

Locales

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Locale, n.: A place, especially with reference to a particular event.

1. Introduction

1.1 Post-Verbal Subjects – The Accepted Paradigm

As is well known, some languages which normally display an S-V-O order allow a V-S(-XP) order, with certain well-established restrictions, in some contexts. The existence of utterances such as those in (1), in Italian, has been extensively discussed by Perlmutter (1978), Burzio (1981), Belletti and Rizzi (1981) and Belletti (1988) among others. Similar cases in Hebrew are discussed in Borer (1980) and are illustrated in (2).

1. Sono arrivati (molti) studenti
are arrived (many) students (Italian)
2. a. parca mehuma (ha.boqer)
erupted.f.sg riot.f.Sg (this morning)
b. hitxilu harbe hagganot
started many demonstrations
c. hopiaʔ qcat ʔašan laban ba.šamayim
appeared little smoke white in-the.sky

Both Borer (1980) and Belletti (1988) note that unless the subject is clearly extraposed and is in the right periphery (cf.(3)), external arguments are excluded, and the post-verbal subject must be weak. The relevant restrictions are illustrated, in Hebrew, by (4)-(5). We note before proceeding that the Hebrew correlates of (3) are at best marginal.¹

3. Ha telefonato Gianni
has telephoned Gianni
4. *No definites, no strong quantifiers*
 - a. *parac kol vikuax (ha.boqer)
erupted.m.sg every argument.M.Sg (this.morning)
 - b. *hitxilu kol ha.hagganot (ha.boqer)
started.m.pl all the.demonstrations (this.morning)
 - c. *hopiaʔ ha.ʔašan ha.laban ba.šamayim (ha.boqer)
appeared the.smoke the.white in-the.sky (this.morning)
5. *No unergatives*
 - a. *ʔabad ganan
worked.m.sg gardener.M.Sg
 - b. *caxaqa yalda
laughed.f.sg girl
 - c. *nazlu mayim
dripped.m.pl water.m.pl

¹ Pinto (1997) notes that (3) and similar cases only have a presentational reading, namely, they are only possible for an incoming phone call, and not for an exiting one. Similar effects hold in Hebrew, to the extent that (3) and similar cases are licit. Pinto (op cit.) further discusses the role of locatives in licensing such cases, thereby potentially linking them to the paradigms to be discussed here. We set this matter aside for reasons of space.

1.2. Beyond the Accepted Paradigm:

Moving beyond the well-established paradigm above, we note that at least in Hebrew, not all unaccusatives (or passives) allow V-S(-XP) word order, as (6a-f) illustrate:²

6. a. **hibšilu* (ʔasarot) tapuxim (ʔal ha.ʔec)
ripened (tens) apples (on the.tree)
- b. **nirqab* (qcat) basar (ba.meqarer)
rotted (a little) meat (in-the.fridge)
- c. **qap'u* (yoter midai) mayim (ba.layla še-ʔabar)
froze (too much) water (last night)
- d. **putru* (šlošim) ʔobdim (ha.boqer)
fired.pass (thirty) workers (this.morning)
- e. **culma* ('eyze) zebra ʔal-yedey pil (ha.boqer)
photographed.pass (some) zebra by elephant (this.morning)

While syntactic models of the 80's could account for the unergative/unaccusative asymmetry in a straightforward way, this is no longer the case given present day structural assumptions. Such earlier accounts crucially appealed to the claim that external arguments merge above the verb's final landing site, whereas internal, unaccusative subjects merge as complements of the verb. V-S word orders for unaccusatives could thus emerge directly from the failure of the deep object to move, and were impossible for external arguments without postposing.³ In present day structures, however, the subject never merges at its final landing site and the verb, likewise merging low, almost always moves to some functional head above the initial merger site of external arguments. If V-S orders were to emerge simply from the failure of the subject to move to the highest specifier, all clause types would uniformly allow (or disallow) V-S word order, for unaccusative as well as for unergative (and transitive) subjects without any need for postposing. How, then, is the asymmetry between unaccusative subjects, on the one hand, and unergative and transitive subjects, on the other hand, to be characterized?

1.3. A Double Puzzle and Something on Achievements

Yet a further puzzle is associated specifically with the paradigm in (1)-(2). The cases in (1)-(2) are unambiguously telic. In fact, they appear to have an achievement interpretation. And yet, in (1)-(2) the subject need not be a quantity expression. What, then, licenses the telic reading? The availability of bare mass and plural nouns subjects in such constructions together with a telic reading is illustrated in (7)-(9), in conjunction with number of telicity tests. Specifically, and following Kamp (1979) and Partee (1984) (and see also Reinhart, 1996), telic events, when coordinated, give rise to a sequential, rather than simultaneous reading. It follows that the order of coordination affects interpretation for such events, and indeed, the truth conditions for (7a)-(8a) are different from those which hold for

² Care must be taken to ensure that the cardinal readings associated with expressions such as *šloša tapuxim* 'three apples' are not interpreted as either specific or partitives ('three of the apples'). The matter is, as usual, tricky in positive contexts. Clearer effects emerge in negative contexts, where non-specific readings are clearly excluded:

- (i) a. **lo hibšilu* 'asarot tapuxim (ʔal ha.ʔec)
no ripened tens apples (on the.tree)
'dozens of apples didn't ripen on the tree' (*non-specific)
- b. **lo nirqab* qcat basar (ba.meqarer)
no rotted a little meat (in-the.fridge)
'a little bit of meat didn't rot in the fridge' (*non-specific)
- c. **lo putru* šlošim ʔobdim (ha.šana)
no fired.pass thirty workers (this.year)
'thirty workers were not fired here this morning' (*non-specific)

³ Or, alternatively, through the movement of V over the external argument.

(7b)-(8b). A second test, following Verkuyl (1989), shows that the V-S events under discussion cannot be interpreted as continuous in the presence of a modification such as *on Sunday and on Monday*, but rather, (9) must be interpreted as involving two separate events:⁴

7. a. hitparca lava ve-nidleqa / hitparca ve-nidleqa lava
 erupted lava and-ignited / erupted and-ignited lava
 'lava erupted (first) and (next) ignited'
 b. nidleqa lava ve-hitparca / nidleqa ve-hitparca lava
 ignited lava and-erupted / ignited and-erupted lava
 'Lava ignited (first) and (next) erupted'
8. a. hitgalu gazim dliqim ve-hitlaqxu
 discovered.pass gases flammable and-'fired'
 a'. hitgalu ve-hitlaqxu gazim dliqim
 discovered.pass and-'fired' flammable gases
 'flammable gases were discovered (first) and (next) burst up in flames'
 b. hitlaqxu gazim dliqim ve-hitgalu
 'fired' gases flammable and-discovered.pass
 b'. hitlaqxu ve-hitgalu gazim dliqim
 'fired' and- discovered.pass gases flammable
 'flammable gases burst up in flames (first) and were discovered (next)'
9. a. parcu mehumot be-yom rišon ve-be-yom šeni
 erupted riots on-Sunday and-on-Monday
 (two occasions of riot eruption)
 b. hopiarʔ rašan be-yom rišon ve-be-yom šeni
 appeared smoke on-Sunday and-on-Monday
 (two occasions of smoke appearance)

In turn, the absence of quantity DP for achievement may not be that surprising. Mittwoch (1991) notes independently that transitive achievements may be licensed in the absence of a quantity object. Mittwoch's conclusions are based on cases such as (10)-(11) (relevant telicity tests added). Similar cases in Hebrew are in (12):

- 10.a. the prospectors discovered gold and found rare coins
 b. the prospectors found rare coins and discovered gold
- 11.a. Robin found oil on Monday and on Tuesday (requires two diggings)
 b. The prospectors struck oil on Saturday and on Sunday
 c. The bulldozer hit bedrock on Saturday and on Sunday
 d. Mary noticed ink on her sleeve on Saturday and on Sunday
 e. John spotted wildfowl on Saturday and on Sunday
 (based on Mittwoch 1991)

⁴And compare:

- i. a. 'etmol rac dan ve-šar
 yesterday ran Dan and-sang (simultaneous reading possible)
 b. le-'orex ha.derek zaxal naxaš be-yom rišon ve-be-yom šeni
 along the road crawled snake on-Sunday and-on-Monday
 (continuous crawling possible)

- 12.a. Rina gilta zahab ve-mac'a matbexot yeqarim
 Rina discovered gold and-found coins precious
- b. Rina mac'a matbexot yeqarim ve-gilta zahab
 Rina found coins precious and-discovered gold
- c. Nurit hitxila proyektim xadašim ve-mac'a šequet napši
 Nurit started projects new and-found peace soul
 'Nurit started new projects and then (possibly as a result) found peace of mind'
- d. Nurit mac'a šequet napši ve-hitxila proyektim xadašim
 Nurit found peace soul and-started projects new
 'Nurit found peace of mind and then (possibly as a result) started new projects'

Intransitive achievements now present us with a double puzzle. First, these events, but no other telic ones, are licensed without a quantity DP. Secondly, these events, but no others, telic or atelic, allow a V-S-(XP) word order. Are these properties related, and if so, how?

1.4 Not All Achievements

Lest it is tempting to assume that the phenomena can be described by appealing to the properties of achievements as such, note that not all achievements share the above diagnostics. Some achievements clearly do not permit a V-S_{WEAK} word order, let alone a V-S_{QUANTITY} one:

- 13.a. *nipsequ gšamim (sop-sop)
 stopped.pl rains (finally)
- b. *nigmeru sukaryot (b-a.bayit)
 finished.pl candies (at home)
- c. *nexecru diyunim (ba.memšala)
 halted.pl discussions (in-the.government)
- d. *histaymu bxinot (ba.universita)
 ended.pl tests (in-the.university)
- 14.a. *ha.memšala hipsiqa diyunim (šim ha.mapginim)
 the.government stopped negotiations (with the.demonstrators)
- b. *Rani gamar sukaryhot/xalab (ha.boqer)
 Rani finished candies/milk (this.morning)
- c. *qicucey ha.taqcib xacru qidma/proyektim⁵
 cuts the.budget stopped progress/projects
- d. *ha.talmid siyem bxinot (ha.boqer)
 the.student ended tests (this.morning)

Summarizing our puzzle thus far, we note that in present day models, a straightforward account is no longer available for the paradigm in (1)-(2). Furthermore, a more careful inspection reveals that the occurrence of V-S with the relevant restrictions is limited, at least in Hebrew, to a subset of achievements, and that these achievements are precisely those which otherwise allow a telic interpretation without a quantity (deep) object. In the next few pages, I will propose that a unified account for all these factors is possible if we assume that V-S word orders are always licensed by a covert *locale*, a locative which can function as an existential binder for the event argument. Achievements which license V-S word order are *presentational* ones, in the classical sense of presentational – they contain a covert *locale* specifically associated with the location of the event. That *locale*, in turn, has existential force which allows it to bind and existentially close the event argument. That very same *locale* may also bind, and existentially close, ASP_Q, the node, by assumption, responsible for the emergence of telic, quantity reading.

⁵But note:

i. ha.šoter xacar tnuša /mekoniot
 the.policeman stopped traffic /cars

In the absence of a covert *locale*, these effects are not attested, regardless of whether the events under consideration are telic or atelic, achievements or accomplishments. However, as we shall show, an *overt locale*, when provided, has the very same effects, when present, as a covert one. It licenses weak, post-verbal subjects in V-S contexts, and it licenses telicity in the absence of quantity objects.

The properties of overt *locales* are the subject matter of section 2, where I show them to license V-S_{WEAK} configurations in all event types. General theoretical considerations relevant to the syntax of event structure and the syntactic licensing of the event arguments are outlined in section 3. In section 4, I return to *locales*, showing them to have existential force, and putting forth a specific analysis of V-S_{WEAK} configurations in the context of both overt and covert *locales*. I further discuss some empirical predictions of the account. Finally, in section 5 I turn to the licensing of telic readings in presentational achievements, arguing that it, too is licensed by *locales*, as evidenced, yet again, by the emergence of identical effects in otherwise atelic contexts in the presence of overt *locales*.

2. Licensing V1 with Locales

We observed already that in unergative structures, typically intransitive activities or intransitive states, V-S(-XP) word orders are barred. As it turns out, however, such intransitive activities or states can occur entirely felicitously in V-S configurations if a locative pronominal – a *locale* – is added, meaning *here*, *there*, or *chez+agreement*, as illustrated in (15) (activities) and (16) (statives). Furthermore, in the presence of a *locale* the utterance requires its subject to be weak, very much on a par with what has already been demonstrated for V-S presentational achievements:⁶

- 15.a. ('amarti še-) xabad *(šam/kan/ecli) ganan (ha.yom)
(I said that) worked here/there/chez.me gardener (today)
- b.*('amarti še-) xabad (šam/kan/ecli) Ran/ha.ganan (ha.yom)
(I said that) worked here/there/chez.me Ran/the.gardener (today)
- c.('amarti še-) xabdu *(šam/kan/ecli) (kama, šloša) gananim (ha.yom)
(I said that) worked here/there/chez.me (several, three) gardeners (today)
- 16.a. ('amarti še-) gar *(šam/kan/ecli) bo'eš (ha.qayic)
(I said that) resided here/there/chez.me skunk (this.summer)
- b.*('amarti še-) gar (šam/kan/ecli) ha.bo'eš (ha.qayic)
(I said that) resided here/there/chez.me the.skunk (this.summer)
- c. ('amarti še-) garu *(šam/kan/ecli) (kama, šloša) bo'ašim (ha.qayic)
(I said that) resided here/there/chez.me (several, three) skunks (this.summer)

The effects produced by *locales* in (15)-(16) are not produced by temporal weak pronouns, or by other weak pronouns, such as the reflexive dative in (19a) or the directional (source) one in (19b):⁷

⁶ The V-S order in (15)-(16) should and could be distinguished from other instances of V-S orders attested in Hebrew in a variety of context, such as *narrative inversion* or XP-V-S inversion cases, in which no definite restriction applies to the post-verbal subject. See fn. 9 below for some additional relevant comments.

⁷ Similar effects, however, *are* produced by possessive datives, as in (i) a matter which I do not pursue here. For some discussion of possessive datives see Borer and Grodzinsky, (1986) and Landau (1999):

- i. a. rac *(li) keleb ba.xacer
ran to.me dog in-the.yard
'a dog ran in my yard'
- b. gar *(li) bo'eš mitaxat la.bayit
resided to.me skunk under to-the.house
'a skunk lived under my house'

- 17.a. ('amarti še-) *ʔabad 'az ganan (ba.gan)
 (I said that) worked then gardener (in-the.garden)
 b. ('amarti še-) *gar 'az bo'eš (mi-taxat l-a.bayit)
 (I said that) resided then skunk (from-under to-the.house)
- 18.a. ('amarti še-)*ʔobed ʔata/ʔakšav ganan (ba.gan)
 (I said that) works now/now gardener (in-the.garden)
 b. ('amarti še-) *gar ʔata/ʔakšav bo'eš (mi-taxat la.bayit)
 (I said that) resided now/now skunk (from-under to-the.house)
- 19.a. ('amarti še-)*rac mi-šam yeled (ha.boqer)
 (I said that) ran from-there boy (this.morning)
 'I said that a boy ran from there (this morning)'
 b. ('amarti še-) *gar lo bo'eš (mi-taxat la.bayit)
 (I said that) resided to.him skunk (from-under to-the.house)
 'I said that a skunk was residing (leisurely) under the house'

The effects are further restricted to weak pronouns. (20) illustrates the distribution of phrasal (stressed) locative pronouns in Hebrew. The distribution of weak locatives is in (21), showing that they must be adjacent to the verb, must be unstressed, and may not be coordinated. That *locales* license V-S order in unergatives, whether activities or statives, only when they are weak pronouns is illustrated in (22)-(23):

20. *Phrasal locative pronouns (stressed):*

- a. kol ha.yeladim 'aklu 'aruxat ʔereb 'eclénu/kán
 all the.boys ate supper chez.us/here
- b. kol ha.yeladim 'aklu 'eclénu/kán 'aruxat ʔereb (contrastive only)
 all the.boys ate supper chez.us/here
- c. ha.yeladim qiblu mamtaqim kán ve-šám
 the.boys received candies here and-there
- d. ha.yeladim qiblu kán ve-šám mamtaqim
 the.boys received here and-there candies

21. *Unstressed locative pronouns (unstressed):*

- a. *ha.yeladim qiblu mamtaqim kan
 the.boys received candies here
- b. *ha.yeladim qiblu mamtaqim kan ve-šám
 the.boys received candies here and-there
- c. *ha.yeladim qiblu kan ve-šám mamtaqim (unstressed locatives,
 the.boys received here and-there candies weak pronouns)
- d. ha.yeladim qiblu kan mamtaqim
 the.boys received here candies

- 22.a. *ʔabad kán ve-šám ganan (ha.yom)
 worked here and-there gardener (today)
- b. *gar bo'eš kán ve-šám (ba.qayic ha.axaron)
 resided skunk here and-there (in-the.summer the.last)
- c. *ʔabdu kán (kama, šloša) gananim (ha.yom)
 worked here (several, three) gardeners (today)
- d. *xayu kama/ šloša bo'ašim 'eclénu/kán/šám (ba.qayic ha.axaron)
 lived several/three skunks chez.us/here/there (in-the.summer)

- 23.a. *('amarti še-) $\text{\textcircled{a}b\text{\textcircled{a}}d}$ (ha.)ganan ba.gan/'ecli/ecel Ran
 (I said that) worked (the)gardener in-the garden/chez.me/chez Ran
 b. *('amarti še-) $\text{\textcircled{s}a\text{\textcircled{k}}a\text{\textcircled{n}}$ (ha.)bo'eš ba.gan/ecli/ecel Ran/šam
 (I said that) dwelled the.skunk in-the garden/chez.me/chez Ran/there
 c. *('amarti še-) $\text{\textcircled{a}b\text{\textcircled{d}}u}$ (kol ha.)ganim ba.gan/ecli/ecel Ran/šam
 (I said that) worked (all the.)gardeners in-the garden/chez.me/chez Ran/there
 d. *('amarti še-) hitgoreru (kol ha.)bo'ašim ba.gan/ecli/ecel Ran/šam
 (I said that) resided (all the).skunks in-the garden/chez.me/chez Ran/there⁸

A paradigm very much like (15)-(16) is discussed by Torrego, 1989 and Rigau, 1997, in Catalan. Consider the sentences in (24). They illustrate the distribution of post verbal subjects in activity events, presumably unergative. An initial *locale* is necessary to license a weak post-verbal subject, as in (24a-b). Although V-S is possible without a *locale*, the subject, in that case, must be specific.⁹

- 24.a. Hi canten molts nens
 there sing many boys
 b. Hi dormen molts nens
 there sleep many boys
 c. Canten molten nens
 sang many boys
 "many of the boys sang" (specific reading only)

Very much like Italian *ne*, Catalan *en* is a partitive clitic typically allowing cliticization from object, but not from subject position, a restriction traditionally attributed to c-command effects. As it turns out, *en* cliticization from the subject in V-S activities is possible, but only when a *locale* is present, as illustrated by (25a-b). In V-S activities without a *locale*, *en* cliticization is blocked. In turn, the co-occurrence of *locales* and *en* cliticization forces the subject to be weak, thereby contrasting with V-S activities without a *locale*, where the subject is specific:

- 25.a. *En canten molts
 of-them sing many
 b. *En dormen molts
 of them sleep many

⁸ Hebrew verbs *šakan*, *gar*, *higorer* and *xai* all translate, roughly, as 'reside, dwell, live'.

⁹ Torrego (1989) reports a *locale*-like effect in LOC-V-S configurations in Spanish with phrasal PPs. The detection of similar effects in Hebrew, however, is confounded by the existence of a general XP-V-S configuration in which the subject need not be weak. An anonymous reviewer notes, interestingly, that phrasal locatives *can* license a weak post-verbal subjects in the cases in (i) (and contrast with (ii-a-b)):

- i. $\text{\textcircled{o}k\text{\textcircled{l}}o\text{\textcircled{t}}'a\text{\textcircled{k}}l\text{\textcircled{u}}$ b-a.misḥada ha.zot dugmaniot
 eat/ate in-the.restaurant the.this models
 'models (existential) eat/ate in that restaurant' (*generic; existential)
 ii. a. * $\text{\textcircled{o}k\text{\textcircled{l}}o\text{\textcircled{t}} / a\text{\textcircled{k}}l\text{\textcircled{u}}$ (et ha.) aparseqim dugmaniot
 eat/ate (OM the) peaches models.
 'models ate (the) peaches' (*generic; *existential)
 b. * $\text{\textcircled{a}k\text{\textcircled{l}}u}$ be-šaḥa 'arba dugmaniot
 ate at-hour four models
 'models (ext/generic) ate at four o'clock (*generic; *existential)

The paradigm in (i-ii) clearly confirms the role of locatives in licensing post-verbal weak subjects. It also suggests that the structural environments in which such licensing may occur might be more complex than those discussed in this paper.

- 26.a. N'hi canten molts
of-them-there sing many
b. N'hi dormen molts
of-them-there sleep many (Catalan, Torrego 1989, Rigau 1997)

Torrego analyzes such constructions as undergoing a shift from unergativity to unaccusativity. Specifically, if the subject of *locale* activities merges as low as the subject of unaccusatives, the cliticization of *en* as well as the occurrence of V-S order could be subsumed under the properties of unaccusative V-S configurations. However, at least in Hebrew, constituent tests relevant to the unergative/unergative distinction show that the subject in *locale* configurations continues to be 'high' in the relevant sense. Reflexive dative pronouns, which can only co-occur with external arguments (in all event types) may co-occur with the post verbal subject in *locale* configurations. Possessive clitics, which exclude external arguments, but which may modify all lower DPs within the clause, including within adjuncts, continue to be impossible with the *locale* subject (the licit reading of (27c) involves an ethical dative, see Borer and Grodzinsky, 1986 for some discussion):

- 27.a. xabad lo kan ('eyze) ganan (kol ha.boqer)
worked to-him₂ here (some) gardener₂ all the.morning
b. xabad šam {le-rani} ('eyze) ganan {le-rani} (kol ha.boqer)
worked there{to-rani} (some) gardener₂ {to-rani} all the.morning
'*A gardener of Rani's worked there all morning'
c. xabad lanu kan 'eyze ganan (kol ha.boqer)
worked to-us here some gardener all the.morning
'*A gardener of ours worked here all morning'
'A gardener worked 'on us' here all morning'

Rigau (1997), discussing the paradigm in (25)-(26), proposes that *locales* affect a change in event type, and that *locale* V-S configurations are always stative. We note, however, that in Hebrew activity events with *locales* stay such, thereby allowing, for instance, manner adverbs which are barred with statives with or without *locales*:

28. *Activities*:

- a. hitrocecu šam/kan/ecli kama/šloša yeladim be-hitlahabut be-mešek šaxa/*be-šaxa
ran.around here/there/chez.me several/three boys enthusiastically during hour/*in-hour
c. xabad šam/kan/ecli ganan be-mehirut be-mešek šaxa/*be-šaxa
worked here/there/chez.me gardener quickly during hour /*in-hour

Nor are the effects restricted to activities. Accomplishments, of the type excluded without *locales* in V-S configurations (cf. (6)), are licit with *locales* without a resulting change in event type or syntactic structure:¹⁰

¹⁰ An activity reading is licit for (29a-e), providing a durational adverb is provided.

29. *Accomplishments*

- a. nirqab₁ 'eclekem yoter midai basar be-yomayim
rotted chez.you too much meat in-two days
- b. putru šam alpey xobdim be-xeser daqot
fired.pass there thousands workers in-ten minutes
- c. qap'u šam mayim ve-hipširu be-xameš daqot ≠
froze there water and-thawed in-5 minutes ≠
≠ hipširu šam mayim ve-qap'u be-xameš daqot
≠ thawed there water and-froze in 5 minutes
- d. hibšilu lanu/*lahem₂ po xasarot tapuxim₂ be-xamiša šaburot
ripened to-us/*to-them₂ here tens apples₂ in-five weeks
*poss. dat /*refl. dat*
'our apples ripened in five weeks'

We therefore conclude that the effects of *locales* cannot be related to event type. Rather, as we shall see, *locales* play a crucial role in licensing events in general, a conclusion this account does share with Rigau (1997) (and see Borer, 2005 for a fuller review).

3. What do Locales License?

3.1. Event predication

At the end of the day, I will argue, *locales* existentially bind the event argument. In order to show that this is, indeed, the case, however, a brief introduction is necessary to the assumptions that I will make as concerning the representation of event structure.

Taking as a starting point a Neo Davidsonian representation of events, consider the representations in (30). While they certainly do capture the predication relations between the verb and the event, as well as the argumental relations between the event participants and the event, it is easy to see that the representation is altogether too coarse:

- 30.a. $\exists e$ [run (e) & argument (Kim, e)]
Kim ran
- b. $\exists e$ [arrive (e) & argument (Kim, e)]
Kim arrived
- c. $\exists e$ [build (e) & argument (Kim, e) & argument (the house, e)]
Kim built the house
- d. $\exists e$ [push (e) & argument (Kim, e) & argument (the cart, e)]
Kim pushed the cart

What is missing in (30) is more detailed information on the participants of the event, so as to correlate their interpretation with their syntactic position. Arguably this is not crucial for (30a) and (30b), where we may assume that the single argument is contextually interpreted, given the predication relations between the event argument and the verb. However, this is crucial when more than one participant is involved. In the broadest terms, the representations in (30c) and (30d) fail to capture the fact that subject participants c-command object participants.

A more articulate representation would be as in (31). (31) presupposes the existence of telic and atelic *syntax* (*quantity* and *non-quantity* event syntax, in the terminology of Borer 2005), such that it gives rise to the correlation between the syntactic position of participants and their interpretation:

- 31.a. Quantity (telic) Intransitive (unaccusative syntax):
 $\exists e$ [subject-of-quantity (Kim, e) & arrive (e)]
 b. Non-quantity (atelic) Intransitive (unergative syntax)
 $\exists e$ [originator (Kim, e) & run (e)]
 c. Quantity (telic) Transitive:
 $\exists e$ [originator (cat, e) & subject-of-quantity (the tree, e) & (climb, e)]
 d. Quantity (atelic) Transitive:
 $\exists e$ [originator (cat, e) & default-participant (the tree, e) & (climb, e)]

Note now that although the event in e.g. (31c) must be *quantity* and have *quantity* syntax, as it gives rise to a *subject-of-quantity* interpretation, the interpretation of such an event as *quantity* is indirect and is accomplished through the interpretation of the argument, and not through the direct predication of the event itself of *quantity*. This, in turn, represents a fairly common practice within linguistics. Accounts which utilize thematic roles, or alternatively, notions such as *causer* or *agent*, effectively amount to characterizing the event indirectly through the roles assigned to its arguments. It is easy, however, to show that this could not be the right way to go. (32a-b) are clearly *quantity* events, telic, and yet a direct internal argument is not present. (33a) is an activity, while (33b) a state, and yet these, too, cannot be characterized through roles assigned to arguments, because no referential arguments are present nor are any roles assigned:¹¹

- 32.a. The army took over. (quantity)
 b. He moved in on my girlfriend
 33.a. It rained (activity)
 b. It was cold (stative)

It thus appears that if an event such as (32a) is to be characterized as *quantity*, such characterization must be direct – *quantity* must be directly predicated of the event, giving rise to the event properties in (34):

- 34.a. $\exists e$ [quantity (e) & take-over (e) &]
 b. $\exists e$ [rain (e)]¹²
 c. $\exists e$ [state (e) & cold (e)]

Now insofar as the existence of a syntactic quantity structure is necessary for the emergence of the correct syntactic placement of arguments, and insofar as we have now established that quantity events require the predication of such quantity structure on the event argument, it now emerges, ipso facto, that the event argument itself must be syntactically projected. In turn, if events are predicated not only of the lexical item (*take-over*; *rain*; *cold*) but also of a syntactic structure determining their type, it would be parsimonious to assume that the interpretation of arguments, to the extent that they exist, is dependent on the event type, rather than the other way around. We will thus assume that a referential DP in the (structural) subject position will be interpreted as an *originator* if it is not already assigned another role. As the subjects of weather verbs are not referential, they are not thus interpreted, although, by assumption, they occupy the same position as other subjects.

¹¹ It is not helpful, note, to assume that in (32) and similar cases *quantity* reading is induced by a silent or elided argument. First, the meaning of *the army took over* (=the army became the dominant power) is distinct from that of *the army took over the city* (=occupied the city). Second, silent arguments typically do not license a telic interpretation where they *can* be shown to be plausibly present, e.g., following verbs such as *eat* or *drink*. Assuming that the expletives in (33a-b) are quasi-arguments isn't helpful either. Certainly, even if quasi-argumental, *it* in (33a) is not an *agent* or a *causer*, thereby rendering its quasi-argumental status semantically non-informative as concerning the type of event of which it is a participant.

¹² In Borer (2005) I argue that *activity* is not a predicate of events, but rather an interpretation assigned to events which are not otherwise specified as either quantity or state. This matter is largely orthogonal to our discussion of *locales*.

Schematically, the picture that emerges is as in (35), and we note that insofar as syntactic realization is unambiguous, the representations allow some argument roles to remain underspecified (see Borer, *op. cit.* for discussion):

- 35.a. Quantity (telic) Intransitive (unaccusative syntax)
 $\exists e$ [quantity (e) & subject-of-quantity (Kim, e) & arrive (e)]
 b. Non quantity (atelic) Intransitive (unergative syntax)
 $\exists e$ [originator (Kim, e) & run (e)]
 c. Quantity (telic) Transitive:
 $\exists e$ [quantity (e) & originator (cat, e) & subject-of-quantity (the tree, e) & climb (e)]
 d. Non-quantity (atelic) Transitive:
 $\exists e$ [originator (cat, e) & default-participant (the tree, e) & climb (e)]

Once we assume events are directly interpreted through predication, and not through the projection of arguments, we must address the question of what, if any, are the syntactic manifestations of such events and event predication. How, in other words, is the event argument syntactically licensed? We must address an additional question as well. We concluded, largely on the basis of the properties of weather activities, that event typing is not dependent on argumental projection. We did not, however, address the obligatory presence, at least in English, of an expletive in such contexts. In what follows, I will suggest that the second question is one of the answers to the first. *It* is obligatory because it licenses the event syntactically. Event argument licensing, I will suggest, can be accomplished by expletives, by referential DPs in the relevant structural position, and most saliently for our purposes, by *locales*.

3.2. Licensing the Event Argument

We concluded that syntactically, the event argument may be predicated either of an (aspectual) node corresponding to *quantity* for telic events (ASP_Q) or of a stative structure for stative events, whatever that may turn out to be (henceforth SP). What, however, is the syntactic nature of the event argument itself, and how is it licensed? Higginbotham (1985) and much subsequent work suggest that the event argument must be existentially bound by tense. Higginbotham (*op. cit.*) further suggests that the event argument, like other arguments, is associated with the lexical head of the predicate, although, note, unlike other arguments licensed by lexical heads, the event argument, in Higginbotham's system, does not project syntactically.

As it turns out, however, associating the event argument with *lexical* predicate heads as well as binding it by tense are rather problematic. If the event argument is associated with a *lexical* predicate head as such, then by assumption, the lexical heads *damaged*, *drinkable* and *colossal* must have an event argument to assign, thereby giving rise to the (stative) events in (36a-c). However, the very same lexical heads, when used attributively, cannot be associated with an event argument, for such an event argument would be unbound and ungrammaticality would be predicted for (36a-c) contrary to fact:¹³

- 36.a. The window is damaged
 b. The liquid is drinkable
 c. The state of confusion is colossal
- 37.a. a damaged window
 b. a drinkable liquid
 c. a colossal (state of) confusion

¹³ The problem generalizes to all accounts which assume that argument roles of any kind are associated with lexical heads, in that, e.g., *the confusion is complete* shows no instantiations of the putative arguments of *confuse*, including the event argument.

Turning to licensing by tense, we note that the event nominals in (38) are licit, although the event argument is clearly not bound by tense:¹⁴

- 38.a. The instructor's (intentional) examination of the student (for seven days)
 b. The frequent monitoring of wild flowers (by students) to document their disappearance
 c. The destruction of Rome in a day

If the event argument is neither assigned by a particular lexical head-of-predicate, nor licensed by tense, how is it represented structurally, and how is it licensed? In Borer (2005) I suggest that the event argument is associated with its own node, E(vent)P. Relevant structures are in (39), with EP headed by a null position, a variable, which must be bound to be licit:¹⁵

- 39.a. Stative: [EP e_E ([TP [SP [VP/AP]]])]
 b. Eventive, non-quantity: [EP e_E... ([TP [VP]]])]
 c. Eventive, quantity: [EP e_E... ([TP [ASP-QP [VP]]])]

By assumption, the event argument in (40)-(42) is somehow licensed. If we assume, in turn, that the licensing of the event argument entails existentially binding it, then it must also follow that these structures contain a binder for the event argument:

- 40.a. Mary is tired
 b. John broke the computer
 c. Jane ran in the park
 41.a. It rained
 b. It was cold
 42.a. There was a boy in the garden
 b. There arrived from China a crate with a red knob

Considering first the pair in (42a,b), we observe that the claim that expletive *there* may function as an existential binder is hardly a novel one. Suppose now that it binds e_E, thus effectively providing existential closure for the event argument. Extending this rationale to the referential DP subjects in (40) and to expletive *it* in (41a,b), suppose they, too, bind e_E, thereby existentially closing the event argument, and that they may do so providing they c-command e_E, thus forcing them, effectively, into the [Spec,EP] position. For referential DPs, the existential force, I assume, comes from the fact that they are independently existentially closed hence may bind the event argument (and see below for further discussion). As for pronominal expletives such as *it*, I will assume that they are inherently existentially closed, possibly a carryover from their pronominal properties. The relevant syntactic structures are in (43) (irrelevant portions omitted):

- 43.a. [EP John-nom e_E ([TP John-nom [ASP-QP the computer [VP broke]]])]
 b. [EP it-nom e_E ([TP it-nom [VP rain]]])]
 c. [EP there-nom e_E ([TP there-nom [SP a boy [PP in the yard]]])]

The effect here is clearly reminiscent of the EPP, in that the system mandates, effectively, a subject of some sort for events, insofar as such subjects license the event argument. In turn, if EPP effects emerge from the need to existentially close the event argument, and if any (existentially closed) constituent in [Spec,EP] may existentially close the event argument, we predict existential closure of the event argument by elements which are neither expletives nor argument DPs, but which have existential force. Furthermore, and in contrast with the EPP as typically understood, if the event

¹⁴ The assumption that the derived nominals in (38) contain an event argument is following the compelling argumentation in Grimshaw (1990). Note that the view of grammar put forth here and in Borer, 2005, forthcoming, per force must cast this result in different structural terms from the lexicalist ones put forth by Grimshaw (op. cit.).

¹⁵ See reference on the rationale for EP above TP.

argument can be bound by an element which is not in [Spec,EP], neither an expletive nor an argumental DP are required to bind the event, and we would then expect the possibility of an EP headed by e_E , but missing a specifier altogether.

4. Back to Locales

4.1. Locales and existential closure

It remains an open question, for this author, as to why it is specifically locatives which have existential force over events, as opposed to, e.g. temporal expressions, as is more frequently assumed. That locative expressions *do*, however, have existential force, and that this function tends to go hand in hand with licensing post-verbal subjects, is well-established. An extraordinarily detailed study of the correlation between locatives, existentials, and the placement of the subject is found in Freeze (1992). Freeze (op. cit.) summarizes his empirical findings for numerous languages in the table replicated below (with minor expository adjustments) (Freeze's table 3, p. 564):

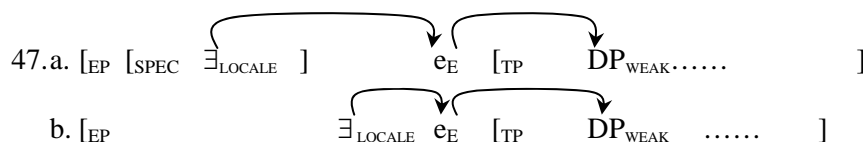
44.	AS IN	PREDICATE LOCATIVE			EXISTENTIAL		
SVO	Russian	R	COP	L	L	COP	R
	Finnish	R	COP	L	L	COP	R
	Catalan	R	COP	L	∅	P-COP	R
VOS	Chamorro		COP	L R	COP	R	L
	Palauan		COP	L R	COP-P	R	L
VSO	Tagalog		COP	L R	COP	R	L
	Palest. Arabic	R ₂	COP	L R ₂ (topicalized)	COP-P	R	L
SOV	Hindi	R L	COP		L R	COP	

R=subject role; L=locative, COP=copula, P=locative prepositional clitic

Freeze concludes compellingly that locatives are systematically implicated in the derivation of existential meaning, and that such an existential meaning is available whenever the locative is either in the subject position, or in a head position which he associates with I. The latter is instantiated in languages such as Catalan, Palauan, Palestinian Arabic or Italian in the presence of a locative proform attached to the verb or to the copula. In all these cases the subject follows the copula. Freeze concludes that full locative expressions in existentials are in the canonical subject position, and that locative clitics correspond to a null *pro* in the subject position (and see also Bresnan and Kanerva, 1989). He further concludes that predicate locatives and existentials are but two facets of the same coin, and that their complementary distribution derives from the fact that they are derived from a single source. Our claim that locatives in Hebrew, Spanish and Catalan have an existential function, and that they are either in [Spec,EP] (Spanish) or in E (Hebrew, Catalan), with the (logical) subject in some specifier lower than E (and hence post-verbal) is fully consistent with this picture. We note, as an extension of Freeze's picture, that while locatives are certainly required for the configuration in question to emerge, they need not be arguments. More crucially, the existence of a *theme* is not necessary, and the verbal element need not be restricted to a copula. The constructions we discussed in Hebrew, Catalan and Spanish all exhibit existential force in configurations which involve a 'high' locative, and an agreeing subject, *theme* or otherwise, following the highest verbal element, be it a copula or the verb. While we must continue to ponder the issue of why this is licensed in the presence of high locatives, that it *is* indeed so appears beyond dispute.¹⁶

We must now ask what it is that *locales* in actuality license. Usually, it is assumed that the existential force of locative expressions is applicable to the post-verbal subject. It is because of that that it must be weak, and that the propositions under considerations have an existential-type

¹⁶ That English *there*, or Italian *ci* have lost their locative meaning in the context of existential sentences is neither necessary nor sufficient for the emergence of an existential meaning. Ultimately, I concur with Freeze (1992) and with Tortora (1997) that the origin of the existential meaning resides with the locative function. See Borer (2005) for some more on *there*.



The configuration in (47a) is that discussed in Spanish by Torrego (1989), and noted in fn. 9. We further noted that although the configuration may be attested in Hebrew, its effects are quite possibly obscured for independent reasons. The configuration in (47b), on the other hand, now emerges as the account for the primary puzzle discussed in this article thus far: the Hebrew paradigm in (15)-(16) (activities and states) and in (29) (accomplishments), and the Catalan paradigm in (24) and (26), all cases in which post-verbal weak subjects are licensed in the presence of *locales*. In these cases, I submit, the e_E cannot be bound by its own argument, as the argument is weak. Once it is bound by a *locale*, however, it may bind its own argument, thereby creating a licit structure. In fact, we note now, paradoxically, that the problematic cases now emerge as those associated with the classical accepted paradigm. Within the approach developed here it is no longer obvious what, if anything, binds e_E and existentially closes the event argument in (1)-(2), a matter to which I turn now.

4.2. Presentational achievements and covert *locales*

Consider again, our starting point, the well known paradigm in (1)-(2), repeated here as (48)-(49):

48. Sono arrivati (molti) studenti
are arrived (many) students (Italian)

49.a. parca mehuma (ha.boqer)
erupted.f.sg riot.f.Sg (this.morning)
b. hitxilu harbe hagganot
started many demonstrations
c. hopiax qcat xašan laḅan b-a.šamayim
appeared little smoke white in-the.sky (Hebrew)

As noted, evidence from Hebrew suggests that the occurrence of post verbal subjects - without *locales* - is in actuality quite limited, and is only attested with presentational achievements. We now note that in all such achievements, the subject, so to speak, comes to exist *at the location* of the location of the event as a result of the event. The 'riot' in (49a) exists by virtue of the event that created it, the 'students' in (48) exist by virtue of having entered the world of discourse by arriving, and so on. It is thus eminently plausible to assume, precisely in such cases, the presence of a covert, abstract *locale* which functions exactly on a par with an overt one: it binds e_E , thereby existentially closing it, and by doing so, forces the post verbal subject, agreeing with such e_E and hence bound by it, to be weak, as well as to come to exist in the location of the event itself.

For completeness sake we note that the existential binding of e_E by a covert *locale* must be assumed optional, as indeed is the appearance and the binding by an overt one, so as to derive the grammaticality of the cases in which a pre-verbal, strong subject binds the event argument and a *locale* is presumably excluded in its binding instantiation or vacuous quantification would emerge:

50. Molti studenti sono arrivati
many students are arrived

51.a. ha.mehuma parca ha.boqer
the.riot.f.Sg erupted.f.sg this.morning
b. Harbe hagganot hitxilu ha.yom
many demonstrations started today
c. ha.xašan ha.laḅan hopiax ba.šamayim
the.smoke the.white appeared in-the.sky

A model-internal question involves the assignment of an *originator* role to the subject in [Spec,TP] in (47). See reference for discussion.

We are now in a position to distinguish between those achievements which are presentational, as in (48)-(49) and those which are not, to wit, those involving an event coming to a close as in (15), repeated in (52). In the achievements in (52), we note, not only doesn't the subject come to exist, so to speak, as a result of the event, but quite the contrary. The subject is clearly pre-supposed, thereby predicting its impossibility as a weak DP and accounting for the ungrammaticality of (52). We note by way of additional confirmation that in these cases, the addition of a *locale* does not improve matters. The problem with (52a-d) does not involve the failure of e_E to be licensed (although that, too, is the case) but rather, the incompatibility of weak subjects with the required interpretation:¹⁹

- 52.a. *nipsequ (kan) gšamim (sop-sop)
 stopped.pl (here) rains (finally)
 b. *nigmeru (eclenu) sukaryot (ba.bayit)
 finished.pl (chez.us) candies (at home)
 c. *neʔecru (šam) diyunim (ha.boqer)
 halted.pl (there) discussions (this.morning)
 d. *histaymu (kan) bxinot ('etmol)
 ended.pl (here) tests (yesterday)

4.3. Hebrew Transitive Expletives

In a departure from the specific typology put forth by Freeze (op. cit.), the existential closure by *locales* put forth here should be insensitive to any aspects of the structure which are below E, and hence, at least in principle, should be licit for any all subject roles as well as for all event types, including transitive ones. We thereby predict, rather surprisingly, the existence, in Hebrew, of transitive expletive constructions, when licensed by *locales*: cases in which the subject is, in some sense, demoted and weak, but the structure is that of a transitive event structure nevertheless. This prediction is borne out. As the paradigm in (53)-(55) illustrates, V-S-O word orders are clearly excluded in Hebrew, regardless of whether the subject is strong or weak. The presence of temporal expressions, pronominal or otherwise does not improve matters:

- 53.a. *hipcic ('az/ha.šabuʔa) (kol/ha.)matos 'et ha.ʔir
 bombed (then/this.week) (every/the.)plane OM the.town
 b. *tiqna ('az/'etmol) ('ezye/ha)ʔoxel 'et ha.midraʔa
 fixed (then/yesterday) (some/the.)worker OM the.sidewalk
 c. *xatkū ('az/'etmol) (kol/ha.)maggimim 'et ha.gader
 cut (then/yesterday) (all/the)demonstrators OM the.fence

Consider however the same configurations in the presence of a *locale*. We find, as exactly predicted, that V-S-O word orders *are* licit, and that the subject is per force weak, in other words, precisely the diagnostics predicted by the system developed here, thereby providing striking evidence for its veracity:

¹⁹ Unsurprisingly, V-S word orders are possible for such achievements with a strong subject. Significantly, such strong subjects display the diagnostics of post-posed subjects, in following adjuncts, where present:

- i. a. nipsequ (sop-sop) ha.gšamim (*sop-sop)
 stopped.pl (finally) rains (*finally)
 b. nigmeru (ba.xanut) kol ha.sukaryot (ba.xanut)
 finished.pl (in-the.store) all the.candies (in-the.store)

Under the assumption that postposing diagnostics, however analyzed, are associated with the subject occupying a pre-verbal specifier at *some* point of the derivation, the behavior of the subjects in (i) is entirely consistent with the assumption that they, themselves, existentially close the event when in [Spec,EP]. I thank I. Landau (p.c.) for first drawing my attention to the cases in (i).

- 54.a. hipcic šam ('eyze) matos 'et ha.ħir (ha.boqer)
 bombed there (some) plane OM the.town (this morning)
- b. tiqen kan ('eyze) poʕel 'et ha.midraħa (ha.boqer)
 fixed here (some) worker OM the.sidewalk (this morning)
- c. xatku šam (kama) mapginim 'et ha.gader (ha.sabuxa)
 cut there (several) demonstrators OM the.fence (this.week)
 (existential; *generic)
- 55.a. *hipcicu šam kol/šlošet ha.metosim 'et ha.ħir (ha.sabuxa)
 bombed there all/three the.planes OM the.town (this.week)
- b. *tiqen kan ha.poʕel 'et ha.midraħa (ha.boqer)
 fixed here the.worker OM the.sidewalk (this morning)
- c. *xatku šam kol ha.mapginim 'et ha.gader (ha.boqer)
 cut there all the.demonstrators OM the.fence (this.morning)

5. Licensing telicity with *locales*

In section 1 I noted that two puzzles, rather than one, are associated with presentational achievements. Not only are they the only cases in which post-verbal weak subjects are licit without an overt licenser of some kind, they are also exceptional in allowing a telic reading without a quantity internal argument. This last observation, we noted, is true both for the intransitive achievements in (48)-(49) above as well as for transitive achievements, as in (10)-(12) repeated here, in essence, as (56)-(57):

- 56.a. the prospectors discovered gold
 b. Alisha found oil
 c. The workers struck oil
 d. The bulldozer hit bedrock
 e. Mary noticed ink on her sleeve
 f. John spotted wildfowl (based on Mittwoch 1991)
- 57.a. Rina gilta zahab
 Rina discovered gold
 b. Rina mac'a matbexot yeqarim
 Rina found coins precious
 c. Nurit hitxila proyektim xadašim
 Nurit started projects new
 'Nurit started new projects'

We attributed the possibility of post-verbal subjects without an overt licenser in presentational intransitive achievements to the presence of a covert *locale*. It is, of course, possible that the emergence of telicity in presentational achievements, transitive and intransitive, is unrelated to this factor and that a different account must be sought for these distinct effects. Suppose, however, that the accounts *are* related, and that it is precisely the covert *locale* present in presentational achievements that makes not only existential closure of e_E possible, but also the emergence of a telic reading without a quantity argument. Effectively, the claim would then be that in both post-verbal intransitive cases with a non-quantity subject and in telic cases with a non-quantity (deep) object it is the covert *locale* that licenses ASP_Q , the node, by assumption, responsible for the emergence of telic reading (see section 3).

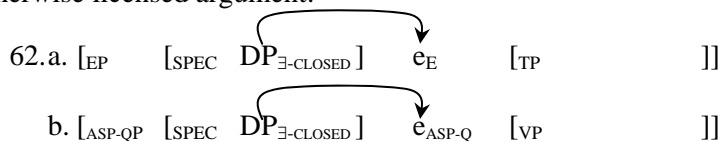
If true, now, we expect the same effects to be attested for overt *locales*. In other words, we expect cases which do not allow for a telic reading in the absence of a quantity internal argument, to allow such a reading when a *locale* is present. The prediction here, we note, is uni-directional. In a given language, in a given configuration, any given locative expression may license, effectively bind, e_E alone, it may license, effectively bind, ASP_Q alone, it may license, effectively bind, both, or it may

license neither, in this latter case being an existentially inert locative expression, not a *locale* altogether, by our terminology.

While the Hebrew facts which bear on the matter are subtle, for a significant number of speakers the expected effects *are* present, as illustrated by the contrast between the obligatorily atelic cases in (58),(60) and the possibly telic ones in (59),(61):²⁰

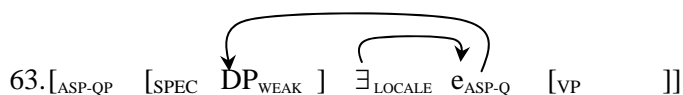
- 58.a. Michal katḇa širim (be-mešek šloša šabuʔot/*be-šloša šabuʔot)
 Michal wrote poems (during-three weeks/*in-three weeks)
- b. Rina šatla vradim (be-mešek šloša šabuʔot/*be-šloša šabuʔot)
 Rina planted roses (during-three weeks/*in-three weeks/*gradually)
- c. Ran limed šira ʔibrit (be-mešek šloša yamim/*be-šloša yamim)
 Ran taught poetry Hebrew (during-three days/*in-three days)
- 59.a. Michal katḇa kan širim (be-mešek šloša šabuʔot/be-šloša šabuʔot)
 Michal wrote there poems (during-three weeks/in-three weeks)
- b. Rina šatla eclenu vradim (be-mešek šaloš šaʔot/be-šaloš šaʔot)
 Rina planted chez.us roses (during-three hours/in-three hours)
- c. Ran limed šam šira ʔibrit (be-mešek šloša yamim/be-šloša yamim)
 Ran taught there poetry Hebrew (during-three days/in-three days)
- 60.a. Michal katḇa širim (*be-hadraga)
 Michal wrote poems (*gradually)
- b. Ran limed šira ʔibrit (*be-hadraga)
 Ran taught poetry Hebrew (*gradually)
- 61.a. Michal katḇa kan širim (be-hadraga)
 Michal wrote here poems (gradually)
- b. Ran limed šam šira ʔibrit (be-hadraga)
 Ran taught there poetry Hebrew (gradually)

I suggested that *locales* license post verbal weak subjects by binding e_E , thereby existentially closing the event. An existentially closed event, in turn, can bind its argument, thereby closing it existentially and effectively forcing it to be weak. Suppose we consider now a parallel situation for ASP_Q , proposing, specifically, that e_{ASP-Q} must be existentially closed, on a par with e_E . In the normal course of events, we note, both e_E and e_{ASP-Q} are existentially closed by their own, presumably otherwise licensed argument:



If, however, the argument is structurally prevented from existentially closing e a *locale* may, if present, bind it. A thus-bound e , in turn, binds its own argument, forcing it to be weak. For ASP_Q , such a state of affairs translates to the structure in (63):²¹

²⁰Although the contrasts reported here between (58),(60) on the one hand and (59),(61) on the other hand have been confirmed by numerous native speakers, they are clearly subtle, and do not hold for all speakers. For some, all utterances in (58)-(61) are interpreted as atelic, and the *locales* in them purely as locatives. In turn, the failure, in the functional lexicon of some speakers, to classify *locales* as potential binders for ASP_Q is neutral, relative to the availability of such an option in UG. The universal pervasiveness of telicity marking by means of locative particles is well attested (e.g., the locative source of Slavic perfective prefixes, the licensing of telicity by locative particles in Hungarian, and even in English, the telic function of particles such as *up* and *down* in *eat up*, *climb down*), thus at the very least establishing the general plausibility of the judgments reported by the relevant subset of speakers.



In the system developed in Borer (2005), a telic, quantity reading, emerges whenever ASP_Q is projected and licensed. Specifically, ASP_Q in that system is taken to be an event modifier of sorts, or in structural terms, a modifier of E, specifically turning E into a quantity E, that is, an event with quantifiable divisions. In turn, e_{ASP-Q}, by assumption the head of ASP_Q, is, like all heads of functional nodes, subject to licensing conditions. If our conclusions on the properties of *locales* are on the right track, they point to the existence of parallel licensing conditions which hold for heads of functional projections involved in the syntactic representation of events. It stands to reason that such syntactic parallelism is semantically grounded. The full articulation of such semantic grounding, however, must await future research.

6. Conclusion

Our starting paradigms presented us with a clustering of properties: a V-S order in a language that otherwise does not allow it; a weak subject in such configurations; a possibility of licensing, that very same order, with a locative expression; and finally, the attestation, in that very same paradigm, of telicity effects in contexts which normally bar them syntactically.

As it turned out, the account, using the distribution and the properties of *locales*, both overt and covert, as its anchoring point, emerged as capable of creating the almost conspiratorial confluence of these different properties. An event argument in need of existential closure in the absence of an (otherwise existentially closed) DP in its specifier had turned out to avail itself of such an existential closure through a *locale*. The cost, however, given the binding relations between e_E and its argument, was a necessarily weak subject. The extension of the system to the second event node, ASP_Q, turned out to yield a subset of the relevant properties: in the presence of a *locale* binder, telicity could emerge without a quantity object. The cost, however, was a weak (deep) object, bound in a Spec-Head configuration.

A number of matters were left for future study, primary among them the best way of characterizing the set of nodes which are subject to existential closure, and the semantic commonality between them. The study did establish, to our view conclusively, that to the extent that the event argument must be existentially bound, such binding is accomplished through locative expressions, *locales*, and not through temporal ones, thereby establishing the *prima facie* necessity for a propositional *locative* syntax, to take its rightful place, under future investigation, alongside that of the temporal one.

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²¹ At least in Hebrew, *locales* may not license ASP_Q without a DP in [Spec,ASP_QP] altogether, to wit, no telic reading is available for the paradigms in (15)-(16). As such, licensing ASP_Q through *locales* is different from classical cases such as *run to the store* where telicity is induced without a DP, or from cases of perfective, telic reading in Slavic without a direct object (and see also (32a)). Binding of e_E, on the other hand, was possible in the absence of an argument. This state of affairs raises the possibility that *locales* do not bind e_{ASP-Q} directly, but rather, bind the argument in [Spec, ASP_QP], which, in turn, binds e_{ASP-Q}. Either way, note, the licensing of telicity by *locales* requires not just existential closure, as in the case of e_E, but also the introduction of quantifiable divisions, as existential binding, alone, does not suffice to induce telicity (see Borer, 2005, for argumentation). In turn, the introduction of quantifiable divisions into a predicate by means of a locative expression is independently plausible. We set these matters aside for reasons of space.

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