

Contents

<i>Preface</i>	<i>page</i> xi
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xiii
1 Grammatical theory and syntactic theory	1
1.1 The theory of grammar	2
1.2 The vocabulary of syntactic relations	3
1.3 From systems of rules to systems of principles	8
1.4 Subtheories of grammar: Case theory	11
2 Indexing and syntactic chains	14
2.1 Indexing in generative grammar: historical sketch	14
2.2 The Unity of Indexing Hypothesis	16
2.3 Syntactic chains	23
2.4 Indexing and empty categories	29
2.4.1 The functional definitions of empty categories	30
2.4.2 Expletive empty elements	33
2.4.3 Relations between components	38
2.4.4 Expletivity and the inventory of empty elements	47
2.5 Constraints at LF-structure	47
2.5.1 The domain of the ECP	50
2.5.2 ECP and EXE	53
2.5.3 The domain of the ECP: further consequences	57
2.6 Brief summary	61
3 Case theory and clausal arguments	63
3.1 Case and the θ -Criterion	64
3.2 \bar{S} complements	67
3.2.1 Must \bar{S} be Casemarked?	68
3.2.2 \bar{S} and θ -chains	71
3.2.3 The Revised Case Filter and the Case Realization Conditions	76
3.3 Variables and Case	79
3.4 Can \bar{S} be Casemarked?	83
3.5 Summary	89
4 The distribution of the Definiteness Effect	91
4.1 The phenomenon	92

4.1.1	Earlier analyses	93
4.1.2	θ -chains and the Definiteness Effect	96
4.2	French <i>il</i> impersonals	98
4.3	German and Dutch impersonals	102
4.3.1	Some analytic assumptions	102
4.3.2	Prepositional objects and Dative objects	106
4.3.3	Nominative/Dative inversion	107
4.3.4	Nominative/Dative inversion and the INPP	112
4.4	The list interpretation and presentational impersonals	116
4.4.1	IBE, PBE and the list interpretation	116
4.4.2	Ergative impersonals and presentational impersonals	121
4.5	Some problematic cases	128
4.6	Summary	129
5 Towards an explanation of the Definiteness Effect		132
5.1	The proposal	133
5.1.1	Motivating the Indefinite NP Property	133
5.1.2	The context of grammatical levels	134
5.1.3	Impersonal Insertion	138
5.2	Some questions of analysis	142
5.2.1	QR and the scope of negation	142
5.2.2	Raising and lowering	147
5.2.3	Wh-movement in <i>there</i> -sentences	152
5.2.4	Summary of 5.2	160
5.3	Definiteness and indefiniteness	160
5.3.1	Contextual tests for definiteness	160
5.3.2	On the semantic treatment of definiteness	165
5.4	Towards an explanation of Indefinite NP Properties	168
5.5	Summary	171
6 Missing subjects and free inversion		172
6.1	Free inversion and the 'PRO-drop Parameter'	172
6.1.1	The 'PRO-drop Parameter' in earlier accounts	173
6.1.2	The NOM-drop Parameter and the Free Inversion Parameter	184
6.2	The independence of the FIP from the NDP	192
6.2.1	French: a non-NOM-drop language	193
6.2.2	Subject–Clitic inversion in French	204
6.2.3	Trentino SCLs	215
6.2.4	SCL inversion in Trentino	220
6.2.5	Modenese SCLs	229
6.2.6	Summary of 6.2	233
6.3	The independence of NOM-drop from free inversion	234
6.3.1	Missing subjects and the DE in Portuguese	236
6.3.2	<i>That e</i> effects in Portuguese	240
6.3.3	Summary of 6.3	242
6.4	NOM-drop in Germanic	243
6.4.1	Impersonals in subordinate clauses	245

6.4.2 V/z and extraposition Es	248
6.4.3 Comparison with Dutch	252
6.4.4 Summary of 6.4	253
6.5 Residual issues in Italian	253
6.5.1 Raising	254
6.5.2 Auxiliary selection	257
6.6 Comparisons and conclusions	258
6.6.1 SCL vs. pronominal INFL	259
6.6.2 The identity of the missing subject	260
6.6.3 The NDP and the FIP are independent	263
6.6.4 Silent clitics and possible languages	265
6.6.5 The UIH and the DE	268
7 Conclusion	270
7.1 Binding theory	270
7.2 Case theory	271
7.3 θ -theory	272
7.4 Empty categories	274
7.5 The autonomy of syntax	276
7.6 The Unity of Indexing Hypothesis	276
8 Epilog	278
8.1 Chains and the Definiteness Effect	278
8.1.1 Against Case-motivated chains	279
8.1.2 A different analysis of Case-motivated chains	284
8.1.3 Some different chains	287
8.2 The typology of empty categories	290
8.2.1 The content of empty categories	291
8.2.2 The nature of missing subjects	297
8.3 On stopping	298
Appendix	300
<i>Notes</i>	311
<i>Bibliography</i>	363
<i>Name index</i>	373
<i>General index</i>	376