

5 SYNTAX MEETS DISCOURSE: LOCATIVE AND DEICTIC  
(DIRECTIONAL) INVERSION IN ENGLISH

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ABSTRACT

15 This paper offers a formal analysis of three constructions in English: *locative inversion*,  
*central deictic inversion* and *directional inversion*. These constructions constitute thetic  
statements with a locative intentional base which sets a scene that (re)introduces an enti-  
ty in the discourse; syntactically, they display a non-canonical word order and have a  
20 number of unusual grammatical properties which make them particularly interesting to  
show how syntax connects, and adapts, to discourse. I propose that they all obtain from a  
language particular mechanism which involves a functional category LocP that adjusts  
the computational requirement to have a preverbal subject to the intentional need to have  
the subject post-verbally. As for the differences among them, they are approached in  
25 terms of the features that head LocP and the lexical properties of the verbs that head  
each of the structures. Ultimately, the paper also serves to discuss the role of certain in-  
formational features (the so-called *core intentional features*) in the syntactic derivation.

30 KEYWORDS: Locative inversion; central deictic inversion; directional inversion; thetic  
statement; syntax–discourse interface; core intentional feature.

1. Introduction<sup>1</sup>

35 The syntax of a sentence, particularly word order, is not only conditioned by the  
formal features which encode the grammatical information that glues the differ-

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ent constituents together, but also by certain informational features that essentially mark what is taken to be *old* and *new* information in the clause.<sup>2</sup> The notions *old* and *new* can be defined not only pragmatically, that is, in accordance with a given linguistic context, but also relationally (i.e. sentence internally).

40 Under this relational approach, a constituent X (for example *Susan*) is *old* information in relation to Y (*has married Peter*) in the sense that X is outside the scope of what is predicated in Y and constitutes its point of departure. And Y is *new* in relation to X in the sense that it is the information asserted about X (cf. Gundel and Fretheim 2005: 176).

45 The informational status of a proposition, in both context-dependent and context-free sentences, is therefore contingent on what is taken to be the point of departure of that proposition, its *intentional base*, and on what is the (new) information asserted about that intentional base. After the seminal work of the philosophers Brentano and Marti at the end of the 19th century, two basic types  
50 of statements are recognized in this respect: categorical andthetic statements (cf. Sasse 1987 and references therein for details). Categorical statements represent the classical bipartite subject-predicate structure of a judgment and they are said to comprise two successive acts: an entity is named (i.e. the intentional base is a referential nominal category) and something is predicated about that entity.  
55 On the contrary,thetic statements are event-reporting, that is, single intentionally-structured complexes which merely express a state of affairs located in some spatio-temporal coordinates; their intentional base is thus a locative constituent of some sort.

This paper offers a formal account of the syntactic means available in English  
60 to organize a sentence so that it constitutes athetic statement, that is, a statement where a locative phrase constitutes the point of departure intentionally and the subject remains VP-internally to form an unstructured informational package with the event.<sup>3</sup> The sentence thus organized displays a non-canonical word order which must arguably follow from some well-defined language inter-  
65 nal mechanism. In Section 2, I present the theoretical bases which justify the existence of a syntactic mechanism of this sort, capitalizing on two notions which

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<sup>2</sup> Informational concepts have customarily been surrounded by certain terminological indeterminacy, and therefore I use the terms *new* and *old* here in a broad sense here. For some theory-based accounts of these notions see, among others, Reinhart (1981), Vallduví (1992), Casielles (2004), Gundel and Fretheim (2005), López (2009), Breul (2004), Gupton (2010) and references therein.

<sup>3</sup> In this paper, the term *subject* is used to refer to the DP which displays some morphological agreement with the inflected verb, even if inflectional morphology is rather scarce as in the case of English. The subject thus understood normally sits in Spec-TP (the so-called *canonical subject position*) but may remain VP-internally inthetic statements.

are crucial to understand the structure and the intentional reading ofthetic sentences: location and deixis. In Section 3, I show how the analysis provided serves to account for the properties of *locative inversion*, *central deictic inversion* and *directional inversion*, constructions which are quite often grouped together in the grammatical description but which display interesting differences. Section 4 offers some conclusions.

## 75 2. Theoretical background

The current version of generative grammar, the Minimalist Program, assumes that the human capacity for language is genetically encoded in a computational system whose central operation is *merge*. Merge constructs syntactic objects by combining lexical elements under selection restrictions (*external merge*) or yields displacements through the merging of a constituent to an already existing syntactic object (*internal merge*). All merge operations are driven by *edge features* (EFs) and the fundamental difference between external merge and internal merge in Chomsky's (2008) system reduces to a difference between phase heads and non-phase heads with regard to EFs. In short, EFs on non-phase heads drive external merge, while EFs on phase heads drive internal merge (i.e. movement). In Chomsky's static approach to phases, only CP and v\*P are phases; TP is not, but it can inherit EFs from C, thus becoming a probe for internal merge.

Another basic tenet of the Minimalist Program is that the computational system generates hierarchically structured expressions which are transferred for interpretation to two interfaces: the sensory-motor system and the conceptual-intentional system. The linguistic objects obtained from the computational system must then be phonologically, conceptually and intentionally convergent. Focusing on this latter aspect, the implication is that sentences must be intentionally adequate even if they are not integrated in a particular communicative situation, that is, even if considered in isolation. This is why I have proposed elsewhere (cf. Ojea 2017, 2019) that some informational features have the same status in the derivation than formal or semantic features, all of them cooperating to obtain a fully convergent (structurally, semantically and intentionally) object. I have termed these obligatory informational features *core intentional features* (CIFs), and they differ from pragmatic features, such as *topic* or *focus*, in a significant way. Pragmatic features are part of our pragmatic competence and they serve to accommodate the different constituents to a particular communicative situation; they are therefore optional and enter the derivation only when sentences are in context (cf. Zubizarreta 1998 and López 2009 for some

specific proposals on how pragmatic features are introduced in the derivation). On the contrary, CIFs pertain to our grammatical competence: they are UG features and, as such, obligatorily present in the relevant functional projections to drive the derivation so that it constitutes a legible object at the intentional interface. As I will show below, these two types of informational features interact in an interesting way in pragmatically-annotated sentences.

One of the core intentional features which plays a crucial role in connecting the computational system with the intentional interface is [DI] (*discourse intention*). [DI] marks the discourse intention of the proposition so that a double/single judgement obtains, that is, it organizes the information structure to make it fit one of the two points of view from which, as argued above, a state of affairs can necessarily be regarded: as a categorial or as a thetic statement.<sup>4</sup> As it determines the intentional interpretation of the sentence, [DI] sits in the outer phase, C, which is then the locus of the formal features which eventually arrange the constituents of the sentence under agreement, and of the core intentional feature which allows the proposition to be legible at the intentional interface. I assume, in this respect, the proposal in Jiménez-Fernández and Miyagawa (2014), who classify languages in terms of which of these features are inherited by T:<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Positing an obligatory [DI] feature implies that the intentional reading of a sentence (i.e. whether it constitutes a categorial or a thetic expression) can be defined directly on syntactic structures in the absence of particular communicative situations (cf. Sasse 1987 for a similar view). In this, I depart from the standard view which associates theticity with broad-focus sentences, that is, context-dependent sentences interpreted as answers to a question of the type *What has happened?* It also differs from discourse-based articulations of the sentence where the categorial/thetic distinction is associated with the existence of a topic of a given type: an individual topic in the case of categorial statements or a stage-topic in the case of thetic statements (cf. Erteschik-Shir 1997; Breul 2004, among others). In both cases the intentional status of the sentence is associated with some informational partition which is contextual in nature, whereas my proposal implies that there can be a correspondence between the syntactic structure and the intentional structure of a sentence even in those cases when the sentence is context-free (see below for the case of Spanish, a clear example of this).

<sup>5</sup> For simplicity, I am restricting here to the dual opposition agreement/discourse prominent languages, but the original proposal in Jiménez-Fernández and Miyagawa (2014) opens up four parametric possibilities which have been explored in a number of papers (see, among others, Miyagawa 2017, Jiménez-Fernández 2018, and references therein):

- (1) Languages where only agreement features are lowered into T: English and most Indo-European languages.
- (2) Languages where only discourse features are lowered into T: Japanese, Korean...
- (3) Languages where both, agreement features and discourse features, are lowered into T: Spanish, Turkish, Greek...
- (4) Languages where neither agreement nor discourse features are lowered into T: Dinka.

- 125 (1a) Agreement prominent languages: the agreement features of C are inherited by T.  
 (1b) Discourse prominent languages: the core intentional feature in C is inherited by T.

130 The case of discourse prominent languages is particularly interesting because it clearly shows the effect that the core intentional feature [DI] has on syntactic structure. In languages of this type, such as, for example, Spanish, the feature [DI] is inherited by T, i.e. it is an EPP feature which must therefore probe an adequate goal and target it into Spec-TP.<sup>6</sup> As argued above, [DI] serves to establish  
 135 the point of departure of the proposition: an entity or a spatio-temporal setting. Therefore, it must be valued by a) a syntactic category that embodies an entity: a referential DP or b) a syntactic category that embodies a location: a locative phrase. Given that [DI] is an UG feature, this process of valuation is subject to standard economy requirements.

140 In unmarked (context-free) sentences, valuation of [DI] is strictly regulated by the computational mechanism, only attending to the particular output of external merge. As expected, economy is measured here in terms of computational efficiency and structural locality and, therefore, the category hosting [DI] will target the closest DP or locative constituent in its c-command domain to be the  
 145 intentional base. In languages such as Spanish, [DI] is in T and therefore T will target the external argument (if any) into Spec-TP, given that the external argument is the most prominent argument in the VP and thus structurally closer to T than all the others:<sup>7</sup>

- 150 (2)  $[_{CP} [_{TP} [_{DI}] [_{DP/PP}]_i V [_{V^*P} [_{DP/PP}]_i \cancel{V} [_{VP} \cancel{V} \dots$
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155 This is why agentive verbs (i.e. verbs which have a DP external argument) unmarkedly head SV structures in Spanish canonical sentences (3), whereas impersonal verbs, which have a PP external argument (cf. Fernández-Soriano 1990

<sup>6</sup> I use the term EPP feature in its restricted (and initial) sense: the edge feature inherited by T which forces movement of a constituent into Spec-TP.

<sup>7</sup> Following standard analyses, I assume that the verbal phrase is hierarchically organized in terms of thematic prominence, with the external argument projected in the specifier of a light v\*P (as the most prominent thematically). As is common practice, strike-through in (2) represents overt movement.

for an exhaustive description of these verbs), unmarkedly appear in PPVS configurations (4). Interestingly, both orders are possible in Spanish in canonical sentences with unaccusative verbs, since they lack an external argument and, therefore, their internal arguments are equidistant to T (5).<sup>8</sup>

- 160
- (3a) Mi hermano almacenó sus posesiones  
my brother store-PST.3SG his possessions  
en el garage durante un año.  
in the garage for a year
- (3b) \*En el garaje almacenó mi hermano  
in the garage store-PST.3SG my brother  
sus posesiones durante un año.  
his possessions for a year
- 165
- ‘My brother kept his belongings in the garage for a year.’
- (4a) En la mesa del fondo faltan los cubiertos de postre.  
in the table of the back lack-PRS.3PL the cutlery of dessert
- (4b) \*Los cubiertos de postre faltan en la mesa del fondo.  
the cutlery of dessert lack-PRS.3PL in the table of the back
- 170
- ‘The dessert cutlery set is missing in the back table.’
- (5a) Los rosales florecen en primavera.  
the rosebushes flourish-PRS.3PL in spring
- (5b) En primavera florecen los rosales.  
in spring flourish-PRS.3PL the rosebushes
- 175
- ‘Rosebushes flourish in spring.’

When the sentence is in a particular communicative situation, though, economy is measured in terms of interface economy (cf. Reinhart 2006): the category

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<sup>8</sup> On unaccusative verbs, see, among others, Perlmutter (1978), Burzio (1986) and Levin and Rapaport (1995).

180 hosting [DI] will probe the pragmatically most prominent DP or locative phrase  
 in the sentence. As is standardly assumed, in context-integrated sentences the  
 output of syntax is annotated for topic and focus features. I have argued else-  
 where that pragmatic prominence can be defined in terms of explicit connection  
 with the *common ground* (i.e. the information shared at a given point by the par-  
 185 ticipants in the communicative exchange). In line with Frascarelli and Hinter-  
 hözl (2007), Bianchi and Frascarelli (2010) and related work, one may distin-  
 guish three (main) types of topics in this respect: Aboutness-(Shift) topics,  
 which provide an instruction to update the common ground; Contrastive topics,  
 which induce alternatives that create oppositional pairs with respect to other  
 topics; and Given topics, which retrieve information already present in the  
 190 common ground. Of these three, Given topics can be understood as the most  
 prominent pragmatically, since they are contextually entailed and do not affect  
 the conversational dynamics (as opposed to Aboutness-Shift topics or Contraste-  
 tive topics, which mark conversational moves). This is why in Spanish a struc-  
 turally non-prominent DP or locative constituent can be the **intentional base**  
**provided** it is a Given topic that is perceived as an indispensable element to re-  
 195 activate some referent in the near discourse (see Ojea 2019 for details). This is  
 clearly obtained when the constituent is discourse-linked through some deictic  
 mechanism; compare in this respect (3b) with (6), where the deictic demonstra-  
 tive *esa* ‘that’ allows a non-prominent locative to act as the intentional base and  
 forces the external argument (the DP subject *mi hermano* ‘my brother’) to re-  
 200 main **post-verbally**.

- (6) En ese garage almacenó mi hermano  
 in that garage store-PST.3SG my brother  
 sus posesiones durante un año.  
 his possessions for a year

‘In that garage my brother kept his belongings for a year.’

205 Therefore, deixis plays a role in the selection of the intentional base when the  
 sentence is in context and thus it also contributes to final word order in Spanish.  
 As I will show in section 3, this also holds in a parametrically different language  
 such as English.

210 Contrary to Spanish, English is agreement prominent and T only inherits  
 agreement features from C. This forces a DP bearing person and number fea-  
 tures into Spec-TP, irrespectively of its structural prominence, and this means

that the unmarked order will always be SV. As for the feature [DI], it remains in C and must be accessed at the interfaces. In particular, it is unmarkedly valued at the phonological component, and intonation has the same function here than word order in discourse prominent languages such as Spanish above: categorical statements standardly have two pitch accents (one on the subject and another one on the predicate), something which reflects their intentionally bipartite structure; as for thetic statements, they just have one pitch accent on the subject, thus reflecting the informational unit that this argument forms with the verb. Significantly, and similarly to the case of Spanish, one finds a strong correlation between the argumental structure of a verb and the intentional structure of the sentence it heads: in general, sentences whose verbal predicate has an external argument have two pitch accents (i.e. express double judgements), while sentences with unaccusative verbs have just one and express thetic statements (cf. Sasse 1987, from whom examples (7) and (8) *have been taken*).

(7) HARry is SINGing.

(8) HARry is coming.

The fact that unaccusative verbs are productively used in thetic expressions no doubt is connected with the meaning they have, since many of them simply express the appearance, existence or change of location of a particular entity at a particular place or time. Not surprisingly, then, these verbs also appear in certain constructions which markedly employ syntactic means to convey non-predicative statements.

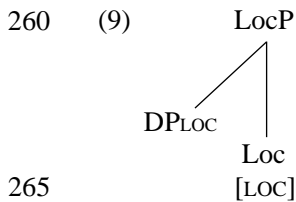
### 3. The syntactic expression of theticity in English: the category LocP

The assumptions made so far implies that in languages such as English – where word order is determined by formal features and [DI] remains in C – the expression of thetic statements with syntactic means constitutes a computationally costly operation which can only obtain for reasons of interface economy and is therefore heavily context-dependent.

In particular, I have proposed that it involves implementing the syntactic structure with a functional category LocP, which can be merged with the verbal phrase when the context forces the expression of a state of affairs located in some spatio-temporal coordinates (see Ojea *forthcoming*). Therefore, LocP only projects with verbs that serve to set a scene and do not imply any kind of agen-



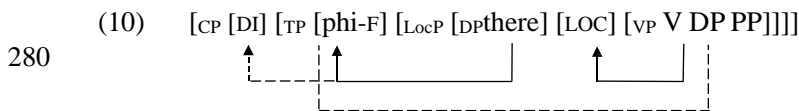
255 tivity, that is, with semantically and/or informationally light verbs; its head feature [LOC], which encodes its presentational function, further restricts this class of verbs to those whose meaning includes some locative component that may value this feature under agreement. Besides, LocP also hosts in its specifier a (c)overt locative DP expletive which marks the setting function of the category and which, as I will show below, crucially allows the DP subject to remain low in the VP forming an informational unit with the **predicate**.



270 The overt realization of the expletive in Spec-LocP in English is *there*. Expletive *there* has traditionally been understood as a category merged in TP to satisfy the formal EPP features in T (cf. Emonds 1976; Stowell 1978; Burzio 1986; Lasnik 1995; and Chomsky 1995, among others). Recent analyses have argued, though, for a low merge position of *there* in a non-thematic functional projection connected to certain types of verbs (cf. Deal 2009; Irwin 2012 and references therein). I also take this view and assume that *there* originates in the specifier of LocP, the category which codifies a reading where the clause is just intended to convey a state of affairs located in place/time.

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The (simplified) derivation of a sentence which projects LocP will then involve the following steps:<sup>9</sup>



285 First, the verb raises to LocP and values the feature [LOC]. Then T searches for a phi-set, comes across expletive *there* as the closest goal and targets it into TP to value the EPP feature there, that is, it places it in the canonical subject position:

<sup>9</sup> For simplicity, in what follows I use derivations which only mark the overt/covert mechanisms of valuation of the relevant features; valuation through i-merge (i.e. overt displacement) is represented with continuous arrows and valuation through agreement is represented with discontinuous arrows.

- (11) There arose an unexpected hope inside of her.  
 (12) There remain some typos in the document.  
 (13) There arrived some unexpected visitors at the gathering.

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Since *there* only has a partial set of phi-features (i.e. the feature *person*), T continues probing for a more remote goal, the DP subject, on which it values the feature *number*, thus inducing morphological agreement; as a reflex, it also checks the Case feature of the DP (cf. Abe 2018):

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- (14a) There exists a close bond between them.  
 (14b) There exist close bonds between them.

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The expletive *there* in LocP therefore allows the DP subject to remain inside the VP, communicatively fused with the verb. As standardly assumed, *there* and the DP form an interpretative chain and *there* imposes a definiteness effect on its DP associate:<sup>10</sup>

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- (15a) There remain some typos in the document.  
 (15b) \*There remains the same mistake in the document.

Finally, the lexical expletive *there* in Spec-TP values the core intentional feature [DI] in C through agreement (i.e. [DI] is valued by a locative category, a thetic statement following).

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The category LocP therefore serves a double purpose: it provides for a locative intentional base when communicatively needed, and it permits a derivation where the requirement to keep the DP subject structurally low, to form an informational unit with the light predicate, does not conflict with the computational requirement which would force that DP to value the formal features in T. I will then entertain the idea here that LocP is also involved in all the other constructions in English which serve the same purpose (i.e. to set a scene and (re)introduce some referent), and which, accordingly, will be structurally different from canonical statements. This is the case of *locative inversion* (LI) and also of *central deictic inversion* and *directional inversion*, constructions traditionally assimilated to LI but which, as I will show below, are different from it in many interesting respects.

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<sup>10</sup> Since Milsark (1977) the term *definiteness effect* has been used to refer to the restrictions found in certain sentence positions where definite DPs are excluded; these restrictions have mainly been observed in existential and unaccusative constructions.

## 3.1. Locative inversion in English

325 Locative inversion has been acknowledged to exhibit the highest unusual combination of grammatical properties in English (cf. Webelhuth 2011); in particular:

(a) not all predicates can appear in the construction; together with the copula *be*, LI can be headed by the same verbs which are possible with presentational *there*, that is, unaccusative verbs expressing appearance, as in (16),  
330 existence (17) or inherently directed motion (18):

(16) In the doorway appeared a mysterious man.

335 (17) Between them exists a close bond.

(18) At the gathering arrived some unexpected visitors.

(b) unergative (non-unaccusative) verbs with a locative reading are possible  
340 too, provided they have been pragmatically emptied of their agentive meaning and do not contribute relevant information in the discourse (cf. among others, Coopmans 1989; Hoekstra and Mulder 1990; Levin and Rappaport 1995; and Kay and Michaelis 2017, from whom examples (19) and (20) have been taken):

345 (19) In the bed was sleeping a young woman with long, dark hair.

(20) Under the tree were playing a group of dirty children.

350 (c) LI displays a non-canonical VS order, but the post-verbal DP still agrees with the verbal predicate:

(21a) In the distance glows a faint light.

(21b) In the distance glow some faint lights.

355 (d) this DP subject unmarkedly appears closer to the verb than adverbial modifiers, which shows that it has not been extraposed but remains in its underlying position in the VP throughout the derivation (cf. Kathol and Levine 1992):

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- (22) In front of us walked Dana proudly.
- (23) Outside the door sat a young man uncomfortably.
- 365 (e) even though the standard label of the construction presupposes some sort of inversion, this inversion is exceptional in itself: it excludes *do*-support and the subject is placed after the main verb in analytical forms:
- (24) \*In front of us did Dana walk proudly.
- 370 (25) \*Among the guests was Rose sitting.
- (f) The locative PP may be argumental as in (16–18), or not, as (19) and (20) show; in general, examples with non-argumental locatives are rather frequent:<sup>11</sup>
- 375 (26) In Maria's sticky hand melted a chocolate-chip ice-cream cone.
- (27) In the distance glowed the lights of a small town.
- 380 (g) The locative PP standardly sets a spatial location, but it may also set a temporal location (cf. De Wit 2016; and Kay and Michaelis 2017, from whom examples (28–30) have been taken):
- 385 (28) Tomorrow will arrive the new collection.
- (29) Then arose a mighty chorus.
- (30) Now comes the good part.
- 390 (h) the predicate in the construction cannot be negated (cf. Aissen 1975; Bresnan 1994; Chen 2003; Webelhuth 2011):
- (31) \*On the wall did not hung a picture of his parents.

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<sup>11</sup> Example (26) is attested in Birner and Ward (1998: 193) and example (27) in Kay and Michaelis (2017: 7). In her seminal work on the issue, Bresnan (1994: 80) states that locative inversion can just occur when the subject is interpreted as the argument predicated of another argument of the verb which expresses the location, change of location or direction. These and other examples in this paper show that this strong requirement does not necessarily hold in all cases.

- 395 (i) though the postverbal DP tends to be indefinite, it is not subject to a defi-  
niteness restriction (cf. (22), (27), (28) and (30)); it can never be an ana-  
phoric pronoun, though:

400 (32) \*Among the guest was sitting her.

The first restrictions (i.e. the type of predicate which can head the construction and the postverbal position of the DP subject), together with the type of reading that LI conveys, clearly associates this construction with the presentational *there*-construction analysed above. I will then assume that both obtain from the same underlying structure, the only difference being that the DP expletive in the specifier of LocP is lexical in the case of *there*-sentences but covert in the case of LI.<sup>12</sup> In LI, then, T targets the non-lexical expletive into TP and values the feature *person* on it (the rest of the phi-features being valued on the DP in VP). Since the expletive is non-lexical, though, it does not have the referential features required to be an intentional base and it cannot value [DI]; therefore, the locative PP is targeted to CP for the purpose:

415 (33) [CP [DI] [TP [phi-F] [LocP [DPexpl] [LOC] [VP V DP PP]]]]

All the properties of LI follow from the analysis in (33) in a principled way. Properties (a–e) have to do with the selection restrictions of LocP and with the type of derivation involved in the construction, a process which allows the subject to remain in its underlying position while still valuing the phi-features that the expletive targeted to TP lacks. As for properties (f) and (g), they follow from the interpretative role of the PP in LI: it is the setting expression that values [DI] (i.e. the intentional base) and thus constitutes the point of departure of a proposition which locates a state of affairs in place or time to then (re)introduce some participant in the scene.<sup>13</sup> Therefore, any constituent which serves to locate the predicate, either spatially or temporally, may be targeted to C and value [DI],

<sup>12</sup> Postal (1977) was the first to suggest that LI involves the presence of a covert expletive. See also Coopmans (1989), Hoekstra and Mulder (1990), Postal (2004), Chomsky (2008) and Bruening (2010), among others, for proposals along these lines.

<sup>13</sup> As Kay and Michaelis (2017) note, LI resembles in this respect what Langacker (1993) calls a *reference-point construction*, that is, a construction which provides a point of access within a conceptual network that includes both a setting expression and the entity of interest.

independently of its thematic connection with that predicate. This in turn contradicts another frequently assumed stance on LI: that the construction is possible because the locative phrase and the DP subject are sufficiently close to each other within the VP, i.e. are structurally equidistant from the relevant probe (cf. Chomsky 1995; Ura 1996; Collins 1997; Rizzi and Shlonsky 2006; and Diercks 2017, among others). This structural restriction would be rather unnatural if one assumes, as I do here, that the locative moves into CP (i.e. that LI is an instance of non-argumental movement). Besides, it clearly does not hold in cases such as (19), (20), (22), (23), (26–30) above, where the locative/temporal adjuncts are not structurally at the same level than the DP. My analysis, on the contrary, correctly predicts these sentences to be grammatical because it posits that the construction is only restricted in terms of the verbs which can be merged with LocP, **that is verbs** which are semantically or informationally light and have a locative component in their conceptual structure.

Finally, properties (h) and (i), namely the ban on negation and on anaphoric pronouns, are related to thethetic reading of the construction, whose goal is to set a scene, a clearly affirmative communicative strategy, and to (re)introduce a referent, which must then be “newer” informationally than the intentional base, a point expressed by Birner (1996: 90) in her well-known *relative familiarity constraint* on LI.

The analysis in (33) differs from standard approaches to LI in another important standpoint: it assumes that the locative PP does not enter Spec-TP on its way to CP (cf. Stowell 1981; Bresnan 1994; Collins 1997; Culicover and Levine 2001; Rizzi and Shlonsky 2006, among others, for a view where, at some point of the derivation, the locative sits in the canonical subject position; most of them admit, though, that it eventually lands in CP). In the derivation I propose **here the locative PP** moves directly into CP, a movement motivated by the need to value the core intentional feature [DI], which remains in C in English.<sup>14</sup> The relationship of the locative PP with Spec-TP is therefore indirect, subsidiary to the null expletive in that position. One of the advantages of an analysis of this sort is that it accounts for the fact that LI can coexist with expletive *there* in the construction:<sup>15</sup>

<sup>14</sup> My analysis predicts that only in discourse prominent languages, where [DI] is inherited by T, will the locative sit in Spec-TP in LI; see Ojea (2019) for empirical evidence of this in Spanish, Italian, Brazilian Portuguese and Romanian.

<sup>15</sup> Rather significantly, the presence of the lexical expletive *there* in Spec-TP imposes a definiteness effect on the DP subject which does not hold in standard cases of LI, where the expletive is covert (cf. Postal 2004: 31):

(i) \*In the closet there still sat Fido.

460 (34) In the doorway there appeared a mysterious man.

(35) Between them there exists a close bond.

465 In these cases, *there* is taken to Spec-TP to value the *person* feature, thus allowing the DP to remain in the VP and form an informational unit with the verb. As we saw in the case of presentational *there*-sentences, the lexical expletive could value [DI] from that position, but in sentences (34) and (35) a double strategy has been used instead: *there* only values the formal feature *person* in T and the locative phrase moves to CP to value [DI]. Whatever intentional effect is obtained  
470 with this double strategy it is evident that a first-step movement of the locative PP into Spec-TP in LI would block the presence of the expletive in that position, contrary to fact.

In English, together with the presentational statements just described, one can also findthetic expressions in which the speaker marks a direction and points at it to bring the attention to an entity related to that direction. These deictic (i.e. pointing) constructions can be of two types: the so-called *central deictic construction* (cf. Lakoff 1987) as in (36), and sentences such as (37), resulting from a process of what has been termed *directional inversion*:

480 (36a) Here comes the bus.

(36b) There goes John's old tutor.

(37a) Away ran Harry.

(37b) Up jumped the cat.

485 For convenience I use the term *deictic (directional) inversion* (DDI) to refer to the two of them, since they share a deictic reading that explains some of their structural peculiarities. Next section I provide an explicit analysis of these constructions which accounts for their properties and for the similarities and differences which they have with locative inversion.  
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### 3.2. Deictic inversion in English

495 As argued, the syntactic expression of theticity in English relies on the projection of a category LocP which frames the predicate and allows the DP subject to

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(ii) In the closet still sat Fido.

remain VP-internally to form an intentional unit with that predicate. Deictic inversion also serves to introduce an entity into a scene (i.e. to convey a non-predicative statement) and, therefore, the constructions involved share this locative functional category with presentational sentences, something which explains why LI and DDI have so much in common both structurally and intentionally. I propose that they differ in that the latter adds a [PATH] feature to the [LOC] feature which heads LocP; as I will show below, this, together with the semantic properties of the predicates that head them, explains some of their syntactic differences:

	(38a) Presentationalthetic statements	(38b) Deicticthetic statements
	LocP	LocP
510	Loc	Loc
	[LOC]	[LOC]
		[PATH]

Central deictic inversion is headed by the unaccusative verbs *come* and *go* (examples taken from Lakoff 1987):

- (39a) Here comes Mary.  
 (39b) Here comes a bus.  
 (39c) Here comes Max with his new girlfriend.
- 520
- (40a) There goes Mary.  
 (40b) There goes a fly.  
 (40c) There goes a beautiful car.

525 Both *come* and *go* are verbs of inherently directed motion. As standardly assumed, lexical verbs of this type encode Path in their semantics and select as their complement a complex directional PP with a locative component.<sup>16</sup> There-

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<sup>16</sup> Motion verbs have been the subject of a fair amount of semantic investigation. From seminal works in conceptual semantics (cf. Jackendoff 1990 and subsequent work), these verbs have been said to involve the following components in their meanings:

[<sub>EVENT</sub> GO ([THING], [PATH])] ]

In turn, the PATH component has also been standardly treated as lexically complex in the relevant literature, with a locative component embedded under PATH:

[<sub>PATH</sub> TO/FROM ([PLACE])] ]



fore, these verbs have both a locative and a Path component which serve to value the corresponding features in the head of LocP:

530

(41) [CP [DI] [TP [phi-F] [LocP [DPexpl] [LOC] [PATH] [VP V DP here/there ]]]]



535

As represented in (41), the expletive which serves as the local goal to probe some of the relevant features in T in these constructions is always non-lexical, given that English does not possess a lexical expletive with a path reading (the lexical expletive *there* can only be read as presentational). Therefore, contrary to the case in LI (cf. (34) and (35)), sentences such (42) and (43) are non-existent in English:

540

(42) \*Here there comes the bus.

545

(43) \*There there goes Harry.

550

Note that *there* in the examples in (40) is a referential expression which should not be confused with expletive *there* in the presentational sentences analyzed above. To start with, deictic *there* in (40) is stressed while expletive *there* is weak. They also occupy different positions in the derivation, which results in different syntactic possibilities. For example, expletive *there* ends up in Spec-TP, where it values the formal feature *person*; it may then appear in raising structures which involve cyclic argumental movement into this position (cf. 44a). On the contrary, deictic *there* is the intentional base which values [DI] in CP and, as argued, it does not enter Spec-TP on its way to CP; accordingly, it is impossible in these constructions (44b).

555

(44a) There seems to have arrived some unexpected visitors.

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Therefore, as opposed to the case verbs of existence or appearance, the meaning of verbs of inherently directed motion involves the two lexical components required to value the (unordered) head features [PATH] and [PLACE] in (38b).

As for the syntactic encoding of the component PATH in these verbs, directional prepositional phrases have also been treated as structurally complex, with a LocP embedded under a PathP (cf. Koopman 2002, Den Dikken 2010 and references therein). Verbs of inherently directed motion may simply express overtly the embedded locative component of Path and this is what allows them to appear in LI structures as well.

560 (44b) \*There seems to have gone Harry.

For the same reason, expletive *there*, which sits in Spec-TP, is compatible with all clauses, i.e. it is not a root phenomenon (45a). Deictic *there*, on the contrary, is banned in non-root clauses (45b).<sup>17</sup>

565 (45a) The fact that there arrived some unexpected visitors disturbed me.  
 (45b) \*The fact that there goes a fly disturbs me.

570 Finally, expletive *there* imposes a definiteness constraint on the DP subject (cf. 15b repeated here as (46a)), a restriction which does not hold in the case of deictic *there* because this is not structurally connected with the subject position (46b).

(46a) \*There remains the same mistake in the document.  
 (46b) There comes the same bus again.  
 575

Given the intentional structure of the statement, though, and similarly to what was the case in LI, anaphoric pronouns are ruled out in central deictic inversion too (cf. (32), repeated here as (47a)).

580 (47a) \*Among the guest was sitting her.  
 (47b) \*There / Here comes he.

585 In central deictic inversion, then, a verb of inherently directed motion (tagged both for Path and Location) values the corresponding features in LocP, and a non-lexical expletive is targeted into Spec-TP to value the EPP feature there. Being null, the expletive cannot value [DI] in C and, as a result, the intentional base must be lexical, exactly the situation found in LI. Central deictic inversion

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<sup>17</sup> For a discussion of root phenomena see, among others, Emonds (1976), (2004), Hooper and Thompson (1973), Haegeman (2002), Heycock (2006), Bianchi and Frascarelli (2010) and Jiménez-Fernández (2018). LI and DDI constructions are clearly banned from non-root contexts, that is, from clauses which are not endowed with assertive force, such as (45b). An anonymous reviewer points out, though, that they may even be forbidden in (some) root-like indirect discourse embedded clauses (i.e. RIDES, in Emonds 2004 terminology). In other words, LI and DDI may be more restricted structurally than other types of root phenomena such as topicalization, left dislocation or negative preposing, and one should therefore explore which discourse conditions rule out the possibility to have a locative intentional base in these root-like contexts. I leave this issue open for further investigation.

differs from LI in this respect in that the intentional base is restricted to *here* and *there*. This restriction follows from the lexical peculiarities of the verb that heads the construction and the communicative intention which is pursued with it. Unaccusatives *come* and *go* differ from the rest of the verbs in the same class (such as *arrive*, *fall*, *leave*...) in that they have a clear deictic reading, since they signal a path towards the speaker (*come*) or away from the speaker (*go*). And it is this deictic component that the intentional base encodes in the construction, which thus serves to point at some proximal location (*here*), associated with the path towards the speaker in the case of *come*, or some distal location (*there*), associated with the path away from the speaker in the case of *go*. With *here/there* as the intentional base, the construction is still compatible with the expression of some other specific direction in the VP (examples taken from Lakoff 1987):

600

(48) Here comes a bus into the terminal.

(49) There goes a fly into your soup.

605

Another interesting particularity of central deictic inversion is that it precludes the use of progressive forms:

(50) Here comes / \*is coming Harry.

610

This also has to do with the intentional nature and the deictic character of the construction: the sentence is not intended to convey a process of motion in progress (as progressive forms mark) but an act of pointing, simultaneous with the time of speech.<sup>18</sup> This is why, incidentally, the present simple here does not have the habitual/generic reading currently associated with this form, but shows the attestation of a motion (Lakoff 1987: 471):

615

(51) \*Here comes Harry from time to time.

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Central deictic inversion then serves to point at some location, proximal or distal to the speaker, and to bring the attention to an entity within sight. As Webelhuth (2011: 91) points out, this eventually results in the reader/listener being

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<sup>18</sup> Most frequently, the act of pointing is simultaneous with the time of speech, but, as noted by Kay and Michaelis (2017: 20), it can also be simultaneous with some past reference:

(i) I looked, and here came a white horse!

(ii) There went Dr. and Mrs. Sorabjee, leaving little Amy alone at their table.

more actively involved in the communicative situation than in the case of LI, a reading crucially facilitated by the deictic nature of *come* and *go*.<sup>19</sup>

625 The verb *come* can also appear in the so-called directional inversion, a construction which has been traditionally assimilated to LI, but where the intentional base is a PP which expresses path:

(52) Out of the house came a sad-looking woman.

630 (53) Into the room came a priest.

This is clearly predicted by the derivation in (41) since, as argued, *come* is a verb of inherently directed motion that encodes Path in its semantics and can then value the [PATH] and the [LOC] features in LocP. Interestingly, in English  
635 there are also instances of directional inversion with manner of motion verbs:<sup>20</sup>

(54) In walked the cat.

640 (55) Away ran Harry.

(56) Up popped a mole.

(57) Toward me lurched a drunk.

645 Manner of motion verbs, unlike verbs of inherently directed motion, do not include a Path component in their lexical specification; nevertheless, they can appear in goal of motion structures such as those in (54–57). The standard explanation for this is that, in English, there is a compositional analysis of manner and motion within the verbal phrase along the lines in (58).<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> An anonymous reviewer suggests that the particular role of the addressee in constructions of this sort could be structurally accounted for within a Speech Act projection above CP (along the lines in Speas and Tenny 2003). This is an interesting point which I leave for further research but whose implementation has no effect in the core aspects of the analysis defended here.

<sup>20</sup> Examples (54–56) have been taken from Lakoff (1987: 504) and example (57) from Bresnan (1994:78).

<sup>21</sup> The PPpath in (58) is a short-hand notation for the complex PP structure of directional phrases. Note that manner of motion verbs are unergative and have an agent in their thematic structure (i.e. they are not light, a strong requirement inthetic statements), but the compositional rule in (58) serves to unaccusativize them in the relevant sense. In this respect, it is significant that in languages such as Italian the manner of motion verbs which are combined with a goal denoting PP in

650 (58) [V *walk* [V ‘come’/‘go’ [PP<sub>path</sub> *in* ]]]

As (58) shows, the manner of motion verb *walk* merges with an empty verbal head with the semantics of *come/go* (i.e. a light verb of directed motion), whose complement is the directional PP (cf. Mateu 2002; Zubizarreta and Oh 2007; 655 Drăgan 2011 and references therein). Assuming this, the derivation that leads to the inverted structures in (54–57) equates with that of central deictic inversion in (41): LocP attracts the compound [*walk* ‘come’] which values the features [LOC] and [PATH] in its head. Then, the covert expletive in this projection values the *person* feature in T and allows the DP subject to remain in the verbal projection;<sup>22</sup> finally, the PP<sub>path</sub> complement is targeted into C to value the [DI] feature there. 660

The compositional nature of manner of motion verbs establishes, then, a clear connection between central deictic inversion and directional inversion, both constructions involving a deictic reading which obtains from a light verb of directed motion, *come/go*, either inherently (central deictic inversion) or compositionally (directional inversion). This in turn explains a peculiar effect of directional inversion which has been noted in some analyses of the construction: as opposed to LI, in directional inversion the speaker is placed in relation to the location that serves as the intentional base (cf. Drubig 1988; Dorgeloh 1997; De 670 Wit 2016). Recall, in this respect, the contrast pointed out by Drubig (1988: 88):

(59) He opened the bedroom door and the cat walked in.

675 (60) He opened the bedroom door and in walked the cat.

For Drubig (1988), the non-inverted goal of motion structure in (59) is ambiguous with regard to the physical location of *he* and *the cat*: it is unclear whether they are in the same room or not. There is not such ambiguity in the case of the inverted structure in (60), though, and it is this conception of all being in the

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goal of motion structures eventually have the characteristics of unaccusatives; they select the auxiliary *essere* ‘be’ to form the past perfect and they trigger participial agreement (see Zubizarreta and Oh 2007).

<sup>22</sup> As expected, and contrary to the case of LI, the presentational lexical expletive *there* is not an option in these structures (examples from Bresnan 1994: 99):

(i) Into the room (\*there) ran Mother.

(ii) Out of it (\*there) steps Archie Campbell.

(iii) About a half an hour later in (\*there) walk these two guys.

680 same room that we, as readers/listeners, are invited to adopt. As argued above,  
 this effect of the reader/listener being more actively involved in the communica-  
 tive situation obtains when the directional phrase acts as the intentional base of  
 the proposition and it is facilitated by the deictic nature of the light verb *come*  
 with which the manner of motion verb *walk* has merged.

685 De Wit (2016) points out another property of directional inversion which al-  
 so connects the construction with central deictic inversion and not with LI: pro-  
 gressive aspect is hardly ever used in this case either. From the examination of  
 an extensive corpus elicited from native speaker's surveys, she found out that  
 progressive forms with LI were considered quite acceptable (her examples (33)  
 690 and (34)):

(61) In that house are living strange people.

(62) On top of the square block is lying another block.

695 On the contrary, the use of the progressive with directional inversion involving a  
 specified endpoint (i.e. goal of motion structures) was clearly banned (her ex-  
 amples (42) and (44)):

700 (63) \*Out of the room is stepping an enormous man.

(64) \*In is coming the President.

705 Again, the presence of the deictic light verbs *come/go* – either overtly or covert-  
 ly – and the intentional reading that obtains, seem to be behind the restriction.  
 All this credits the view adopted here of the compositional nature of manner of  
 motion verbs and the predictable connection that therefore exists between cen-  
 tral deictic inversion and directional inversion, a connection which has been  
 hardly ever made in the relevant literature.

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#### 4. Concluding remarks

715 In this paper I have explored the structural properties of locative inversion and  
 deictic directional inversion in English in terms of their intentional structure as  
 thetic expressions, that is, as intentionally-unstructured judgements which in-  
 volve the recognition of an event framed in place or time. In the theory of core  
 intentional features advocated for here, the locative constituent that inaugurates

720 these constructions values the UG feature [DI], which means that this locative is  
 not a mere topic but the starting point of the proposition (its intentional base).  
 Syntactically LI and DDI are then different from topicalized structures, where  
 the anticipation of a locative constituent does not alter the canonical SV struc-  
 ture in English; compare, in this respect, the examples of LI (23) and (28) (re-  
 peated here as (65)), with the corresponding topicalizations in (66):

- 725  
 (65a) Outside the door sat a young man uncomfortably.  
 (65b) Tomorrow will arrive the new collection.
- 730  
 (66a) Outside the door, a young man sat uncomfortably.  
 (66b) Tomorrow, a new collection will arrive.

735 As the contrast between (65) and (66) shows, only when the locative is the in-  
 tentional base does it force the DP subject to remain VP-internally so that it is  
 understood as an entity involved in the event, not as the entity the event is  
 about. In discourse prominent languages, where [DI] is an EPP feature inherited  
 by T, this ordering is unmarkedly obtained whenever the locative constituent is  
 more prominent than the DP subject, either structurally (in context-independent  
 sentences) or pragmatically (in context-dependent ones). The situation is differ-  
 ent, though, in a language such as English, whose word order is driven by formal  
 740 features. This is why I have proposed that the syntactic expression of thetic  
 statements involves a functional category LocP which a) is heavily context-  
 dependent (i.e. will only be projected if the communicative situation forces a  
 locative intentional base) and b) is highly restrictive in terms of the verbal pred-  
 icates it can merge with. Syntax then adapts to discourse but still preserves the  
 745 general computational requirements of the linguistic mechanism.

The analysis of LI and DDI that I have sustained here also shows the im-  
 portant role that deixis plays in the syntax-discourse interface. Actually, the  
 deictic reading of DDI explains many of the defining properties of the construc-  
 tions involved and also the structural differences that they have with respect to  
 750 LI. Under the view adopted here this is predictable given that deictic mecha-  
 nisms serve to specifically anchor some constituents to the communicative situ-  
 ation, with the effect that this eventually has for the final intentional structure of  
 the sentence.

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