

【論文】

Negative Subjects in Transitive Expletive Constructions

Naoko KISHIDA

他動詞存在構文の否定形主語についての考察

岸田 直子

Summary: Transitive Expletive Constructions adduced in the Paston Letters have the following characteristics: the subject is not extraposed, acceptable only in the negative form, and always preceded by modals, or other auxiliaries. The problems I pose in this article are (I) does anything move from its original position? (II) if so, where does it move? (III) why does it have to move? I conclude that the subject leaves its original position [spec, VP] and moves to [spec, NegP] in order to check the negative features of the spec and the head.

Key Word: expletive, subject, negative, transitive, Middle English

1. Introduction

We find in the language of The Paston Letters¹⁾ (henceforth, PL) Transitive Expletive Constructions (henceforth, TECs) with nonextraposed subjects, although TECs occur almost always with their subjects postposed in present-day English (henceforth, PE). TECs in PL are more restricted in their distribution than the standard ones attested in Icelandic; namely, in the PL type TEC the subject is acceptable only in the negative form and is always preceded by modals, or other

auxiliaries. See below (1) ~ (4) for the relevant examples.

- (1) thath borthuthu sennilega margir jolasveinar bjugun.
there ate probably many Christmas trolls the sausages.
'Many Christmas trolls probably ate the sausages.'
[a TEC with a nonextraposed subject in Icelandic]
(J.D.Bobaljik and Dianne Jonas 1996:196)
- (2) ther wol no man by yt a gret. (PL221020-1)²⁾
there will no man buy it a great (= by the whole piece,lump).
[a TEC with a nonextraposed subject in PL]
- (3) for there hath nor shall no man sen (= see) hem tyll ye com hom.
(PL180114-5)
[a TEC with a nonextraposed subject in PL]
- (4) There visited us last night a large group of people who traveled all the way
from India.
[a TEC with a postposed subject in PE] (Chomsky 1995:343)

2. Problems

My main concern in this paper is exactly what is happening in the PL type TEC. Specifically I will investigate the problems (I)~(III) about the derivation of this construction in the Minimalist framework of Chomsky (1995).

- (I) Does anything move from its original position?
(II) If so, where does it move?
(III) Why does it have to move?

Let us first consider the problem (I). I tentatively assume (2) to have the structure (5). There is no difference in word order between the underlying

structure and the S-Structure. But see the corresponding passive expletive construction (6), where the subject ‘no default’ occurs immediately to the right of ‘shall’. Notice that the PE expression equivalent to (6) would be of the form (7), where the subject remains in its original position even in S-Structure. We can conclude that the Neg NP subject in PL type TECs does leave its original VP-Spec position, and moves leftward apparently to the position adjacent to the auxiliary.

(5) [CP C [Agr^sP there will [NegP no man [TP [VP buy it a great]]]]]

(6) that there shall no default (= default) be founde in here, (PL190072-3)

(7) that there shall be no default found in here.

The next problem (II) concerns precisely to what structural position the subject moves. The subject NP should be placed somewhere between the expletive ‘there’ and VP Spec, since the subject never precedes the expletive ‘there’. The most likely position is NegP Spec. That explains why only Neg subjects move from its original position, namely, to check the features of the spec and the head.

The last problem (III) concerns why some languages allow TECs, and others do not. Bobaljik and Jonas (1996) asserts that overt verb raising and the presence of [Spec,TP] is required to make the construction possible. Makita (1998:133) asserts that the subject should overtly move out of VP in TECs, whether the subject may be extraposed or not. As for TECs in PL, we conclude that the subject moves out of VP. See (8). If we assume ‘dare’ heads its own projection, the example below clearly indicates that the subject has moved out of VP.

(8) ther shall no man dar appere in the3place. (PL204016)

Lastly, I mention where the expletive ‘there’ ends up in the derivation. I think the place should be [Spec, Agr^sP], at least in Late Middle English. Makita

(1998:127) asserts that it occupies [Spec,CP], based on the evidence in Icelandic and German. But see the examples (9)~(11) in PL and Chaucer, where the expletive appears after the finite verbs located in C.

(9) Other tithynges be ther noon here, (PL451019)

(10) and, ser, as for the close at mauteby ther wol non man take it to the price
that (PL614011)

(11) In ars-metrike shal ther no man fynde, (Chaucer, Summoner 2222)

I have only indicated the direction in which TECs in PL should be derived, and would like to leave its elaboration for future study.

Notes:

- 1) The Paston Letters are the collection of letters written by and to the Paston Family in the Fifteenth Century.
- 2) The first three numbers indicated the number of the letters, and the rest the number of the lines.

REFERENCES

- Bobaljik, Jonathan David. and Dianne Jonas. 1996. Subject Positions and the Roles of TP. *Linguistic Inquiry* 27.2.195-236.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1995. *The Minimalist Program*. MIT Press.
- Davis, Norman. (ed.) 1971. 1976. *Paston Letters and Papers of the Fifteenth Century*. (2 vols.) Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Makita, Yuka. 1998. Transitive Expletive Constructions and Overt Subject Movement. *English Linguistics* 15.111-138.
- Pollock, Jean-Yves. 1989. Verb Movement, Universal Grammar, and the Structure of IP. *Linguistic Inquiry* 20.3.365-424.

APPENDIX

Below are the Expletive data from PL I have found so far.

And \$er knoweth no man how soon God woll clepe hym, (PL030011-2)

\$at \$er xuld nowth ben don a#ens #w \$er-jn (PL128034-5)

@er xal no man ben so hardy to don no\$er seyn a#ens my lord of Sowthfolk
(PL128046-7)

as for your werk at Mauteby, it is not lyke that there shal nomore be made there-
of this yer but the gabels of the chambere and the chapel wyndows, (PL144002-
4)

for there hath nor shall no man sen hem tyll ye com hom. (PL180114-5)

that there shall no defaute be founde in here, (PL190072-3)

yf ther hade no folkys a be left here in thys plase whyll I haue be owt ther choulde
a be neve mastrys here by thys tyme. (PL192074-6)

and in gode feyth there wyll no cryature thynke how fowle and orubelly it ys a-
rayed (PL196023-5)

ther shall no man dar appere in \$e place. (PL204016)

if I shuld selle them now ther wull noman gewe so myche fore them be ner an c
marc. as they be worth (PL209A010-12)

there woold no man take no scharge fore vus (PL211016)

there wyl no wrushup be there-in at long way. (PL212051-2)

\$er shall nothyng faylle hym \$at I may helpe with, so \$at it be nessessare to hym.
(PL220024-6)

and now ther wol no man by yt a gret (PL221020-1)

PL , 242013-4 , there shuld non off my lordys concell well avysed mevyd to the
contrary.

ther schall no processe goo owt ageyn them, (PL248076-7)

for ther wottys no creature what peyn that i endure, (PL415006)
^^verse
#at #er shall no writte be retourned a-geyn yow but #at (PL543021)
that there shuld non assise be graunted to your entent. (PL455015)
and therefore i supposid ther wold non resonable man thynk but that he myght do
for yow wyth-owte any joporte. (PL479027)
ther cann noo conclusion be taken to myn avayle without help of your
maistership, (PL574039)
and, ser, as for the close at mauteby ther wol non man take it to the price that
(PL614011)
but he seyde there shal no thyng hurte hym but youre streytnesse of mony to hym,
(PL643024)
ther can no man lete it to the walwe that it was lete be-fore, (PL649006)
cf. and yet is ther noman wole bye it for al the grete chep, &c. (PL703030)
and as i conceyue ther shal non haue that exhibeshyon to the faculte of lawe.
therefore meue 3e the executores that at soche tyme as he shal leve it ye may put
a-nother yn his place (PL734007-10)
for there can non heryng be bowte in this contre ondir xiiij s. iiij d. a barel and viij
s. iiij d. a kade, be-syde al othir costys. (PL772014)
but ther shuld no man bie hym vnder x li. flemmensch; (PL777007)
and ther kan no man indyte hym for Ser T. Todenham maynteynyth hym;
(PL880048-9)
there shewyth no gentlenesse of blode ne noble condicion yn that poynt namely,
(PL888020-1)
and this many 3erys ther hath no thing be yoven vs. (PL926071-2)