

August 7, 2007

## Handout 2

## 1 Locational PPs cont.

- (1) Er hängt an diesem Schrank dran.  
he hangs on this wardrobe dr-on  
'He is hanging on/from this wardrobe' \*'He loves this wardrobe.'
- (2) Ich bin in Brno (\*drin)

R<sub>PLACE</sub> :        - spatial  
                  - specific region

Wunderlich 1993: "the theme is located within a particular region surrounding or neighbouring the relatum"

- (3) LOC(x,R[y])
- typical surrounding regions: interior and proximal exterior of a physical object (INT vs. EXT)
  - relativized with respect to a particular axis (+VERT for rising, -VERT for falling)

*in* 'in':             $\lambda y \lambda x$  LOC(x, INT[y])  
*bei* 'at':            $\lambda y \lambda x$  LOC(x, EXT[y])  
*über* 'over':        $\lambda y \lambda x$  LOC(x, EXT[y, +VERT])  
*unter* 'under':     $\lambda y \lambda x$  LOC(x, EXT[y, -VERT])  
*auf* 'on':            $\lambda y \lambda x$  {LOC(x, EXT[y, +VERT]) & CONTACT(x,y)}

→ how to distinguish between - *in* and *in ...drin* (Colloquial German (CG))  
 - *in* and *innerhalb* (German)

- (4) - R<sub>PLACE</sub> a determiner-like head of N<sub>PLACE</sub>P (= PlaceP)  
 - CG: [+def]-R<sub>PLACE</sub> pronounced as *dr-*

## English

- (5) a. It is inside the box. vs. in the box  
 b. It is on top of the cupboard.  
 c. It is outside of the box. (v.s it's out of the box)
- (6) a. I am in Brno. vs. \*?I am inside Brno.  
 b. \*?The hotel is inside (of) Brno.  
 c. I am still inside Paris, and with this traffic I won't get out before another hour.
- (7) a. I am in the park. vs. inside the park  
 b. We are in the woods. vs. inside the woods  
 c. Emma is in school. vs. Emma is inside the school.  
 b. Tom is in the kitchen vs. inside the kitchen.
- (8) a. Jack is sitting on the sofa/chair.  
 b. Jack is sitting on top of the sofa/armchair. → changes meaning
- (9) a. The inner/interior space  
 b. the outer space  
 c. the underneath area  
 d. the above space

- (10) a. der innere Bereich ‘the inner area’
- b. die äussere Seite ‘the outer side’
- c. der untere/obere Bereich ‘the lower/upper area’

- (11) **CG:** [+def]-R<sub>PLACE</sub> is overt;  
Place is always silent *PLACE*.

**English:** Place can be pronounced (e.g as *-side*);  
pronounced Place → R<sub>PLACE</sub> is [+def];  
R<sub>PLACE</sub> is always silent.

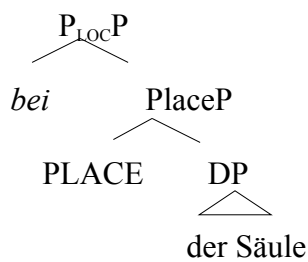
1.2. Locative *bei* ‘at’

**Interpretation:** “at DP’s AREA/SPACE” (its “canonical region”)

- (12) a. en la mesa } lit. at the table; interpreted as ‘on the table’
- b. masa-da }  
          table-LOC }

*dE, en, bei, at, à, ...* lexicalises P<sub>LOC</sub> that selects bare N<sub>PLACE</sub>P (→ no R<sub>PLACE</sub>, no MOD<sub>PLACE</sub>)

- (13) *bei der Säule* (at the<sub>dat</sub> column)



- (14) a. **P<sub>LOC</sub>**  
**Pronounced:** Turkish: *-dE*; Spanish: *en*; English *at*; German *bei*; French *à*  
**Silent:** English/German/French, when licensed by overt Place or overt Mod<sub>PLACE</sub> moving to its specifier.
- b. **Place**  
**Pronounced:** a nominal head that usually (but not always) involves projecting some nominal extended category and (usually or often) genitive case.  
**Silent:** (i) selected by overt Mod<sub>PLACE</sub>, or (ii) moves to Spec of overt P<sub>LOC</sub>  
(In German spatial PPs, Place is always silent.)
- c. **Mod<sub>PLACE</sub>**  
**Pronounced:** English (*in, on, under, ...*), German (*in, auf, unter, ...*), French (*dans, sur, sous, ...*), Greek (*epano, piso, ...* (see Terzi, this volume), etc  
**Silent:** ???  
Turkish, Japanese, ... : lacking from lexicon
- d. **R<sub>PLACE</sub>**  
**Pronounced:** German: *dr-*<sup>1</sup> **Silent:** English, French, Greek, ...  
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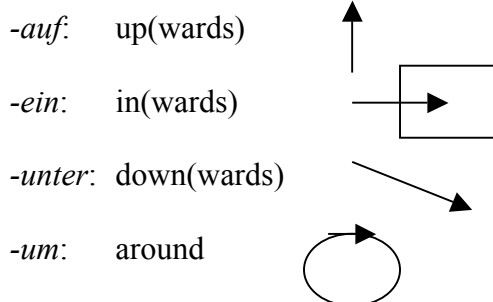
<sup>1</sup> There is more to come about *dr-* !

## 2 Directional PPs

- DP<sub>GROUND</sub> is marked accusative case:
- (15) a. Sie ist auf den Tisch gesprungen.  
she is on the<sub>ACC</sub> table R-on jumped ‘She jumped onto the table.’
- b. Sie ist in die Kiste gesprungen.  
she is in the<sub>ACC</sub> box R-in jumped ‘She jumped in the box.’
- post-positional element — *dr-* or *r-*
- (16) a. Sie ist auf den Tisch {drauf/ rauf} gesprungen.  
she is on the<sub>ACC</sub> table DR-on/R-on jumped  
‘She jumped onto the table.’
- b. Sie ist unter den Schrank {drunter/runter} gekrabbelt.  
she is under the<sub>ACC</sub> press DR-under/R-under crawled  
‘She crawled under the press.’
- post-positional element can be different lexical item
- (17) a. Die Schnecke ist **auf** das Dach **runter** geklettert.  
the snail aux on the<sub>ACC</sub> roof r-under climbed  
‘The snail climbed down onto the roof.’ (Huybregts & van Riemsdijk 2001)
- b. Sie ist **in** die Kiste **rein**/\***rin** gesprungen.  
she is in the<sub>ACC</sub> box R-/ajn/ jumped  
‘She jumped in the box.’
- more than one post-positional element:
- (18) a. Sie sind um den Tisch drum rum getanzt. (\***rum drum**)  
they are around the<sub>ACC</sub> table DR-around R-around danced.
- b. Sie ist **unter** dem Zaun **drunter** (**hin**) **durch** gekrochen.  
she aux under the<sub>DAT</sub> fence DR-unter R through crawled.  
‘She crawled through under the fence.’

### (19) Analysis

- Postpositional element modifies silent noun PATH (Mod<sub>PATH</sub>)
- orientation of directed motion



- R<sub>PATH</sub> (*r-*): determiner-like head, imposes specific Place (attracts R<sub>PLACEP</sub>; Noonan 2005b)  
*her* : movement towards from specific place  
*hin* : movement away from specific place  
*r-*: (CG, shortened from *her*): specific interpretation remains, deixis lost (McIntyre 2001)

(20)  $P_{DIR} > R_{PATH} > Mod_{PATH} > Path > (p_{LOC}) > P_{LOC} > R_{PLACE} > Mod_{PLACE} > Place > DP$

- $P_{LOC}P$  moves to Spec,  $P_{DIR}P$
- $R_{PLACE}P$  moves to Spec,  $R_{PATH}$

(21) **Case**

Genitive: nominal case; e.g. *à* [<sub>NP</sub> *côté de la table*], *on* [<sub>NP</sub> *top of the cupboard*]

Dative: prepositional case; e.g. [<sub>PLOCP</sub> *auf dem Tisch*]

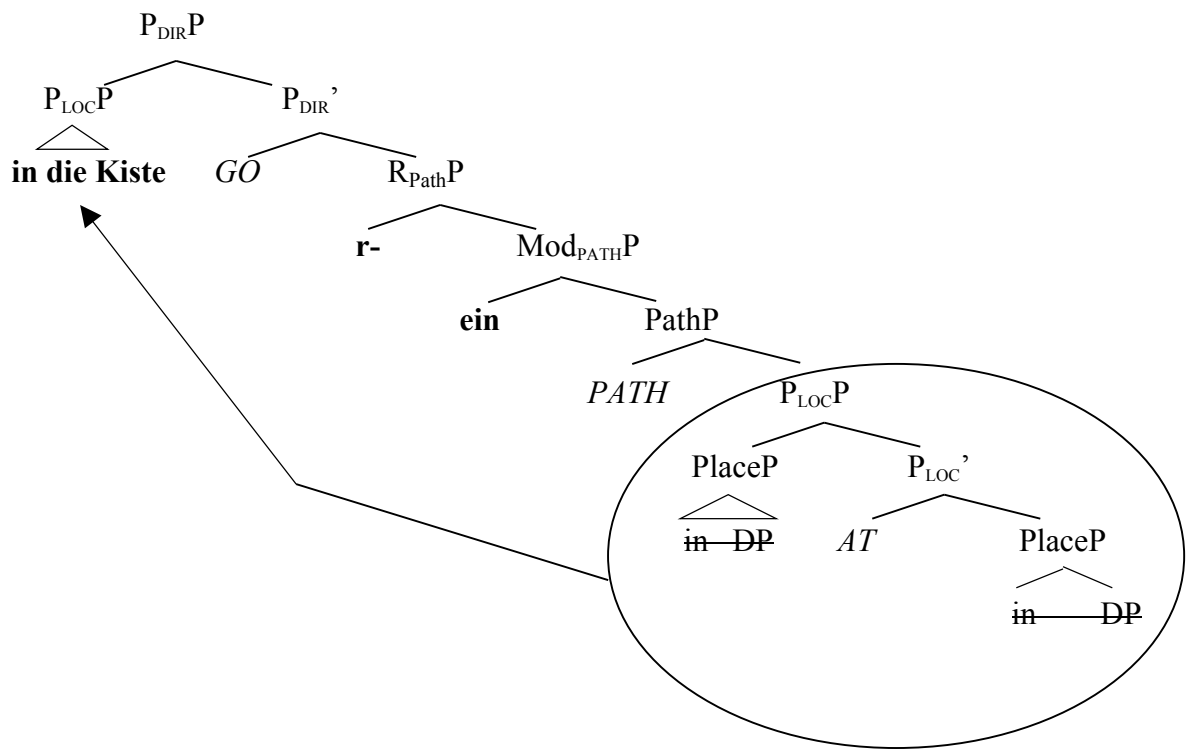
Accusative: verbal case; e.g. [<sub>DIRP</sub> *auf den Tisch ...*] (cf. Abraham 2003)

(22) Path selects

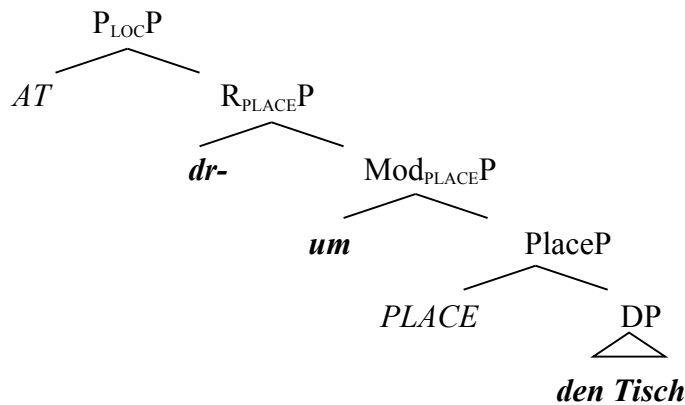
- (i)  $P_{LOC}$
- $P_{LOC}$  lacks external argument
  - $P_{LOC}$  does not provide a Case feature ('Burzio's-generalisation-effect')
  - $V_{DIR}$  Case licenses the ground DP (by Agree).

- (ii)  $p_{LOC}$
- selects 'figure' argument ( $DP_{EXT}$ )
  - strong phase
  - $DP_{GROUND}$  not accessible for any Agree operation with a higher head

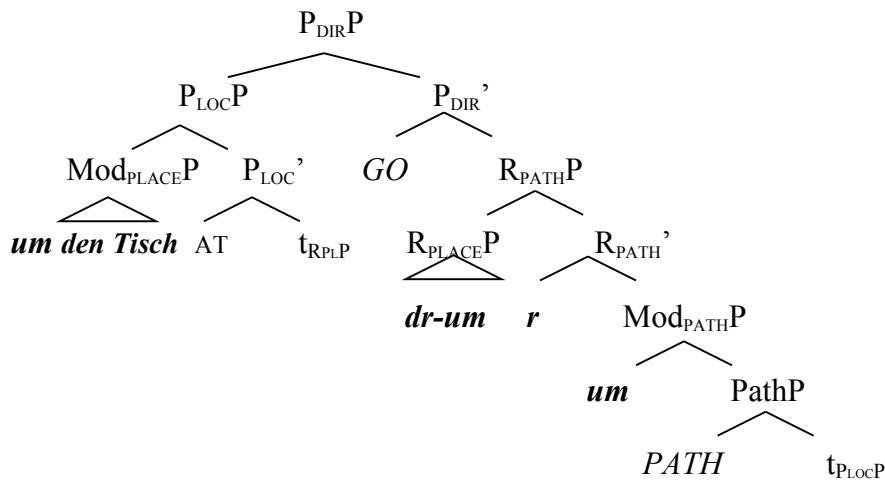
(23) Tree for *in die Kiste rein* 'into the box'



(24) Tree for *um den Tisch drum rum* ‘around the table’



b.

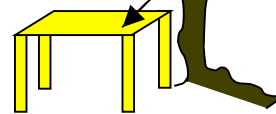


**CASE**

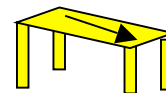
(25) a. Sie ist den Tisch runter gerutscht.<sup>2</sup>  
 she AUX the<sub>ACC</sub> table R-under slid  
 ‘She slid down the table.’



b. Sie ist auf den Tisch runter gerutscht.  
 she AUX on the<sub>ACC</sub> table R-under slid  
 ‘She slid down onto the table.’



c. Sie ist auf dem Tisch runter gerutscht.  
 she AUX on the<sub>DAT</sub> table R-under slid  
 ‘She slid down on the table.’ (e.g a slanted table)



(26) Three cases:

	Semantic function of DP	CASE	WORD ORDER
i.	“ground” of V <sub>DIR</sub> /Path	Accusative	Postpositional
ii.	“ground” of P <sub>LOC</sub> /Place & telos of V <sub>DIR</sub> /Path	Accusative	Circumpositional
iii.	“ground” of P <sub>LOC</sub> /Place	Dative	Circumpositional

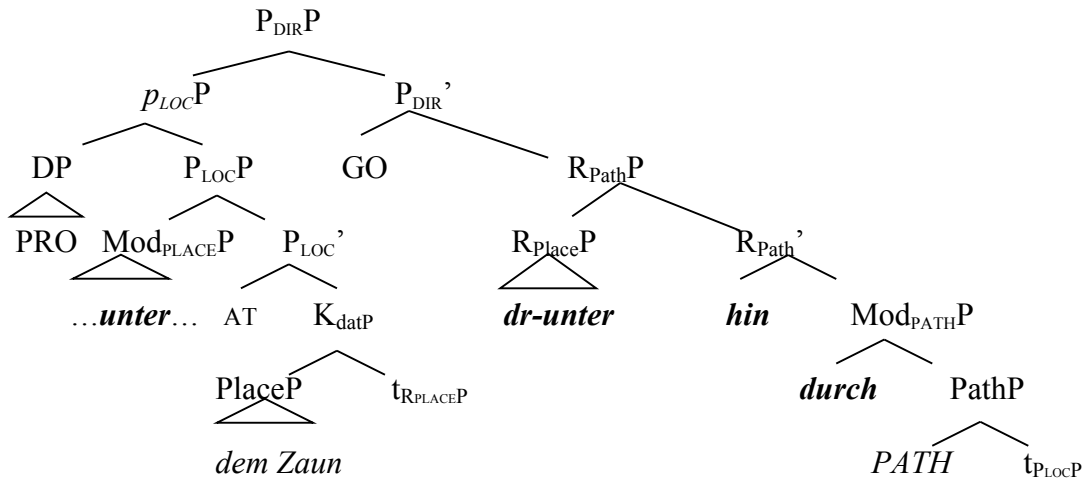
<sup>2</sup> This case is restricted to the adpositions *auf* and *unter* in German. In Dutch, we find post-positional order more generally.

(27) When PLACE – DP<sub>GROUND</sub> “measures out” V<sub>DIR</sub>/Path, then it is marked with accusative case.

Cf. role of accusative in establishing telicity (Tenny 1987, Travis 1994, Borer 1998, and related subsequent work.)

- Dative as a “locating” case ...

(28) unter dem Zaun drunter hin durch  
 under the<sub>DAT</sub> fence DR-under HIN through ‘through under the fence’



**R<sub>PATH</sub> movement**

- (29) a. **Unter dem Zaun** ist sie **drunter (hin) durch** gekrochen.  
 under the<sub>DAT</sub> fence aux she DR-unter HIN through crawled
- b. **Um den Tisch** sind sie **drum rum** getanzt.  
 around the<sub>ACC</sub> table are they DR-around R-around danced.