and concepts of Minimalist Syntax, the most recent theory of grammar within the broad generative framework. This overview is based on the ideas set out in, amongst others, Chomsky (1995a,b, 2001), Hornstein, Nunes and Grohmann (2005), Lasnik (2003), Nunes (1998) and Radford (2009). Against this general theoretical background, Chapter 3 focuses on four recent minimalist analyses of expletive constructions, namely those proposed by Felser and Rupp (2001), Bowers (2002), Richards and Biberauer (2005) and Radford (2009). The three expletive conditions posited by Radford (2009) will form the basis of the analysis of expletive *daar* and *dit* constructions in Afrikaans presented in Chapter 4. A brief overview of previous (and mostly non-generative) studies on Afrikaans expletives will also be given in Chapter 4, specifically those by Barnes (1984), Du Plessis (1977), Maartens (1980), Donaldson (1993) and Ponelis (1979, 1993). In the course of the discussion the various types of *daar* elements will be identified and a brief non-formalistic description of each will be given. A summary of the findings of Chapter 4 will be given in Chapter 5, along with some problematic issues and possible topics for further research.

Chapter 2

Some Aspects of Minimalist Syntax

2.1 General Architecture

It is important to note the distinction between Minimalist Syntax (MS) and the Minimalist Programme (MP). According to Chomsky (2000:90), MP is not a theory but "the attempt to formulate and study [questions]".[1] In other words, MP is defined by a set of questions that is intended to guide linguistic inquiry rather than a complete theory comprising various types of formal devices. Within the framework of questions posed in MP, the devices that are used in characterising language are critically examined, one of the goals being to limit the number of such devices (Radford 2009:13-4; Southwood 2007:63). Many grammatical theories adopting the goals and assumptions of MP have been developed since the early 1990s to try and account for various syntactic phenomena; it is these theories that can collectively be referred to as "minimalist syntactic theories". A core assumption of MS – one which is taken over from its predecessor, Government and Binding theory – is that the system of Universal Grammar (UG) is "composed of principles with open parameter values that are set by experience" (Hornstein, et al. 2005:20), i.e. by exposure to a specific language. Such a system can account for the speed and uniformity with which children acquire their first language as well as for the wide surface variation found among languages (Hornstein et al. 2005:20; Radford 2009: Chapter 1).

According to Chomsky (2005:1), the human language faculty consists of a lexicon and a computational system. The items that enter the computational system and their

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[1] According to Chomsky (1995a:1) MP "is motivated by two related questions: (1) what are the general conditions that the human language faculty should be expected to satisfy? and (2) to what extent is the language faculty determined by these conditions, without special structure that lies beyond them? The first question in turn has two aspects: what conditions are imposed on the language faculty by virtue of (A) its place within the array of cognitive systems of the mind/brain, and (B) general considerations of conceptual naturalness that have some independent plausibility, namely, simplicity, economy, symmetry, non-redundancy, and the like." Cf. also Freidin (1997) and Zwart (1997) for a discussion of the goals and assumptions of MP.

idiosyncratic properties are determined by the lexicon; a particular selection of an array of such items is called a Numeration (Nunes 1998:12). The computational system organizes these items in a specific way to form a pair, a phonetic form (PF) object and a logical form (LF) object (Nunes 1998:13). This is affected by the general operation Merge.[2] If the two objects formed by the computational system satisfy Full Interpretation[3] "in that all of their elements are legible at the interface system, the derivation is said to converge at LF and at PF, respectively"; if either one fails to satisfy Full Interpretation, the derivation is said to crash (Nunes 1998:12).

Within MS the number of linguistic levels of representation is limited to two, namely those associated with the phonetic component (PF) and the semantic component (LF). These two levels form the input to the articulatory-perceptual (A-P) and the conceptual-intentional (C-I) performance systems, respectively (Chomsky 1995b:393). Before a structure can be phonetically interpreted, all strong features must be checked, otherwise the derivation will crash at PF (Hornstein et al. 2005:45-7). Features that are interpretable at PF are not interpretable at LF and vice versa (Chomsky 1995b:394). In other words, the structural information that goes to PF and LF are different and the derivation must therefore be split: sometime during the derivation "the system employs the rule of Spell-Out, which separates the structure relevant for phonetic interpretation from the structure that pertains to semantic interpretation" (Hornstein et al. 2005:46).[4] It is during this "separation" that most of the internal operations take place in order to form a grammatical utterance; all the relevant grammatical information needs to be assigned a phonetic and semantic interpretation (Hornstein et al. 2005:22). The Principle of Economy implies that if a single operation can

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[2] The nature of this operation is discussed in section 2.1.1 below.

[3] Full Interpretation requires that only features that are interpretable at a specific level of representation, that is to say, phonetically interpretable features at PF and semantically interpretable features at LF, are allowed at that level. Features that would be uninterpretable at a given level must be "checked" and subsequently eliminated as part of the derivation (Southwood 2007:65).

[4] In recent versions of MS provision is made for more than one point of Spell-Out, called "phases". Cf. e.g. Radford (2009: chapter 9) and the references cited there.

lead to Spell-Out, all further operations involving the same element(s) will be blocked (Hornstein et al. 2005:8, 47; Radford 2009:201). The requirement that all phonetically strong features must be checked implies that movement must take place before Spell-Out; if no strong features are present, only covert movement needs to take place after Spell-Out (Hornstein et al. 2005:47).

The operations Merge and Move, as well as the processes of feature checking and case and theta assignments are discussed in the next sections. Attention will also be given to the general principles and conditions that are relevant for the present study.

2.1.1 Merge and Move Operations

The lexical items of the Numeration are put together by a general operation to form a specific structure; this operation is called Merge (Hornstein et al. 2005:49). Two types of Merge can be identified. The first, External Merge, takes two lexical items, α and β to form a new item, K, which can in turn be merged with another item from the Numeration to project a new category L (Hornstein et al. 2005:210; Nunes 1998:15). K's label is determined by one of its constituent parts α or β; whichever item determines the properties of K is said to project. For example, if α is the head constituent, K will be represented as [αP [α β]] with P indicating a phrase. The projection of only one of these two constituents α or β will result in a derivation that converges (Nunes 1998:15). When a new constituent γ is taken from the Numeration and merged with K, the structure shown in (1) is formed (Hornstein et al. 2005:211). In other words, the two applications of External Merge result in the object L = [γ, [α β]], where γ is the label of L indicating its relevant properties at the interface levels (Hornstein et al. 2005:210; Nunes 1998:15).

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(1)

L
├─ γ
└─ K
   ├─ α
   └─ β
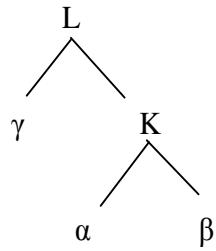
Merge thus combines two elements to form a set, where the original parts of the set keep their syntactic properties (Hornstein et al. 2005:201). The head α in (1) enters into two important local relations, namely spec(ifier)-head (between α and γ) and head-complement (between α and β). For these local relations to be established, the two elements must be asymmetrical in the sense that one element labels the resulting structure (Hornstein et al. 2005:202). The Strong Endocentricity Thesis (SET) requires that for a local grammatical relation to be formed, the head of the constituent must project (Hornstein et al. 2005:214). The reason why only one element can project is because, as the head, it contains the information about whether it requires a specifier and/or a complement (Hornstein et al. 2005:202).

Whereas External Merge involves at least one item taken directly from the Numeration, the second type of merger operation, known as Internal Merge, only involves items in a syntactic object that has been formed by a previous merger operation(s) (Hornstein et al. 2005:209; Radford 2009:186). Both types of Merge are subject to the Binarity Principle, that is, they involve two and only two items at a time (Hornstein et al. 2005:209; Radford 2009:42).

Three levels of projection can be identified, namely minimal, maximal and intermediate projections (Chomsky 1995a:242; Nunes 1998:16). A minimal projection is an element that does not project any further, e.g. β in schema (1) above. If α projects only once, this projection represents the maximal projection of α, e.g. K in (1); if α projects more than

once, the level between α and its maximal projection represents an intermediate projection.[5]

In certain structures, an expression appearing in one position may actually be interpreted in a different position. This phenomenon is a consequence of an operation that is informally referred to as "Move" (Hornstein et al. 2005:213). Within MS, Move involves two more basic operations, namely Copy and Merge (Hornstein et al. 2005:212-216; Radford 2009:147-151). On this view, movement is effected by first copying the relevant expression and then merging it in some other position in the structure; the original expression remains in its initial position, where it receives its semantic interpretation, and is eventually deleted in the phonological component. Copy-Merge establishes an agreement relation between α and F "and merges P(F) to αP where P(F) is a phrase determined by F and αP is a projection headed by α" (Chomsky 2000:101). In short, a "movement" operation results in one copy of P(F) occurring in the specifier position of Y ([spec-Y]), and the other copy in its original position. For example, in the derivation of the construction in (2) the DP complement of the unergative verb *sink* is copied and merged in the syntactic subject position, i.e. in [spec-T], resulting in a configuration where a spec-head agreement relation can be established.

(2) a. $[_{TP}$ T $[_{VP}$ $[_{DP}$ die skip] sink]]

  b. $[_{TP}{}^{2}$ $[_{DP}$ die skip] $[_{TP}{}^{1}$ T $[_{VP}$ [~~die skip~~] sink]]][6]

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[5] Intermediate projections are generally described in terms of the notation "α-bar (α')". It is assumed in this study that (at least some) categories can have multiple specifiers (cf. section 4.3.2), which means that provision must be made for more than one intermediate projection. For ease of exposition, the distinction between the maximal projection and the various intermediate projections will be indicated by means of numerical superscripts, e.g. αP^{1}, αP^{2}, etc.; in other words, the bar-notation will not be followed here.

[6] Where a structure contains multiple copies of a particular element, it is generally the topmost one which is phonetically spelled-out in PF. Those that are not spelled out are henceforth marked by means of ~~strikethrough~~.

Given that movement is only a "sequence of [the] operations [c]opy and [m]erge" (Hornstein et al. 2005:214), all principles which apply to Merge, should also apply to Move. In view of the weight placed on economy considerations in MS, Move will only take place as a "last resort" since it involves "more effort" than is required for either Merge or agreement[7] (Hornstein et al. 2005:8; Chomsky 2000:102).[8] Movement is triggered by a grammatical feature that needs to be satisfied in some way, e.g. by being supplied with a specific value. If a feature F is targeted for movement, any other features occurring with F will be pied-piped as part of the movement operation (Nunes 1998:31). The idea that Move is forced in order to satisfy particular grammatical features will be discussed in section 2.1.2.

All movement is subject to the Minimal Link Condition[9] which states that X attracts α only if there is no other item, say β, closer to X such that X attracts it instead, where "closest item" is determined by the following condition (Nunes 1998:25):

(3)   Closeness:
        α is closer to K than β is if:
        (i) α c-commands β; and
        (ii) α is not in the same minimal domain as τ or β.

2.1.2 Feature-agreement and Case Checking

As mentioned in section 2.1, the computational system organizes items from the Numeration to form a pair, a PF object and an LF object, each consisting of various PF and

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[7]

[8] Cf. section 2.1.2 below for a discussion of agreement.
In previous versions of MS a distinction is made between overt and covert movement. Overt movement takes place before phonological Spell-out, which means that its effect will be visible in the PF representation, whereas covert movement takes place after Spell-out so that its effect will not be phonetically visible (Hornstein et al. 2005:47; Nunes 1998:30). This distinction between overt and covert movement will not be incorporated in the analyses below.
[9] Radford (2009:21, 216) formulates the content of the Minimal Link Condition in the form of the Attract Closest Condition.

LF features. LF (i.e. semantic) features must be interpretable for the C-I performance system and PF (i.e. phonological) features must be interpretable for the A-P performance system; LF and PF features are uninterpretable at A-P and C-I, respectively (Nunes 1998:26). The full set of gender, number and person features (φ-features) receive an interpretation at C-I only if they are part of a noun, but not as part of a verb; case-features receive an interpretation at A-P, but not at C-I (Nunes 1998:26). If a particular feature is uninterpretable at C-I, it must be eliminated via feature-checking in the course of the derivation for Full Interpretation to be satisfied (Nunes 1998:26-27).

In previous versions of MS grammatical features are furthermore divided into weak and strong features[10] (Nunes 1998:19). Strong features must be deleted before Spell-out by means of some operation resulting in some sort of feature-checking, e.g. feature-agreement. One such operation which plays a key role in the analyses set out in Chapter 4 involves the concepts of 'probe' and 'goal'.

According to Hornstein et al. (2005:317), a probe is "a head with [un]interpretable features and a goal is an element with matching interpretable features". The uninterpretable features are deleted for LF purposes and specified for morphological purposes when the probe searches for a goal within its c-command domain. A given element will, according to minimality, only be available as a goal to the probe if no other element with the necessary features intervenes.

A goal is active if it has unchecked uninterpretable features; once all such features are checked, the goal becomes inactive, in other words, unable to participate in any other agreement relations (Hornstein et al. 2005:318). In some versions of case theory, the assignment of a value to an unvalued case feature (in short, the assignment of a particular case) is claimed to be the result of the agreement relation between the "interpretable φ-

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[10] Cf. also Radford (2009:145, 170) for this distinction. In more recent versions of MS this distinction has been discarded, however. In this study, the distinction is interpreted as a morphological one, i.e. a "strong" feature is one that must be phonetically realised.

features of the noun and the [un]interpretable φ-features of the relevant Case checker" (Hornstein et al. 2005:318).[11] Consider in this regard the assignment of case in the sentence in (4). The derivation of this sentence is described in (5).

(4)   Sy haat hom.
        she hates him
        "She hates him"

(5)   a. Merge the DP *hom* and the V *haat*:
            [$_{VP}$ hom haat]
        b. Merge the light-*v* with the VP:
            [$_{vP}$ *v* [$_{VP}$ hom haat]]
        c. Copy the V and merge with the *v*:
            [$_{vP}$ haat-*v* [$_{VP}$ hom ~~haat~~]]
        d. Copy the DP *hom* and merge in [spec-*v*]:
            [$_{vP}^{2}$ hom [$_{vP}^{1}$ haat-*v* [$_{VP}$ ~~hom haat~~]]]
        e. Merge the DP *sy* with vP^2:
            [$_{vP}^{3}$ sy [$_{vP}^{2}$ hom [$_{vP}^{1}$ haat-*v* [$_{VP}$ ~~hom haat~~]]]]
        f. Merge the T with vP^3:
            [$_{TP}$ T [$_{vP}^{3}$ sy [$_{vP}^{2}$ hom [$_{vP}^{1}$ haat-*v* [$_{VP}$ ~~hom haat~~]]]]]
        g. Copy V *haat* and merge with T:
            [$_{TP}$ haat-T [$_{vP}^{3}$ sy [$_{vP}^{2}$ hom [$_{vP}^{1}$ ~~haat~~-*v* [$_{VP}$ ~~hom haat~~]]]]]
        h. Copy DP *sy* and merge in [spec-T]:
            [$_{TP}^{2}$ sy [$_{TP}^{1}$ haat-T [$_{vP}^{3}$ ~~sy~~ [$_{vP}^{2}$ hom [$_{vP}^{1}$ ~~haat~~-*v* [$_{VP}$ ~~hom haat~~]]]]]]
        i. Merge C to form CP.

Consider, first, the assignment of accusative case to the DP *hom* in (5d).[12] In (5b) the light verb has uninterpretable person and number features which means that the *v* must probe for

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[11] Agreement, as stated by Radford (2009:285), causes a relation with φ-features and case. He defines agreement as follows:
"When a probe [...] agrees with a goal in its local domain
        (i) the unvalued (person/number) φ-features on the probe will be valued [...]
        (ii) the unvalued case feature on the goal will be valued [...]" (Radfordn2009:285).

an active goal to value and check these features (Hornstein et al. 2005:318). The only active, local goal available, is the object pronoun *hom* that has interpretable person and number features. The operation Agree matches the probe and the goal, resulting in the φ-features of the light verb being supplied with values; the DP is subsequently copied and merged into [spec-*v*] where it is assigned accusative case (Hornstein et al. 2005:319). In the process, the valued features of *v*, which are uninterpretable at LF, are deleted.

Consider, secondly, the assignment of nominative case to the DP *sy* in (5h).[13] The DP *sy* is externally merged in [spec-*v*]. The uninterpretable φ-features of T cause T to probe its complement for an active goal (Hornstein et al. 2005:319). T finds the subject DP which has interpretable person and number features and thus represents an active goal.[14] Agreement between T and the subject DP (in [spec-*v*]) takes place, and all uninterpretable features of T are valued and deleted for purposes of LF (Hornstein et al. 2005:319). The strong EPP feature[15] of T must furthermore be checked by a nominal expression; this is affected by merging either an expletive or an appropriate DP in [spec-T] (Hornstein et al. 2005:319). Since no expletive is present in (4), the EPP feature will trigger the movement of the closest nominal expression, in most cases the goal agreeing with T. As described in (5h), agree will result in the nominative DP *sy* being attracted to [spec-T].

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[12] Under the VP-shell hypothesis (see section 2.1.3 below) the light verb *v* assigns the external argument's θ-role as well as accusative case (Hornstein et al. 2005:122). It is furthermore assumed that "a verb assigns accusative case to its object only if it θ-marks its subject" and that case must be assigned (or checked) outside the domain in which θ-roles are assigned (Hornstein et al. 2005:102,163). Burzio claims that "the direct object argument of the verb can be assigned inherent accusative case by virtue of being the theme argument of the verb and that this happens only when a direct object is in a position where it cannot be assigned structural case" (Radford 2009:408).

[13] Radford (2009:122) states that "a finite complementiser assigns nominative case to a noun or pronoun expression which it c-commands", similarly to the way that a transitive complementiser like *for* assigns accusative case to the subject of an infinitival clause. This possibility will not be incorporated into the analyses in chapters 3 and 4.

[14] Note that the object DP, besides being structurally further away from T than the subject DP, is not accessible since all its features have already been valued and checked.

[15] All the so-called core functional categories (CFC) allow a specifier position (Chomsky 2000:102). In the case of C, this is the position for, amongst others, a raised *wh*-phrase; and in the case of *v*, it is the position for an expression that has undergone object shift (Chomsky 2000:102). In the case of T, the specifier represents the derived subject position; this position is induced by the Extended Projection Principle (EPP) feature, which serves to express the requirement that every clause must have a structural subject (Nunes 1998:19).

Once the DP in [spec-T] has been fully checked, it cannot enter into another agree relation (Hornstein et al. 2005:320; Nunes 1998:28). For example, if the structure was merged with a raising predicate, the subject DP will not be able to value the uninterpretable φ-features of the T in the clause containing the raising predicate (Hornstein et al. 2005:320).[16]

According to the version of case theory set out in, amongst others, Hornstein et al. (2005) and Nunes (1998), agree implies that interpretable features are fully specified in the lexicon, whereas an uninterpretable feature has to be supplied with a specific value in the course of the derivation. During merge, if item X adjoins to a head Y, the features of X will be counted as features of Y for the purpose of checking relations (Nunes 1998:20). Uninterpretable features (e.g. those that are unvalued) must be checked before they reach LF otherwise the derivation will crash. Likewise, in those cases where φ-features are PF-interpretable, such features must be valued for Full Interpretation to be satisfied at PF, that is, for these features to be spelled out (Hornstein et al. 2005:317). In other words, agree will assign "values to unvalued features for morphological reasons, while at the same time deleting such [un]interpretable features for purposes of LF" (Hornstein et al. 2005:317). In this version of case theory, both nominative and accusative case are checked in a [spec-head] relation, outside the θ-domain: nominative in [spec-T] and accusative in [spec-*v*] (Hornstein et al. 2005:163).

2.1.3 Theta Role Assignment

The following assumptions are central to the assignment of Ɵ-roles: "(i) phrases are projections of heads; (ii) elements that form parts of phrases do so in virtue of being within such projections; (iii) elements within a phrase are hierarchically ordered" (Hornstein et al. 2005:76). In other words, complements are in the immediate projection of the head

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[16] The checking of uninterpretable features does not necessarily imply movement; such features can also be checked by "long distance agreement" (Hornstein et al. 2005:325).

whereas specifiers are outside the immediate projection of a head, thus phrases are endocentric objects (Hornstein et al. 2005:76).

A distinction is made between the internal and external argument of a verb. The internal argument, on the one hand, is usually the object complement of the verb, from which it receives its Ѳ-role; these two elements form part of the first projection of V, i.e. VP^1 (or V' in the terminology of X'-theory; cf. fn. 5) (Hornstein et al. 2005:77, 80). The external argument, on the other hand, is the logical subject of a sentence, and its θ-role is determined by the predicate, that is, the verbal expression containing the verb (and the internal argument, if present) (Hornstein et al. 2005:77). Unlike the internal argument, the external argument does not receive its θ-role in a head-complement configuration, but rather in a [spec-head] configuration (Hornstein et al. 2005:81). If all θ-roles associated with a head X are assigned within the projection of X, it follows that the external argument must originate in the specifier position of the relevant verbal head (Hornstein et al. 2005:81). This claim is expressed by means of the Predicate Internal Subject Hypothesis (PISH or VPISH). In terms of this hypothesis, the internal argument *Webber* and the external argument *Vettel* in the sentence *Vettel hit Webber* will initially occupy the positions indicated in the simplified structure in (6).

(6) $[_{VP}^2$ Vettel $[_{VP}^1$ hit Webber]]

In (6) *Vettel* is not directly Ѳ-marked by the verb; rather, it is θ-marked when it merges with VP^1 *hit Webber*. Although this approach is adequate for two-place predicates, it is problematic in the case of ditransitive verbs with two internal arguments that need to be in a specific order. A generally accepted way of overcoming this problem, is to make use of a so-called light verb *v* which takes a VP as its complement (Hornstein et al. 2005:98). In the case of a sentence like *Mary jammed the knife into John*, the two internal arguments *the*

knife and *into John* and the external argument *Mary* will occupy the positions as indicated in the structure (7).

(7)

```
                        vP²
                       /   \
                      /     vP¹
                     /     /   \
                    /     /     VP²
                   /     /     /   \
                  /     /     /     VP¹
                 /     /     /     /   \
                /     /     /     /     \
              DP     v    DP    V       PP
             Mary       the knife  jammed  into John
```
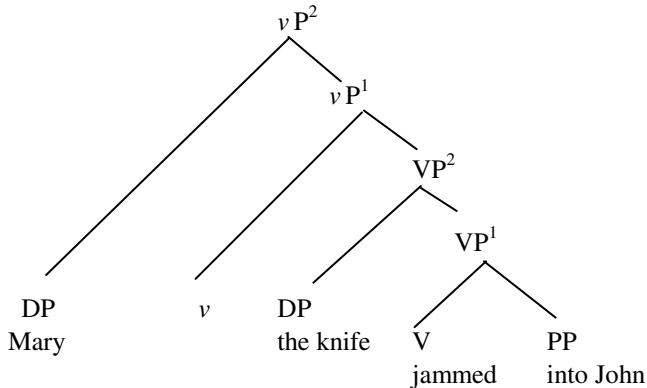
The *v* in (7) is phonetically null, and its meaning is at least partly dependant on the meaning of the lexical V (Hornstein et al. 2005:98). The light verb *v* is merged with VP^2, which contains the two internal arguments. The resulting projection vP^1 is in turn merged with the external argument. Assuming that the *v* has a strong V-feature, it will attract *jammed* and the surface structure *Mary jammed the knife into John* will be formed through overt movement (Hornstein et al. 2005:99). The θ-role of Goal is assigned to *John* and the role of Instrument to *the knife*. Once the V is merged with the *v*, the role of Agent is assigned to *Mary* by VP^2. The subject DP is subsequently attracted by the strong EPP feature of T, resulting in the structure in (8).

(8) [$_{TP}$ Mary [$_{TP}$^{1} T [$_{vP}$^{2} ~~Mary~~ [$_{vP}$^{1} jammed$_i$ + *v* [$_{VP}$^{2} [$_{DP}$ the knife] [$_{vP}$^{1} ~~jammed~~ [$_{PP}$ into John]]]]]]

This analysis is compatible with VPISH and maintains the distinction between internal and external arguments (Hornstein et al. 2005:100). The verbal shell structure also "accounts for the required c-command relation between the internal arguments [and] yields the correct surface order in languages like English" (Hornstein et al. 2005:100). The above

approach incorporating the VPISH and the VP Shell Hypothesis, also holds for the analysis of sentences with a two-place predicate, as in (6) above. In such cases, though, no VP[1] will be formed.

Consider, next, the analysis of unergative and unaccusative verbs in terms of the VPISH. Unergative verbs select a single, external argument that is thematically similar to the external argument of a transitive verb; unaccusative verbs, by contrast, select a single, internal argument that is thematically similar to the internal argument of a transitive verb (Hornstein et al. 2005:105-6). Consider the examples in (9).

(9)   a. John shouted.
        b. John gave a shout.
        c. John arrived.

(9b) is a paraphrase of (9a), with the unergative verb *shouted* substituted with the overt light verb *gave* followed by the DP complement *a shout* (Horstein et al. 2005:108). If the example in (9a) is derived in terms of the VPISH, as illustrated in (10), the one in (9b) can be accounted for straightforwardly in that *v* provides a position for the light verb *gave*.

(10)

vP^2

vP^1

DP v'   V/VP
John   shouted
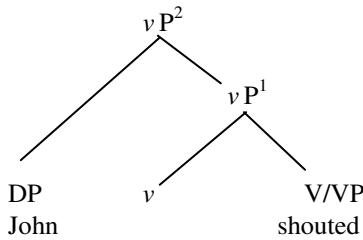
According to Hornstein et al. (2005:105, 194), unaccusative structures like the one illustrated in (9c) do not contain a light verb and hence no light verb projection; rather,

these structures only contain a VP in which the verb selects a single, internal argument, as shown in (11).[17]

(11)

```
              VP
            /    \
          V       DP
        arrived   John
```
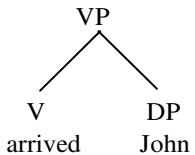
In both (10) and (11) the argument occurs in the Ө-position associated with the relevant θ-role, i.e. Agent, assigned by the *v* in the case of the external argument in (10), and Theme assigned by the V in the case of the internal argument in (11).[18]

2.2 Summary

This chapter provided a brief description of the core assumptions and devices of MP which will form the background of the analysis for Afrikaans expletive constructions. As further background, the next chapter focuses on three previous analyses of expletive constructions that have been presented within a broad minimalist framework. This is followed by a discussion of the analysis set out in Radford (2009), which will form the framework for the analysis of the Afrikaans constructions in Chapter 4.

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[17] Chomsky (2006:12) makes a distinction between two types of light verbs: (i) *v**, which has the ability to assign a Ө-role to an external argument, and (ii) *v*, which lacks this ability, and which is associated with unaccusative constructions. In both cases the lexical verb V is merged with the light verb in the course of the derivation. This distinction will be incorporated in the analyses in Chapter 4; cf. fn. 63.

[18] In terms of the distinction mentioned in fn. 12, the Ө-role in (10) is actually assigned by the expression [V+*v**], the V having been merged with the light verb.

Chapter 3

Some Recent Analyses of Expletive Constructions

3.1 Introduction

The syntax and interpretation of expletive constructions – i.e. constructions containing the expletive elements *there* and *it* and their counterparts in other languages – have been extensively studied in generative grammar. A comprehensive overview of the various analyses of these constructions that have been presented in the literature falls outside the scope of the present study. For current purposes, the discussion in this chapter will describe four of the more recent analyses of expletive constructions, all of which are presented within some version of Minimalist Syntax.[19] The first three, described in section 3.2, are those of Felser and Rupp (2001), Bowers (2002) and Richards and Biberauer (2005). The fourth analysis, described in section 3.3, is the one set out in Radford (2009); this analysis will form the basis of the analysis of Afrikaans expletive constructions in Chapter 4, although some of the proposals associated with the other three analyses will also be examined in that chapter.

3.2. Three Minimalist Analyses

3.2.1 Expletives as Arguments

Felser and Rupp (2001:5) state that expletives are "overt instantiations of the event or spatio-temporal argument". They (2001:20-21) furthermore claim that non-existential sentences may be interpreted with a strong (i.e. specific) or a weak (i.e. non-specific) reading, but that the associate of an expletive favours a weak reading, claiming that this

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[19] For more analyses of expletive constructions, cf. e.g. Adger (2003), Groat (1995), Lasnik (1995) and Sobin (2004).

phenomenon can be explained by the internal subject hypothesis which ensures two subject positions, an internal and an external position (Hornstein et al. 2005:81). The strong and the weak interpretations of indefinites can be accounted for by the position they occupy at LF: a DP in [spec-T] has a strong interpretation whereas indefinites within the predicate phrase have a weak reading (Felser and Rupp 2001:21).

According to Felser and Rupp (2001:25), if an expletive is analysed as a thematic or quasi-thematic subject, the ungrammaticality of a sentence such as (1b) follows from the fact that the structure of the predicate nominal *a solution* is not saturated by any subject.

(1) a. There is a solution

    b. *A solution is.

Felser and Rupp (2001:25) characterise an expletive as an argument expression that, similar to Agent or Causer arguments, is θ-marked by the entire predicate including the logical subject. This would mean that the spasio-temporal argument originates within the VP: "The spatio-temporal argument is like a quasi-argument in that it is thematic without referring to an actual participant in the action or event depicted" (Felser and Rupp 2001:25), and it can also be associated with an abstract location. If the spatio-temporal argument has no phonetic content, the thematic subject in EPP languages must merge with [spec-T]; however, if the spatio-temporal argument takes the form of an expletive, the Minimal Link Condition[20] requires the expletive to raise to [spec-T] in order to satisfy the T's EPP-feature, as shown in (2) (Felser and Rupp 2001:25).

(2) [$_{TP}$ there [T was [$_{AspP}$ t [$_{PredP}$ a fly in my soup]]]]

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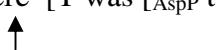
[20] The Minimal Link Condition determines that only the closest available item of the required category be moved (Bowers 2002:185).

Since the expletive is in [spec-T] and because it checks the T's nominative case and EPP-features, overt raising of the associate is blocked. The associate is therefore stuck inside the predicate phrase, hence it cannot escape existential binding at LF and will receive a weak reading (Felser and Rupp 2001:26). Referring to Diesing (1996), Felser and Rupp (2001:26) state that expletives are inherently definite which means that "they must raise out of the predicate phrase."

Consider next transitive expletive constructions (TEC). These constructions are not common in English but are found in other Germanic languages such as German and Dutch (Felser and Rupp 2001:27).[21]

(3)   a. *There has someone eaten an apple.

        b. Es essen einige Mäuse Käse in der Küche.   (German)
           there eat some mice cheese in the kitchen
           "There are some mice eating cheese in the kitchen"

        c. Er heeft iemand een appel gegeten.   (Dutch)
           there has someone an apple eaten
           "Someone has eaten an apple"

Based on the fact that the raised subject sometimes precedes shifted objects, as shown in (4), Felser and Rupp (2001:28) claim that the thematic subjects of TEC's are found outside the VP at Spell-Out.

(4)   a. Es haben viele Leute das Buch gestern gekauft.   (German)
          there have many people the book yesterday bought
          "Many people bought the book yesterday"

        b. dat er   veel mensen dat boek gisteren gekocht hebben.   (Dutch)
           that there many people that book yesterday bought have
           "…that many people bought the book yesterday"

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[21] Felser and Rupp (2001:27–34) also discuss TECs in Icelandic.

The logical subject of (4a,b) is in the "intermediate" subject position (Felser and Rupp 2001: 28). Taking this position to be the second specifier of T, the structure of the German sentence in (5) will have the simplified form in (6) (Felser and Rupp 2001: 28-29).

(5) Es haben viele Leute gestern   ein Buch gekauft.

   there have many people yesterday a book bought

   "Many people bought a book yesterday"

(6)
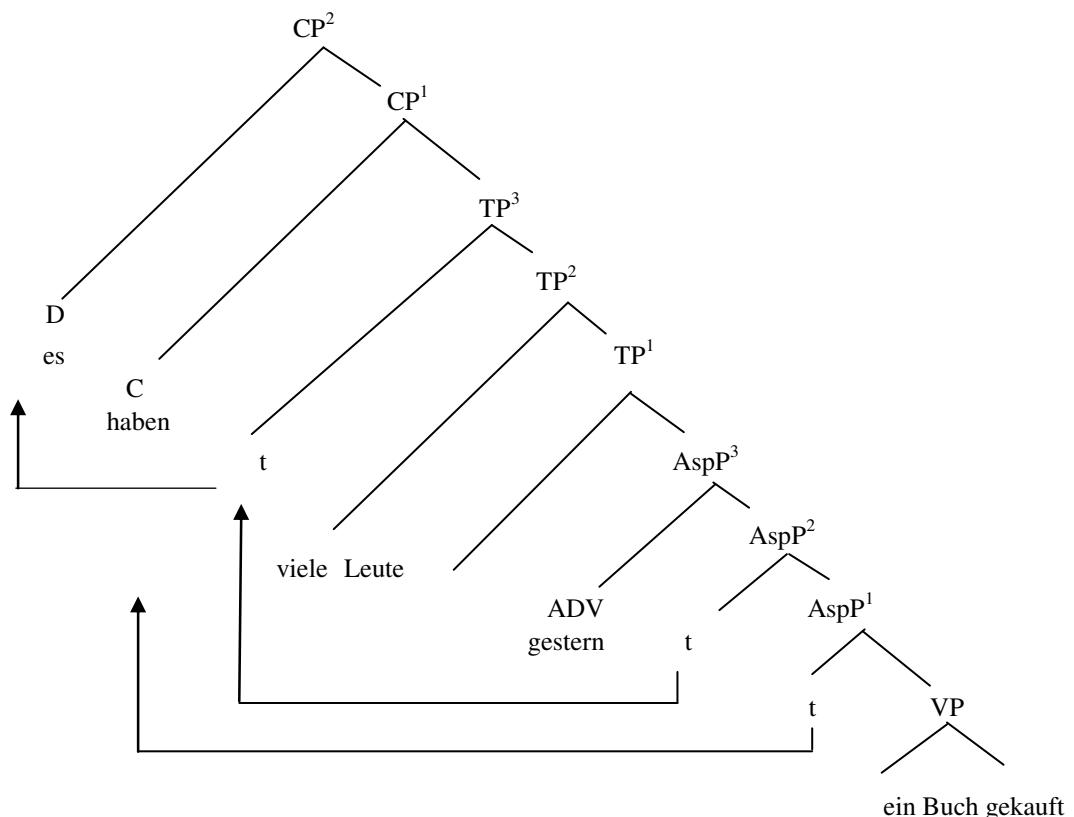
With two-place predicates, according to Felser and Rupp (2001:29), the expletive is found in a higher functional category than T at Spell-out, indicated as [spec-C] in (6).[22]

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[22] The assumption that the expletive is merged in a position higher than the T is based on the variety of surface positions of *es* and *er* in German and Dutch. According to Felser & Rupp (2001:29), the proposal by Zwart (1997) that the expletive is found in [spec-T] does not account for constructions where the German DP-expletive seems to be merged under the C or co-occur with a topicalised constituent as in the Dutch in example (i).

        i.   dat er   twee van mijn vrienden gisteren een boek hebben gekocht

               that there two of   my   friends yesterday a book have bought

               "…that there were two of my friends who bought a book yesterday."

It has often been pointed out in the literature that the expletive *there* construction in English is subject to the so-called definiteness restriction, which states that the associate of *there* must be a non-specific indefinite expression (Felser and Rupp 2001:2).[23] However, in languages like German and Dutch certain types of strong subjects (e.g. partitive or universally quantified noun phrases) are allowed in such constructions, as illustrated by the examples in (7) (Felser and Rupp 2001:30).

(7)   a. Es haben beide/?alle/*meine Mause Kase gegessen.   (German)
         there have both/all / my   mice cheese eaten
        "All/both/my mice have eaten cheese"

        b. Er hebben ?twee van mijn vrienden/??alle studenten/*mijn ouders
          there have   two of my friends   / all students /   my parents
          gisteren een boek gekocht.   (Dutch)
          yesterday a book bought
          "Two of my friends/all students/my parents bought a book yesterday"

Predicate-internal associates in Dutch and German usually have weak (non-specific) readings, whereas a predicate-external associate mostly favours a partitive reading, in other words a more specific interpretation (Felser and Rupp 2001:31). It seems to be rarely accepted as standard in cases where the indefinite associate occurs in the intermediate position, as illustrated by the difference in acceptability between the sentence pairs in (8) and (9) (Felser and Rupp 2001:31).

(8)   a. Es haben oft   Kinder   auf   der Strasse gespielt.   (German)
           there have often children on the street played
           "Children often played in the street."

---

[23] Consider as examples (i-ii):
    i.   There were the usual books outside.
    ii.   *There was the book outside.

b. ??Es haben Kinder oft auf der Strasse gespielt.

there have children often on the street played

(9)   a. Er   hebben vaak kinderen op straat gespeeld.   (Dutch)

there have often children   on street played

"Children often played in the street."

b. ??Er hebben kinderen vaak op straat gespeeld.

there have children often on street played

"Children often played in the street."

Object DPs, according to Felser and Rupp (2001:32), also seem to "escape the definiteness restriction", which leads them to assume that the definite object must be interpreted outside of the predicate phrase and that overt object raising has taken place. They (2001:33) further state that definites must raise out of the predicate phrase, but when an expletive is present, this expletive already occupies the position to which the definite should move. Assuming then that definites differ from indefinitenes and certain quantificational DPs in that they have an interpretable person-feature which must be checked, definites cannot co-occur with a true expletive since an expletive checks T's person feature (Felser and Rupp 2001:34). As a consequence, definites are excluded from TECs. Indefinites and quantificational DPs, by contrast, may have number- and gender-features, but are not marked with a person-feature (Felser and Rupp 2001:34). According to Felser and Rupp (2001:34) this enables associate raising where a double EPP-feature is present in TEC languages, whereas in non-transitive expletive construction languages, only the number-feature will be checked.

To summarise, the definiteness effects in TECs are weaker than in intransitive or unaccusative existential structures, and the logical subject in transitive structures escapes existential binding due to the availability of a second predicate position (Felser and Rupp 2001:34). Concerning the rest of the expletive constructions, Felser and Rupp (2001:26)

argue that a spatio-temporal argument serves to "saturate, or 'close-off', stage-level predicates by virtue of being the last argument to be added".

3.2.2 Expletives and Transitivity

Working from the assumption that the so-called light verb, *v*, assigns a θ-role to the external argument of unergative and transitive verbs, Bowers (2002) proposes that the English expletives *there* and *it* are merged, similar to the external argument, in the specifier position of *v*.[24] He (2002:185) further proposes that the *v* should be divided into two separate categories, namely a Pr(edication) and Tr(ansitivity) category. The Pr category, on the one hand, has an obligatory EPP-feature which is satisfied by merging an external argument or an expletive in [spec-Pr]. The Tr category, on the other hand, assigns accusative case and is optionally selected by Pr (Bowers 2002:185, 194).

Bowers (2002:194) states two properties of *there* expletive constructions that must be accounted for: (i) *there* occurs only in unaccusative structures, and (ii) the subject is found in [spec-V] and not in the internal subject position. It has standardly been assumed in the literature that *there* merges with T in order to satisfy the latter's EPP feature. According to Bowers (2002:195), however, this assumption fails to explain the above properties. As an alternative, he proposes that *there* is first merged in [spec-Pr] and not [spec-T]. Since *there* and the external argument of transitive and unergative verbs occupy the same syntactic position, they are in complementary distribution and will therefore never occur together: *there* occurs only with unaccusative verbs where the external argument position is not occupied (Bowers 2002:195). Bowers (2002:199) generalises this assumption, that TECs do not occur in English, to Norwegian, Danish, Swedish as well as Afrikaans, however, he

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[24] Cf. section 2.1.3

states that these constructions can be found in Icelandic, Dutch, German, Yiddish and Frisian. In support of this claim, Bowers (2002:199) provides the following examples:[25]

(10)   a. *There has someone eaten an apple.

        b. *Der har nogen spist et æble.   (Danish)
             there has someone eaten an apple

        c. *Daar het baie mense baie bier gedrink.   (Afrikaans)
             there has many people much beer drunk

(11)   a. það hafa margir jólasveinar borðað búðing.   (Icelandic)
            there have many Christmas.trolls eaten pudding
            "Many Christmas trolls have eaten pudding"

        b. Es essen enige Mäuse Käse in der Küche.   (German)
            there eat some mice cheese in the Kitchen
            "There are some mice eating cheese in the Kitchen"

        c. Er hat iemand een appel gegeten.   (Dutch)
            there has someone an apple eaten
            "Someone has eaten an apple"

Bowers (2002:196) furthermore claims that expletives have no lexical content and so cannot merge in a θ-position, which means that they cannot merge with the lexical categories V, N, A and P. The specifier position of T and Tr is filled through merging with an expletive which satisfies the EPP-feature, but Tr cannot be merged with an expletive or a locative PP[26] (Bowers 2002:196). This raises the question whether it is at all possible for the expletive to merge with T. According to Bowers (2002:196), only T and Tr have probes with φ-features, but not Pr and C (Bowers 2002:196). Assuming that "expletives are excluded from merging in the specifier position of any category that contains a probe with

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[25] Bowers (2002:199) furthermore states that "for [transitive expletive constructions - JdB] to be possible, a language must possess an expletive that can be merged with some category higher than Pr". The only other category Bowers (2002:199) identifies for an expletive to merge in is C, as is assumed for Icelandic.
[26] For example, *John threw there/it perfectly a ball to Mary and *John put on the table a book (Bowers 2002: 196).

φ-features" (Bowers 2002:196), *there* cannot be directly merged with T. If expletives represent "quasi-arguments", they are excluded from direct merge in a non-θ-position "(such as the specifier of categories like T and Tr with Case and agreement features) because they are still argument like" (Bowers 2002:196). However, expletive *it* has its own φ-features and since φ-features occupy T, this exclusion comes from the probe-goal agreement theory as a probe only searches for a goal in the complement position (Bowers 2002:196). Thus Bowers (2002: 196) claims that Pr and C are the only possible categories that an expletive can merge with. He (2002:196) presents the following examples:

(12) a. *It/There occurred an explosion.
      b. It/*There rained.
      c. It/*There seems/happens that John is sick.

As shown in these examples, *there* and *it* are in complementary distribution. When the "verb has a DP argument in VP (i.e., is unaccusative), then *there* is required; if not, then *it* is required" (Bowers 2002:197). Working with the assumption that *there* and *it* differ lexically, in that *there* has no case- or φ-features, it is hypothesised that both must still merge under Pr (Bowers 2002:197). As regards the derivation of a sentence containing the raising verb *seem*, the only way to satisfy the EPP-feature of Pr is to merge it with an expletive (Bowers 2002: 197).

(13) [TP T [PrP there seems [VP t [CP that John is sick]]]]

T probes its complement for a goal; however, since *there* has no case or φ-features and no other DP with case and φ-features is available, the derivation will crash (Bowers 2002:197). The uninterpretable features of the T cannot be valued and deleted when *there* is the available lexical item, but when *it* is selected the derivation will be successful (Bowers

2002:197). Nominative case will be assigned, the uninterpretable features are deleted and *it* is moved into the [spec-T] position (Bowers 2002:197). In the case where the complement clause is merged with Pr, it would result in a crashed derivation since no matching features would be available for the T probe (Bowers 2002:197).[27]

In structures containing an unaccusative verb such as *occur*, there are two possible ways for satisfying the EPP-feature of Pr: (i) the argument in VP can be moved and merged with PrP, or (ii) an expletive can be selected from the Numeration and merged with the PrP (Bowers 2002:197). If the internal argument is merged with PrP, the probe T will find a matching goal in [spec-Pr], as illustrated in (14) (Bowers 2002:198).

(14) [$_{TP}$ T [$_{PrP}$ an explosion occur [$_{VP}$ t$_V$ t]]]

    P: φ   G: φ
                nom
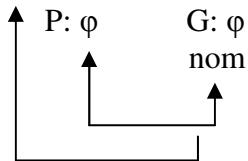
Nominative case is assigned to the DP an explosion in (14), and the uninterpretable features of T are deleted (Bowers 2002:198). Note that the Pr's EPP-feature can also be satisfied by merging *it* with PrP. In this case, the probe T matches the nearest goal in [spec-Pr], so that case can be assigned to *it* and T's uninterpretable features can be deleted. However, the unvalued, hence uninterpretable, case feature of *an explosion* remains unvalued and therefore cannot be deleted, which means that the derivation will crash at LF (Bowers 2002:198). In short, then, to form an acceptable derivation the expletive *there* must be merged with PrP and not *it* (Bowers 2002:198). When this is done, *an explosion,* which is still in its VP position, will be the nearest goal with matching features for T, since *there* has no φ-features (Bowers 2002:198). The Minimal Link Condition blocks *an*

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[27] This accounts for the ungrammaticality of sentences such as *That John is sick seems.* Movement of the complement clause over the expletive *it* into [spec-T] is prohibited by the Minimal Link Condition which accounts for structures like, *That John is sick it seems* (Bowers 2002: 197).

explosion from moving to [spec-T], as *there* is closest to T and can satisfy the latter's EPP-feature (Bowers 2002:198). This results in the grammatical sentence *There occurred an explosion.*

In conclusion, on Bowers' (2002) analysis the subject probe is found under T, and the expletives *there* and *it* are merged with Pr. According to him (2002:199), this analysis is language-specific; in a language like Icelandic, for example, expletives are merged with C and not with Pr.

3.2.3 Existential Constructions in West-Germanic Languages

Richards and Biberauer (2005:117) identify three possible categories with which expletives can be initially merged, namely C, T and *v*.[28] However, they (2005:117-23) refer to evidence which indicates that expletives are not merged with either C or T in West-Germanic languages like Dutch, German and Afrikaans, but rather in a position lower than T.[29] According to Richards and Biberauer (2005:119), expletives that were previously analysed as TP-expletives, are in fact *v*P-expletives. More specifically, they (2005:123) claim that the expletive is initially merged in [spec-*v*] and then raised to T for agreement purposes. This gives a solution to the problem of how T's features are valued: the expletive is in T's c-command domain and can thus be probed. Since the expletive is marked for third person, it can value the person feature of T; the T's EPP feature is furthermore satisfied via Move, exactly as in the case of nominal arguments (Richards and Biberauer 2005:124). On this analysis, a sentence such as (15) will be derived as shown in (16)[30].

(15) There arrived a man.

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[28] Unlike Bowers (2002), Richards and Biberauer do not incorporate the distinction between the two subtypes of light-*v*, Pr en Tr, in their analysis.
[29] Referring to Bobaljik (2002) and Bowers (2002), Richards and Biberauer (2005:118) note the possibility that expletives can be inserted in [spec-C] "in the phonological component" in a language like Icelandic.
[30] Cf. Richards and Biberauer (2005:124)

(16) a. Merge (V, DP)

$[_{VP}$ arrived $[_{DP}$ a man$]]$

b. Merge *v* (defective/nontransitive)

$[v [_{VP}$ arrived $[_{DP}$ a man$]]]$

c. Merge Expletive

$[_{vP}$ there $[v [_{VP}$ arrived $[_{DP}$ a man$]]]]$

d. Merge T

$[T [_{vP}$ there $[v [_{VP}$ arrived $[_{DP}$ a man$]]]]]$

e. Agree (T, Expletive)

$[T _{[\varphi, EPP]} \ldots$ Expletive $_{[\varphi, \text{Case}]}]$

f. Agree (T, a man)

$[T _{[\varphi, EPP]} \ldots DP _{[\varphi, \text{Case}]}]$

g. Merge (Expletive, T) [i.e. Move]

$[TP$ there $[T_{[\varphi, EPP]} [_{vP}$ (there) $[v [_{VP}$ arrived $[_{DP}$ a man$]]]]]]$

On the one hand, agreement with T values the expletive's case feature; on the other hand, T's φ-features are valued via agreement with the DP *a man*. As pointed out by Richards and Biberauer (2005:125), this analysis differs from other Probe-Goal analyses in that the expletive does not raise as a predicate, but as a dummy argument; according to them, this approach can account for many of the surface properties of expletive constructions. For example, expletives can only occur with unaccusative/passive predicates, that is, predicates that lack an external argument, since expletives occupy the same specifier position as an external argument would.

Richards and Biberauer examine several constructions that have proved to be problematic for previous analyses. Consider the following examples from German (2005:126):

(17) a. Es kam gestern ein Junge.

expl came yesterday a boy

"There came a boy yesterday"

b. Gestern   kam (*es) ein Junge.

   yesterday came (expl) a boy

   "Yesterday there came a boy"

c. Es wurde getanzt.

   Expl became danced

   "There was dancing"

d. Gestern wurde (*es) getanzt.

   yesterday became (expl) danced

   "Yesterday there was dancing"

The above examples illustrate that expletives cannot be overtly realised in [spec-T] (Richards and Biberauer 2005:126). German also has structures in which the expletive cannot be inserted, even though the nominative expression is not raised:

(18) … daß (*es) dem   Mann ein   Buch geschenkt wurde.[31]

     that (expl) the.$_{DAT}$ man a.$_{NOM}$ book presented became

   "… that the man was given a book as a present."

According to Richards and Biberauer (2005), the facts in (18) can be accounted for in terms of the way in which T's EPP feature is satisfied. They (2005:131) claim that this feature can be satisfied in two ways, namely via DP-raising or *v*P-raising, and that German makes use of the second possibility, that is, raising the *v*P complement of T into [spec-T]. Given this proposal, the derivation of (18) will proceed as follows:[32]

(19)   a. Merge the lexical V (*geschenkt*) and its direct object/theme (*ein Buch*)

        b. Merge indirect object/recipient (*dem Mann*) within the lexical domain of V

        c. Merge the passive auxiliary as head of the defective *v*P

[31] It should be noted that a sentence like (18) is grammatical with es if the (dative) nominal expression is indefinite. This observation holds for Afrikaans as well: … *dat daar 'n/*die man 'n boek gegee is* ("… that there was a book given to a man"). Richards and Biberauer (2005) do not address the definiteness issue, however.

[32] Cf. Richards and Biberauer (2005:132)

d. Merge T and raise *wurde* to T

e. Raise T's *v*P-complement to [spec-T]

f. Merge the complementiser (*daß*) as head of C

The resulting structure is shown in the diagram in (20).

(20)
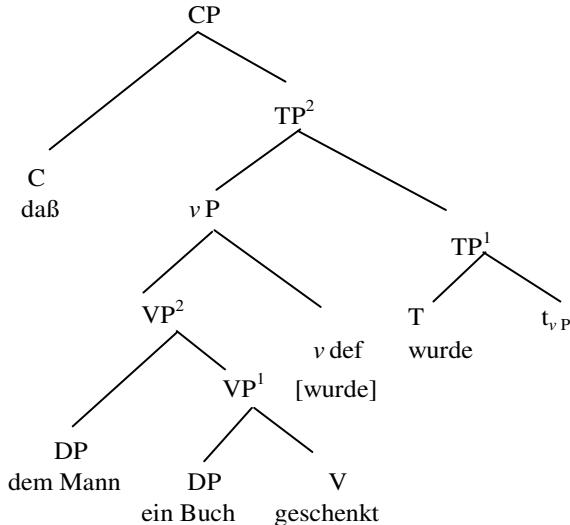
Since the EPP feature is satisfied via *v*P-raising in (20), it is not possible for an expletive to be merged in [spec-T]. According to Richards and Biberauer (2005:132), merging the direct object DP *ein Buch* into this position is not possible: the "defective/passive" *v* does not have an EPP feature that could trigger raising into [spec-*v*], where such an operation would be a prerequisite for raising into [spec-T]. Since the V is passive, there is no *v* EPP feature that forces the DP to raise to [spec-*v*] for case assignment. Richards and Biberauer (2005:132) do note, however, that the *v* can *optionally* have an EPP feature. If such a feature is present, "interpretively motivated DP-raising" of *ein Buch* into a specifier position of *v*, and subsequently into [spec-T], would result in the sentence (21); this sentence is grammatical, but differs in meaning from the one in (18).[33]

(21) …daβ ein Buch dem Mann geschenkt wurde.

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[33] Richards and Biberauer (2005:132) claim that the above analysis of the German sentences in (18) and (21) also holds for similar constructions in Dutch.

Richards and Biberauer (2005:133) go on to raise the question why expletives cannot "merge into spec-*v*P and thus raise to spec-TP as part of the moved *v*P". They state that there is parametric variation between languages with regards to how the T's EPP feature is satisfied; specifically, there is a choice between the size and location of the element which has to move in order to satisfy the EPP feature, where this movement can either be spec-driven or head-driven (Richards and Biberauer 2005:133). Support for the parameter is provided by Afrikaans which allows "apparent embedded V2 structures alongside the prescriptively correct V-final structures" (Richards and Biberauer 2005:134). Consider the examples in (22).

(22)　　a. Ek weet dat sy dikwels Chopin gespeel het.
　　　　　　I　know that she often　Chopin played has
　　　　　"I know the she has often played Chopin"

　　　　b. Ek weet dat　sy het dikwels Chopin gespeel.
　　　　　　I　know that she has often　　Chopin played
　　　　　"I know that she has often played Chopin"

Richards and Biberauer (2005:134) claim that the DP has raised out of *v*P to [spec-T] in the derivation of (22b), as in English. In (22a), by contrast, piedpiping took place, that is, raising of the DP resulted in the whole vP being raised to [spec-T].[34] The sentences in (22) thus result from the "spec-piedpiping mode of EPP satisfaction, which is able to alternate in a principled, restrictive … manner between piedpiping (i.e. *v*P-raising) and non-piedpiping (i.e. spec-raising)." These two ways of satisfying the T's EPP feature are summarised in the table (23) (Richards and Biberauer 2005:134).

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[34] Presumably, the auxiliary *het* is independently raised to T in the derivation of both sentences in (22).

(23) Typology of EPP-satisfaction

	Probe [D]-on-Vf	**Probe [D] in outer spec-*v*P**
-piedpipe *v*P	Head-raising	Spec-raising
	(Italian)	(English)
+piedpipe *v*P	Head-piedpiping	Spec-piedpiping
	(German, Icelandic)	(Afrikaans, Dutch)

The question that still remains, is why expletives cannot occur in the *v*P when *v*P-raising takes place. According to Richards and Biberauer (2005:135), there seems to be a correlation between head-piedpiping and the lack of a *v*P-expletive. German and Icelandic appear to bar the occurrence of expletives in [spec-T] and also to satisfy the T's EPP via head-piedpiping. Richards and Biberauer (2005:135) claim that this coincides with the morphology of these languages. Once a language loses a significant amount of its inflectional morphology, the need arises to fill [spec-*v*] with a suitable nominal goal. If a suitable argument is not available, this position must be filled with an expletive. By contrast, in languages where the verb has sufficient nominal agreement morphology, an expletive will not be needed (Richards and Biberauer 2005:135). Based on these claims, Richards and Biberauer (2005:136) provide the following characterisation of expletives:

(24)   Expl is a (last-resort) strategy for supplying *v*P with the nominal feature (φ-set) necessary for feeding spec-piedpiping/-raising into spec-TP and, thereby, the satisfaction of T's EPP-feature.

In answer to the above question, Richards and Biberauer conclude that expletives are absent from *v*P in head-piedpiping languages because these languages have the "D-bearing agreement morphology that can successfully probe in order to establish an Agree relation on the back of which an internal merge operation can then take place to satisfy T's EPP feature". Languages that do not have these morphological properties, need an expletive to

occur in [spec-T] (Richards and Biberauer 2005:136). Thus, languages that make use of DP-piedpiping will have expletives, but not languages that use head-piedpiping (Richards and Biberauer 2005:141).

Consider against this background the Dutch and Afrikaans examples in (25) and (26) (Richards and Biberauer 2005:128):

(25)   a. … dat (er) gisteren een jongen kwam.   (Dutch)
             that (Expl) yesterday a boy came
             "… that a boy came yesterday"

        b. … dat (er) gedanst wordt.
             that (Expl) danced becomes
             "...that there is dancing"

(26)   ... dat (daar) gedans word.   (Afrikaans)
             that (Expl) danced becomes
             "... that there is dancing"

In both Dutch and Afrikaans, as illustrated in (25) and (26), the overt realisation of the expletive in impersonal passives seems to be optional (Richards and Biberauer 2005:141). Afrikaans, however, does not demonstrate this optionality when it comes to presentational contexts like that shown in (27) (Richards and Biberauer 2005:141).

(27) … dat *(daar)   gister   'n skip gesink het.
        that (there) yesterday a ship sunk has
        "…that a ship sank yesterday"

The question now is why the impersonal passive construction can occur without an expletive but not the presentational construction; in other words, how can the morphological needs of T be satisfied in Afrikaans and Dutch in passives which lack an

expletive? Richards and Biberauer (2005:141) propose that a passive can occur without the expletive because the passive participle has the appropriate D-features. This claim is based on the assumption that passives have an "absorbed argument" in their morphology, which means that the morphology provides a suitable D-element that can be probed by and attracted to T via *v*P-raising (Richards and Biberauer 2005:141).[35] Further support for this proposal is provided by the Dutch passives in (28).[36]

(28) a. … dat (er) gedanst wordt.
              that (there) danced becomes

      b. ... dat *(er) wordt gedanst.
          that (there) becomes danced
          "...that there is dancing"

The expletive element *er* is only optional with a preverbal (i.e. a pre-passive auxiliary) passive participle as in (28a), but not where the passive appears post verbally as in (28b) (Richards and Biberauer 2005:142). As was noted above, the optionality of *er* in (28a) can be accounted for by the D-features contained within the passive morphology. In the derivation of (28b), however, *v*P raising to [spec-T] does not take place. This could be explained on the assumption that Germanic finite auxiliaries are found in T, which obviates the need for *v*P to raise to [spec-T]. If Dutch is classified as a spec-raising language, where the non-piedpiping alternative to *v*P-raising will not take place when the EPP is satisfied, it will explain why the *er*-less version in (28b) is ungrammatical (Richards and Biberauer 2005:142). Since the passive verb *gedanst* is the only element with D-features in constructions lacking an expletive, it must move via *v*P-raising to [spec-T] in order to satisfy T's morphological requirements (Richards and Biberauer 2005:142).

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[35] This approach is limited to [+piedpiping] grammars as shown in the diagram in (23) (Richards and Biberauer 2005:141). For a detailed discussion of this issue, see Biberauer and Richards (2004).
[36] Cf. Richard and Biberauer (2005:141) for these examples.

A further phenomenon that can be explained in terms of the analysis described above is illustrated by the examples in (29) and (30) (Richards and Biberauer 2005:142-3).

(29)   a. … dat *(daar) gister 'n skip gesink het.   (Afrikaans)
             that (there) yesterday a ship sunk has

      b. …dat (*daar) 'n skip gister gesink het.
             that (there) a ship yesterday sunk has
        "…that a ship sank yesterday"

(30)   a. … daβ (da) gestern ein Schiff versunken ist.   (German)
             that (there) yesterday a.$_{NOM}$ ship sunk is

      b. … daβ (*da) ein Schiff gestern versunken ist.
             that (there) a.$_{NOM}$ ship yesterday sunk is
        "…that a ship sank yesterday"

In cases like (29), where raising to the subject position does not occur, Afrikaans requires an expletive; that is, the expletive is obligatory whenever *v*'s (non-thematic) specifier position would otherwise remain empty (Richards and Biberauer 2005:143). When raising does occur, the expletive cannot be used since the [spec-*v*] position would then be occupied by the derived subject, thus explaining why the latter is in complementary distribution with the expletive (Richards and Biberauer 2005:143). Such an analysis can also account for the German data in (30): *da* is optional when the derived subject has not been raised as (30a), but excluded when subject-raising did take place as in (30b).

Richards and Biberauer (2005:144) conclude that expletives are initially merged in [spec-*v*]. This analysis not only accounts for the relevant facts in Dutch and Afrikaans, but also for the lack of expletives in morphological rich languages such as German and Icelandic, where the EPP feature of T is satisfied by means of *v*P-raising.

3.3 Radford's Analysis of Expletive Constructions

According to Radford (2009:290) neither of the two expletives in English, *there* and *it*, carries interpretable φ-features. He (2009:294) claims that constructions containing these expletives are derived in the same way, with the expletive originating in [spec-*v*], the position normally associated with an external argument.[37]

An obvious fact that must be accounted for is that expletives occupy the derived syntactic position in which the external argument (or subject) is found in non-expletive constructions (Radford 2009:294). PISH states that the subject originates internally within the verbal expression.[38] For expletives, by contrast, there are at least two potential initial positions in which they can be merged. One possibility is to merge the expletive directly in the syntactic subject position under TP. Consider the following example in this regard:

(31) There was received only one answer

The V *received* in (31) is merged with the DP *only one answer* to forms the VP *received only one answer*. Within Radford's framework, the VP is merged with the T containing BE to form TP^1, and TP^1 is then merged with the expletive *there* to form the TP. The resulting structure has the simplified form in (32) below.

(32)

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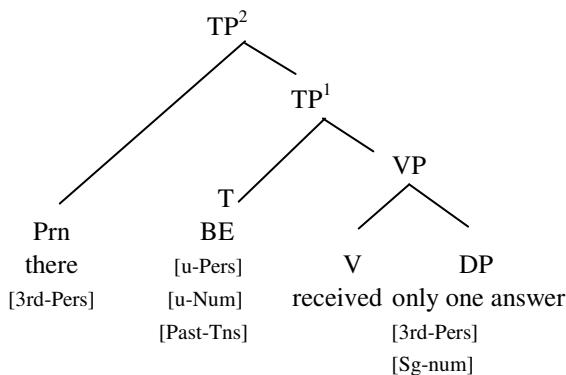
[37] Radford (2009:364) notes the existence of object expletives, as in *I would never have believed it that he could have lied so blatantly*. However, the analysis set out below will only deal with subject expletives.
[38] Cf. section 2.1.3.

According to the Earliness Principle, once the T BE is merged with the VP, it probes for an active goal to value its person and number features.[39] Being the only available goal, the DP *only one answer* will serve to value the features of BE, which will subsequently be spelled out as *was* in the phonological component. The (uninterpretable) EPP-feature of T is satisfied as soon as *there* is merged in [spec-T] (Radford 2009:297). The TP is next merged with a null C which contains an interpretable declarative force feature and assigns nominative case (Radford 2009:123). The problem with this analysis, however, is that the uninterpretable person feature of *there* has not been deleted. This cannot be solved by having *there* act as a probe, because only heads of phrases can probe their c-command domain and *there* is not a head but a specifier (Radford 2009:295-6). The uninterpretable person feature of *there* will thus cause the structure to crash. Suppose, though, that *there* could act as a probe. The problem then would be that, at the point where *there* is merged, all unvalued features have already been valued (Radford 2009:293). In short, then, an analysis on which *there* originates in the syntactic subject position under TP does not seem to be adequate.

The same argument against direct merger in the syntactic subject position can be used for *it* (Radford 2009:291). Consider the example in (33).

(33) It is said that he has taken bribes.

In the derivation of the main clause in (33), the passive verb *said* is merged with the CP complement *that he has taken bribes* to form a VP (Radford 2009:291). In Radford's framework, this VP is merged with a T containing the passive auxiliary BE to form TP[1], as shown in (34).

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[39] The Earliness Principle states that all operations must apply as soon as possible within the derivation (Radford 2009:282).

(34)   [$_{TP}^1$ T BE [$_{VP}$ said [$_{CP}$ that he has taken bribes]]]

At this point BE will search for a goal to value its unvalued φ-features (Radford 2009:291). According to Radford (2009:291), the complement CP does not represent an appropriate goal, since it is not likely that a clause has φ-features or a case feature. It is also unlikely that BE agrees with the pronoun *he*: after all, if this singular pronoun is replaced with the plural pronoun *we*, BE will still take the third person singular form *is*, forming the sentence *It is said that we have taken bribes* (Radford 2009:292). Also, at this stage of the derivation, the case feature of *we* would already have been valued and deleted which would render it invisible to other probes (Radford 2009:292).

Suppose that the expletive *it* is merged to TP^1 in (34). According to Radford (2009:292-3), the expletive *it* has the valued but uninterpretable φ-features [third-person, singular-number];[40] it could then be argued that the expletive serves as a probe that values the φ-features of BE, with the unvalued features of *it* being deleted in the process. The problem, however, is that *it*, like *there*, is not the head of a phrase, but a specifier; hence it should not be able to act as a probe (Radford 2009:293). Also, in most cases the goal values the probe's features, but in this case the probe would value the goal's features (Radford 2009:293). Radford concludes that it cannot act as a probe, which leaves only BE as a possible probe. However, a probe can only agree with a goal that it c-commands (Radford 2009:293), and BE does not c-command *it* in [spec-T]. It therefore follows that *it*, like *there*, must be merged in a position lower than T (Radford 2009:293).

A possible initial position for expletives that is lower than T in the structure, is the specifier position of some verbal element (Radford 2009:485). Consider again the example in (33) above. *Said* in (33) is a past participle which does not take an external argument; this leaves the specifier position of the V open for an expletive (Radford 2009:294). If the

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[40] Radford (2009:292) also claims that the expletive *it* is "caseless", based on the fact that it does not have a genitive case form.

expletive *it* originates in [spec-V], the derivation of (33) will be as follows (Radford 2009:294). The passive participle *said* merges with the CP complement *that he was taking bribes* to form VP^1. VP^1 is merged with the expletive *it* creating VP^2 *it said that he has taken bribes*, and this VP^2 is then merged with the T containing the passive auxiliary BE. T probes its c-command domain and locates the expletive *it*, which values BE's unvalued person and number features; in the process the uninterpretable person and number features of *it* are deleted. T's EPP feature is subsequently satisfied by attraction of the goal *it* to [spec-T]. This structure is merged with a null C constituent with an interpretable declarative force feature and the derivation converges (Radford 2009:295).

Essentially the same analysis also holds for expletive constructions with *there*, as can be illustrated with reference to the derivation of the example in (31). In this case, the V *received* merges with the DP *only one answer* to form VP^1. VP^1 merges with the expletive *there* to form the VP^2 *there received only one answer*. VP^2 merges with a T containing the copula BE, forming TP^1. T has an EPP feature and projects further into TP^2. This results in the structure in (35).

(35)

	TP^2		
T	PRN	V	DP
[past Tns]	there	received	only one answer
BE	[3rd-Pers]		[3rd Pers]
[3rd Pers]			[Sg-Num]
[Sg-Num]			[Nom-Case]
[EPP]			
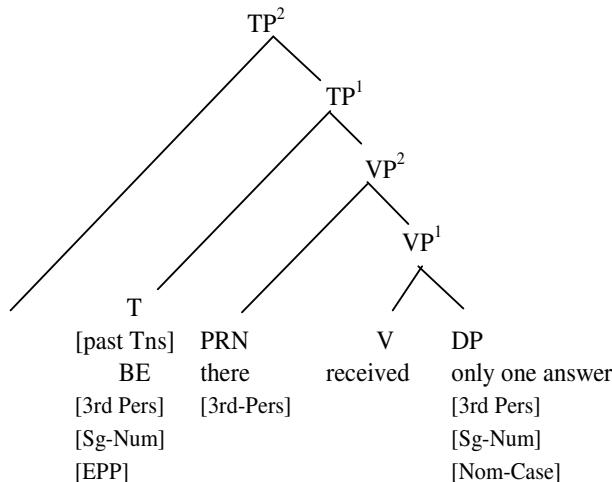
There receives no θ-role because (i) *there* has no semantic content and (ii) *received* has only one θ-role, which is assigned to the object DP *only one answer*. The probe T locates two active goals – the expletive pronoun *there* and the DP *only one answer* (Radford 2009:301). Four operations now take place: (i) BE agrees in person with *there* and in person and number with the DP *only one answer*; (ii) the case feature of the DP *only one answer* is valued as nominative; (iii) the EPP feature on T attracts the closest goal, *there*, to [spec-T]; and (iv) all valued uninterpretable features on the probe and goals are deleted (Radford 2009:301). On this analysis, then, multiple agreement takes place: the probe locates the first appropriate goal and then continues to find the next one if the first goal is unable to value all of the probe's unvalued features. This continues until all the unvalued features have been valued and deleted (Radford 2009:296). The nominative case of the DP *only one answer* is assigned through the process of T-agreement. According to Radford (2009:283), "there is a systematic relationship between nominative case assignment and T-agreement: they are two different reflexes of an agreement relationship between a finite T probe and a nominal goal". The goal carrying the case feature, i.e. the DP *only one answer*, is c-commanded by the T and as a consequence of agreement this DP receives the nominative case value from T (Radford 2009:283).[41] Finally, following the four operations described above, the TP merges with a null C containing an interpretable declarative force feature.

Based on the analyses set out above, Radford (2009:298) formulates the following three Expletive Conditions:

(36)   External argument condition:
        An expletive can only be merged as the highest specifier of a verb with no
        external argument.

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[41] As noted in fn. 12, Radford (2009:122) claims that nominative case is in fact assigned to a nominal expression by a finite C which c-commands it. This possibility will not be pursued in the present study

(37)   Indefiniteness Condition:

Expletive *there* can only be merged with a verb which has an indefinite nominal or pronominal internal argument.

(38)   Inactivity Condition:

Expletive *it* can only be merged with a constituent which does not contain a nominal or pronominal expression with active case- or φ-features.

Radford (2009:298-9) claims that these conditions can account for the contrasts illustrated by the following sentence pairs:

(39) (a) There was received only one answer.   (b) *It was received only one answer.

(40) (a) It is said that he has taken bribes.   (b) *There is said that he has taken bribes.

(41) (a) *There was impeached the president.   (b) *It was impeached the president.

The External Argument Condition (36) is satisfied by both (39a) and (39b): *received* is a passive verb with no external argument. (39a) also satisfies the Indefiniteness Condition (37). However, (39b) violates the Inactivity Condition (38); in this case, the associate of *it*, i.e. the DP *only one answer*, is active because of its uninterpretable case feature. Both (40a) and (40b) also satisfy the External Argument Condition: *said* is a past participle with no external argument. The Inactivity Condition is also satisfied by (41a) because the associate of *it* carries no active features. (41b) violates the Indefiniteness Condition, because the associate of *there* associate is not an indefinite nominal or pronominal expression. (41a) and (41b) both satisfy the External Argument Condition, but (41a) violates the Indefiniteness Condition as the associate of *there* is not an indefinite expression. The Inactivity Condition is violated by (41b) because the associate of *it* has an uninterpretable case feature. It is thus evident that, in English, passive sentences with a definite DP

complement should not have an expletive constituent, but should rather "passivise the complement" (Radford 2009:299).[42]

Radford (2009) discusses several considerations in support of the three expletive conditions given above. Firstly, in terms of the External Argument Condition (36), the expletive is merged in the highest specifier position of a verb that lacks an external argument. In a transitive construction like (42a), the external argument position is occupied by the italicised external argument. It is therefore predicted that an expletive should not be able to occur in such a construction; this prediction is borne out by the ungrammaticality of (42b) (Radford 2009:299).

(42)   a. *A spokesman for the president* has denied allegations of impropriety.

         b. *There has *a spokesman for the president* denied allegations of impropriety.

Secondly, as regards the Inactivity Condition (38), suppose that (i) the VP is merged as the complement of a finite T, (ii) T has features that must agree with the corresponding features of an active goal constituent within the VP, but (iii) the VP does not contain an expression with active features. If the expletive *it* is used in such a construction, the T will target *it* to value its person and number features, resulting in a grammatical sentence. Moreover, according to the Economy principle, a head will probe only as far as needed until all its features have been valued. This would explain why it is not possible to use the expletive *it* in structures like **It was received only one answer*. In this case, if *it* is merged

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[42] An exception to the Inactivity Condition (38) in English concerns so-called weather verbs like *rain* and *snow.* According to Radford (2009:299), these verbs do not select any thematic arguments and require the expletive *it*, as in *It is raining*. He also notes the possibility that, given the External Argument Condition, *it* is merged in the highest position normally associated with an argument of the verb; more specifically, since weather verbs do not select external arguments, it would have to originate in the VP-complement position as an "unaccusative subject", which is then raised to [spec-T]. An alternative possibility which may be noted here, is to analyse weather verbs in the same way as passive participles, that is, as verbs which "absorb" the D features of their external argument (although, at least in English and related languages, these features are not morphologically realised). Given such an analysis, it could be claimed that the *it* in weather constructions is not a true expletive, but rather a proform that is semantically linked to the "absorbed argument". Cf. also fn.79 below.

as the specifier of the verb *received*, the T-probe will agree with the first appropriate goal it finds and thus leave the case feature of *only one answer* unchecked and undeleted (Radford 2009:300).

Thirdly, Radford (2009:300) notes two questions raised by the Indefiniteness Condition (37): (i) why should an expletive be used at all, and (ii) why is *there* used in the relevant structures and not *it*. Indefinite internal arguments that are moved to [spec-T] can have a specific or a non-specific reading; however, if the indefinite stays in situ within the VP when an expletive is used, only a non-specific reading is allowed (Radford 2009:300). This is illustrated by the following examples:

(43) (a) *A book* is on the table.   (b) There is *a book* on the table.

(43a) can have a specific or a non-specific interpretation, whereas (43b) can only have a non-specific interpretation. In short, then, an expletive can be used to ensure a non-specific interpretation of indefinite expressions (Radford 2009:300).

As regards the question why *there* is used rather than *it*, Radford (2009:300) notes that expletives should carry as few uninterpretable features as possible in terms of the Economy principle. As pointed out above, *there* carries one uninterpretable feature, namely third person, and *it* carries two, namely third-person and singular-number. It follows, therefore, that *it* will only be used as a last resort, that is, if using *there* would result in an ungrammatical structure, as in the case of (44) (Radford 2009:300).

(44) (a) *It* is said that he has taken bribes.   (b) **There* is said that he has taken bribes.

In sum, the above considerations support an analysis on which (i) expletive structures are derived in accordance with the three conditions (36), (37) and (38); (ii) the expletives *there*

and *it* are both subject to specific conditions under which they are used; (iii) both expletives originate in a specifier position of the verb; and (iv) both are attracted to [spec-T] position.

The analysis set out above incorporates a single, undifferentiated VP. Such an analysis is potentially problematic. For instance, in the case of constructions with a three-place predicate, the VP would lack a position for a third argument (Radford 2009:346). Following the proposals made by, amongst others, Larson (1988), Hale & Keyser (1993) and Chomsky (1995a), Radford (2009:345-355), presents several arguments in support of the so-called VP Shell (or split VP) hypothesis. According to this hypothesis, the VP is "split into two distinct projections – an inner VP core headed by a lexical verb and an outer *v*P shell headed by an affixal light verb" (Radford 2009:369).[43] To illustrate, consider the sentences in (45).

(45)   a. He crashed the car into the tree.
        b. The car crashed into the tree.

In terms of the VP Shell hypothesis, the transitive construction in (45a) will have the simplified structure in (46), with the lexical V crashed copied and merged with the "abstract causative light verb (*v*) – i.e. a null verb with much the same causative interpretation as the verb MAKE" (Radford 2009:348).

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[43] Cf. sections 2.1.2 and 2.1.3 for the VP Shell hypothesis. As noted in fn. 14, Chomsky (2006:12) makes a distinction between two types of light verbs, namely (i) *v**, which assigns a Ө-role to an external argument and (ii) *v*, which lacks this ability. The lexical verb V is merged with the light verb in the course of the derivation. Cf. also Hornstein et al. (2005: 96-100).

(46)

```
                              vP²
                             /   \
                            /     vP¹
                           /     /   \
                          /     /     VP²
                         /     /     /   \
                        /     /     /     VP¹
                       /     /     /     /  \
                      /     /     /     /    \
                    PRN     v     DP    V     PP
                    he   crashed the car  crashed  into the tree
```
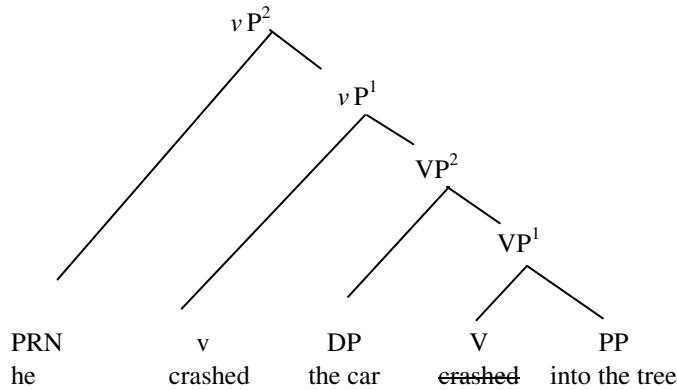
The intransitive construction in (45b) will have the same VP structure as in (43). In this case, though, the object DP *the car* is moved to left, ending up in [spec-T].[44]

Radford (2009:352-361) argues that an analysis incorporating the VP Shell hypothesis can be applied to all transitive, unergative, object control and accusative constructions. He (2009:363) moreover specifically claims that "expletives occupy the same structural position as external arguments, with the result that the two are mutually exclusive"; thus, assuming that the external argument originates in [spec-*v*], as illustrated above, it follows that expletives will also originate in [spec-*v*]. In view of this conclusion, Radford (2009:364) reformulates the Expletive Conditions (36), (37) and (38) as follows:

(47)   External Argument Condition:
       An expletive can only be merged as the last/highest argument of a light verb with no external argument (i.e. spec-*v*).

(48)   Indefiniteness Condition:
       Expletive *there* can only be merged as the specifier of a light verb whose VP complement has an indefinite nominal or pronominal internal argument.[45]

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[44] On this analysis, the object DP in an unaccusative structure is not moved to a specifier position of the light verb, but directly into [spec-T]; cf. e.g. Radford (2009:362).

[45] Hornstein (2009:61) proposes that head-to-head relations are restricted by the Endocentricity Constraint which states that these relations are limited to heads of phrases only; specifically, a head does not have access to the internal structure of its specifier or complement.

(49)   Inactivity Condition:

Expletive *it* can only be merged as the specifier of a light verb which does not c-command any accessible nominal or pronominal expression with some active case or φ-feature(s).

In terms of these revised conditions, the derivation of an expletive construction such as (50) can be described as in (51).[46]

(50) There arrived an invitation from Hawaii.

(51)   a. Merge the V *arrived* with the PP *from Hawaii* to form VP^1.
        b. Merge the DP *an invitation* with VP^1 to form VP^2.
        c. Merge a light-*v* with VP^2 to form vP^1.
        d. Copy the V and merge with the light-*v*.
        e. Merge the Prn *there* with vP^1 to form vP^2.
        f. Merge T with vP^2 to form TP^1.
        g. Copy *there* and merge in [spec-T] to form TP^2.
        h. Merge null C with TP^2 to form CP.

The resulting structure may be represented as in (52).

---

[46] Radford does not discuss the derivation of constructions such as *There was received only one answer* and *It is said that he has taken bribes* (presented as (18) and (20) above) in terms of the revised Expletive Conditions (36), (37) and (38).

(52)

CP
  TP²
    TP¹
      vP²
        vP¹
          VP²
            VP¹

C

Prn
there
[sng]

T
[past Tns]
[EPP]

Prn
~~there~~

v
arrived

DP
an invitation

V
~~arrived~~

PP
from Hawaii
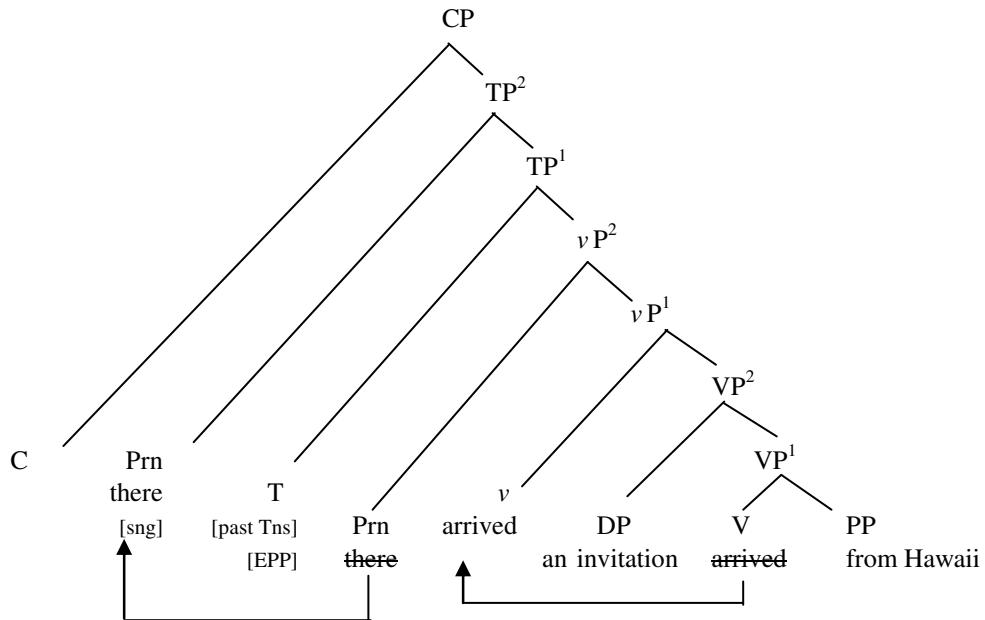
The T probes and agrees in person with *there* and in person and number with the DP *an invitation*; T's past tense affix is lowered onto the head *v* of *v*P¹, resulting in *arrive* eventually receiving the phonetic form *arrived* (Radford 2009: 363-64).

The derivation of constructions with the expletive *it*, such as the one in (53), is essentially the same as that proposed for *there* constructions.

(53)   It seems to me that the man is dead.

(54)   a. Merge the V *seem* with the CP *that the man is dead* to form VP¹.
       b. Merge the PP *to me* with VP¹ to form VP².
       c. Merge VP² with a light-*v* to form *v*P¹.
       d. Copy V and merge with light-*v*.
       e. Merge *it* with *v*P¹ to form *v*P².
       f. Merge T with *v*P² to form TP¹.
       g. Copy *it* and merge in [spec-T] to form TP².
       h. Merge null C with TP² to form CP.

(55)

CP
  TP^2
    TP^1
      vP^2
        vP^1
          VP^2
            VP^1

C

Prn
it
[3rd Pers]
[Sg Num]

T
[Pres Tns]
[EPP]

Prn
~~it~~

v
seems

PP
to me

V
~~seem~~

CP
that the man is dead
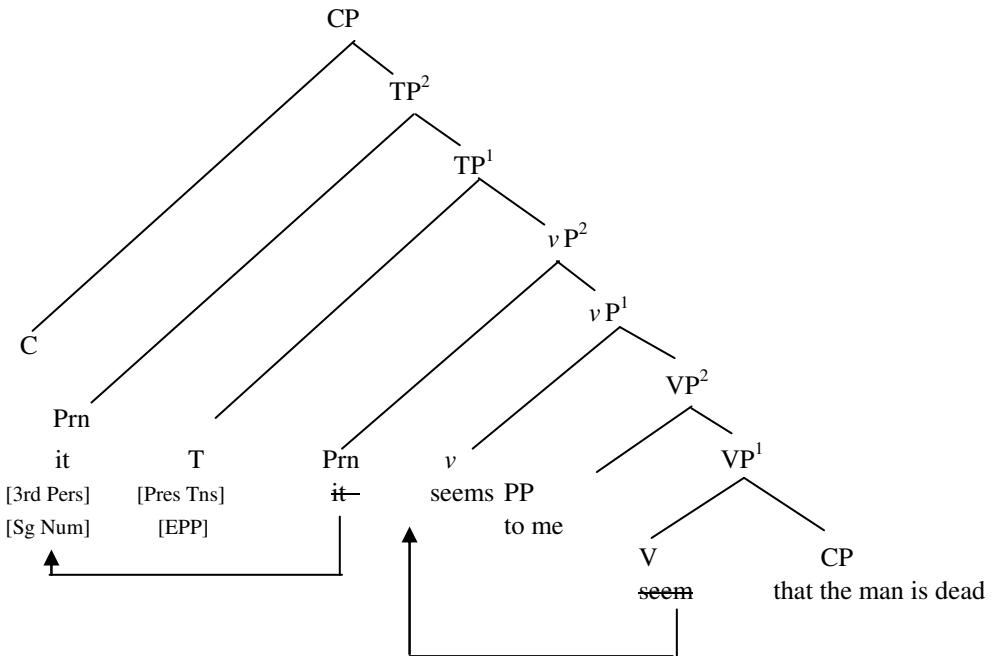
The T probes and agrees in person and number with *it.* In the phonological component, the present tense feature of T is lowered onto the head *v* which results in *seem* being spelled out as *seems.*

3.4 Summary

This chapter focused on four relatively recent analyses of expletive constructions that have been proposed within the broad framework of MS. The first analysis, that of Felser & Rupp (2001) set out in section 3.2.1, entails that an expletive is analysed as a quasi-argument which originates within the verbal phrase. The second analysis, proposed by Bowers (2002), was described in section 3.2.2. On this analysis, the light-*v* is divided into two distinct categories, namely Pr(edication) and Tr(ansitivity), with *there* being merged in [spec-Pr]. The third analysis, that of Richards and Biberauer (2005), was set out in section 3.2.3. This analysis incorporates two core ideas, namely (i) that the expletive is initially merged in [spec-*v*] and (ii) that languages are categorised into two types, namely [-

piedpipe *v*P] and [+piedpipe *v*P] languages. Section 3.3 dealt with the analysis set out in Radford (2009). Radford argues that expletives are merged in the same position as an external argument, that is, in [spec-*v*]. Expletive constructions are furthermore derived in accordance with the three Expletive Conditions formulated as (47), (48) and (49) above. These conditions will be taken as point of departure when analysing the various types of Afrikaans expletive constructions in Chapter 4.

Chapter 4

Afrikaans Expletive Constructions with *daar* and *dit*

4.1 Introduction

The main aim of this chapter is to provide an analysis of expletive constructions in Afrikaans within the broad framework of Minimalist Syntax. Section 4.3 will be devoted to such an analysis. As background, a brief overview is given in section 4.2 of previous analyses of these constructions in the literature on Afrikaans grammar. The main findings of the chapter are summarised in section 4.4, the concluding section.

4.2 Previous Analyses

Previous analyses of expletives and expletive constructions in Afrikaans are generally of a non-formalistic nature, dealing with issues of categorisation, interpretation, grammatical function and syntactic distribution (cf. Barnes 1984; Botha 1983; Donaldson 1993; Du Plessis 1977; Ponelis 1979, 1993). As far as could be ascertained, only two studies dealing with aspects of Afrikaans expletive constructions within a generative framework have been presented in the literature, namely Conradie (2007) and Richards and Biberauer (2005).[47] The main focus in all these studies is on the expletive *daar* (or, in the case of Richards and Biberauer (2005), its counterpart in other Germanic languages).

According to Ponelis (1993:105-6), the use of *daar* in so-called R-constructions can be traced to 17th century Dutch, from which Afrikaans developed. In the Dutch of this period two variants of the existential item were used, namely *daar* (in more formal, written varieties) and *er* (in informal varieties). In the development of Afrikaans the *daar* form

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[47] The main features of the analysis proposed in Richards and Biberauer (2005) were described in section 3.2.3 above.

seems to have been generalised to the colloquial varieties. Ponelis (1993:105) describes R-structures as "uniquely Germanic forms derived from a pronominal root plus a locative desinence *r*", as seen in the Dutch forms *daar* ("there"), *hier* ("here"), *waar* ("where"), and *der/er*. R-structures in Dutch are furthermore divided into strong and weak forms, where the former are the "semantically full" prepositional and locative forms and the latter are "semantically empty" (Ponelis 1993:105). The weak *er* form is used in the subject position in R-constructions in Dutch; however, in Afrikaans the distinction between strong and weak forms has been neutralised, with *daar* being used in all contexts.

Ponelis (1979:106-7) distinguishes four broad types of *daar* in Afrikaans: (i) the locative adverb *daar*; (ii) the deictic locative adverb *daar*, which differs from locative *daar* in that it occurs sentence initially; (iii) the definite pronoun *daar;* and (iv) the indefinite pronoun *daar*. The first three types are illustrated in (1a-c).

(1)   a. Die hond slaap daar.
              the dog   sleeps there
           "The dog sleeps there"

        b. Daar kom die kinders nou.
           there come the children now
           "There come the children"

        c. Ek hou *daar*van.
            I like that-of
           "I like that"

As regards the indefinite pronoun *daar* mentioned above, Ponelis (1979:107-8) distinguishes four subtypes: (i) the existential *daar*, (ii) the impersonal *daar*, (iii) the *daar* used in support of a sentence final subject (i.e. as a "stutonderwerp", the so-called "DAAR

by relevering"), and (iv) the indefinite *daar*.[48] Three of these subtypes moreover express a thematic and/or situative function (Ponelis 1993:107).

The existential *daar* construction takes the schematic form [*daar* + *wees* ("be") + noun phrase], as shown in (2) (Ponelis 1979:107).

(2)   a. Daar is 'n antwoord.
           there is an answer
           "There is an answer"

        b. Daar was 'n wedstryd.
           there was   a match
           "There was a match"

According to Ponelis (1993:107), this type of construction functions "to bring a topic to attention" e.g. *'n antwoord* in (2a) and *'n wedstryd* in (2b). Du Plessis (1977:44) argues that the existential *daar* is not an expletive because it refers to an indeterminate place at an indeterminate time, hence he claims that the *daar* in Afikaans existential sentences is actually a proform of an indeterminate locative.[49] Donaldson (1993) also argues against the existential *daar* as a distinct category. He (1993:129) notes that when such a *daar* is used to start a sentence and is followed by a pronominal *daar*+preposition, the *daar* occurring with the preposition can be omitted, resulting in prepositional stranding. Donaldson furthermore claims that there must be a link between the locative and the existential *daar*,

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[48] Cf. Maartens (1980) for a detailed criticism of Ponelis' (1979) analysis of *daar*-constructions in Afrikaans. She (1980:23-37) specifically argues against the classification of the indefinite pronoun *daar* into four distinct types, claiming that there is no linguistically compelling reason to distinguish any other category besides existential *daar*.

[49] Felser and Rupp (2001:22-23) similarly adopt the view that "expletive *there* is an overt realisation of the argument of spatio-temporal location"; cf. also section 3.2.1 above.

because the latter is usually omitted when a structure has a sentence initial adverbial expression of place (Donaldson 1993:133).[50]

As regards impersonal constructions, Ponelis (1979:408) states that *daar* is used as structural subject in conjunction with the passive auxiliary *wees* (i.e. *word, is, was*) and a passive participle like (3a); in such cases *daar* can be elliptical when it serves as the structural subject of a subordinate clause, as shown in (3b). Impersonal constructions are found with intransitive verbs which take a person (or more broadly, an animate entity) as (implied) subject; copular verbs and verbs that do not express a (physical or mental) action ("nie-handelingswerk-woorde") cannot occur in this type of construction, as illustrated by the difference in grammaticality between (4a, b) (Ponelis 1979:409).

(3)   a. Daar   word   gedans.
           there   is   danced
           "There's dancing"

        b. Die spelers voel dat (daar)   teen   hulle gediskrimineer is.
            the players feel that (there) against them discriminate   was
           "The players feel that they have been discriminated against"

(4)   a. Daar   word   baklei.
           there   is   fought
           "There's fighting"

---

[50] Donaldson (1993:129, 133) gives (i) as an example of prepositional stranding in the construction at hand and (ii) in support of his claim for a link between the locative and existential *daar*. (Donaldson does not specify the type of link in question, but it seems reasonable that it is thematic in nature.)

    i.   Daar was baie mense (daar)by.
                "There were a lot of people there"
    ii.   Daar is baie arm swartes in Quaqua.   –   In Quaqua is (daar) baie arm swartes.
                "There are a lot of poor blacks in Quaqua"   "In Quaqua there are a lot of poor blacks"

Conradie (2007) argues that if *daar* in examples like those in (i) and (ii) is not an expletive, it is predicted that an example like (iii), which would then contain two identical adverbial locative *daar*'s, should be ill-formed. This prediction is incorrect. For this reason Conradie (2007:65-73) argues that Afrikaans does make use of expletive structures and that there is not a (thematic) link between the sentence initial existential *daar* and the locative daar.

    iii.   Daar het iemand daar vuur gemaak.
               there has someone there fire made
                "Someone has made a fire there"

b. *Daar word bestaan uit water.

there   is   consists out water

In the impersonal constructions in (3) and (4) *daar* functions as the structural subject, with no semantic content and no thematic function. According to Ponelis (1979:409) the thematic subject is "diplomatically" avoided in such cases. However, the impersonal *daar* can also be used in passive constructions that contain a clausal direct object, with the *daar* occurring in the structural subject position, that is, the position that would normally be filled by the raised direct object expression (Ponelis 1979:410). Apparently, *daar* and *dit* can be used interchangeably in this type of passive construction, as illustrated in (5).[51]

(5)   Daar/dit word dikwels gesê dat hulle hard werk.

there/it is   often   said that they hard work

"It is often said that they work hard"

As regards their function, Ponelis (1993:107) states that structures like those in (3-5) can be classified as non-thematic or situative constructions where the statement describes a particular situation.

Besides a clausal object, passive constructions can, of course, also contain a non-clausal direct object. Although the object is normally raised into the structural subject position in such cases, impersonal *daar* can also occur in this position. This is illustrated in (6).[52]

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[51] It should however be noted that *daar* and *dit* do not behave the same in those cases where the clausal object in sentences like (5) is focalised or topicalised. Consider the examples in (i):

i.(a)   Dat hulle hard werk, word daar / *dit dikwels gesê. (topicalisation)
        that they hard work, is   there/ it often   said
        "That they work hard, is often said"
   (b)   Dat hulle hard werk, *daar / dit word dikwels gesê. (focalisation)
        that they hard work, there / it is   often   said
        "That they work hard, that is often said"

This phenomenon will be addressed in section 4.3.3. Cf. Botha and Oosthuizen (2009) for a discussion of syntactic aspects of topicalisation and focalisation in Afrikaans.
[52] Cf. Donaldson (1993:134).

(6)   a. Daar   is baie geld   ingesamel.
              there was much money collected
              "A lot of money was collected"

As mentioned above, Ponelis (1979:107-8) identifies a third type of *daar*, the so-called "DAAR by relevering", which is used as a support-subject ("stutonderwerp") in sentences where the subject occurs in final position. He (1979:107) provides the following examples:

(7)   a. Daarom het DAAR dan ook later *die kritiese Western* ontstaan.
              thus   has there   then also later the critical western begin

        b. DAAR bestaan selfs *die moontlikheid van ander aanbiedinge.*
              there   exists even the possibility   of another presentation

It is not at all clear that the *daar* in these examples in fact represents a distinct sub-type. Following Ponelis (1979:107), the construction in question is defined in terms of the position of the subject (i.e. the italicised expressions in (7)): if the subject occurs in final position, then *daar* can be inserted in the initial structural subject position. Notice, however, that the subject does not occupy the final position when the sentence contains an auxiliary verb, as in (8) (the auxiliaries are underlined).

(8)   a. Daarom <u>het</u> DAAR *die kritiese Western* dan ook later ontstaan.
        b. DAAR <u>het</u> *die moontlikheid van ander aanbiedinge* selfs bestaan.

In other words, the position of the subject (sentence final or not) is determined by which verbal element is raised into second position: only in cases where the main verb is raised, will the subject end up in final position. In short, the *daar* in examples like (7) and (8) seems to be of the same existential type illustrated in (2) above.[53]

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[53] Maartens (1980:34) similarly claims that the process of "eindrelevering" seems to have exactly the same effect as indeterminate movement, the only difference being that this process can also affect determinate items. She bases this claim on the fact that a construction like that in (7b) can be formed by either one of these processes, i.e. "eindrelevering" or indeterminate movement.

Ponelis (1979:108) claims that indeterminate *daar* is closely associated with the syntactic operation of indeterminate movement ("onbepaalde verskuiwing"). By indeterminate movement is meant that the indeterminate noun phrase which functions as the subject of a sentence, looses its "subjectness" and is moved into some position in the VP; *daar* is then inserted as a support-subject as shown in (8) (Ponelis 1979:20-1). Ponelis (1979:22) argues that such movement of indeterminate noun phrases takes place because the noun phrase has a low thematic prominence and thus shies away ("skram weg") from the subject position. Ponelis (1993:107) furthermore states that this type of construction fulfils both the thematic and situative functions and hence can be classified as the thematic situative.[54] According to him (1993:108) R-constructions express a thematic function if they meet any one of the following requirements: "(a) the topical noun phrase is lexically elaborate, (b) it is fore-grounded by being positioned to the right, (c) it is definite".

Botha (1983), by contrast, claims that the process of indeterminate movement has exactly the opposite effect as that described by Ponelis (1979). He (1983:44) proposes that in a sentence such as (9a), *swaar donderwolke* acts as the semantic subject with *daar* as support-subject; *swaar donderwolke* then moves to the front of the sentence and takes the place of *daar*. On Botha's analysis, the sentence in (9a) would therefore be more basic than

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[54] According to Ponelis (1993:108) the use of the thematic situative in Afrikaans seems to be more restricted than in Dutch. He provides the following examples in this regard:

    i.   Er heeft iemand   iets laten liggen.
              there has somebody something let lie
              "Somebody let something lie"

              Er   heeft gister   iemand een verhaal verteld.
              there has yesterday somebody a tale   told
              "Somebody told a tale yesterday"

    ii.   [?]Daar het iemand   iets laat lê.
              there has somebody something let lie
              Iemand het iets laat lê.
              "Somebody has left something behind"

              [?]Daar het gister iemand 'n verhaal vertel.
              "Somebody told a tale yesterday"
              Iemand het gister 'n verhaal vertel.
              "Somebody told a tale yesterday"

The use of the question marks in (ii) implies that the *daar*-examples are not fully acceptable; however, most of the native speakers who were asked to judge such examples do not appear to share this judgment.

the one in (9b), the latter being derived by means of indeterminate movement of the subject and deletion of *daar*.

(9)   a. Daar hang swaar donderwolke in die lug.
            there hang heavy thunder clouds in the sky
            "There are heavy thunder clouds in the sky"

        b. Swaar donderwolke hang in die lug.
            heavy thunder clouds hang in the sky
            "There are heavy thunder clouds in the sky"

It could perhaps be argued that Botha's (1983) view of indeterminate movement is more acceptable than that of Ponelis (1979). As regards the rule proposed by Ponelis, Maartens (1980:27) claims that it is completely arbitrary. She points out that Ponelis' (1979) conception of indeterminate movement is similar to that of a transformational rule; however, classifying it as a transformation would be problematic for the following reasons: (i) transformational rules serve to relate different structures, whereas Ponelis' rule expresses a relation between different sentences; (ii) transformational rules can only refer to syntactic units such as NP, whereas Ponelis' rule is defined in terms of the grammatical function of an expression, namely "subject" (Maartens 1980:24). According to her (1980:25), indeterminate movement could at most be viewed as a pseudo-transformational rule. Two further major problems which Maartens (1980) identifies concern the indefiniteness condition and the fact that indefinite movement has not been empirically tested or grounded in previous research.

Ponelis (1979) places one condition on indeterminate movement: only indeterminate noun phrases can be moved. Maartens (1980:26) points out, however, that Ponelis fails to consider constructions which are problematic to this condition. Consider for example the sentences in (10). Ponelis states nowhere that the difference in grammaticality between the

sentence pairs in (10a,b) is due to the indefiniteness condition; nor does he explain, or make any reference to the grammatical counterpart (10c) of the *daar*-sentence in (10a).

(10)   a. Hy het nou geroep.   *Daar het nou hy geroep.
           he has now called   there has now he called
           "He just called"

           b. Die boek staan   altyd   op sy rak.   *Daar staan   altyd die boek op sy rak.
           the book stands always on his shelf   there stands always the book on his shelf
           "The book always stands on his shelf"

           c. Daar   het hy nou geroep.
           there has he now called
           "He just called"

Maartens (1980:27) states that there is no justification for Ponelis' indefiniteness condition since it has not been related to sentences of the type in (10) and it also fails to make any correct predictions. Another problem with this condition concerns the vagueness of the expression "indeterminate item"; Ponelis in fact provides two different definitions for an indeterminate noun phrase and an indeterminate pronoun (Maartens 1980:26). Ponelis moreover creates the impression that the indefiniteness condition is unique to Afrikaans. However, Maartens (1980:28) notes that had he considered previous analyses, he would have noted that English also has an indefiniteness condition, indicating that it is not language specific. Maartens (1980:30) furthermore points out that Ponelis' main focus in explaining the constraints on indeterminate movement is on the type of verb that may appear in indefinite *daar*-constructions; still, he never considers the sentence structures that follow the verb. In fact, Maartens (1980:27) states that any problematic, or in her words "interesting", sentences are simply not considered.

In addition to the objections that Maartens raises against Ponelis' indefiniteness condition, she (1980:30) also states that indeterminate movement cannot account for the grammaticality of a *daar*-sentence like the one in (11).

(11)   *Groot atletiek was.   Daar was groot atletiek.

                                       there was big athletics

                                       "There was a big athletics meet"

If indeterminate movement cannot account for the difference in grammaticality between the sentences in (11), then two different explanations of the same class of sentences would be required (Maartens 1980:31). For this reason, Maartens (1980:31) argues against a distinction between indeterminate constructions and existential constructions; interestingly, Ponelis himself comments that some indeterminate constructions are difficult to distinguish from existential constructions. Maartens (1980:31) further quotes Ponelis on the fact that these two constructions are structurally completely parallel with a strong semantic relation. In effect, Ponelis creates the impression that indefinite movement is an indisputable process in Afrikaans; however, he never proposes it as a solution for a specific problem and he never considers any previous research done within any other language (Maartens 1980:24-5). This leads Maartens (1980:36) to the conclusion that Ponelis' (1979) analysis is both empirically and systematically inadequate.

Based on Maartens' (1980) findings, it seems reasonable that indefinite *daar* should not be divided into the four subtypes proposed by Ponelis (1979), but that only one category need to be posited, namely existential *daar*. However, the basic assumption that this *daar* behaves like an indefinite pronoun seems to be uncontroversial. Barnes (1984:15) identifies four properties of *daar* that support this assumption: like regular indefinite pronouns (i) *daar* (always) occupies the subject position, (ii) it never receives primary stress, (iii) it is not accompanied in language use by paralinguistic signs like the deictic *daar* and (iv) it cannot be substituted by *hier* ("here").

Allan (1971, in Du Plessis 1977:40) notes that the *daar* occurring in existential sentences resembles other pronouns in that it can undergo subject-verb inversion, as shown in (12). If

existential *daar* represents a pronoun, this would also account for the fact that it can occur

in tag-questions as illustrated in (13).[55]

(12)   a. Daar is   leeus in Afrika.

            there are lions in Africa

           "There are lions in Africa"

         b. Is   daar leeus in Afrika?

            are there lions in Africa?

           "Are there lions in Africa?"

(13)   Daar   is leeus in Afrika, is daar?

         there are lions in Africa, are there?

         "There are lions in Africa, are there?

There are, however, at least two major differences between existential *daar* and regular

pronouns: unlike other pronouns, *daar* cannot undergo *wh*-movement in the formation of

wh-questions and pseudo-cleft constructions (Du Plessis 1977:40).[56] Consider first the

examples in (14): the fact that *daar* cannot be substituted by *wat* ("what") to form a *wh*-

question (14b), indicates that it is not a regular pronoun. This is also evident from the

ungrammaticality of the cleft sentence in (14c). Although pronominal in nature, *daar* in

these cases seems to function as a way to introduce new information (Du Plessis 1977:40).

(14)   a. Daar is leeus in Afrika.

         b.*Wat is leeus in Afrika?

         c. *Dit is daar waar leeus in Afrika is.

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[55] These examples are taken from Du Plessis (1977:40). It appears that many native speakers of Afrikaans prefer sentences like (13) to have a negative tag (e.g. … *is daar nie?*).

[56] A distinction can be drawn between cleft constructions and pseudo-cleft constructions. In a cleft construction "the copula is preceded by *it* [*dit is* in Afrikaans - JdB] and followed by a noun phrase and a relative clause", as in (14c) (Matthews 1997:56). In a pseudo-cleft construction the *wh*-expression *what* [*wat* in Afrikaans – JdB] is used where "the subject of the copula is a free relative clause" and the object occurs after the copula, as in *What I want is my weapon* (Matthews 1997:303).

Du Plessis' (1977:40) claim that *daar* cannot undergo *wh*-movement seems to hold for the expletive element *dit* ("it") as well, as illustrated by the passive sentence pairs in (15) below. The element *waar* in (15b$_1$, c$_1$) can only be interpreted as a locative *wh*-expression, not as the *wh*-counterpart of existential *daar*.

(15)   a$_1$. Daar word gedurig baklei.   a$_2$. $^?$Dit word gedurig baklei.[57]

        there is   constant fight   it   is   constant fight

        "There's often fighting"   "There's often fighting"

      b$_1$. *Waar word gedurig baklei?   b$_2$ *Wat word gedurig baklei?

        where is   constant fight   what is   constant fight

      c$_1$. *Dit is waar   gedurig baklei word.   c$_2$ *Dit is wat   gedurig baklei word.

        it   is where constant fight is   it   is what constant fight is

To summarise, Ponelis (1979:106-7) identifies four distinct types of *daar* in Afrikaans, namely (i) the locative adverb *daar*; (ii) the deictic locative adverb *daar*; (iii) the definite pronoun *daar;* and (iv) the indefinite pronoun *daar*. This classification will be assumed below. However, Ponelis (1979: 107-8) makes a further distinction between four subtypes of the indefinite pronoun *daar*. As was pointed out above, this distinction is problematic on both empirical and systematic grounds. Hence, following Maartens (1980), the *daar* occurring in the expletive constructions that will be examined in section 4.3 will be analysed simply as an existential element. Although this element does not exhibit all the properties of regular pronouns, it will be assumed to be basically pronominal in nature, as also argued by Barnes (1984), Botha (1983), Du Plessis (1977) and Ponelis (1993).

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[57] Though the sentence in (15a$_2$) is grammatical, it should be noted that not all fluent speakers of Afrikaans find it acceptable. The acceptability increases, once the sentence appears in context as shown in (i)

    i.   Dit word gedurig baklei in daardie huis.
             it   is   constant fight in that   house
             "There's often fighting in that house"

4.3 An Analysis of *daar* Constructions within a Minimalist Framework

This section examines whether the minimalist analysis of expletive constructions in English set out in Radford (2009) provides an adequate framework for the analysis of such constructions in Afrikaans. Radford's analysis was described in Chapter 3. The three core devices of this analysis are repeated below (Radford 2009:364).[58]

(16)   External Argument Condition

An expletive can only be merged as the last/highest argument of a light verb with no external argument (i.e. spec-*v*).[59]

(17)   Indefiniteness Condition

Expletive *there* can only be merged as the specifier of a light verb whose VP complement has an indefinite nominal or pronominal internal argument.

(18)   Inactivity Condition

Expletive *it* can only be merged as the specifier of a light verb which does not c-command any accessible nominal or pronominal expression with some active case or φ-feature(s).

To start the discussion, consider the passive *daar* construction in (19).

(19)   Daar word motors verkoop.

there are   cars   sold

"There are cars being sold"

Within Radford's (2009) framework, the derivation of (19) proceeds as described in (20). Note that the analysis set out below incorporates four important assumptions. The first three deal specifically with Afrikaans syntax: [60] (i) Afrikaans shows an underlying

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[58] Cf. also section 3.3 above.

[59] Here, the term expletive refers to both *there* and *it* in English.

[60] If valid, these three assumptions could perhaps be generalised to other West-Germanic languages, e.g. Dutch and German. This assumption is required to account for the word order in sentences like (19). Without

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complement-verb order; (ii) the Afrikaans passive aspectual auxiliary Pass (*word*, *is*, *was*, *(te) wees*) contains an edge feature which requires a verbal phrase to merge into its specifier position;[61] (iii) Afrikaans makes use of the functional category AgrO (agreement object phrase).[62] The fourth assumption involves drawing a distinction between *v* and *v**, where the latter is involved in the assignment of Θ-roles.[63]

(20) a. Merge the V *verkoop* with the DP *motors* to form the VP:
    [$_{VP}$ motors verkoop]

b. Merge a light-*v* with the VP to form *v*P^1:
    [$_{vP}^1$ *v* [$_{VP}$ motors verkoop]]

c. Copy the V *verkoop* and merge with the *v*:
    [$_{vP}^1$ verkoop-*v* [$_{VP}$ motors ~~verkoop~~]]

d. Merge the Prn *daar* in [spec-*v*] to form *v*P^2:
    [$_{vP}^2$ daar [$_{vP}^1$ verkoop-*v* [$_{VP}$ motors ~~verkoop~~]]]

e. Merge the passive aspectual auxiliary Pass *word* with *v*P^2 to form PassP^1:
    [$_{PassP}^1$ word [$_{vP}^2$ daar $_{vP}^1$[verkoop-*v* [$_{VP}$ motors ~~verkoop~~]]]]

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a functional projection above *v*P (here assumed to be AgrOP), the direct object *motors* in (19) would end up to the right of the verb since there is no case-related reason to have *motors* raised into [spec-*v*], a passive structure being unaccusative.

[61] Cf. e.g. Chomsky (2005), Hornstein et al. (2005:348, 360-2); Radford (2009:193-7, 387-97) for the concept of edge feature.

[62] Cf. Pollock (1989) for arguments in support of the functional categories AgrO and AgrS (agreement subject); cf. also Bobaljik and Thráinsson (1998) and the references cited there. Although Bobaljik and Thráinsson (1998:52-58) do not mention Afrikaans among those languages that make use of an AgrO projection, Afrikaans does exhibit at least two properties of such languages, namely that it allows (i) object shift out of the VP and (ii) transitive expletive constructions; cf. also Conradie (2007). For arguments against the positing of AgrO and AgrS as distinct functional categories, cf. Chomsky (1995a:chapter 4) and Hornstein et. al. (2005:162-69), amongst others. The main reason for using AgrO in the analyses of the various Afrikaans constructions below, is to provide a position for an expression that has undergone object shift to the left of the V (or more precisely, the derived [V-*v*] complex). The question of whether AgrO should be adopted for this reason, or whether the shifted expression should be analysed as occupying an additional specifier position under the *v*P, falls outside the scope of this study and will not be pursued further here.

[63] Chomsky (2006:12) makes the following remarks in this regard: "Let's adopt the (fairly conventional) assumption that verbal phrases are of the form *v*-VP, where *v* can be *v**, the functional category that heads verb phrases with full argument structure, unlike unaccusatives and passives. Possibly the functional category *v* determines the verbal character of the root R that is its complement, along lines discussed by Alec Marantz, in which case verbal phrases are of the form *v*-RP. ACC is assigned within *v**P." The question of whether accusative case is assigned by *v** or AgrO falls outside the scope of the present study and will be left open here.

f. Copy vP^2 and merge in [spec-Pass] to form $PassP^2$:[64]

$[_{PassP}{}^2 [_{vP}{}^2$ daar $[_{vP}{}^1$ verkoop-v $[_{VP}$ motors ~~verkoop~~]]] $[_{PassP}{}^1$ word $[[_{vP}{}^2$ ~~daar~~ $_{vP}{}^1$~~[verkoop-v~~ $[_{VP}$ ~~motors verkoop~~]]]]]

g. Merge AgrO with the $PassP^2$ to form $AgrOP^1$

$[_{AgrOP}{}^1$ AgrO $[_{PassP}{}^2 [_{vP}{}^2$ daar $[_{vP}{}^1$ verkoop-v $[_{VP}$ motors ~~verkoop~~]]] $[_{PassP}{}^1$ word $[[_{vP}{}^2$ ~~daar~~ $_{vP}{}^1$~~[verkoop-v~~ $[_{VP}$ ~~motors verkoop~~]]]]]]]

h. Copy DP *motors* and merge in [spec-AgrOP] to form $AgrOP^2$:[65]

$[_{AgrOP}{}^2$ motors $[_{AgrOP}{}^1$ AgrO $[_{PassP}{}^2 [_{vP}{}^2$ daar $[_{vP}{}^1$ verkoop-v $[_{VP}$ motors ~~verkoop~~]]] $[_{PassP}{}^1$ word $[[_{vP}{}^2$ ~~daar~~ $_{vP}{}^1$~~[verkoop-v~~ $[_{VP}$ ~~motors verkoop~~]]]]]]]]

i. Merge T with $AgrOP^2$ to form TP^1:

$[_{TP}{}^1$ T $[_{AgrOP}{}^2$ motors $[_{AgrOP}{}^1$ AgrO $[_{PassP}{}^2 [_{vP}{}^2$ daar $[_{vP}{}^1$ verkoop-v $[_{VP}$ ~~motors verkoop~~]]] $[_{PassP}{}^1$ word $[[_{vP}{}^2$ ~~daar~~ $_{vP}{}^1$~~[verkoop-v~~ $[_{VP}$ ~~motors verkoop~~]]]]]]]]]

j. Copy Pass *word* and merge with T:

$[_{TP}{}^1$ word-T $[_{AgrOP}{}^2$ motors $[_{AgrOP}{}^1$ AgrO $[_{PassP}{}^2 [_{vP}{}^2$ daar $[_{vP}{}^1$ verkoop-v $[_{VP}$ ~~motors verkoop~~]]] $[_{PassP}{}^1$ word $[[_{vP}{}^2$ ~~daar~~ $_{vP}{}^1$~~[verkoop-v~~ $[_{VP}$ ~~motors verkoop~~]]]]]]]]]

k. Copy Prn *daar* and merge in [spec-T] to form TP^2:

$[_{TP}{}^2$ daar $[_{TP}{}^1$ word-T $[_{AgrOP}{}^2$ motors $[_{AgrOP}{}^1$ AgrO $[_{PassP}{}^2 [_{vP}{}^2$ ~~daar~~ $[_{vP}{}^1$ verkoop-v $[_{VP}$ ~~motors verkoop~~]]] $[_{PassP}{}^1$ word $[[_{vP}{}^2$ ~~daar~~ $_{vP}{}^1$~~[verkoop-v~~ $[_{VP}$ ~~motors verkoop~~]]]]]]]]]]

l. Copy and merge a null declarative C with TP^2 to form CP.[66]


The structure resulting from the operations in (20) is shown in (21) on the next page.

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[64] Cf. Travis (2006) for a similar type of operation involving spec-to-spec raising of VP.

[65] According to Radford (2009:215) the freezing constraint states that "an element moved to a position dedicated to some scope-discourse interpretive property…is frozen in place". It is not clear whether the movement of the object DP *motors* from its derived position in [spec-v] to a new position in [spec-AgrO], as described in (20h), represents a violation of this constraint. This issue will not be examined further here.

[66] The internal structure of the CP will not be considered in this study. Cf. Botha and Oosthuizen (2009) for a detailed analysis.

(21)

CP
  TP²
    TP¹
      AgrOP²
        AgrOP¹
          PassP²
            PassP¹
              <*v*P²>
                *v*P¹
                  VP

C   Prn *daar*   Pass *word*   DP *motors*   AgrO   *v*P²   Pass *word*   Prn *daar*   V *verkoop*   DP *motors*   V *verkoop*

*v*P¹
<Prn> *daar* — V *verkoop*
VP
<DP> *motors* — V *verkoop*
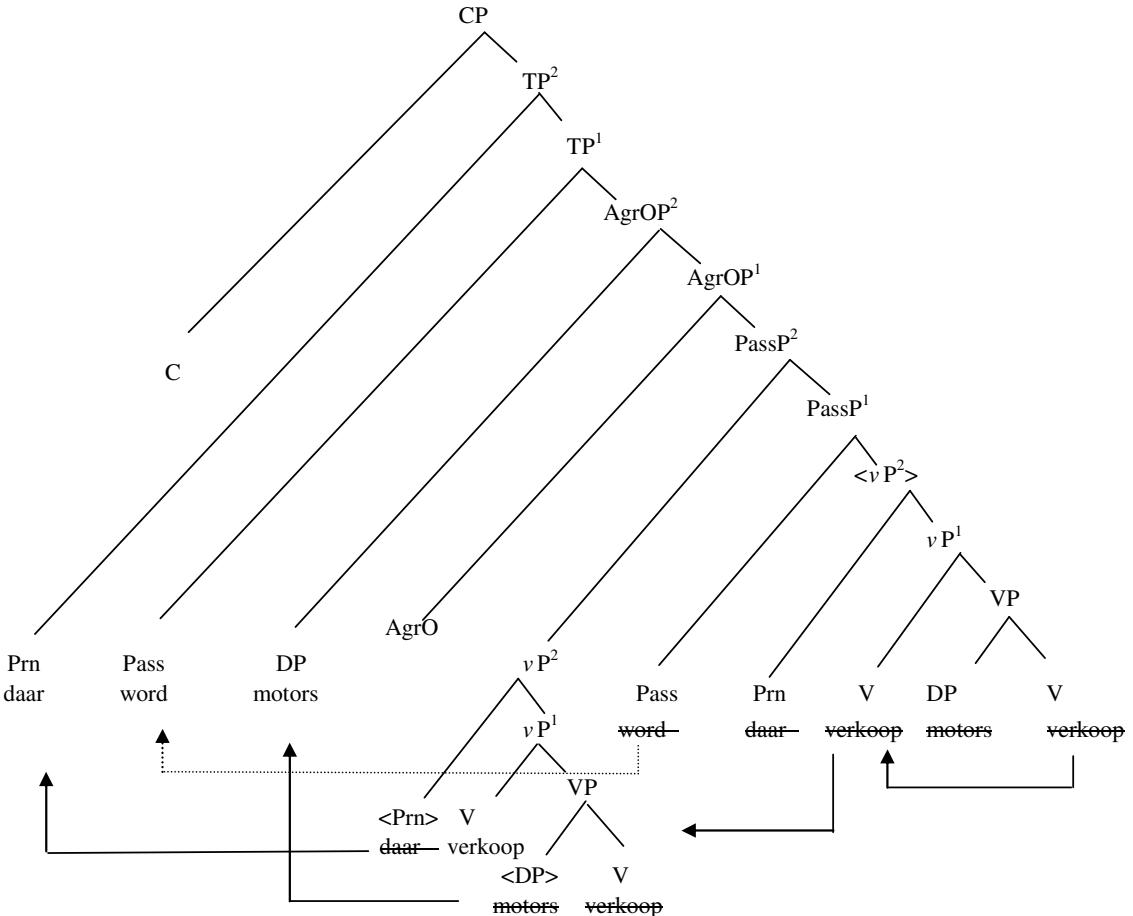
The two merger operations involving the expletive *daar* are in accordance with Radford's (2009) External Argument Condition (16) and Indefiniteness Condition (17): *daar* is initially merged in [spec-*v*] of a verbal expression lacking an external argument and having an indefinite nominal expression, *motors*, as its internal argument. The movement operation described in (20f) is triggered by the edge feature of Pass, as assumed above. The strong tense feature of the T attracts the Pass *word* as described in (20j). The T probe targets the Prn *daar* with the latter valuing the T's person feature as 3rd person; the T furthermore targets the plural DP *motors* which results in the unvalued number feature of T being valued as plural. The EPP feature of T is subsequently satisfied by the attraction of the Prn *daar* as described in (20k). In short, then, it appears that the derivation of a passive *daar* construction like (19) can be accounted for within Radford's framework. In the

following sections the adequacy of Radford's (2009) analysis will be tested against some other Afrikaans expletive constructions.

4.3.1 Number Feature Checking

As shown above, the analysis of a passive expletive *daar* construction containing a direct object, such as (19) *Daar word motors verkoop*, satisfies the External Argument Condition (16). Consider next, however, a passive *daar* construction lacking an object:

(22)   Daar word geskinder.
       there is   gossiped
       "There is (a lot of) gossiping"

The derivation of (22) takes place in accordance with condition (16). The Indefiniteness Condition (17) does not seem to be relevant in this case: this condition does not state that an internal argument must be present, but merely requires the internal argument, if present, to be nominal or pronominal. The derivation of (22) is described in (23).

(23)   a.   Merge the V *skinder* with the light-*v* to form the projection vP^1.
       b.   Merge Prn *daar* in the specifier position of *v* to form the projection vP^2.
       c.   Copy and merge the V with the light-*v*.
       d.   Merge Pass *word* with vP^2 [*daar skinder*] to form $PassP^1$.
       e.   Copy vP^2 and merge in the specifier position of Pass to form $PassP^2$.
       f.   Merge the finite (past tense) T with $PassP^2$ to form TP^1.
       g.   Copy *word* and merge with T.
       h.   Copy *daar* and merge in the [spec-T] to form TP^2.
       i.   Merge the null C with TP^2 to form the CP.

The derived structure of (22) may be represented as follows:

(24)

CP
TP^2
TP^1
PassP^2
PassP^1
vP^2
C
vP^1
Prn
daar
Pass
word
Pass
word
Prn
daar
v
geskinder
V
geskinder
vP
v'
Prn
daar
v
V
geskinder
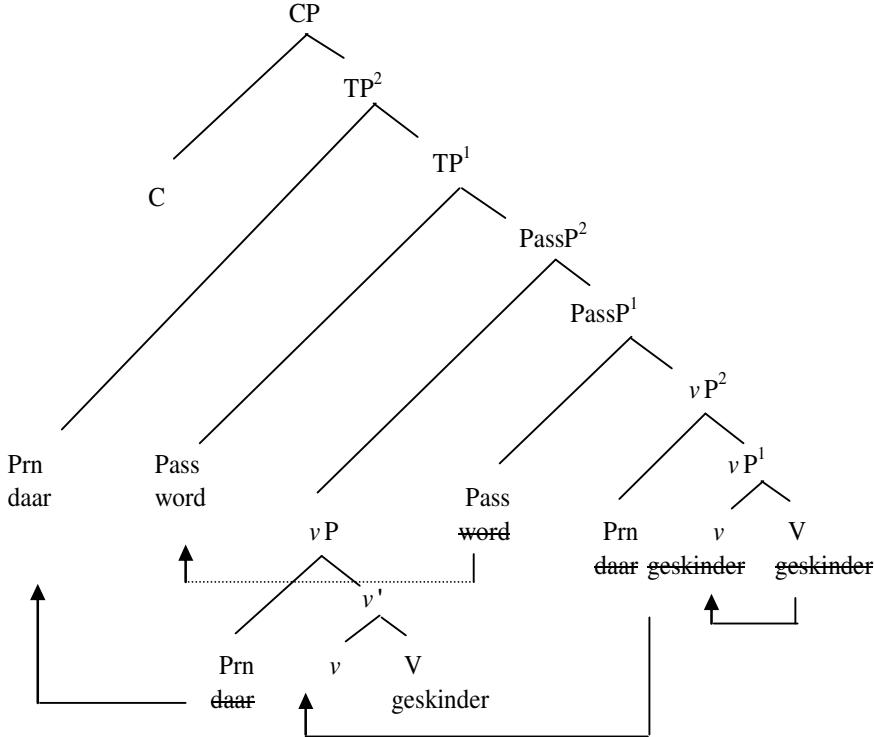
However, the following problem arises when the T in (24) probes its c-command domain to have its person and number features valued. Within Radford's framework, *daar* would only have a valued person feature; therefore, since the structure (24) lacks an object, there is no way for T to have its number feature valued, which would mean that the derivation should crash. One way of overcoming this problem, is to claim that the selection of a grammatical number feature involves the following parameter: the functional categories of a language either have a number feature that needs to be checked (and that could be morphologically expressed), or do not have such a feature at all. In a language which selects the latter setting for this parameter, the functional category T would thus lack a number feature that needs to be valued. If Afrikaans selects this setting, the grammaticality of a structure like (22), where there is no object to value the T's number feature, can be accounted for straightforwardly. As a working hypothesis, it will be assumed below that

the parameter setting in question holds for Afrikaans, that is, that number does not form part of the feature make-up of, at least, the functional category T in Afrikaans.

Another way of overcoming the problem which sentences like (22) pose for Radford's description of expletive constructions concerns the analysis presented in Richards and Biberauer (2005). On their analysis impersonal passives can occur without a D-element (i.e. a DP argument or the expletive *daar*) because "they always contain a category that bears the appropriate D-features", namely the passive participle which has an "absorbed argument" and thus the required D-features (Richards and Biberauer 2005:141).[67] If Richards and Biberauer's analysis is assumed for sentences like (22), i.e. for a passive *daar* construction lacking an object, the derivation will proceed as described in (23) and (24) above, the only modification being that when T probes, it will target the passive participle *geskinder* to value its φ-features.

In contrast to the analysis outlined in (23) and (24), in which a [– number] parameter setting is assumed for the Afrikaans functional category T, this category would have a [+ number] feature that is valued by the passive participle on Richards and Biberauer's analysis. In terms of their analysis, a passive participle can be probed by T and "displace[d] into [T's – JdB] specifier via *v*P-pied-piping" (Richards and Biberauer 2005:141). This operation is possible for [+ piedpipe *v*P] languages like Dutch and German but not for [– piedpipe *v*P] languages like English, which would explain the absence of a passive *there* construction lacking an object in English.[68] In short, Richards and Biberauer's analysis is general to the extent that it can account for the (non)occurrence of the relevant construction in particular languages. In contrast, the analysis outlined in (23) and (24) focuses only on Afrikaans and hinges on the absence of a T number feature (or alternatively, a [– number]

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[67] It is assumed here that the expression "D-features" is used synonymously with "φ-features", i.e. person, number and gender features. Cf. section 3.2.3 for a more detailed discussion of Richards and Biberauer's (2005) analysis. It should be noted that they base their claims about the D-features of passive participles on work done by Baker, Johnson and Roberts (1989).

[68] Cf. (8) in section 3.2.3.

parameter setting). Such an analysis would be problematic from the viewpoint of Dutch and German grammar. In both these languages number marking is found on the tensed V, indicating that the T – where such marking is checked – must also have a number feature. Although at first glance the analysis outlined above is less general than that of Richards and Biberauer, these analyses do not seem to be incompatible. Without going into the general merit of Richards and Biberauer's analysis, the proposed number parameter would not seem to have a negative effect should it be incorporated into their analysis. Moreover, there appears to be diachronic support for such a parameter: it could be argued that Afrikaans has lost the number feature on T in its 17th century pidgin stage of development, which would be consistent with the lack of overt number marking on finite verbs; however, this feature is still used in Dutch, German and English, which all have a [+ number] parameter setting for T.

4.3.2 The External Argument Condition

Apart from the potential problem noted in the previous section, Radford's (2009) analysis of expletive constructions in English seems to provide an adequate framework for the analysis of passive *daar* constructions in Afrikaans. Consider now the active transitive construction in (25).

(25)   Daar het iemand   iets   gekoop.
        there has someone something bought
        "Someone has bought something"

Within Radford's (2009) framework, the derivation of this sentence will proceed as follows:

(26) a.   Merge the V *gekoop* with the DP *iets* to form the VP: [$_{VP}$ iets gekoop]
     b.   Merge the *v* with VP to form the *v*P^1: [$_{vP}^1$ *v* [$_{VP}$ iets gekoop]]

c. Copy the V and merge with the light-v:

$[_{vP}^{1}$ gekoop-v $[_{VP}$ iets ~~gekoop~~$]]$

d. Merge the DP *iemand* with the vP^1 to form the vP^2:

$[_{vP}^{2}$ iemand $[_{vP}^{1}$ gekoop-v $[_{VP}$ iets ~~gekoop~~$]]]$

Radford's (2009:364) External Argument Condition (16) states that "an expletive can only be merged [with – JdB] a light verb with no external argument (i.e. spec-v)". This would explain why sentences like the one in (25), that is, expletive sentences with both an internal and an external argument, do not occur in English. The question, then, is how to account for the occurrence of such sentences in Afrikaans. Since an external argument is claimed to originate in [spec-v], as shown in (26c), the subject DP *iemand* is merged in this position where it is assigned the θ-role of AGENT. To account for the occurrence of sentences like (25) in Afrikaans, it could be argued, following Richards and Biberauer (2005:124), that "the only possible Merge site for [the expletive – JdB] is (the non-thematic) spec-vP once θ-positions are excluded". Nunes (1998:24) furthermore proposes that "the light verb has a strong feature which is checked after the object moves and creates another specifier for vP".[69] Incorporating these two proposals into the present analysis, the derivation of (25) would then be as follows.[70]

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[69] Nunes (1998:24) also states that the "bare X' system allows for the possibility of multiple specifiers." Cf. also Chomsky (1995a:section 4.10.1), Hornstein et al. (2005:194-6) and Radford (2009:52-3,391) for discussions on multiple specifiers.

As was mentioned in section 3.2.2, Bowers (2002) proposes that the category v should be divided into two types, namely Pr and Tr. On his analysis, the expletive is merged in [spec-Pr]; since it is the same position in which the external argument is merged, this would explain the non-occurrence of such constructions in languages like English and Danish. According to Bowers languages that do have transitive expletive constructions need a higher position where the expletive can be merged, like C in Icelandic. Crucially, Bowers (2002:199) claims that transitive expletive constructions are not possible in Afrikaans, a claim which is evidently incorrect in view of the grammaticality of sentences like (25). Given that such constructions do occur in Afrikaans, it would then follow that the *daar* has to be merged under C, as in Icelandic. However, such an analysis would fail to explain the occurrence of expletive *daar* to the *right* of the preposed element and the finite verb in sentences like those in (i) below. In these examples, it seems reasonable to assume that the preposed element has been merged in [spec-C] and the V raised to the C head. Accordingly, the expletive *daar* cannot form part of the C domain.

i. (a) Iewers brand daar 'n vuur.
somewhere burns there a fire
"There is a fire burning somewhere"
(b) Hoekom gee daar niemand vir hom 'n present nie?

(27) a. Merge the V *gekoop* with the DP *iets* to form the VP:

$[_{VP}$ iets gekoop]

b. Merge the *v** with the VP to form $v*P^1$:

$[_{vP}{}^1 \, v \, [_{VP}$ iets gekoop]]

c. Copy the V *gekoop* and merge with the *v**:

$[_{v*P}{}^1$ gekoop $[_{VP}$ iets ~~gekoop~~]]

d. Copy the DP *iets* and merge in [spec-*v**] where it receives accusative case:

$[_{v*P}{}^2$ iets $[_{v*P}{}^1$ gekoop $[_{VP}$ ~~iets gekoop~~]]]

e. Merge the DP *iemand* in the second specifier position of *v** to form $v*P^3$:

$[_{v*P}{}^3$ iemand $[_{v*P}{}^2$ iets $[_{v*P}{}^1$ gekoop $[_{VP}$ ~~iets gekoop~~]]]]

f. Merge the Prn *daar* in the third specifier position of *v** to form $v*P^4$:

$[_{v*P}{}^4$ daar $[_{v*P}{}^3$ iemand $[_{v*P}{}^2$ iets $[_{v*P}{}^1$ gekoop $[_{VP}$ ~~iets gekoop~~]]]]]

g. Merge the aspectual auxiliary Asp *het* with $v*P^4$ to form $AspP^1$:

$[_{AspP}{}^1$ het $[_{v*P}{}^4$ daar $[_{v*P}{}^3$ iemand $[_{v*P}{}^2$ iets $[_{v*P}{}^1$ gekoop $[_{VP}$ ~~iets gekoop~~]]]]]]

h. Copy the $v*P^4$ and merge with $AspP^1$ to form $AspP^2$:

$[_{AspP}{}^2$ $[_{v*P}{}^4$ daar $[_{v*P}{}^3$ iemand $[_{v*P}{}^2$ iets $[_{v*P}{}^1$ gekoop]]]] $[_{AspP}{}^1$ het $[_{v*P}{}^4$ ~~daar~~

$[_{v*P}{}^3$ ~~iemand~~ $[_{v*P}{}^2$ ~~iets~~ $[_{v*P}{}^1$ ~~gekoop~~ $[_{VP}$ ~~iets gekoop~~]]]]]]

i. Merge $AspP^2$ with a finite T to form TP^1:

$[_{TP}{}^1$ T $[_{AspP}{}^2$ $[_{v*P}{}^4$ daar $[_{v*P}{}^3$ iemand $[_{v*P}{}^2$ iets $[_{v*P}{}^1$ gekoop]]]]

$[_{AspP}{}^1$ het $[_{v*P}{}^4$ ~~daar~~ $[_{v*P}{}^3$ ~~iemand~~ $[_{v*P}{}^2$ ~~iets~~ $[_{v*P}{}^1$ ~~gekoop~~ $[_{VP}$ ~~iets gekoop~~]]]]]]]]

j. Copy the Asp *het* and merge with the T:

$[_{TP}{}^1$ het-T $[_{AspP}{}^2$ $[_{v*P}{}^4$ daar $[_{v*P}{}^3$ iemand $[_{v*P}{}^2$ iets $[_{v*P}{}^1$ gekoop]]]]

$[_{AspP}{}^1$ ~~het~~ $[_{v*P}{}^4$ ~~daar~~ $[_{v*P}{}^3$ ~~iemand~~ $[_{v*P}{}^2$ ~~iets~~ $[_{v*P}{}^1$ ~~gekoop~~ $[_{VP}$ ~~iets gekoop~~]]]]]]]]

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why   give there nobody for him a present not
"Why is nobody giving him a present?"

In Richards and Biberauer's (2005) approach, by contrast, an expletive is merged in the outer [spec-*v*] position, on the assumption that *v* can have more than one specifier. In short, then, both these analyses provide a specific initial position for the expletive element, Pr for Bowers and [spec-*v*] for Richards and Biberauer. However, given the above criticism against Bowers' analysis, that of Richards and Biberauer seems to be more plausible.

[70] As was pointed out in section 4.3 it is assumed in this study that there are two types of light-*v*'s, namely *v* and *v**, where only the latter enters into the assignment of accusative case and Θ-marking of the external argument.

    k.   Copy the Prn *daar* and merge with TP^1 to form TP^2:

$[_{TP}{}^2$ daar $[_{TP}{}^1$ ᴛ het $[_{AspP}{}^2$ $[_{v*P}{}^4$ ~~daar~~ $[_{v*P}{}^3$ iemand $[_{v*P}{}^2$ iets $[_{v*P}{}^1$ gekoop]]]

$[_{AspP}{}^1$ ~~het~~ $[_{v*P}{}^4$ ~~daar~~ $[_{v*P}{}^3$ ~~iemand~~ $[_{v*P}{}^2$ ~~iets~~ $[_{v*P}{}^1$ ~~gekoop~~ $[_{VP}$ ~~iets gekoop~~]]]]]]]]]]

    l.   Merge a C with TP^2 to form a CP

The structure resulting from these operations may be represented as in (28).

(28)
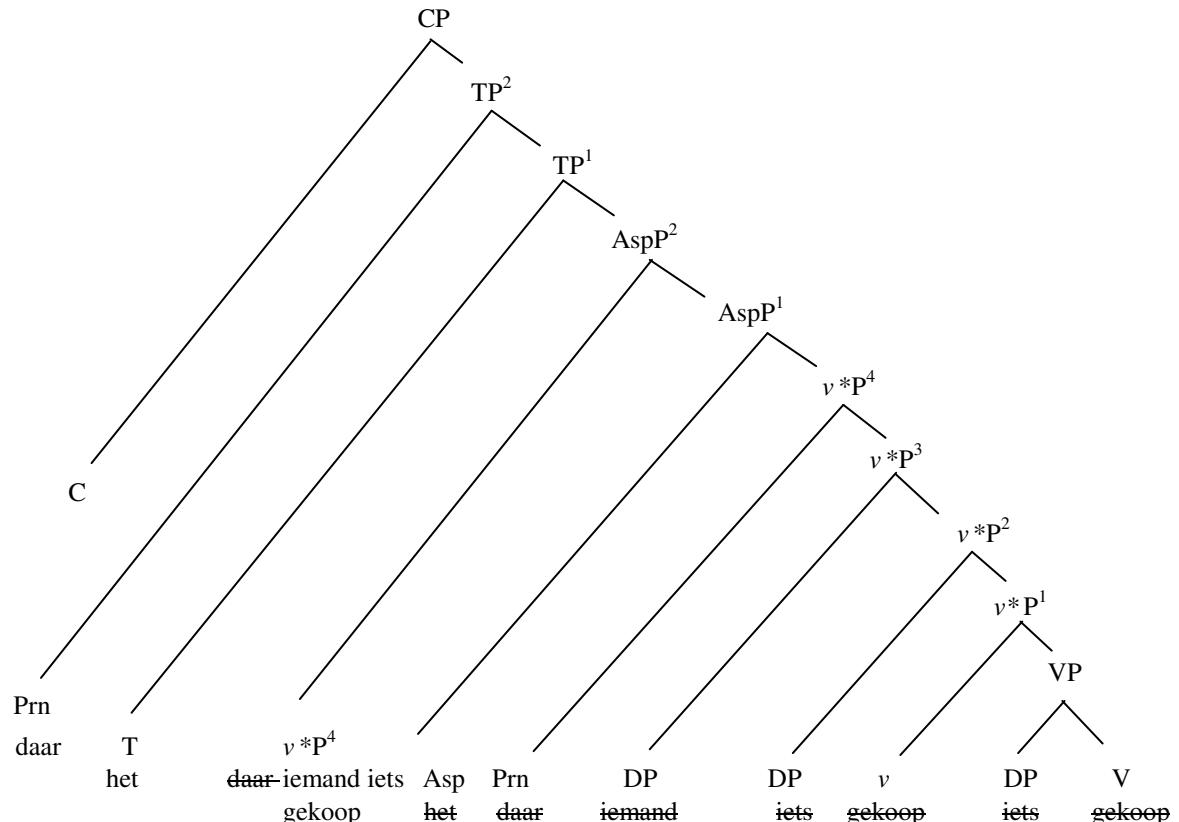
The movement of the Asp *het* in (27j) is triggered by the strong tense feature of T. In the next step, (27k), the probe T targets *daar* as a goal to value its person feature; T moreover serves to value the case feature of the DP *iemand* as nominative.[71] Finally, the T's EPP feature attracts the Prn *daar* into the [spec-T] position.

In Radford's (2009) framework, the Afrikaans active transitive *daar* construction in (25) has two items that must originate in [spec-*v*], namely *daar* and the external argument.

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[71] Following Radford (2009:295), it is assumed here that the expletive *daar* (like *there* in English), lacks a number and a case feature.

Adopting the hypothesis of multiple [spec-*v*] positions can account for this type of construction in Afrikaans, though it would of course raise the question why such expletive constructions are not allowed in English.[72]

The rest of this section examines whether the proposal of multiple [spec-*v*]'s is compatible with the analysis of two further types of expletive constructions in Afrikaans, both of which are non-passive, namely (i) intransitive unaccusatives and (ii) unergative constructions. Consider first the intransitive unaccusative example in (29).

(29) Daar het iemand aangekom.

there has someone arrived

"There arrived someone"

The derivation of (29) involves the following steps:

(30) a.   Merge the DP *iemand* with the V *aangekom* to form:

[$_{VP}$ iemand aangekom]

b.   Merge the light-*v* with the VP to form:

[$_{vP}{}^1$ *v* [$_{VP}$ iemand aangekom]]

c.   Copy the V *aangekom* and merge with *v*:

[$_{vP}{}^1$ aangekom-*v* [$_{VP}$ iemand ~~aangekom~~]]

d.   Merge *daar* in [spec-*v*] to form:

[$_{vP}{}^2$ daar [$_{vP}{}^1$ aangekom-*v* [$_{VP}$ iemand ~~aangekom~~]]]

e.   Merge the aspectual head *het* with *v*P^2 to form:

[$_{AspP}{}^1$ het [$_{vP}{}^2$ daar [$_{vP}{}^1$ aangekom-*v* [$_{VP}$ iemand ~~aangekom~~]]]]

f.   Copy *v*P^2 and merge in [spec-Asp] to form:

[$_{AspP}{}^2$ daar [$_{vP}{}^1$ aangekom-*v* [$_{VP}$ iemand ~~aangekom~~]] [$_{AspP}{}^1$ het [$_{vP}{}^2$ ~~daar~~ [$_{vP}{}^1$ ~~aangekom-v~~ [$_{VP}$ ~~iemand aangekom~~]]]]]

g.   Merge AgrO with AspP^2 to form:

[$_{AgroP}{}^1$ AgrO [$_{AspP}{}^2$ daar [$_{vP}{}^1$ aangekom-*v* [$_{VP}$ iemand ~~aangekom~~]] [$_{AspP}{}^1$ het [$_{vP}{}^2$ ~~daar~~ [$_{vP}{}^1$ ~~aangekom-v~~ [$_{VP}$ ~~iemand aangekom~~]]]]]]

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[72] Notice that sentences like (29) are ungrammatical with the expletive *dit* in place of *daar*; this phenomenon will be addressed in section 4.3.3 below.

h. Copy DP *iemand* and merge in [spec-AgrO] to form:

[$_{AgroP}^{2}$ iemand [$_{AgroP}^{1}$ AgrO [$_{AspP}^{2}$ daar [$_{vP}^{1}$ aangekom-*v* [$_{VP}$ ~~iemand aangekom~~]]

[$_{AspP}^{1}$ het [$_{vP}^{2}$ ~~daar~~ [$_{vP}^{1}$ ~~aangekom-v~~ [$_{VP}$ ~~iemand aangekom~~]]]]]

i. Merge T with AgrOP2 to form:

[$_{TP}^{1}$ T [$_{AgroP}^{2}$ iemand [$_{AgroP}^{1}$ AgrO [$_{AspP}^{2}$ daar [$_{vP}^{1}$ aangekom-*v* [$_{VP}$ ~~iemand~~

~~aangekom~~]][$_{AspP}^{1}$ het [$_{vP}^{2}$ ~~daar~~ [$_{vP}^{1}$ ~~aangekom v~~ [$_{VP}$ ~~iemand aangekom~~]]]]]]

j. Copy Asp *het* and merge with T to form TP^{1}.

k. Copy *daar* and merge in [spec-T] to form TP^{2}.

l. Merge C with TP^{2} to form the CP.

The results of these operations are represented in (31).

(31)
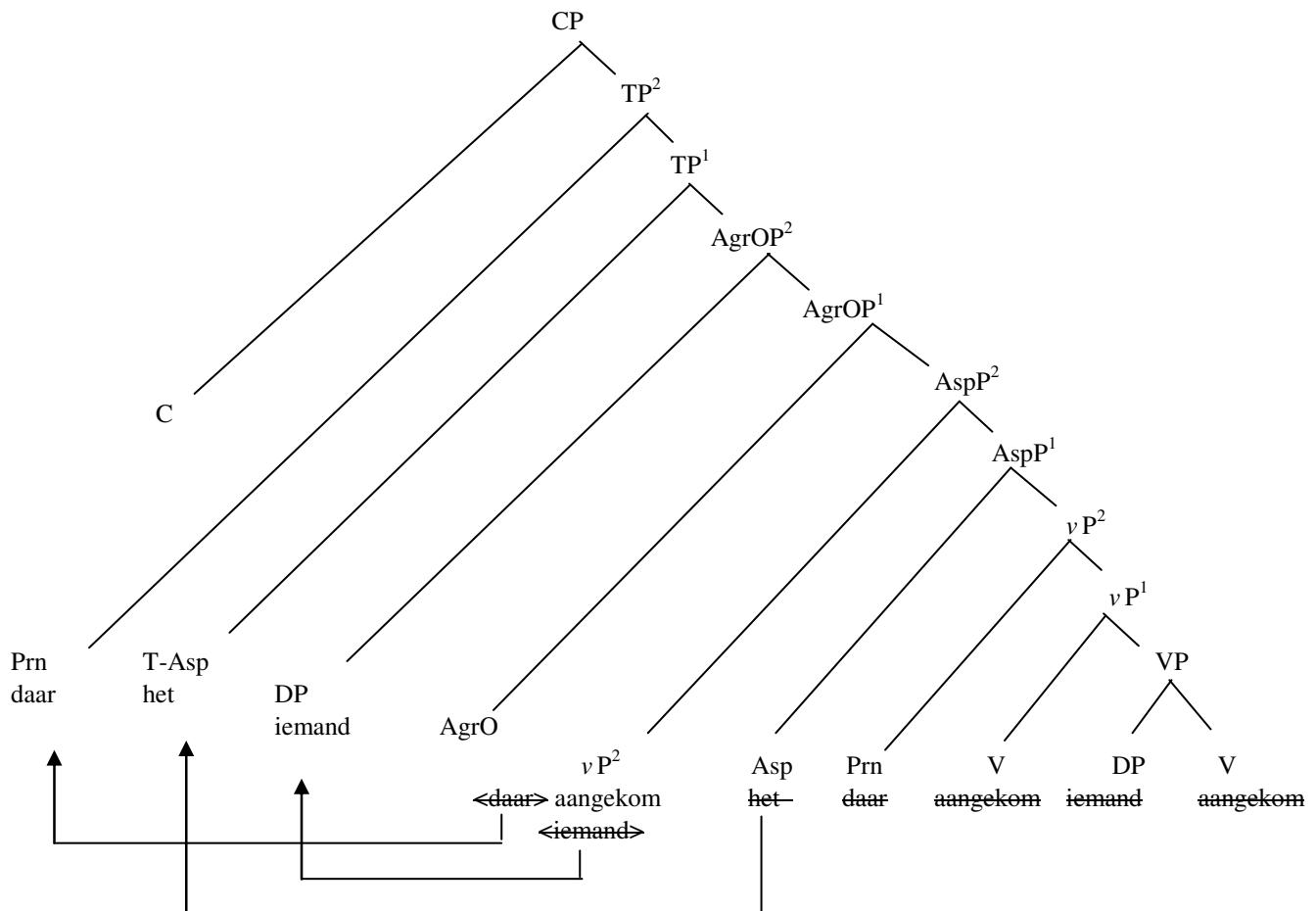
The movement of *v*P^{1} described in (30f) is triggered by the edge feature of the Asp *het*.

The DP *iemand* is attracted by the strong feature of AgrO (30h), whereas the strong tense

feature of T attracts the Asp *het* (30j). The T subsequently probes its complement resulting

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in its person feature being valued by the goal *daar*. Finally, the T's EPP feature attracts *daar* as described in (30k).[73]

Consider next the unergative construction in (32) where the DP *iemand* behaves like the external argument of a transitive verb (Hornstein et al. 2005:105).

(32) Daar het iemand bedank.
   there has someone resigned
     "Someone has resigned"

The derivation of (32) will be as follows:

(33) a.   Merge the V *bedank* with the light-*v* to form vP^1.

     b.   Copy the V *bedank* and merge with the *v*.

     c.   Merge the DP *iemand* in [spec-*v*] to form vP^2.

     d.   Merge the Prn *daar* in the second [spec-*v*].

     e.   Merge the Asp *het* with vP^2 to form $AspP^1$.

     f.   Copy vP^2 and merge in [spec-Asp] to form $AspP^2$.

     g.   Merge the T with the AspP to form TP^1.

     h.   Copy the Asp *het* and merge with T.

     i.   Copy the Prn *daar* and merge with TP^1 to form TP^2.

     j.   Merge TP^2 with a null C to form the CP.

The movement of the Asp *het* in (33h) is triggered by the strong tense feature of T. The person feature of the probe T is valued by the *daar*, and T's EPP feature attracts the Prn *daar* as described in (33i). The resulting structure is shown in (34) on the next page.

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[73] If the expletive *dit* instead of *daar* is used in sentences like (29) the result will be ungrammatical. This phenomenon will be discussed in section 4.3.3.

(34)

CP
  TP²
    TP¹
      AspP²
        AspP¹
          vP³
            vP²
              vP¹

C	Asp	vP³	Asp	Prn	DP	v	V
Prn							
daar	het	~~daar~~ iemand bedank	~~het~~	~~daar~~	~~iemand~~	~~bedank~~	~~bedank~~
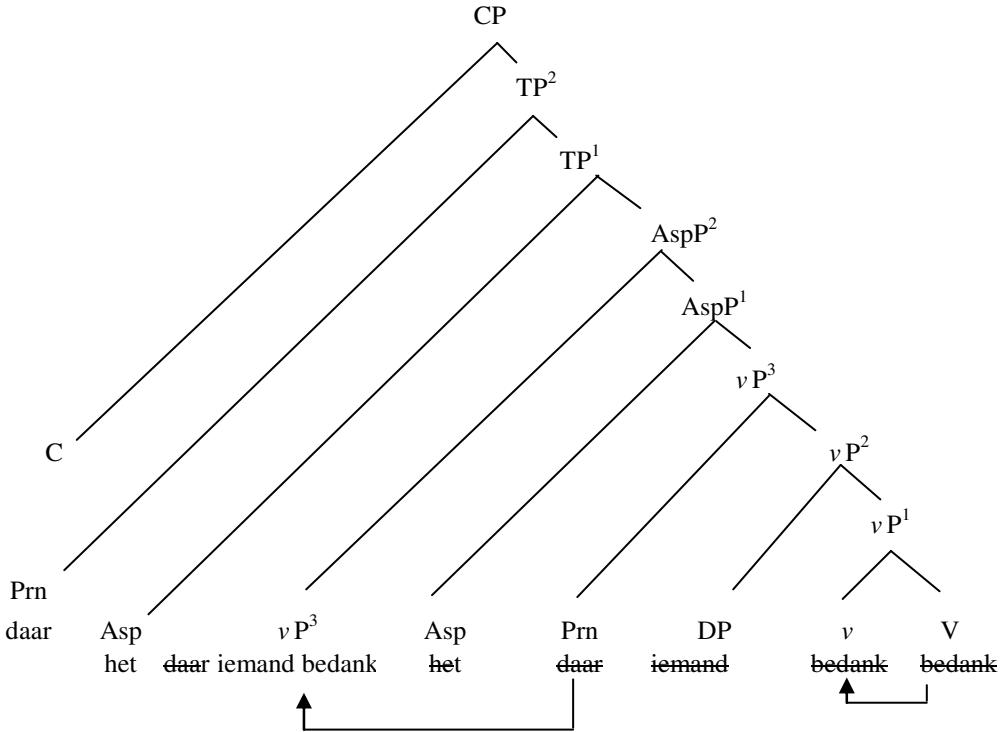
Summarising, given that a light-v can have more than one specifier position, it was proposed above that the Afrikaans expletive *daar* is initially merged in the highest such position. Since an analysis that incorporates this proposal seems to provide an adequate account of the three types of expletive constructions in (25), (29) and (32), it could be argued that Radford's External Argument Condition (16) has to be modified along the following lines to account for the relevant Afrikaans constructions:

(35) An expletive can only be merged in the highest specifier position of a light verb.

4.3.3 The Indefiniteness Condition

According to the Indefiniteness Condition (17), "the expletive *there* can only be merged as the specifier of a light verb whose VP complement has an indefinite nominal or pronominal internal argument." (Radford 2009:364). The condition can be divided into two parts. The first part states that the English expletive *there* cannot be merged with a V that

has a definite internal argument, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (36a). The second part of (17) states that the internal argument of the V must be either a nominal or pronominal expression; a clausal complement, for example, will result in an ungrammatical construction like (36b).[74]

(36)   a. *There was impeached the president.

        b. *There is said that he has taken bribes.

Note that (36a) is a passive construction. However, the condition (17) also holds for non-passive unaccusative constructions, as illustrated by the examples in (37)[75]. Although the expletive *there* is (only) used in unaccusative constructions (cf. Bowers 2002:194), such constructions must adhere to the Indefiniteness Condition:

(37)   a. There arrived a/*the rugby team from England.

        b. There arose a/*the question of efficiency.

The question now arises whether (17) also holds for Afrikaans. Consider first the passive sentences in (38). These examples show that, as in English, Afrikaans does not allow the expletive *daar* to be merged with a V that has a definite internal argument:

(38)   a. Daar is 'n / *die Oscar toegeken.

           there is a / the Oscar awarded

---

[74] Condition (17) implies that expletive *there* cannot take a clausal complement as its associate. Although this holds for finite clausal complements (as shown in (36b)), there does appear to be able to take an infinitival complement as its associate, as illustrated by the acceptability of the example in (i); this phenomenon will not be examined further here.

        (i)   There seems to be a problem.

[75] Cf. also Den Dikken (2001:33) and Felser and Rupp (2001:3) for the observation that unaccusative constructions like (37) cannot contain the expletive *there* when the associate is a definite DP. For a discussion of unaccusative verbs and constructions within the Government and Binding framework, cf. Haegeman (1991:306-11).

"An Oscar was awarded."

    b. Daar is 'n / *die man vermoor.

     there is a / the man murder

    "A man was murdered."

Consider next the unaccusative sentences in (39).

(39)   a. Daar begin die wedstryd nou.   b. Daar verskyn die spook toe.

      there begins the match now   there appeared the ghost then

      "The match is starting now"   "The ghost then appeared"

      c. Daar val die beker al weer op die vloer.   d. Daar ontplof die bom toe.

      there falls the mug again on the floor   there exploded the bomb then

      "The mug is falling on the floor again"   "The bomb then exploded"

As illustrated by the difference in grammaticality between the sentences in (37) and (39), Afrikaans allows unaccusative sentences with definite DP arguments whereas such sentences are ruled out in English by the Indefiniteness Condition.

An apparent counterexample to condition (17), in both Afrikaans and English, involves sentences with the copular verb *be*. Felser and Rupp (2001:2) provide the following examples in this regard:[76]

(40)   a. There were the usual books outside the gates for sale.

      b. There was the top of a bottle on the table.

      c. There is the most remarkable woman in the room.

Recall Bowers' assertion (2002:194) that expletives can only be used in unaccusative constructions in English; yet, the three sentences in (40) are grammatical even though they are not unaccusative. In these cases, the grammaticality is clearly related to the type of

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[76] Felser and Rupp (2001:2) take these examples from Lumsden (1988) and present an argument made by Comorovski (1991) that this type of existential construction "illustrates the presentative use" of expletive sentences; in other words, these sentences introduce new information and do not "assert existence".

verb, in all three sentences the copular verb *be* (i.e. *were, was, is*). This phenomenon is also found in Afrikaans:

(41)   a. Daar is die Rapport.

        there is the Rapport

        "There's the Rapport (newspaper)"

      b. Daar was ook die ongeluk op die brug.

        there was also the accident on the bridge

        "There was also the accident on the bridge"

The Afrikaans examples in (41), like the English examples in (40), only contain the copular verb *wees* (i.e. *is* and *was*). In short, then, in expletive *there* and *daar* sentences containing the copular verb *be*, this verb can merge with a definite argument.

Another difference between the English copular *be* and lexical verbs concerns their ability to undergo V-to-T movement: *be* is moved from its position in the verbal expression and merged with the T in order to check the relevant tense feature, whereas lexical verbs are not (Adger 2004:177). It is thus not surprising for the copular verb in English to act differently from lexical verbs in expletive constructions as well.

Consider next constructions like those in (42), in which the verb of the main clause takes a clausal complement:

(42)   a. Daar/dit word dikwels gesê dat hulle hard werk.

        there/it is   often   said that they hard work

        "It is often said that they work hard"

      b. ?Daar/dit lyk of daar iemand sit.[77]

        there/it looks if there someone sit

        "It seems as if there is someone sitting there"

---

[77] Many speakers of Afrikaans seem to find sentences like (42b) unacceptable or at most marginally acceptable with *daar* as the expletive. This specific sentence is taken from data collected as part of the SANPAD project which investigated, amongst other things, the occurrence of such sentences in non-standard varieties of Western Cape Afrikaans. It could well be the case that the use of *daar* in constructions of the type in question is in fact restricted to such varieties.

As was pointed out with reference to the example in (36b), the English equivalents of the sentences in (42) are ungrammatical with *there*. As regards the Afrikaans sentences, it again seems as if the grammaticality is related to the type of verb that is used: in (42a) it is a passive verb which takes a clausal complement and in (42b) it is the raising verb *lyk*. Apparently, however, most speakers find sentences like (42b) considerably less acceptable when *daar* is used as the expletive. This judgement also holds for sentences with other raising verbs:

(43)   a. Dit / [?]daar kom voor   of hy die oplossing het.
            it / there come forward if he the solution has
            "It appears that he has the solution"

        b. Dit / [?]daar blyk   dat baie studente afwesig is.
            it /   there seems that many students absent are
            "It seems that there are many students absent"

The preference of *dit* over *daar* in sentences like (42b) and (43) can probably be ascribed to the interpretation of the expletive in raising constructions. It seems as if *dit* specifically refers to the information expressed by the subordinate clause; in other words, *dit* does not represent a "true" expletive element in the sense that it is semantically linked to the subordinate clause. *Daar*, by contrast, has no semantic content and cannot be semantically linked to the (finite) subordinate clause in raising constructions.[78] A further difference between *daar* and *dit* was also noted in section 4.2. Consider the topicalised (44a) and focalised (44b) counterparts of (42a):

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[78] Note that *daar*, but not *dit*, can be semantically linked to an infinitival clause in a raising construction, as illustrated in the following example:

    (i)   Daar/*dit blyk baie studente afwesig te wees.
               There/it   seem many students absent to be
               "There seem to be many students absent"

(44) a. Dat hulle hard werk, word daar / *dit dikwels gesê.

that they hard work, is   there/ it often   said

"That they work hard, is often said"

b. Dat hulle hard werk, *daar / dit word dikwels gesê.

that they hard work, there / it is   often   said

"That they work hard, that is often said"

In (44a), on the one hand, *dit* cannot be used as an expletive because it cannot be interpreted non-specifically. In (44b), on the other hand, the focus is on what is said, so that *dit* has a specific interpretation, i.e. *dat hulle hard werk*. By contrast, *daar* in the grammatical sentence (44a) behaves like a true expletive in that it is not semantically linked to the topicalised phrase. The use of *daar* in (44b) leads to ungrammaticality since *daar* cannot have a specific interpretation, i.e. it cannot be semantically linked to the focalised phrase. The only specific interpretation for *daar* is that found with locative *daar*, which is not possible in (44b). Against this background, it could thus be claimed that *dit* does not represent an expletive element (i) in passive constructions with a clausal complement like (42a), (ii) in raising constructions like (42b) and (43), and (iii) in topicalisation constructions like (44a). Rather, in these constructions, *dit* shows the characteristics of a regular pronoun that is semantically linked to a clausal complement.[79]

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[79] If generalised to all passive constructions, i.e. also to those not containing a clausal complement, this claim about the categorical status of *dit* can possibly account for the variation in acceptability judgments for sentences like *Dit word gedurig baklei* mentioned in section 4.2 above.

In constructions containing so-called weather verbs like *reën* ("rain") and *sneeu* ("snow"), the expletive *dit* is also preferred over *daar*, as illustrated by the difference in acceptability between the following pairs of sentences:

i.   (a) Dit reën.   (b) Dit sneeu.
             it rains   it   snows
          "It is raining"   "It is snowing"
ii.   (a) *Daar reën.   (b) *Daar sneeu.
              there rains   there snows

Following Radford (2009:299), it could be claimed that weather verbs have no thematic argument and require *dit* to merge as the highest and only argument as an "unaccusative subject." An alternative possibility, suggested in fn. 39 above, is to analyse weather verbs in the same way as passive participles, that is, as verbs which "absorb" the D features of their external argument. Given such an analysis, it could then be claimed

Returning to *daar* constructions, it is evident from the above analysis that the Indefiniteness Condition, as formulated in (17), does not hold for Afrikaans: the restriction on definiteness is less strict and Afrikaans moreover allows *daar* constructions where the V takes a clausal complement. Radford's condition in (17) can thus be revised along the following lines:

(45)   Expletive *daar* can be merged as the specifier of –

  i.   a passive light verb whose VP complement contains an indefinite or a clausal argument;[80]

  ii. a non-passive unaccusative light verb whose VP complement contains a definite or indefinite argument;

  iii. an unergative light verb which takes a definite or indefinite argument;

  iv. an intransitive light verb whose VP complement contains an indefinite argument; and

  v.   a copular verb which takes a definite or indefinite argument;

4.3.4 The Inactivity Condition

The Inactivity Condition (18) states that the "expletive *it* can only be merged as the specifier of a light verb which does not c-command any accessible nominal or pronominal expression with some active case or φ-feature(s)" (Radford 2009:364). If *dit*, the Afrikaans

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that the *it* in weather constructions is also not a true expletive, but rather a proform that is semantically linked to the "absorbed argument".

Interestingly, the use of *daar* with weather verbs in passive sentences appears to be acceptable, or at least marginally acceptable (although it is not clear whether *daar* represents a true expletive, i.e. a non-locative expression, in such cases); by contrast, the use of *dit* in such sentences leads to unacceptability. For example:

  iii.   Daar/*Dit word vanjaar darem gereën in die Kaap!

Following Richards and Biberauer (2005:141), it could be argued that (iii) is acceptable (with *daar*) because *gereën* is a past participle which has φ-features.

[80] In some varieties of Afrikaans this specification can also include raising verbs; cf. e.g. (42b) above.

counterpart of *it*, is analysed as an expletive, the question is whether (18) also holds for Afrikaans. Consider the examples in (46):

(46) a. *Dit word motors verkoop.

       it   are   cars   sold

   b. *Dit het iemand aangekom.

     it   has someone arrived

   c. *Dit het iemand bedank.

     It   has someone resigned

   d. *Dit het iemand   iets   gekoop

     it has someone something bought

Firstly, in (46a) *dit* is merged in a passive construction; since passive light verbs do not have accusative case to assign to a DP, the DP *motors* still has an active case feature. Hence the Inactivity Condition (18) seems to hold for sentences like (46a). Secondly, (46b) contains an unaccusative verb; the DP *iemand* originates in the internal argument position, and is moved to the derived subject position under TP where case and person features are checked. Since the case feature is only checked after *dit* is merged, (18) can also account for the ungrammaticality of (46b): when *dit* is merged, the case and person features of the DP are still accessible. Thirdly, the ungrammaticality of (46c) can be accounted for in a similar way. Since *bedank* is an unergative verb where the argument is merged externally, the DP *iemand* must move to [spec-T] for feature checking. Lastly, in the case of (46d) accusative case is assigned to the DP object *iets*, but the DP subject *iemand*, when *dit* is merged, still has active features that can be checked only when it is moved to [spec-T]. Passive sentences such as (47), by contrast, are not excluded by (18):

(47)   a. ?Dit word gedurig baklei.

      b. Dit word dikwels gesê dat hulle hard werk.

      c. Dit lyk of baie studente afwesig is.

In (47b,c) the passive and raising V both take a clausal complement in which all the features of the (pro)nominal arguments have been checked, thus resulting in grammatical sentences. In (47a) there is no (pro)nominal argument and thus no active features which can cause the derivation to crash.

From the above discussion it can be concluded that, as in the case of expletive *it* constructions in English, the Inactivity Condition (18) can account for the grammaticality of the corresponding *dit* constructions in Afrikaans.[81]

4.4 Summary

In section 4.2 a brief overview of (mostly non-formalistic) previous analyses dealing with the categorisation, interpretation, grammatical functions and syntactic distribution of *daar* and *dit*, was given. Section 4.3 provided an analysis of expletive constructions in Afrikaans within the broad framework of MS. The discussion took as its point of departure the three Expletive Conditions proposed for English by Radford (2009:364), and examined whether these conditions also hold for the four Afrikaans expletive *daar* and *dit* constructions that were described in sections 4.3.2, 4.3.3 and 4.3.4. It was argued that two of the conditions have to be modified to account for the Afrikaans facts. Firstly, the External Argument Condition (16) has to be revised to make provision for multiple specifiers for light verbs. Secondly, the Indefiniteness Condition (17) was found to be too restrictive for Afrikaans *daar* constructions containing the copular verb *wees* (*is*, *was*, *word*).[82] Thirdly, it was argued that *dit* does not represent a true expletive in the relevant structures; still, the Inactivity Condition (18) was found to be unproblematic for the analysis of *dit*

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[81] This conclusion holds irrespective of whether *dit* is analysed as an expletive element or not; cf. section 4.3.3 above.
[82] It was argued that this finding also holds for English *there* constructions containing the copula *be* (*is*, *was*, *were*).

constructions. The next chapter summarises the main findings and shortcomings of the proposed analysis, and also briefly outlines a possible alternative approach and further topics for investigation.

Chapter 5

Conclusion

5.1 General

Various theories on the derivation of expletive constructions have been developed in recent years, many focusing on data from Dutch, English, German and Icelandic. This study investigated the syntax of expletive constructions in Afrikaans. The general objective was to determine whether the Afrikaans expletive *daar* and *dit* constructions can be adequately accounted for in terms of the Expletive Conditions proposed by Radford (2009). In this, particular attention was given to transitive, non-passive accusative, passive accusative, and unergative constructions. The research questions, as set out in Chapter 1, were as follows:

(1)   Can the syntactic distribution of Afrikaans expletive *daar* and *dit* be adequately accounted for in terms of the expletive conditions posited by Radford (2009:298)?

(2)   If not, how can these conditions be modified to accommodate the properties of Afrikaans expletive constructions?

The study was set in the theoretical framework of Minimalist Syntax. The relevant assumptions and devices of MS were set out in Chapter 2. Chapter 3 provided a brief overview of the analyses of expletive constructions proposed by Bowers (2002), Felser and Rupp (2001) and Richards and Biberauer (2005). This was followed by a discussion of Radford's (2009) analysis of the expletives *there* and *it* and particularly of the three Expletive Conditions that form the core of his analysis. In Chapter 4 a brief overview was given of previous studies on the Afrikaans expletives *daar* and *dit*, followed by an analysis of specific Afrikaans expletive constructions within the frameworks described in Chapters 2 and 3. The main findings of Chapter 4 are summarised in the next section.

5.2 Main findings

The previous chapter aimed to determine whether Radford's three Expletive Conditions, formulated as (16), (17) and (18) in Chapter 4, can account for the properties of Afrikaans expletive constructions. This was done by examining the consequences of these conditions for each of the four Afrikaans expletive constructions identified, namely transitive, non-passive accusative, passive accusative, and unergative constructions. A number of potential problems were pointed out in the course of the discussion, and some suggestions were made that could be considered as possible solutions for these problems.

Firstly, in deriving a passive expletive construction lacking an object like that in (3) below, it does not seem possible within Radford's (2009) framework for the T to have all its φ-features valued. The problem is that the T's φ-features must be valued by both the expletive and the associate, but in the Afrikaans construction in (3) only the expletive *daar* is available for the purpose of feature agreement. Since the expletive is assumed to have only a valued person feature, T's number feature will go unvalued and should therefore cause the derivation to crash.

(3) Daar word geskinder.
    there is gossiped
   "There is (a lot of) gossiping"

In order to account for the grammaticality of (3), it was proposed in section 4.3.1 that UG makes provision for a parameter according to which the functional categories of a language can either have or lack a number feature that needs to be checked. If Afrikaans selects the latter setting, the functional category T will be [- number] and the derivation converges. This proposal is supported by the fact that Afrikaans does not morphologically mark verbs for number. Incorporating this parameter seems to be compatible with the hypothesis assumed by Richards and Biberauer (2005) that passive participles in a language like

German have valued φ-features, including a number feature, that serve to value the φ-features of T; in this case, it could be argued that German, unlike Afrikaans, can select [+ number] as a feature of T.

Secondly, the analysis in section 4.3.2 revealed that Radford's (2009:364) External Argument Condition fails to account for transitive expletive constructions (4) as well as unergative expletive constructions (5).

(4) Daar het iemand iets gekoop.
    there has someone something bought
    "Someone has bought something"

(5) Daar het iemand bedank.
    there has someone resigned
    "Someone has resigned"

In both of the above expletive constructions the *v* has an external argument. However, according to Radford (2009:364) an expletive can only merge with a *v* that does not have an external argument because the expletive must merge in the external argument's position. This problem can be resolved by assuming the hypothesis of multiple specifiers: by allowing more than one [spec-*v*] position, it would be possible to merge an expletive as well as an external argument under the *v*P. In terms of this hypothesis, then, an account can be given of regular unaccusative expletive constructions as well as of transitive and unergative constructions like those in (4) and (5). Against this background, it was proposed that Radford's External Argument Condition be modified as follows:

(6)   An expletive can only be merged in the highest specifier position of a light verb.

Thirdly, in section 4.3.3 it was found that Radford's Indefiniteness Condition is too restrictive to account for the properties of the associate of the Afrikaans expletive *daar*. On the one hand, the expletive *daar* can be merged with a verb that takes a clausal argument. On the other hand, besides taking an indefinite argument, it was found that non-passive unaccusative verbs, unergative verbs and the copula *wees* can also take a definite argument, contrary to what is stated by the Indefiniteness Condition. To account for these facts, it was proposed that the verb chooses which type of argument it takes along the following lines:

(7) Expletive *daar* can be merged as the specifier of –

    i. a passive light verb whose VP complement contains an indefinite or a clausal argument;

    ii. a non-passive unaccusative light verb whose VP complement contains a definite or indefinite argument;

    iii. an unergative light verb which takes a definite or indefinite argument;

    iv. an intransitive light verb whose VP complement contains an indefinite argument; and

    v. a copular verb which takes a definite or indefinite argument;

Finally, it was found in section 4.3.4 that Radford's Inactivity Condition can indeed account for the grammaticality of expletive *dit* constructions in Afrikaans. However, it was noted in section 4.3.3 that the expletives *dit* and *daar* show different properties in topicalisation and focalisation constructions. Specifically, it was found that *dit* does not behave like a true expletive in such constructions; rather, it shows the characteristics of a regular pronoun that is semantically linked to a preposed complement.

5.3 Final Remarks

This final section has two functions. Firstly, an outline is given of recent ideas by Hornstein (2009) regarding the position in which an expletive and its associate are initially merged. Secondly, brief attention is given to some of the potentially problematic assumptions of the analyses of Afrikaans expletive constructions set out in Chapter 4, and suggestions are made regarding possible topics for further investigation.

Hornstein (2009) makes several interesting proposals about the grammatical relation between an expletive and its associate. According to him (2009:139-140), an expletive is a dummy determiner that is initially merged with a nominal complement, its associate, in a DP-structure, rather than directly in [spec-*v*].[83] Hornstein (2009:140) goes on to claim that such an analysis can provide an account of the definiteness effect: since only a DP can be definite, the nominal expression with which the expletive merges must be indefinite.[84] Hornstein (2009:142) also assumes that case is checked via overt movement to an appropriate case-marking position, e.g. [spec-T], and not by Agree. On this analysis, the sentence in (8) will have the simplified underlying structure in (9).

(8) There is someone in the room.

(9) [TP There is [DP ~~there~~ someone] in the room]

From its initial position within the DP the expletive *there* moves to [spec-T] for case assignment. According to Hornstein (2009:141) this is where the difference lies between languages that allow Transitive Expletive Constructions (TEC) and those that do not. In a

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[83] An alternative possibility, according to Hornstein (2009:140), is to analyse the expletive as the specifier of D. Hornstein's idea that the expletive and its associate are merged as a unit, is similar to the proposal made by Chomsky (1995a); however, on Chomsky's analysis, the two elements are not united in overt syntax, but at the level of LF.

[84] As was pointed out in section 4.3.3, however, certain verbs in Afrikaans can take a definite argument in expletive constructions; hence, the indefiniteness effect cannot entirely be based on Hornstein's (2009:140) claim that it is the expletive's "D-likeness" that determines the (in)definiteness of its complement.

TEC language like German, the whole DP (containing the expletive) will move to [spec-T], rather than the expletive on its own. This is because the C in German has an edge feature that provides a further position for the expletive to move to. In a non-TEC language like English, by contrast, the C does not contain such a feature. Hornstein (2009:144-5) bases the claim about C having an edge feature in German on the assumption that "matrix clauses must be V2, viz. the finite V must be in C^0 and some XP be in Spec C." The simplified structure of the German TEC in (10) can be represented as in (11).[85]

(10) Es trinkt Jemand ein Bier.

   there drinks someone a beer

(11) [CP Es trinkt [TP [~~Es~~ Jemand] [vP ein Bier [vP [DP ~~Es Jemand~~] v [VP ~~trinkt ein Bier~~]]] T^0]]

The expletive *es* is moved form [spec-T] out of the DP to [spec-C] where it will be licensed (Hornstein 2009:146). Since German does not allow the expletive *es* to be used in non-V2 embedded clauses, Hornstein (2009:146) claims that *es* can only be licensed in [spec-C] as "a last resort expression like *do* and [… JdB] only if licensed by some V2 requirement".[86]

In contrast to German, Icelandic allows expletives in both embedded and main clauses; Hornstein (2009:146-7) ascribes this to Icelandic being V2 in embedded as well as main clauses, but points out that Icelandic is assumed to have an extra subject position in

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[85] Cf. Hornstein (2009:145).

[86] Hornstein (2009:146) provides the examples in (i) this regard; he also notes that German does not allow the expletive *es* to function in questions, as shown in (ii).

     i.   *Ich glaube dass es Jemand ein Bier trinkt.

           I think that there someone a beer drinks

     ii.   Trinkt (*es) Jemand ein Bier?

          Warum trinkt (*es) Jemand ein Bier?

clauses.[87] Such an analysis seems able to account for TECs in Afrikaans as well. Consider the example in (12) and its derived structure in (13).

(12) Daar drink iemand 'n bier.

there drinks someone a beer

"There's someone drinking a beer"

(13)

CP²
CP¹
TP²
TP¹
vP³
vP²
vP¹
VP

D
daar

drink

DP
~~daar~~ iemand

V
~~drink~~

DP
~~daar iemand~~

DP
n bier

v
~~drink~~

DP
~~n bier~~

V
~~drink~~
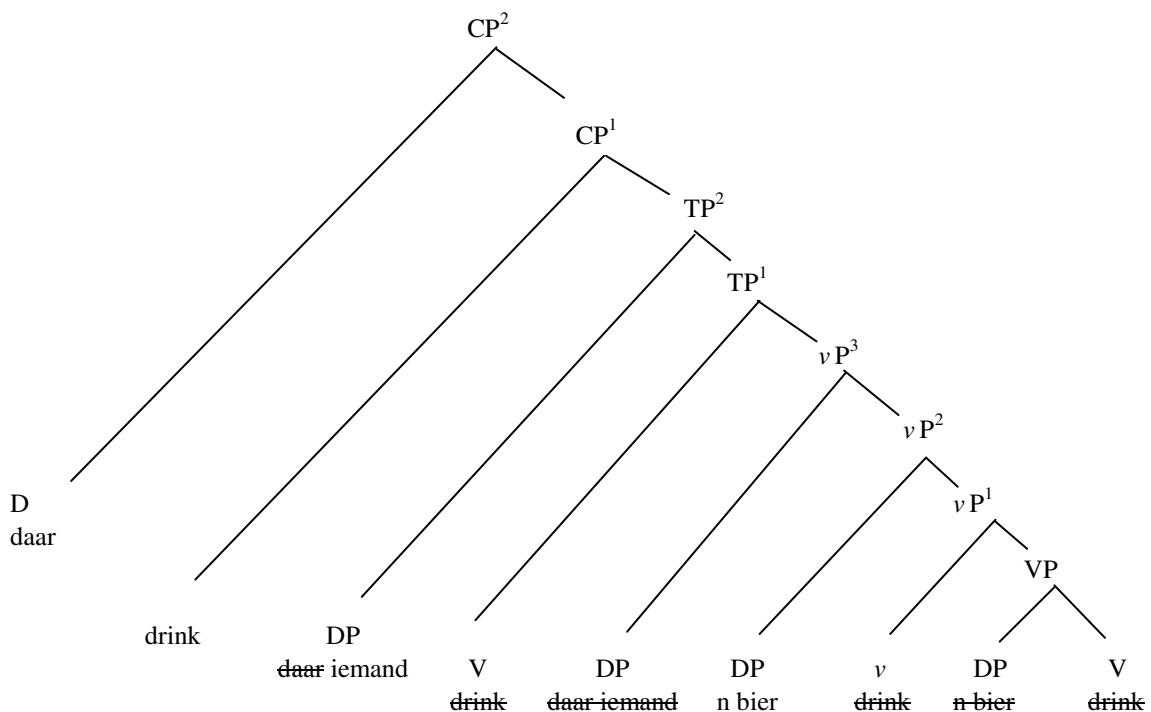
Unlike German, Afrikaans allows the use of *daar* in non-V2 embedded clauses as well as in questions, as shown in (14a, b) respectively.

(14)   a. Ek wonder of daar iemand 'n bier drink.

I wonder if there someone a beer drinks

"I wonder if someone is drinking a beer"

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[87] Cf. Chomsky (1995a) and Bobaljik and Jonas (1996) for this assumption. Hornstein (2009:147) assumes that, in addition to the subject position associated with TP, Icelandic contains a "functional phrase (FP) with an available Spec" supplying the extra subject position.

b₁. Waarom drink daar iemand 'n bier?

why   drinks there someone a beer

"Why is there someone drinking a beer?"

b₂. Drink daar iemand 'n bier?

drinks there someone a beer

"Is there someone drinking a beer"

These Afrikaans constructions could arguably be accounted for in the same way that Icelandic embedded TEC's are accounted for, that is, by positing an "extra subject position" (Hornstein 2009:147). It should however be noted that Afrikaans, like English but unlike Icelandic and German, allows the verb to occur to the left of the expletive in questions.

The merit of Hornstein's (2009) account of expletive constructions, also for analysing such constructions in Afrikaans, falls outside the scope of this study and will not be examined further here.

To end, various assumptions have been made in the course of the discussion in Chapters 3 and 4, some of a general linguistic nature and others concerning specific aspects of Afrikaans grammar. These assumptions were unavoidable for two main reasons. Firstly, because of the limited scope and objectives of this study, it was not possible to go into the merit of certain concepts that were used in the proposed analysis of Afrikaans expletive constructions. These relate to, amongst others, the functional category AgrO, the idea of multiple specifiers (e.g. under *v*P), the distinction between two types of light verb, the role of the EPP, edge features, the underlying structure of Afrikaans sentences (e.g. V-final vs. V-initial), parameters regarding the selection of particular features (e.g. the number feature on T), etc. Secondly, very little work has been done on Afrikaans grammar within a generative framework, and even less within Minimalist Syntax. For this reason, many of the claims in Chapter 4 were taken over from studies done on languages closely related to

Afrikaans, specifically Dutch, English and German. Admittedly, the adequacy of the proposed analysis will to a large extent be determined by the merit of the relevant concepts, claims and assumptions. This remains, however, a topic for further study.

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