
Contents

Introduction	1
0.1 General Introduction	1
0.2 Terminology and Background to Syntactic Approach	3
1 Syntax of ES	6
1.0 Assumptions about the form of a grammar	6
1.1 Constituent structure of ES	10
1.1.1 Movement within ES	11
1.1.2 Comparison with stylistic inversion	15
1.2 Binding	19
1.2.1 Principles of binding and <i>there</i> -insertion	19
1.2.2 Binding and constituent structure in French	23
1.3 PRO-Drop	27
1.3.1 The PRO-Drop parameter	27
1.3.2 Evidence for Italian constituent structure	28
1.4 Case	30
1.5 Thematic roles	32
1.5.1 Ergative verbs: Italian	33
1.5.2 Ergative verbs: English	35
1.6 The analysis of <i>be</i> ES	44
1.6.1 Couquaux	44
1.6.2 Stowell	45
1.6.3 Small clauses	46
1.6.4 Small clause analysis of ES	49
1.7 Other issues	55
1.7.1 PPs in ES	55
1.7.2 Left-most <i>be</i> condition	56
1.7.3 Results of small clause analysis	58
1.8 Problems of empty subjects	64
1.8.1 The problem	64
1.8.2 Stylistic inversion	65
1.8.3 English empty subjects	70
1.9 Conclusion	80
2 Opacity, Specificity, and ES	81
2.0 Introduction	81

CONTENTS

2.1	Range of interpretations of ES in embedded contexts	81
2.2	Opaque contexts	82
2.3	A pragmatic account of specificity	86
2.3.1	Non-opaque contexts	86
2.3.2	Specificity in transparent readings	88
2.3.3	Specificity in opaque readings	88
2.4	Non-availability of a specific interpretation	89
2.5	Responsibility for descriptions	90
2.5.1	Transparent readings	90
2.5.2	Opaque readings	92
2.6	Conclusions concerning specificity	94
2.7	Specificity and opacity in ES	95
2.7.1	Specificity in ES	95
2.7.2	Opacity	96
2.7.3	Quantifier scope adjustment rules	99
2.8	Responsibility for descriptions in ES	101
2.9	The problem of unwanted entailments	102
2.9.1	Transparent and opaque readings	102
2.9.2	Criteria for existence	103
2.9.3	Other accounts	105
2.9.4	Future time reference	107
2.10	Conclusion	109
3	The Quantification Effect	110
3.0	Introduction	110
3.1	Milsark	112
3.1.1	Classification of quantifier words and ES	112
3.1.2	Criticisms of Milsark	115
3.2	McCawley	119
3.2.1	Existential quantifiers	119
3.2.2	Problems with McCawley's analysis	122
3.3	Barwise and Cooper	123
3.3.1	Formal treatment of the strong/weak distinction	123
3.3.2	Problems with Barwise and Cooper's analysis	126
3.4	Safir	129
3.4.1	Safir's syntactic account of the QE	129
3.4.2	Problems with Safir's analysis	132
3.5	Presuppositions	135
3.6	Presuppositions of quantifier words	140

3.7 Advantages of the account proposed	148
3.8 Enumerative ES and Verbal ES	150
3.9 Conclusion	152
4 Further Aspects of the QE	153
4.0 Introduction	153
4.1 Bare plurals: generic and existential interpretations	154
4.2 Bare plurals and mass expressions in ES	157
4.3 Other kind-denoting expressions in ES	159
4.3.1 Sub-kinds	159
4.3.2 Representing sub-kinds	161
4.4 Kind interpretation without lexical marking	163
4.4.1 Examples with <i>same/usual</i>	163
4.4.2 Other explanations	166
4.4.3 Associative clauses	169
4.5 Other apparent QE violations	173
4.5.1 Non-demonstrative <i>this</i> and specific indefinites	174
4.5.2 Superlatives	176
4.5.3 <i>Any</i> and polarity superlatives	179
4.6 Conclusion	183
5 ES and the Property Predication Restriction	184
5.0 Introduction	184
5.1 Milsark	185
5.2 Carlson's analysis of predicate types	187
5.3 Explaining the PPR	189
5.3.1 The scope of the PPR	189
5.3.2 Accounting for the PPR	191
5.4 Restrictions on short predicates	193
5.5 Syntactic configurations in ES	197
5.6 The interpretation of syntactic configurations	202
5.7 Sourceless ES	204
5.8 Conclusion	208
6 The Meaning of ES: Further Aspects	210
6.0 Introduction	210
6.1 Predication and strong quantification	210
6.2 Enumerative uses of ES	214
6.2.1 Accounts of enumerative ES	214
6.2.2 Ambiguity or implicature	215

CONTENTS

6.3	The relaxation of the QE	218
6.4	Context-dependent aspects of <i>there</i>	223
6.4.1	Communicative function of enumerative ES	223
6.4.2	Deixis	225
6.4.3	The locative force of <i>there</i>	227
6.4.4	<i>There</i> and <i>exist</i>	229
6.5	The interpretation of Verbal ES	231
6.5.1	Factors determining interpretation of ES	232
6.5.2	Focus	232
6.5.3	Presentational interpretations	234
6.6	Conclusion	239
7	Conclusion	241
7.1	Review of material presented	241
7.2	The general framework	245
7.3	Other remarks	248
References		250
Index		254