

Case, the EPP and Syntactic Markedness in the Locative Inversion Construction of English*

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Focusing on locative inversion, this paper explores data which have the same propositional meaning but show differences in non-propositional ways. A particular concern of this study is the correlation between the presence (or absence) of movement and interpretation. We propose that a movement operation can change the information structure of the moved element, advancing these following key points: (i) We have to allow for EPP-wise strong and weak marking of Nominative NPs and argument PPs when Agree applies. (ii) EPP-wise strong and weak marking of the Goal in the course of Agree operation yields different interpretations in the interpretive component. (iii) In particular, strong Nominative Case-marked NPs which move to Spec of T are interpreted as either old or new information in the interpretive component while the weak ones which stay in their base-generated position are interpreted as new information. (iv) Unlike strong Nominative NPs, strong PPs which move to Spec of T are interpreted as old information in the interpretive component while the weak ones which stay in-situ are interpreted as either old or new information.

Key words: case, EPP, locative inversion, syntactic markedness, Agree operation

1. Introduction

The word order, subject-verb-prepositional phrase-adverb as shown in (1a) is regarded as the basic order of English, among several semantically

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equivalent alternatives (1b, 1c, and 1d).

- (1) a. **Robin** walked into the room carefully.
 b. **Into the room** walked Robin carefully.
 c. **Into the room** Robin walked carefully.
 d. **There** walked into the room carefully **ROBIN**.

Under the VP-internal subject hypothesis, it is generally assumed that the Nominative Case-marked NP moves to Spec of T and that the prepositional phrase (PP) stays in their base-generated position. Therefore, the word order in (1a) is considered as the basic one among the four sentences which have the same propositional meaning (i. e. truth-conditions). By contrast, in (1b), the PP, *into the room* instead of the Nominative Case-marked NP occurs in front of the verb, *walked*. Both the subject and the PP in (1c) move from the base-generated position. In (d), the expletive *there* occurs in the Spec of T and the subject *ROBIN* occurs in the sentence-final position. Hence, compared with (1a), the sentences in (1b-d) are regarded as having marked structure, a deviation from the norm. The subtle difference in non-propositional meaning among these sentences raises a non-trivial question: Is there a correlation between the presence (or absence) of movement and interpretation? This question also raises several subsequent questions. When the PP moves to the pre-verbal position, why does it have a different reading from the non-moved one? Why does the moved Nominative Case-marked NP have a different reading from the non-moved one? If we assume that the Nominative Case-marked NP in (1a) and the preposed PP in (1b) occupy the same position, why does the movement of the latter to the pre-verbal portion derive marked structure, unlike the movement of the Nominative marked NP?

So far, studies of generative grammar have had their focus on the PP inversion or the meaning of the inverted sentence itself, without comparing the semantically equivalent (or related) sentences. In this paper we will examine at least four semantically related sentences including the basic word order form within the framework of the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 2001a, 2001b) and propose that the movement operation changes the discourse function of the moved element. This paper is organized as follows: Section 2 discusses locative inversion constructions, focusing on structural positions of preposed PPs and postverbal NPs and their discourse properties. Section 3 provides locative inversion and its related sentences

with a construction-general explanation. Section 4 shows how potential problems which may occur in our analysis are resolved.

2. Locative Inversion

Before we turn to a construction-general approach to locative inversion and its related sentences, it is necessary to explicate construction-specific properties of locative inversion.

2.1 Position of Preposed PPs

Locative inversion is a general term which states the reversal of the NP subject and the PP. Compare (1a) with (1b).

- (1) a. **Robin** walked into the room carefully.
 b. **Into the room** walked Robin carefully.

In (1b), the directional PP seems to occur in the position where the Nominative Case-marked NP occurs. It has been observed by Bresnan (1977) and Culicover (1992) that the directional PP in the pre-verbal position has subject-like properties.

First, the inverted PP shows a constraint on subject extraction adjacent to a complementizer, a so-called *that*-trace effect.

- (2) ***Who_i** do you think that **t_i** will win the prize?

As shown in (2), if the subject is extracted out of the embedded clause which has the complementizer *that*, the sentence is ungrammatical. Similarly, if the preposed PPs undergo extraction out of the same environment, the sentences are also ungrammatical, as shown in (3).

- (3) a. ***Into the room_i** Terry claim that **t_i** walked a bunch of gorillas.
 b. ***Into which room_i** does Terry claim that **t_i** walked that bunch of gorillas?

Second, the preposed PP in locative inversion appears to undergo Raising, suggesting that it can occur in the position where a usual subject occurs (Postal, 1977), as shown in (4).

- (4) a. **Over my windowsills** seems to have crawled an entire army of ants.
 b. **On that hill** appears to be located a cathedral.
 c. **In these villages** are likely to be found the best examples of this cuisine.

As Bresnan (1994, p. 96) points out, no non-subject constituent can undergo Raising in English. Compare (5a) with (5b).

- (5) a. It seems that John_i, you dislike.
 b. *John_i seems you to dislike t_i.

The third argument is based on tag questions in English. The tag is a reduced question based on the form of the assertion, and the pronoun must match the features of the (surface syntactic) subject of the assertion.

- (6) a. Mary fooled John, didn't she/*he?
 b. John was fooled by Mary, wasn't he/*she? (Bresnan, 1994, p. 66)

According to Bowers (1976, p. 237), examples of tag questions such as (7) can be regarded as evidence that the preposed PP is a subject.

- (7) **In the garden** is a beautiful statue, isn't **there**/*it?

The fourth argument is the absence of weak crossover (WCO) effects in locative inversion, which behaves in the same fashion with Raising A-movement, but not with A'-movement (Culicover & Levine, 2001, p. 289). Compare (8a) with (8b).

- (8) a. Who_i appears to his_i mother [t_i to be a genius]?
 b. ?Who_i is his_i mother grilling t_i obsessively? (WCO)

Because of the absence of the weak crossover effect, the A-movement Raising example (8a) is grammatically better than the A'-movement example (8b). The locative inversion example (9) has the same well-formedness as the Raising example (8a).

- (9) **Into every dog's cage** peered its_i owner.

As shown in (9), when the PP contains a quantified NP, the NP can be interpreted as binding a pronoun in the post-verbal NP, without violating any grammatical principle. This confirms that movement of the PP to the pre-verbal position is A-movement and that the landing site of the movement is Spec of T which is A-position.

Based on the subject-like properties of inverted PPs, we argue that the preposed PP occupies or moves through the Spec of T which is the usual position of subjects. Then, a natural question is why the PP movement to the position derives marked structure, unlike the NP movement to the same position. In the next section, we will discuss properties of preposed PPs which are related to their discourse function.

2.2. Preposed PPs' Topic Properties

Locative inversion constructions have been known to have a presentational function (Bresnan, 1994; Bresnan & Kanerva, 1989; Rochemont, 1986; Bolinger, 1971, 1977; Hetzron, 1971, 1975). Bresnan (1994, p. 85) argues that locative inversion has a special discourse function of presentational focus, in which the referent of the inverted subject is introduced on the (part of the) scene referred to by the preposed locative phrase. Hence, the preposed PP in the locative inversion construction is identified as a Topic, old information. The Topic properties of the preposed PPs have been argued for on several different grounds (Schachter, 1992, pp. 107-108). First, although the indefinite locative pro-form *somewhere* can occur in a non-inverted sentence like (10a), it cannot occur in an inverted one like (10b).

- (10) a. A child was found **somewhere**.
 b. ***Somewhere** was found a child.

A Topic, established information, is generally definite. A maximally indefinite form like *somewhere* cannot serve as a Topic. Hence, the ill-formedness of (10b) confirms that the preposed PP has topic properties.

The second argument is based on the fact that the preposed PP can be relativized but not questioned, as shown in (11).

- (11) a. The swamp, **in which** have been found two children, should be drained.
 b. ***In which swamp** have been found two children?

If we assume that the preposed PP is a Topic, this pattern can be accounted for by the generalization made by Bresnan and Mchombo (1987) to the effect that a Topic can be relativized but not questioned.

Third, as noted by Stowell (1981), preposed PPs in the locative inversion construction share certain distributional properties with other topicalized elements. As shown in (12), *such books* and *near John's house* can occur within an asserted tensed-clause complement.

- (12) a. Bill says that **such books** John only reads at home.
 b. Bill says that **near John's house** lies a buried treasure.

By contrast, they cannot occur within the tense-clause complement which is not asserted, as in (13).

- (13) a. *Bill asked if **such books** John only reads at home.
 b. *Bill asked if **near John's house** lies a buried treasure.

The fourth argument for preposed PPs as a Topic is that they cannot appear in Raising-to-Object (RTO)/Exceptional Case Marking (ECM) constructions.

- (14) a. I believe the little rat to have run **through the hole**.
 b. *I believe **through the hole** to have run the little rat.
 c. *I expect **into the room** to walk a woman.

The ill-formedness of (14b) and (14c) can be accounted for by assuming that there is no Topic position between the matrix verb and the embedded clause tense marker *to*.

The fifth evidence is that the preposed PP cannot undergo subject-auxiliary inversion, as shown in (15b).

- (15) a. *Does **Robin**, anyone like?
 b. *Did **into the room** walk John? (Kathol & Levine, 1992, p. 209)

The ungrammaticality of (15b) is exactly what we predict if the preposed PP is a Topic, since Topic phrases in general do not invert with auxiliaries, as shown in (15a).

The sixth evidence is so-called Topic island or freezing effect, which is first claimed by Langendoen (1973).

- (16) a. *Whom_i did he say **into the room** walked t_i?
 b. *The woman_i, **into the room** walked t_i?
 c. ***Which room**_i did he say **into** t_i walked John?

As shown in (16), all fronting operations out of inversion clauses are blocked.

Interestingly, the six properties mentioned above are not found with Nominative Case-marked NPs in pre-verbal positions. Hence, we tentatively conclude that the PP which moves to Spec of T undergoes further movement such as topicalization. To illustrate our proposal concretely, reconsider the examples in (1).

- (1) a. Robin walked **into the room** carefully.
 b. **Into the room** walked Robin carefully.

The subtle non-propositional difference between (1a) and (1b) may result from the topic properties of preposed PPs and their further movement. The preposed PP in (1b) serves as a Topic, old information while the PP in (1a) is either new or old information. However, this is not the whole story of marked behavior in the locative inversion sentence (1b). In the next section, we will discuss the syntactic and discourse properties of post-verbal NPs.

2.3. Post-verbal NPs

Even though the PP moves to Spec of T, it is the post-verbal NP that has the Agree relation with T.

- (17) a. In the garden **stand**/***stands** two fountains.
 b. Down through the hills and into the forest **flows**/***flow** the little brook (Levine, 1989).

Furthermore, when the post-verbal NP is a pronoun, it is marked with Nominative Case.¹⁾

- (18) a. Under the garden wall sat **I/*me**, waiting for my friends to appear.
 b. In the garden is **HE/*HIM** (Green, 1992).

According to discourse properties of the post-verbal NPs in the locative inversion construction, it has been argued that the post-verbal NP serves as a presentational focus. Consider (19).

- (19) A: I am looking for my friend **Rose**.
 B: # Among the guests of honor was sitting **Rose**.
 C: **Rose** was sitting among the guests of honor (Bresenan, 1994, p. 85).

B is odd as a response to A while C is good. The contrast between B and C is accounted for by assuming that the post-verbal NP is a presentational focus. B is odd since *Rose* is already mentioned in A and cannot serve as a presentational focus which must be new information. By contrast, the non-inverted form C is a more natural response because *Rose* in Spec of T is interpreted as old information.

Another effect of presentational focus is illustrated in (20).

- (20) ***Rose_i**? Among the guests of honor was sitting **she_i/her_i**.
 (Emonds, 1976, p. 29)

(20) is ill-formed because the anaphora is inconsistent with the discourse function of presentational focus.

The post-verbal NP's property as a presentational focus is also observed in the following grammatical contrast.

1) Such examples may sound somewhat unnatural because in English, pronouns are extremely poor targets for presentational focus. The anomaly can be ascribed entirely to this fact (Kathol & Levine, 1993, p. 215). However, given that a pronoun is to be focused, the overwhelming preference is Nominative Case-marking as shown in (17). Interestingly, Accusative marking on the post-verbal NP in the construction is appropriate in a context in which the pronoun has a deictic reference (Rochemont, 1986; Green, 1992).

(i) a. Into the forest ran HIM.
 b. Next to his father stood HER.

- (21) a. On the wall hung **canvasses**, but not **paintings**.
 b. **On the wall** hung canvasses, but not **on the easels**.

The oddness of (21b) suggests that the post-verbal NP in the locative inversion construction is focussed relative to the pre-verbal PP.

Now, reconsider the subtle meaning difference between (1a) and (1b).

- (1) a. **Robin** walked into the room carefully.
 b. Into the room walked **Robin** carefully.

Unlike the NP in (1a), the NP in (1b) serves as a presentational focus and must be interpreted as new information, which makes one of the non-propositional meaning differences between (1a) and (1b).

3. Toward a Construction-general Explanation from a Minimalist Perspective

3.1. Locative Inversion and its Related Constructions

Now, consider locative inversion and its related sentences such as in (22).

- (22) a. **Into the room** walked **Robin** carefully.²⁾
 b. **Robin** walked **into the room** carefully.
 c. **Into the room Robin** walked carefully.
 d. **Into the room** walked carefully **the students in the class** who had heard about the social psych experiment that we were about to perpetrate/ ... **ROBIN**.
 e. There walked **into the room** carefully **ROBIN**.

Before we turn to a minimalist analysis of the sentences mentioned above, the intuitive statement can be made as follows. In an unmarked situation, the Nominative NP undergoes movement to the Spec of T,

2) An anonymous reviewer of this journal questioned whether the verb *walk* is an unaccusative one. In the text we simply assume following Culicover and Levine (2001, p. 288) that it is.

a nuclear scope.

(24) The Mapping Hypothesis

- a. Material from VP is mapped into the nuclear scope.
- b. Material from IP is mapped into a restrictive clause.

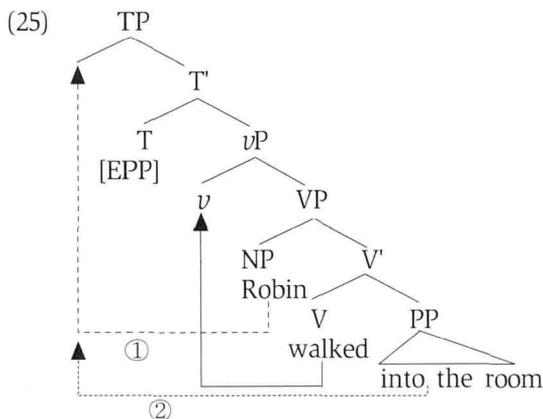
As shown in (24), the Mapping Hypothesis establishes a straightforward relationship between syntactic structure and the form of the logical structure. Diesing (1992, p. 50) also assumes that the focus part of a sentence corresponds to the nuclear scope of the logical representation, whereas the unfocused portion corresponds to the restrictive clause. More specifically, a focus-marked material maps into the nuclear scope domain, i.e., VP. Hence, the subject within VP serves as presentational focus which is interpreted as new information, while the subject in Spec of T is interpreted as either old or new information. Hence, Diesing's approach correctly captures the relation between the positions of Nominative NPs and their discourse functions.

However, her proposal does not provide an appropriate explanation for the preposed PP's discourse property. Under Diesing's analysis, the preposed PP in Spec of T should be interpreted in a similar way to the Nominative NP in the same position, contrary to fact. As noted above, the PP in Spec of T in fact is interpreted as old information. Furthermore, the PP inside VP is either new or old information, unlike the NP in the same position. Hence, mapping seems to depend not only on the syntactic position but also on the categorial status such as NP and PP.³⁾

Before we move to category or Case-specific mapping, it is necessary to explicate the theory of movement. Following Chomsky (2000, 2001a, 2001b), we assume that movement to Spec of T is derived for EPP-feature checking.⁴⁾

3) Regarding information structure, Accusative object NPs behaves like PPs. Accusative object NPs outside VP are interpreted as old information. By contrast, the Accusative NPs within VP are interpreted as either old information or new information.

4) Chomsky's view on EPP has been changed from feature-based EPP to structure-based EPP. According to Chomsky (2001b), EPP is a sort of structural requirement by the concept of "occurrence" Unlike Chomsky (2001b), we assume feature-based EPP. In spite of this difference, our proposal shares one important view with Chomsky (2001b): EPP provides new interpretation such as scopal or discourse-related properties.



Given that the NP *Robin* and the PP *into the room* are equally close to the head T as they are in the same maximal projection, there are two ways to check the EPP feature in T.⁵ *Robin* moves to Spec of T for the EPP-feature checking and *into the room* remains within the VP. Alternatively, *into the room* moves to Spec of T for the EPP-feature checking and *Robin* remains within the VP.⁶

According to Chomsky (2001, p. 34), optional operations can apply only if they have an output effect on outcome. For example, the optional rule in object shift constructions assigns an EPP-feature to *v*, allowing and requiring Object Shift. The object in spec of *v* has different interpretation, compared to the one within the VP. This line of reasoning can apply to EPP-feature satisfaction in Spec of T. Although the EPP feature checking on T before Spell-Out is obligatory, several options to satisfy the EPP-feature on T are available, as shown in the locative inversion and its related sentences.

5) As Ura (1996) and Collins (1997) point out, both *Robin* and *into the room* are in the minimal domain of the same head (the verb). From this and from the definition of Minimality in (i) and (ii) below, it follows that *Robin* does not block movement of the PP to Spec of T.

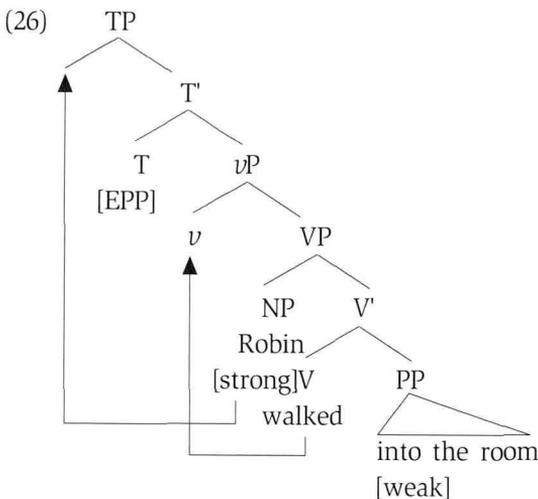
(i) α can raise to a target K only if there is no operation (satisfying Last Resort) Move β targeting K, where β is closer to K. (Collins, 1997, p. 22)

(ii) If β c-commands α , and τ is the target of movement, then β is closer to τ than α unless β is in the same minimal domain as (i) τ or (ii) α . (Collins, 1997, p. 23)

6) In this sense we argue that Nominative-Case marked NPs in the canonical word order of the locative inversion construction stay in situ within VP. In this regard, we differ crucially from a series of papers by J.-S. Kim (1998, 2000, 2002, 2003), who claims that they undergo focus movement to the position outside of VP, which he argues is responsible for their focus interpretation.

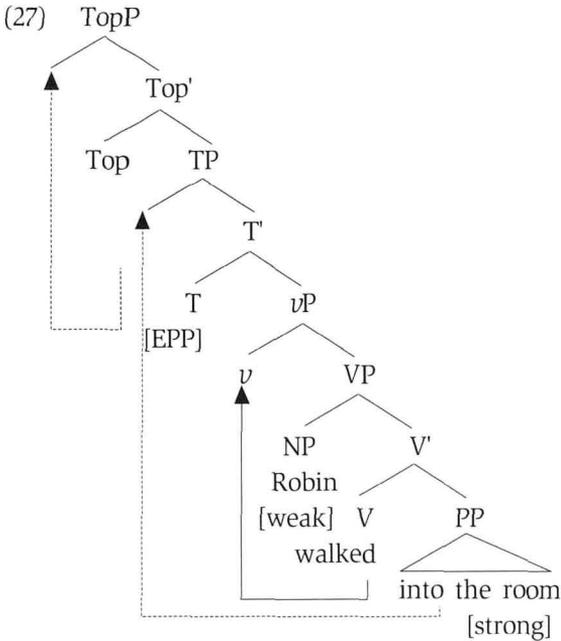
We assume that each option brings different output effects to the construction. When the NP *Robin* raises to Spec of T, the NP has different interpretation, compared with the case when it remains in-situ. The same thing applies to the PP *into the room*. Another crucial assumption is that the EPP position of a head H is assigned “surface interpretation” (a modified version of Chomsky (2001a, 2001b)). Informally, we can think of EPP-feature checking as having the “function” of providing new interpretation.

The next question is to ask which element moves to Spec of T. We have to allow for EPP-wise strong and weak marking of Nominative NPs and argument PPs. Only the EPP-wise strong Nominative NP moves to Spec of T and is interpreted as either old or new information. In this case, the PP is weak and remains within the VP. The PP is interpreted as new or old information.



When the PP is strong, the PP moves to Spec of T and is interpreted in the position. The raised PP provides the instruction that it is interpreted as old information in the interpretive interface component.⁷⁾

7) In Section 2.2, we tentatively conclude that the PP which moves to Spec of T undergoes further movement such as topicalization. The landing site of the movement has two alternatives. One is TP-adjoined position and the other Spec of Top above TP. Lasnik and Saito (1992) and Bošković (1997) provide arguments for the impossibility of adjunction from spec of T to TP. Regarding the final landing site of the proposed PP, we leave this issue for future research.



In both cases, whether the NP *Robin* occupies Spec of T or Spec of V, the uninterpretable ϕ -features on T has the Agree-relation with the NP. This explains the following grammatical contrast.

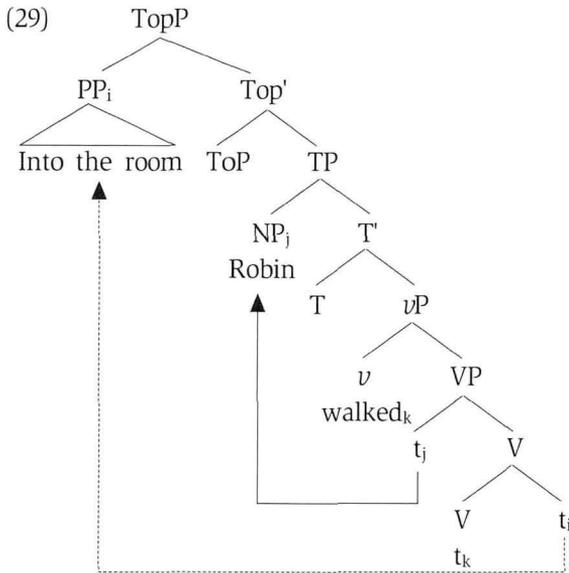
- (28) a. Two fountains **stand**/***stands** in the garden.
 b. In the garden **stand**/***stands** two fountains.

As shown in (28), the verb *stand* has agreement with the NP *two fountains*.

Now, let us consider (22c).

- (22) c. **Into the room Robin** walked carefully.

This sentence has the following derivation.



As shown in (29), the EPP-wise strong NP *Robin* moves to Spec of T in order to check the EPP feature of T. Additionally, the EPP-wise strong PP *into the room* moves to the adjoined position of TP. The latter is A'-movement. The evidence for this A'-movement is observed in the ungrammaticality of (30a).

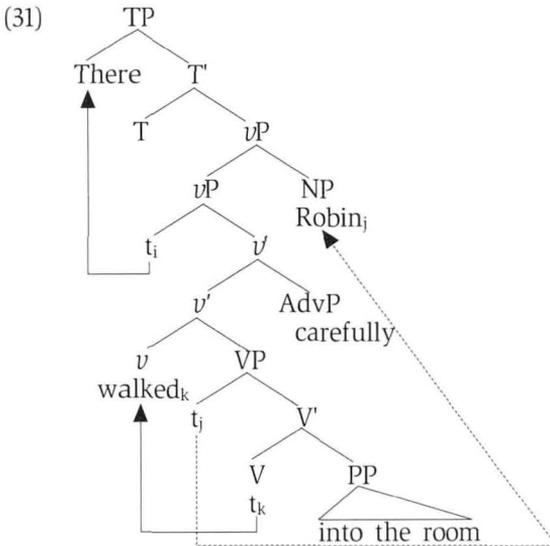
- (30) a. ***Into every dog_i's cage** its_i owner peered.
 b. **Into every dog_i's cage** peered its_i owner.

The quantified NP in the preposed PP in (30a) cannot be interpreted as binding a pronoun following it unlike the preposed PP in the locative inversion construction such as (30b). If the PP movement in (30a) is A'-movement, the sentence (30a) is expected to be ungrammatical.

Finally, let us consider (22e).

- (22) e. There walked **into the room** carefully **ROBIN**.

(22e) has the following derivation (31).



As shown in (31), we suggest that the expletive *there* first merges in Spec of v and moves to Spec of T (an idea due to Radford (1997) and Hunston and Francis (1999)).⁸⁾ The EPP-wise weak locative PP stays inside the VP and is interpreted as either new or old information. Incidentally, the NP *Robin* undergoes extraposition to the adjoined position of vP which derives marked structure, compared with (25). The presence of such a movement accounts for the following grammatical contrast.⁹⁾

8) *There*-insertion in Spec of v accounts for the following grammatical contrast.

- (i) a. There seems to be a man in the room.
 b. *There seems a man to be in the room.

There in the Spec of v is closer to T and blocks movement of the NP within the VP, a man. The NP movement in (1b) violates locality principles.

9) The word order in (32a) is well-formed when the Post-verbal NP is heavy.

- (i) Into the room walked carefully ROBIN.

It is important to note that the intended judgement is difficult, if not impossible, to make unless the sentence is spoken with the proper intonation. In (i), the intonational phrasing is as follows (Culicover & Levine, 200, p. 293).

- (ii) H* H* H*
 L- !H- L-
- Into the room walked carefully ROBIN!

This sentence consists of three intonational Phrases, one for *into the room*, one for *walked carefully*, and one for *Robin*. The “H1-intonation” is the intonation of (i). The word order is accounted for if we assume that the focused heavy NP *Robin* undergoes extraposition out of VP.

- (32) a. *Into the room walked **carefully** Robin.¹⁰
 b. There walked into the room **carefully** ROBIN.

As shown in (32a), the manner adverb like *carefully* cannot intervene between the verb and the post-verbal NP. This fact can be accounted for if the adverb is viewed as adjoining to *v'* and the post-verbal NP in (32a) is inside the VP without movement. In contrast, the extraposed post-verbal NP in (32b) moves out of VP and the adverb can precede the NP *Robin*.

4. Resolving Problems

This section discusses some potential problems which may occur under our analysis and makes an attempt to resolve them.

4.1. The Unaccusative and Transitive Restriction

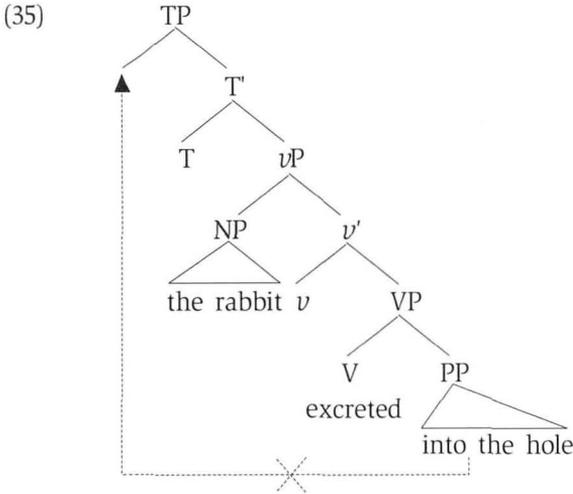
It has been noticed that locative inversion is restricted to unaccusative verbs (Bresnan, 1994; Culicover & Levine, 2001).

- (33) a. **Onto the ground** has fallen a few leaves.
 b. ***Onto the ground** had spit a few sailors.

- (34) a. **Into the hole** jumped the rabbit.
 b. ***Into the hole** excreted the rabbit.

The restriction can be explained as follows. When the verb is unergative, the NP argument is base-generated in Spec of *v*. In this case, the NP and the PP is not in the same minimal domain and the NP argument is always closer to T. Hence, if the PP moves to Spec of T, it violates the locality principle like the Minimal Link Condition, as shown in (35).

10) The NP *Robin* in (32a) is not phonologically focussed nor regarded as heavy, which means that it is taken to stay within the VP. When, on the other hand, it is phonologically focused and therefore regarded as heavy, it is supposed to undergo extraposition. The sentence then turns out to be grammatical just like (32b).



In contrast, the NP argument of the unaccusative verb is base-generated within VP. Hence, the NP and the PP are in the same minimal domain and equally close to T. Thus the NP does not block the movement of the PP, which accounts for the well-formedness of (33a) and (34a).

Another restriction related to locative inversion is that it does not apply to transitive verbs.

- (36) a. John rolled the baby carriage **down the hill**.
 b. ***Down the hill** rolled John the baby carriage.
 c. ***Down the hill** rolled the baby carriage John.

This is also accounted for in the same fashion with the unaccusative restriction. In the case of transitive verbs, the agent NP argument is base-generated in Spec of *v*, and the theme argument and the locative PP are base-generated within the VP. As a result, the agent NP is always closer to T and blocks movement of the PP to Spec of T. Thus the ungrammaticality of (36b) and (36c) results from a violation of the locality principle.

4.2. Contrast between Locative Inversion and Existential Constructions

In this section, we discuss difference between the locative inversion construction and the existential *there* construction. Unlike the locative con-

struction, the existential *there* construction is subject to the well-known definiteness restriction.

- (37) a. Into the garden ran **Kim/the cat/an orange cat**. (Green, 1985)
 b. There stood a/***every**/***the hippo** near the fence.
 c. *There stood **Kim** near the fence.

As shown in (37b-c), only indefinite NPs can occur in the existential *there* construction. Interestingly, this restriction is also observed in the presentation *there* construction as given in (38).

- (38) a. There ran into the garden ***Kim**/***the cat**/??**the orange cat/an orange cat**.
 b. *Into the garden there ran ***Kim**/***the cat**/??**the orange cat/an orange cat**.

The definiteness effect can be accounted for if we follow Chomsky's (1995) suggestion that features on the associate NP raises to the D-position of *there* in the *there*-related construction. More specifically, the features on the definite NP cannot move to the D-position of *there*, which violates the Principle of Full Interpretation. By contrast, since the locative inversion construction does not contain an expletive, N-to-D movement is not needed and no definiteness effect is observed.¹¹⁾

5. Conclusion

So far we have shown how effectively our analysis accounts for the locative inversion and its related constructions. To explore them, we have

11) The contrast related to word order is observed between the locative inversion and the existential construction.

- (i) a. *Over the river was a bridge built.
 b. Over the river was built a bridge.
 (ii) a. There was a bridge built over the river.
 b. *There was built a bridge over the river.

As shown in (i-ii), the NP argument follows the passive verb in the locative inversion construction, whereas it precedes the passive verb in the existential construction. We leave this contrast for future research.

proposed that EPP-wise strong and weak marking is available for NPs and PPs and that strong and weak marking of the goal yields subtle informational differences at the interpretive interface component. In particular, we have proposed that a movement operation can change the information structure of the moved element, advancing these following key points. First, we have to allow for EPP-wise strong and weak marking of Nominative NPs and argument PPs when Agree applies. Second, EPP-wise strong and weak marking of the Goal in the course of the Agree operation yields different interpretations in the interpretive component. Third, strong Nominative Case-marked NPs which move to Spec of T are interpreted as either old or new information in the interpretive component while the weak ones which stay in their base-generated position are interpreted as new information. Fourth, unlike strong Nominative NPs, strong PPs which move to Spec of T are interpreted as old information in the interpretive component while the weak ones which stay in-situ are interpreted as either old or new information.

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